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An Etymological Dictionary of Altaic Languages

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(with the assistance of I. Gruntov and V. Glumov)

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PREFACE

This is a first attempt at an etymological dictionary of Altaic languages. The history of Altaic comparative studies is a difficult one. Even now there is still no consensus among scholars on the very problem of the existence of Altaic as a genetic unit. We sincerely hope that this publication will bring an end to this discussion, which has lasted for more than 30 years.

The dictionary presented below should by no means be regarded as final and conclusive. We have tried to collect all existing etymologies that seem to be semantically reliable and fit the established system of phonetic correspondences. Among the 2800 etymologies presented approximately half are new, developed by our team during more than 10 years of preparatory work. New etymologies will most certainly follow, while some of those presented will doubtlessly be rearranged or even refuted in the course of future research. The current reconstruction will also inevitably change - as it happened with Indo-European, Uralic and most of the other established language families during the decades of their investigation. Nevertheless, we regard it as a valid starting point, worth presenting to the general academic audience, and look forward for criticism, suggestions and corrections.

Wherever necessary we give references to etymological literature, although we decided to keep the discussion as short as possible. Many existing etymologies are not mentioned in this dictionary because they contradict the system of correspondences followed in the present volume or because we think we have found better solutions. It would be futile, e.g., to struggle with some of the etymologies linking words with Jpn. *p- to those with Altaic *kʿ-, since we do not believe that such a correspondence exists at all. We must say, however, that most of the etymologies presented in the classical works of G. Ramstedt and N. Poppe, as well as very many Japanese etymologies of R. Miller and S. Martin, have been preserved, which in itself shows that the proposed phonological reinterpretation of the Proto-Altaic system is just an extension of previous research.

The Altaic family as a genetic unity of Turkic, Mongolian and Tungus-Manchu languages had been proposed as early as 1730 by F. J. v.

Stralenberg. Until the early 20th century, however, there was no clear idea about the classification or comparative grammar of Altaic. The few scholars that studied the languages regarded them rather as part of a common Ural-Altaic family, together with Finno-Ugric and Samoyedic languages - an idea now completely discarded.

The undebatable father of scientific Altaic studies was Gustaf John Ramstedt. He started his research in the very beginning of the century, and made a huge contribution both to Altaic studies as a whole and to the study of individual subgroups of Altaic. His research was concluded by the fundamental "Einführung in die Altaische Sprachwissenschaft" published in 1952, two years after his death in 1950. Ramstedt formulated many basic phonetic rules of correspondences between the Altaic languages, laid the foundations of Altaic comparative grammar, and finalized the subclassification of the Altaic family by separating Uralic from Altaic and adding Korean and Japanese to its classic "Western" core.

Other scholars whose contributions to the Altaic field were really substantial are N. Poppe, K. Menges, V. Tsintsius, V. Illich-Svitych, S. Martin and R. A. Miller. A full account of their achievements would deserve a special study, but suffice it to say that due to their efforts a basic reconstruction of Common Altaic was already available by the late fifties / early sixties of the 20th century.

A reaction started in the sixties. A number of scholars (for some reason, primarily Turcologists) initiated what seemed at that time a counter-Altaic revolt. The names of the main anti-Altaicists are G. Clauson, G. Doerfer and A. Shcherbak. Among them G. Doerfer should be distinguished as the most consistent, most fruitful, and most vigorous in his anti-Altaic efforts.

Although the arguments of anti-Altaicists were many - from phonetic to lexico-statistical - their basic argument can be summed up as follows: the relationship between the Altaic languages is not what a genuine genetic relationship should be. All the numerous resemblances between them were explained as a result of secondary convergence within a "Sprachbund" of originally unrelated languages. The whole idea of the original Proto-Altaic unity was very seriously threatened.

Simultaneously the Eastern branch of Altaic - Korean and Japanese, or Korean-Japanese - was brought under heavy suspicion. No serious alternative for Korean was proposed, but an active search for non-Altaic relatives of Japanese began. Distinguished scholars like S. Murayama (who always hesitated between the Altaic and Austronesian affinity of Japanese) and P. Benedict started searching for Japa-

nese-Austronesian parallels, with Benedict (following mainly the Japanese scholar Kawamoto) finally proclaiming the inclusion of Japanese - without Korean and Altaic - into his Austro-Thai family.

After a critical evaluation of the problem we came to the conclusion that Altaic should be still characterized as a genetic unity, probably forming a branch of the larger Nostratic macrofamily, but certainly a separate family on its own. The very fact that it is possible to compile a dictionary of common Altaic heritage appears to be a proof of the validity of the Altaic theory.

The work on the dictionary started in the late 80's. Initially we worked together with I. Shervashidze, who later switched to different projects, and the work was continued by S. Starostin, A. Dybo and O. Mudrak. We must gratefully mention our numerous younger colleagues and students who helped at various stages of compiling the dictionary, and especially Ilia Gruntov, Vladimir Glumov, Vasiliy Chernov and Martine Robbeets. The work was sponsored by grants from the Soros ("Open Society") foundation, from the Russian Foundation of Fundamental Research and the Russian Foundation of Humanities; since 1997 the research was supported by the Investor Group "Ariel" within the framework of the "Tower of Babel" project.

All the work was conducted within the STARLING database created by S. Starostin. The Altaic database is constantly available on line at the Web address *http://starling.rinet.ru*. Special thanks go to programmers: Ph. Krylov who designed the Windows version of STARLING software, Yu. Bronnikov who designed the scripts for the Internet site; and to S. Bolotov who designed the fonts for this complicated edition.

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INTRODUCTION

(by S. A. Starostin)

CHAPTER ONE

THE PROBLEM OF INTERLINGUAL BORROWINGS IN ALTAIC LANGUAGES

Since the gist of the anti-Altaic criticism is the idea that what Ramstedt and Poppe regarded as common Altaic heritage is in fact a result of later borrowings, it is this problem that we shall tackle first in the introduction.

This problem is of utmost importance for the whole Altaic theory. We must be able to distinguish between commonly inherited morphemes and borrowed ones - since interlingual borrowing was very widely practiced during the final stages of the development of Altaic languages.

There are two basic contact zones in the Altaic area: the Turko-Mongolian and the Mongolo-Tungus. There had also been some contacts between Tungus and Korean, Korean and Mongolian, Korean and Japanese - but they are relatively insignificant in comparison with the very intense Turko-Mongolian and Mongolo-Tungus contacts.

1.1. Turko-Mongolian contacts.

It has been convincingly demonstrated by several authors (in a most detailed way by Clark 1980) that there are no (or almost no) Mongolian loanwords in Early Old Turkic, i.e. before the 13th century A.D. However, already in the *Secret History of Mongols* (13th c.) we find a number of identifiable Turkic loanwords. Logically enough, in Late Old Turkic, Middle Turkic and modern Turkic languages we also find a large number of Mongolisms.

This can only mean that Turko-Mongolian contacts started in the 13th century, and there were no direct contacts before that time.

But there is also a large number of Turko-Mongolian matches that cannot be explained as post-13th century loans. This fact was acknowledged by most critics of the Altaic theory, and a bold attempt was made by Doerfer to explain such matches as being prehistoric loans from Turkic into Mongolian (for Altaicists, of course, such matches represent rather common inherited vocabulary).

Let us formulate the criteria that distinguish early Turkic borrowings in Mongolian loans from the inherited vocabulary (= prehistoric loans in Doerfer's terminology).

1. The words involved are attested in Turkic before the 13th century;
2. They appear in Mongolian in a form typical for 13th century Uyghur/Karakhanide Turkic

The latter criterion means that in the donor language the following changes occurred, compared with Proto-Turkic: a) voiced *d-, *g- > *t-, *k-; b) *Í, *ŕ > *š, *z; c) long vowels and diphthongs disappeared.

The most obvious criterion here is b), since the correspondences Turk. *Í (>š) : Mong. s and Turk. *ŕ (>z): Mong. z, ʒ, s only occur within this layer of loanwords (see Clark 1980). Let us take a closer look at such cases:

PT *jāÍɨl 'green, greens' (OT *jašɨl*): WMong. *jasil* 'buckthorn'
PT *gEŕik 'turn, order' (OT *kezik*): WMong. *kesig* 'wake, turn' (already in MMong. as *kešik*)
PT *gEŕ- 'to walk, walk through' (OT *kez-*): WMong. *kesü-*, *kese-* 'to wander, roam'
PT *eÍi 'lady, beg's consort' (OT *iši*): WMong. *esi* 'empress' (MMong. *esi*)
PT *seŕik 'feeling' (OT *sezik*): WMong. *sesig*
PT *(i)āÍ-ru 'exceedingly' (OT *ašru*): WMong. *asuru*
PT *dūÍ- 'to meet' (OT *tuš-*): WMong. *tus(u)-*
PT *kīÍ 'sable' (OT *kiš*): WMong. *er-kis* 'male sable', *ebsi-gis* 'female sable'
PT *KoÍ 'pair' (OT *qoš*): WMong. *qos(i)* (MMong. *qoši*) id.
PT *KoÍ 'hut, camping' (MK *qoš* 'family'): WMong. *qos(i)* (also *qošlɨγ* > WMong. *qosiliγ*)
PT *jüŕüm 'grape' (OT *üzüm, jüzüm*) > WMong. *üʒüm*
PT *jēmiÍč 'vegetable(s)' : MMong. (HY) *ʒemiši*
PT *KạÍčɨ- 'to scrape' (OT *qašɨ-*), *KạÍčɨ-gu 'scraper' (e.g. Chag. *qašaγu*): MMong. *qaši'ur* 'scraper'
PT *biÍč-, *bɨÍč- (OT *biš-*) 'to become boiled', *bɨÍč-lak 'smth. boiled' > WMong. *bis(i)laγ*, *basilaγ* 'a k. of home cheese'
PT *Kar-Íɨ 'opposite' (OT *qaršɨ*) > WMong. *qarsi*
PT *uluÍ 'country, city' (OT *uluš*) > WMong. *ulus*
PT *jạÍ- 'blaze', *jạÍɨn 'lightning' (OT *jašu-*, *jašɨn*) > WMong. *jašin* id.
PT *jEŕ 'copper' > WMong. *ʒes* id.
PT *boÍ 'free, empty', *boÍan- 'to become empty, poor' (OT *boš*, *bošan-*) > WMong. *busani-* id.; *boÍug 'permission' (OT *bošuγ*) > WMong. *bošuγ* id.
PT *aŕɨg 'fang' > MMong. *aʒuγ (*ačuγ* in Uygh. script)
PT *bogaŕ 'pregnant' (OT *boγaz*) : WMong. *boγus*
PT *KĀÍ 'jade' (OT *qaš*): WMong. *qas(i)* (MMong. *qaši*)
PT *ẹ̄diÍ 'vessel' (OT *eδiš*): WMong. *idis(i)* id.
PT *Kebiŕ 'carpet' (OT *kebiz*): WMong. *kebis* id.
PT *keleŕ / *keler 'lizard' (OT *keler*): WMong. *keles*

PT *arbɨĺ 'magic' (OT *arvɨš*): WMong. *arbis* 'knowledge'
PT *duĺa- 'to hobble', *duĺak 'hobble' (OT *tuša-*, *tušaq*): WMong. *tuša-*, *tusi-* 'to hobble', MMong. *tušaγa* 'hobble'
PT *Kaĺaŋ 'lazy' (OT *qašaŋ*): WMong. *qašaŋ* id.
PT *Köĺi- 'to screen', *Köĺi-ge 'shadow' (OT *köši-*, *kösige*): MMong. *köši-*, *kösige*

From these loans we may infer that:

1. OT š (< *ĺ) is rendered in Mong. as s, frequently followed by optional -i (Mongolian lacked a phonological distinction between š and s, but s was pronounced as š before i); sometimes we find -š- in front of other vowels (*bošuγ*, *tuša-*) - an obvious feature of incompletely adapted loanwords;
2. OT z (< *ŕ) is also usually rendered as s, but in a few cases—as ǯ;
3. Initial j- is rendered either as j- (*jasil*, *jašin*) or as ǯ- (*ǯemiši*, *ǯes*). This may reflect dialectal variation within Turkic (note that many modern languages also display the variation j-/ǯ- < PT *j-) or an OT articulation like *ď-;
4. No voiced initial consonants - except b - are present in this layer of loans, which is quite consistent with OT phonology;
5. Turkic syllabic structure is retained with the following details:
a) verbal stems usually add a vowel (*kez-* > *kese-*, *kesü-*; *tuš-* > *tus(u)-*); this is explained by the fact that Mong. has very few monosyllabic verbal stems.
b) polysyllabic nominal stems usually do not, but occasionally also add one (*tušaq* > *tušaγa*);
c) monosyllabic nominal stems never add a vowel (except the parasitic -i after -s- - to render Turkic š);
6. vowels are usually quite faithfully retained - except ɨ which is regularly rendered by i (of course there is occasional variation between o and u, and of weak vowels in the non-initial syllable);
7. voiced intervocalic consonants are rendered as voiced (notably -g- is rendered as -γ- > -0- in *boγaz* > *boγus*, cf. Kalm., Dag. *bōs*).

Now if we investigate the loans from Mongolian into modern Turkic languages we find a very similar system of correspondences:
WMong. *sibaγu(n)* 'bird' (MMong. *šiba'un*) : Chag. *šibaγun*
WMong. *qaγurai* 'dry' > Tat. *qawrai*
WMong. *qaŋsiγar* 'beak, nose' > Uzb. *qanšar*
WMong. *dabaγan*, MMong. *daba'an* 'mountain pass' > Chag. *taban*
WMong. *γaγursu* (Khalkha *gūrs*) 'chaff' > Kirgh. *qaursu*
WMong. *qara-* 'look', *qaraγul* 'patrol' (MMong. *qara'ul*) > Chag. *qara-*, *qarawul*

WMong. *egeči*, MMong. *egeči* 'elder sister' > Chag. *egeči*
WMong. *ǯabsar*, MMong. *ǯab(u)sar* 'gap, interval' > Kirgh. *ǯapsar*
WMong. *girγaul*, *γurγuul* (MMong. *xurqa'ul*) 'pheasant' > Chag. *qɨrγavul*
WMong. *γura(n)* 'roebuck' (MMong. *qura-ltuq*) > Oyr. *quran*
WMong. *silegüsü(n)* 'lynx' (MMong. *šile'usun*) > Kum. *silewsün*
WMong. *soqur* (MMong. *soxar*, *soqor*) 'blind' > Koman *soqur*
WMong. *ǯuuqa* 'stove' > Leb., Kumd. *joqqɨ*
WMong. *šigüder*, MMong. *ši'uder(en)* 'dew' > Chag. *šüdürün*
etc.

Of course the system slightly differs: Mongolian voiced initial consonants are usually rendered by voiceless Turkic ones (since voiced consonants are only retained in Oghuz languages that had hardly any direct contacts with Mongolian and obtained all their Mongolisms through Kypchak and Karluk intermediaries). But in general we see that both loans from Turkic into Mongolian and vice versa reflect generally a single socio-linguistic situation: intensive Turko-Mongolian contacts after the 13th century, with loanwords flowing in both directions - a situation quite consistent with what we know about the history of Turkic and Mongolian peoples.

A well-known fact, however, is the existence of a large number of different Turko-Mongolian matches, frequently doublets to those investigated above. Thus we have OT *azɨγ* 'fang' (PT **aŕɨg*) corresponding to WMong. *araγa*, *arija*, MMong. *ara'a*, *aral* id. Doerfer and other anti-Altaicists (e.g. Shcherbak) would like to view such cases also as borrowings, but belonging to an earlier stratum.

We can indeed reconstruct a hypothetical (as Doerfer would put it, "teleologische Sternchenform") PT **aŕiga* borrowed in PM as **ariγa*, and having later lost the final vowel. Note that we cannot presume the other direction of borrowing, since PM had no *-ŕ-, and in the case of a borrowing from Mong. into Turkic we would expect something like **arɨg*. But what about MMong. *aral* 'fang', *ara-tai* 'predator' - forms clearly derived from a root **ara-* (**ari-*), together with the form **ara-γa* / **ari-γa*? In order to explain these forms we have to use a more imaginative scenario: a) either postulate a PT root **aŕɨ*, lost in all attested Turkic languages and borrowed in Mong. as **ari* (**ara*), along with its derivative, PT **aŕɨ-ga*; later the new derivatives **ara-l* and **ara-taj* were formed on Mongolian ground, while the plain root **ari* was lost, just as in Turkic; b) or postulate PT derivatives **aŕɨ-l*, **aŕɨ-taj* (with suffixation quite peculiar for Turkic) that were borrowed into Mongolian together with **aŕɨ-ga*, but were subsequently lost in Turkic.

Needless to say, explanations like this are unsatisfactory. A much easier and more elegant solution is to trace both Turkic and Mongolian

to a common Altaic root **aŕi*, with a common old suffix **-ga.* As is frequently the case, the suffixless stem was not preserved, but it gave rise to a set of derivatives in Mongolian.

Besides providing a better explanation of Turko-Mongolian matches (and the case of **aŕɨg* is not isolated - there are literally hundreds of such cases), such a solution also helps to avoid the inevitable conclusion at which Doerfer arrived in his investigations: that all early loanwords marched in only one direction - from Turkic to Mongolian. Indeed, Turkic has more distinctions than Mongolian in what concerns, e.g., the oppositions **l-*ĺ* or **r-*ŕ*. Mongolian has only *l and *r, thus all cases of Turk. *ĺ : Mong. *l and Turk. *ŕ : Mong. *r are to be explained as borrowed in Mongolian from Turkic; and there are no obvious cases of a converse situation.

But oneway borrowing is a specific situation which requires an explanation. This may be either a big difference in the cultural levels of contact participants, which we have absolutely no reason to suppose in this case, or borrowing from a dialect which once existed (and of course also borrowed from the other contact participant), but later ceased to exist. We would thus have to suppose that Old Turkic (and in fact all other Turkic languages) are descendants of a PT dialect that had no contacts with Mongolian; but there existed a hypothetical "sister-Proto-Turkic" that had contacts with Mongolian but later ceased to exist without leaving any trace.

We see that the general scientific principle of Occam's razor clearly speaks in favour of the genetic relationship between Turkic and Mongolian, since this is inevitably the simpliest solution in all available cases.

1.2. Mongolo-Tungus contacts.

Borrowings from Mongolian into Tungus-Manchu languages are quite abundant. The majority of them penetrated from Mongolian into Manchu, and from Manchu into the other Tungus-Manchu languages; but a considerable number penetrated also from Dagur into the neighbouring Solon language, and from Buryat into Evenki and the neighbouring Even and Negidal languages. How can we distinguish Mongolian loanwords from inherited common Altaic etyma?

Consider the following examples:

PM **hiǯaɣur* 'root' : Evk. (Kamn.) *iʒagur*, Sol. *oǯōr*
PM **hüre* 'seed' : Sol. *ur*
PM **hergi* 'steep bank' : Man. *ergi*
PM **hačiɣuri* 'favour' : Nan. *ačeuri*

PM **harga(l)-sun* 'dung' : Evk. *argahun*

PM **hojimu-sun* 'stockings' : Evk. *oimahun*, *oimusu*

PM **hab-taj* 'sorcery' > Evk. *aptaj*, **hab-galdaj* 'shaman mask' > Evk. *awaγaldaj*

PM **huta-sun* 'thread' > Evk. *uta-sun*

PM **hergi-* 'go round', **hergiγül-* 'turn round' > Man. *erguwe-*, Evk. *ergūlge* 'device for tanning skins' (= Mong. **hergiγüleg*), Evn. *ergin-*.

These and many other examples reveal one phonetic peculiarity: a correspondence of PM *h- : TM 0-. They also have another peculiarity: in the vast majority of them the wordform structure of Mongolian (including all derivational suffixes) is faithfully retained in TM languages. It is obvious that the words entered TM languages already after the loss of *h- in Mongolian - which (in Northern Mongolian dialects) occurred as early as in the XIVth century.

Consider now another group of examples:

PM **hila-γan* 'fly' : Orok *pulikte*, *pumikte*, Evk. *hunmikte* (PTM **pulmi-kte*) 'midge'

PM **hünir* 'smell' : Orok *pū(n)* 'smell', Evk. *huńŋukte-* 'to smell' (PTM **puń-*)

PM **halagan* 'palm (of the hand)': Ul. *pańa*, Evk. *hanŋa*, Man. *falaŋγu* id. (PTM **palŋa*)

PM **hari-* 'be tired, exhausted' : Evk. *harū-*, Man. *fara-* 'to faint, feel giddy' (PTM **paru-*)

PM **heki* 'head' : Evk. *hēje* 'forehead', Man. *fexi* 'brain' (PTM **pējKe*)

PM **hiru-γar* 'bottom, ground' : Evk. *here,* Man. *fere*, Ul. *pere(g)* (PTM **pere*)

etc.

This group of examples has a quite different correspondence for PM *h-, viz., PTM *p-. If we suppose borrowing from Mongolian, we have to assume that:

1. This borrowing occurred long before the XIVth century, in the period when Mong. *h- was still pronounced as *p- (a feature not preserved in any Mongolian dialect);

2. This borrowing occurred even earlier, namely, during the epoch of Common TM unity (somewhere in the 1st millennium BC), since all of the above examples belong to the common TM wordstock, so apparently were borrowed into PTM;

3. Borrowed were not the Mongolian forms listed above, but their roots, which were later supplied (in many cases) with different TM suffixes.

Many other groups of examples also show very specific features. Cf.:

a) WMong. *qou* 'all': Evk. *kūkte*, Orok *kupu-kte*
WMong. *qalu-* 'to come near': Orok *qal-* id., Man. *xanči* 'near'
WMong. *kere-* 'quarrel, fight': Evk. *kerbe-* 'kill', Man. *keru-le-* 'to fine'
WMong. *qura* 'rain': Evk. *kur-ge-kūn*, Ul. *kūre(n)* 'storm'
WMong. *küči(n)* 'strength': Evk. *kusī-* 'to fight', *kusīn* 'strength', Man. *xusu-n* id.
b) WMong. *qučil-* 'to scrape with fingers' : Evk. *osī-*, Orok *χosị-* 'to scrape'
WMong. *kilγa-su* 'hair': Evk. *inŋa-kta*, Orok *sịnaqta* id.
WMong. *kür* 'precipice': Evk. *ure*, Orok *xure* 'mountain'
WMong. *qudurγa* 'tail strap': Evk. *irgi*, Orok *xudu* 'tail'
WMong. *kele(n)* 'tongue': Evk. *inńi*, Man. *ileŋgu*, Orok *sinu* id.

In group a) we have words with PTM *k-; in group b) - with PTM *x-. Mongolian in both cases has k- (= q- in front of back vowels). So why would TM languages borrow the same Mongolian phoneme both as TM *k- and TM *x-?

Note that both groups of examples seem to be archaic enough (different suffixation and wide distribution in TM).

To explain this picture we can either postulate two different phonemes in early Mongolian (at the time of borrowing > TM), e.g. $*k_1$ and $*k_2$, with this distinction lost and not reflected in any variety of Mongolian, or try to presume a different direction of borrowing (TM > Mong., with both TM *k- and *x- > Mong. k-; but why not *x- > Mong. h- in this case?).

This all is theoretically possible, but certainly the usual solution a historical linguist assumes in such cases is that we are dealing with genetic relationship and that two phonemes have to be reconstructed for Proto-Altaic (in our case - *k and *k´), which converged in Mongolian, but stay distinct (as *k- vs. *x-) in Tungus-Manchu.

We see that here, too, a hypothesis about common origin fares much better than the loanword theory. Of course, there are loanwords from Mongolian into TM languages, but they are recent (certainly after the XIVth century) and penetrated from Mongolian into different TM languages (basically - into Manchu and Evenki, also through a different route - from Dagur into Solon) long after the split of Proto-Tungus-Manchu.

One of the significant arguments that Doerfer raised against the Altaic theory was the absence of common Turkic-TM vocabulary. Indeed, if the three families are not related and all the lexical parallels observed are due either to borrowings in Turkic from Mongolian, in Mongolian from Turkic, and in TM from Mongolian, we would expect no common

Turkic-TM parallels without Mongolian intermediaries. But in fact we do have quite a number of such cases, somehow overlooked by the critics:

PT **ăčaj / *ěčej* 'elder female relative' : PTM **asī* 'woman' PT **Ebü(r)dek* 'duck': PTM **ābu*, **ābu-lduka* 'a k. of duck' PT **bạk-* 'to look, watch': PTM **baKa-* 'to find' PT **bAja* 'recently': PTM **baǯi-* 'early' PT **bilik* 'wick': PTM **bulin* id.

PT **bɨrak-* 'to abandon, throw': PTM **burī-* 'to lose, let go'

PT **bodu-* 'to fasten, attach': PTM **boda-* 'to accompany'

PT **bul-* 'icy surface': PTM **belu-* / **bul-* 'slippery ice surface'

PT **būt* 'thigh' : PTM **begdi* / **bugdi* 'leg'

PT **čEl*, **čEl-pe-* 'film, membrane': PTM **čalba-n* 'bark'

PT **jak-* 'to burn': PTM **deg-ǯe-gi-* id.

and many, many others (see the body of the dictionary). To explain those cases we have either to refute them all, or to suppose a third ancient contact zone (Turkic > TM) which is extremely dubious (there exist loans in Evenki from Yakut and vice versa, apparently reflecting quite recent contacts; but no archaic contacts seem to be observable), or - which is the most preferable solution - once again to presume genetic relationship.

A very important issue while formulating any genetic hypothesis is the problem of basic vocabulary. However, to make a correct estimation of the proportion of basic vocabulary preserved in each branch, one needs to have a sufficient knowledge of comparative phonology, i.e. regular correspondences established between languages compared. Here we must agree with the critics: the correspondences established between Altaic languages in the classical works of Ramstedt and Poppe indeed were unsatisfactory in many respects, partially due to insufficient attention paid to the stratification of loanwords. But instead of trying to improve the correspondences and to untangle difficult phonological and lexical riddles, the critics had chosen an easier way: to refute the genetic relationship as such.

Some researchers, however, took a different approach. Among them we should name such distinguished scholars as V. M. Illich-Svitych (with his three-way distinction of stops in PA), V.Tsintsius (with her many papers on PTM phonology and the three-way correspondence of stops), S. Martin (with a pioneer attempt at the Korean-Japanese reconstruction, which was largely unsuccessful, but provided a lot of insights into the prehistory of Korean and Japanese) and R. Miller (with many successful attempts at establishing phonetic correspondences between Japanese and other Altaic languages).

All this work was summarized and continued in the book of one of the authors of the present dictionary (АПиПЯЯ). Even since that time many correspondences have been made more precise and some changed, during the prolonged collective processing of the vast Altaic evidence. Below we shall outline the reconstruction of PA phonology as it is now perceived by the authors.

CHAPTER TWO

COMPARATIVE PHONOLOGY OF ALTAIC LANGUAGES

2.0. Root structure

The most common root structure in Altaic languages is **CVCV*, occasionally with a medial consonant cluster - **CVCCV*. The final vowel, however, is very unstable: best preserved in TM languages (although also not always easily reconstructable because of morphological processes), it is frequently dropped in Korean, Mongolian and Turkic (in the latter family in fact - in the majority of cases). Japanese usually preserves the final vowel, although its quality is normally lost (shifted to the previous syllable or fused with the quality of vowels in suffixed syllables); however, in cases when the final (medial) root consonant is lost (on the process **cVRV-γV* > **CVRγV* > **CVγV* > **CV* in Japanese see below), Japanese reflects original disyllables as monosyllables.

Japanese also has quite a number of monosyllabic verbal roots of the type **CVC-*. We agree with Martin (JLTT) that these roots were originally disyllabic as well, however reconstructing them as **CVCa-* is certainly incorrect. The OJ verbal conjugation shows explicitly that the verbal stems — if we examine their interaction with the gerundive suffix *-i — can be subdivided into three main types: **CVCa-* (those having the gerund in -e < *-a-i), **CVCə-* (those having the gerund in -i < *-ə-i), and **CVC-* (those having the gerund in -ji < *-i). We can only suggest the possibility that the latter type reflects original verbal roots **CVCi* (occasionally perhaps also **CVCu*, although there are reasons to suppose that some of the latter actually merged with the type **CVCə-*). The gerund form in *-i in this case may actually reflect the original final root vowel that had early disappeared before other verbal suffixes of the type *-V(CV)-.

A small number of trisyllabic roots such as **àlakʿu* 'walk', **kabari* 'oar', **kʿobani* 'armpit' etc. are also reconstructed for Proto-Altaic. It cannot be excluded that in many or most of these cases the final syllable is originally a suffix, but the deriving stem is not used separately and the derivation had already become obscure in the protolanguage.

The monosyllabic structure **CV* was typical for pronominal and auxiliary morphemes, but a small number of verbal (and, quite exceptionally, nominal) monosyllabic roots can also be reconstructed:

PT **b(i)ā-* 'bind', PTM **ba-* 'propose for marriage', Kor. *pa,* PJ **bə̀* 'string' (PA **bā́*)

PT **jạ-t-* 'lie', PM **de-b-* 'lay, put', PTM **dē* 'bed', **dē-du-* 'lie', PJ **dà-ntə̀-r-* 'spend the night' (PA **dḕ*)

PT **Ko-* 'put', PTM **ga-* 'take', PK **kà-* id. (PA **ga*)

PM **ni-γu-* 'hide, concel', PTM **nē-* 'put', PJ **ná-* 'lie, sleep', PK **nū-b-* 'lie' (PA **nḗ*)

PT **sa-t-* 'sell', PJ **si-rə* 'price', but PK **sà-* 'buy' (PA **sa*) PT **dē-* 'say', PM **da-wu-* 'sound', PTM **de(b)-* 'song, tune' (PA **tḗ*)

PT **jē-* 'eat', PM **ǯe-mü-* 'be hungry', **ǯo-γug* (< **ǯa-γug*) 'meal', PTM **ǯe-p-* 'eat', PK **čā-* 'eat', OJ *ja-pa-* 'hungry' (PA **ǯē*)

PTM **pē-* 'be unable, not dare': PM **ja-da-* 'be unable', PJ **piá-r-* 'become less, humble oneself' (PA **pʹē*)

PT **be-ŋ*, PTM **be,* PJ **bá-i* 'bait' (PA **bḗ*)

PT **dī-n* 'spirit, breath', Manchu *ǯu-n* 'pulse, vein', but PJ **tí*, PM **či-su* 'blood' (PA **čiu̯ū*; here the *-n in PT and Manchu is probably suffixed)

PM **do-/*du-* 'middle', PTM **dō* 'inside', PK **tā́i* 'inside' (PA **dṑ*)

A special type of cases is represented by a number of verbal roots emerging as monosyllables of the type **CV* in some languages, but having the structure **CVl(V)* or, less frequently, **CVr(V)* in others:

PT **ạl-* 'take', PM **ali-* 'take, receive', PTM **al(i)-* id., but PJ **á-* 'receive' (PA **ā́la*)

PM **bür-il-* 'die, perish': PTM **bu-* 'die' (but *bur-* in some forms, e.g. in Nanai) (PA **bŭri*)

PM **ere-* 'healthy, sober': PTM **eri-* 'to breathe', PJ **àr-* 'be': PT **er-* 'be' (but **e-* in many verb forms in modern languages) (PA **ĕra*)

PT **gẹl-* 'come', PM **gel(i)-* 'walk, run after', PTM **gel-* 'get on one's way', but PK **ká-* 'go away', PJ **kə̀-* 'come' (PA **gĕle*)

PT **Kɨl-* 'do, make', but PM **ki-* id., PJ **kì-* (in **kì-túk-* 'build') (PA **ki(lo)*)

PT **ol-* 'sit' (but frequently *o-* in **ol-tur-*, **o-tur-* id.), PM **ol-* 'obtain' (< 'become'): PTM **ō-* 'to become; to make'; PK **ó-* 'come' (PA **ṑlu*)

PM **hil-* 'warm', PTM **pile-* 'dry under the sun', but PJ **pə̀-* 'dry up' (PA **pʸilo*)

PT **sal-* 'to put', but PK **hǎ-*, PJ **sV́-* 'make, do' (PA **siu̯óle*)

We reconstruct disyllables here, but the exceptional loss of *r and *l remains unexplained. A possible solution would be to reconstruct those roots as **CVC*, with the root-final resonant lost occasionally. However, the number of cases is not large, and the roots in question are

frequently used as auxiliary verbs, which by itself could explain the exceptional phonetic development. It is also possible that *-r- and *-l- in those cases are originally suffixed, and the roots belong to the rare (but existing) type *CV*. The problem obviously requires further investigation.

2.1. The consonant system of Proto-Altaic

The consonants reconstructed for Proto-Altaic are:

pʿ-	p	b	m				
tʿ	t	d	n	s	z	r	l
čʿ	č	ǯ	ń	š	j	ŕ	Ĺ
kʿ	k	g	ŋ				

It is interesting to note that *z and *j are in complementary distribution: *z occurs only word-initially, while *j never occurs in the beginning of the word. However, their reflexes are so different that it seems hardly possible to regard them synchronically as a single phoneme.

The correspondences between Altaic languages can be summarized as follows:

PA	Tung.	Mong.	Turk.	Jpn.	Kor.
*pʿ-	*p-	*h-, *j-	*0-, *j-	*p-	*p-
*pʿ	*p	*h, b / -b	*p	*p	*p
*p-	*p-	*b-,h-	*b-	*p-	*p-
*p	*b	*b	*b	*p	*p
*b-	*b-	*b-	*b-	*p- / b[a,ə,Vj]	*p-
*b	*b	*h / [*R]b, *b[Vg] /-b	*b	*p [*iV,*j]w	*b / -p
*m-	*m-	*m-	*b-	*m-	*m-
*m	*m	*m	*m	*m	*m
*tʿ-	*t-	*t- /č[i]	*t- [dV+Ĺ,ŕ,r]	*t-	*t-
*tʿ	*t	*t / č[i] / -d	*t	*t	*t
*t-	*d-/ǯ(i̯)	*d- / č[i]	*d-	*t- / d[i,ə]	*t-
*t	*t	*d / č[i]	*t	*t	*r / -t
*d-	*d-	*d- / ǯ[i]	*j-	*d- / t [V + *pʿ,*tʿ,*kʿ,*čʿ]	*t-
*d	*d	*d / ǯ[i]	*d	*t / [*iV,*j] j	*r / -t
*n-	*n-	*n-	*j-	*n-	*n-
*n	*n	*n	*n	*n	*n
*r	*r	*r	*r	*r, *t	*r

PA	Tung.	Mong.	Turk.	Jpn.	Kor.
*l-	*l-	*l-, n-	*j-	*n-	*n-
*l	*l	*l	*l	*r	*r
*s-	*s-	*s-	*s-	*s-	*s-, h-
*s	*s	*s	*s	*s	*s
*z-	*s-	*s-	*j-	*s-	*s-
*čʿ-	*č-	*č-	*č-	*t-	*č-
*čʿ	*č	*č	*č	*t	*č
*č-	*ǯ-	*d- / *č[i]	*d-	*t-	*č-
*č	*s	*č	*č	*s	*č
*ǯ-	*ǯ-	*ǯ-	*j-	*d-	*č-
*ǯ	*ǯ	*ǯ	*j	*j	*č
*ń-	*ń-	*ǯ-	*j-	*m-	*n-
*ń	*ń	*j, n	*ń	*n, *m	*ń
*ŕ	*r	*r	*ŕ	*r / t[i,u]	*r
*Ĺ-	*l-	*d- /ǯ[i]	*j-	*n-	*n-
*Ĺ	*l	*l	*Ĺ	*s	*r
*š-	*š-	*s- / *č[*A]	*s- / *č[*A]	*s-	*s-
*š	*š	*s	*s	*s	*s
*j	*j	*j, h	*j	*j, *0	*j, *0
*kʿ-	*x-	*k-	*k-	*k-	*k-
*kʿ	*k/x	*k, g[Vh] / -g	*k	*k	*k, h
*k-	*k-	*k-	*g-	*k-	*k-
*k	*k	*g / -g	*k, g[(V)r]	*k	*0, h /-k
*g-	*g-	*g-	*g-	*k-	*k-
*g	*g	*h, g[Vh] / -g	*g	*k/[*iV] 0	*0, h / -k
*ŋ-	*ŋ-	*0-, *j-/ g[u] / n[a,o,e]	*0-, *j-	*0-/*n-(/*m[i̯]-)	*n-
*ŋ	*ŋ	*ŋ, n, m,h	*ŋ	*n, *m	*ŋ, 0

Below is an outline of the development of every Proto-Altaic consonant with full reference to the text of the dictionary.

2.1.1. PA initial *pʿ

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
*pʿ-	*0-, *j-	*h-, *j-	*p-	*p-	*p-

Notes:

Turkic usually has 0-, but frequently has a j- before original diphthongs **i̯a*, **i̯o* (note: never before **i̯u*).

Mongolian usually has *h-, but in some cases also has a j- (before original *e and diphthongs, but much less frequently than Turkic).

The problem of Khalaj h-

Doerfer has reconstructed PT *h- which yields h- in Khalaj, but 0- in all other Turkic languages. It may well be that Khalaj indeed reflects a phoneme lost elsewhere. In that case we would certainly expect Khalaj h- to reflect PA *pʿ- (just as MMong. has h- < *pʿ- or Evk. has h- < *pʿ-). The real situation is, however, much more complex.

We may note that PA *pʿ- is in fact in the vast majority of cases reflected as Khalaj h-. Cf.: Khal. *hadaq* 'foot' < PT **(h)adak* < PA **pʿágdi*; Khal. *haɣač* 'tree' < PT **(h)ɨ-gač* < PA **pʿ[i̯ù]ju*; Khal. *hɨraq* 'far' < PT **(h)ɨra-* < PA **pʿîra*; Khal. *hēl* 'wet' < PT **(h)ōl* < PA **pʿóle*; Khal. *hārɨ* 'bee' < PT **(h)ārɨ* < PA **pʿéra*; Khal. *har-qan* 'tired, lean' < PT **(h)ạr-* < PA **pʿára*; Khal. hat- 'to throw' < PT **(h)ạt-* < PA **pʿàtʿa*; Khal. *hič-* 'to extinguish' < PT **(h)öč-* < PA **pʿōči*; Khal. *hāčuɣ* 'bitter' < PT **(h)iāčɨg* < PA **pʿi̯áčʿo*; Khal. *huv-* 'to rub' < PT *(h)ob- < PA **pʿi̯òpo*; Khal. *hüsgün-*, *hiz-* 'to demolish' < PT **(h)ür-* < PA **pʿuri*; Khal. *hadru-* 'to separate' < PT **(h)adɨr-* < PA **pʿādA*; Khal. *hīt* 'hole' < PT **(h)ūt* < PA **pʿótʿè*; Khal. *harq* 'excrement' < PT **(h)ark* < PA **pʿarkV*; Khal. *has-* 'to hang' < PT **(h)as-* < PA **pʿasi*; Khal. *hidiš* 'vessel' < PT **(h)ẹdiĺ* < PA **pʿādi*; Khal. *hur-* 'to hit' < PT **(h)ur-* < PA **pʿúri*; Khal. *häräk-* 'to rise' < PT **(h)ōr-* < PA **pʿóre*; Khal. *hārt* 'back' < PT **(h)ār-t* < PA **pʿi̯òrí*.

There are only six cases where Khalaj has 0- in the place of PA *pʿ-, and all of them can be easily explained as recent borrowings from Azeri or Turkmenian: Khal. *ič-* 'to drink' (= Turkm., Az. *ič-*) < PT **(h)ič-* < PA **pʿičʿi*; Khal. *ät* 'meat' (= Turkm. *et*, Az. *ät*) < PT **(h)et* < PA **pʿèta*; Khal. *aɣīr* 'heavy' (= Turkm., Az. *aɣɨr*) < PT **(hi)agɨr* < PA **pʿi̯àká*; Khal. *ōn* 'ten' (= Turkm. *ōn*, Az. on) < PT **(h)ōn* < PA **pʿVbV(n)*; Khal. *esür-* to cough' (= Turkm. *üsgür-*) < PT **(h)üskür-* < PA **pʿi̯ŭsi;* Khal. *äkki* ʿtwo' (= Turkm., Az. *ik(k)i)* < PT **ẹk(k)i* < PA *pʿi̯òkʿe.*

In all other cases when Khalaj has 0-, the Turkic forms go back to PA roots with *0- or *ŋ-, cf.: Khal. *uč-* 'to fly' < PT **uč-* < PA **ùčʿo*; Khal. *äl* 'hand' < PT *el < PA **ŋàli*; Khal. *išüt-* 'to hear' < PT **ẹĺit-* < PA **aĺi*; Khal. *uza-*, *uzu-* 'long' < PT **uŕa-*, **uŕɨ-* < PA **i̯uŕo*; Khal. *aɣɨz* 'mouth' < PT **Agɨŕ* < PA **ága*; Khal. *ol-* 'to be' < PT **ol-* < PA **òlu*; Khal. *ū-* 'to sleep' < PT **ū-* < PA **ŋúju*; Khal. *o* 'that' < PT **o-* < PA **ó*; Khal. *äm-* 'to suck' < PT **em-* < PA **emV*; Khal. *aš* 'meal' < PT **(i)aĺ* < PA **i̯oĺe*; Khal. *it* 'dog' <

PT *it* < PA **ŋ̌ndo*; Khal. *aŋla-* 'to understand' < PT **āŋ-* < PA **ēŋV*; Khal. *ič* 'interior' < PT **ič* < PA **ičʿu*; Khal. *ä-rä* 'that side' < PT **a-* < PA **é;* Khal. *ušaq* 'knuckle-bone' < PT **(i)aĺ(č)uk* < PA **ǎĺča*; Khal. *ēz* 'inside' < PT **ō̄ŕ* < PA **ōŕi*; Khal. *ānd* 'oath' < PT **ānt* < PA **ǎnta*; Khal. *äy-* 'to bend' < PT **eg-* < PA **egi*; Khal. *ēr-* 'to reach' < PT **ēr-* < PA **íre*; Khal. *ēn-* 'to go down' < PT **ēn-* < PA **ŋ̄ǐni*; Khal. *ist* 'upper part' < PT **ō̄ŕ-t* < PA **ōŕi*; Khal. *äŋgür* 'dusk' < PT **ɨŋɨr* < PA **ína*; Khal. *ilgär* 'in front' < PT **ilk* < PA **ílekʿa*; Khal. *elč-* 'to measure' < PT **öl-č-* < PA **i̯úle*; Khal. *īlän-* 'to cry' < PT **ɨjŋala-* < PA **i̯ùjŋula*; Khal. *inǯi-* 'suffer' < PT **ēn-* < PA **ēnV*; Khal. *īš* 'deed, work' < PT **īĺč* < PA **ī̄ĺi*; Khal. *al-t* 'below' < PT **al-* < PA **ale;* Khal. *al-* 'to take' < PT **ạl-* < PA **ála*; Khal. *är-* 'to be' < PT **er-* < PA **ěra;* Khal. *arɨ-*, *aru-* 'clean' < PT **ạrɨ-* < PA **ero*; Khal. *arqa* 'back' < PT **ar-ka* < PA **ara*; Khal. *arpa* 'barley' < PT **arpa* < PA **arpʿa*; Khal. *ej* 'front' < PT **öŋ* < PA **òŋè*; Khal. *ēm* 'trousers' < PT **(i)öm* < PA **i̯umi*; Khal. *ärin* 'lip' < PT **Erin* < PA **i̯ǎ̏ré*; Khal. *ēšük* 'covering' < PT **ēĺü-* < PA **ē̄ĺpo*; Khal. *irdek* 'duck' < PT **Ebü-rdek* < PA **ǎ̏jbi*; Khal. *ut-* 'to win' < PT **ut-* < PA **utʿa*; Khal. *eger* 'hunting dog' < PT **eker* < PA **ŋi̯ǎ̏kʿu*.

However, there is a significant number of cases where Khalaj has initial h- which appears to be an innovation (prothesis), cf.: Khal. *hil-* 'to die' < PT **öl* < PA **oli*; Khal. *här* 'man' < PT **ēr* < PA **ǎ̄ri*; Khal. *hāj* 'moon' < PT **āń* < PA **ǎ̄ńu*; Khal. *hūt* 'fire' < PT **ōt* < PA **ōtʿa*; Khal. *hāj-* 'to say' < PT **ạj-* < PA **eju*; Khal. *häv* 'house' < PT **eb* < PA **ìbe;* Khal. *häšü-* 'to dig' < PT **eĺ-* < PA **ē̄ĺV*; Khal. *hirin*, *hürün* 'white' < PT **ürüŋ* < PA **obri*; Khal. *hin-* 'to grow' < PT **ō̄n-* < PA **ōni*; Khal. *havul* 'quiet' < PT **ăm-* < PA **ǎ̏mV*; Khal. *hāɣa-* 'back' < PT **(i)āg-* < PA **i̯ǎ̄ga*; Khal. *hāz-* 'to go astray' < PT **āŕ-* < PA **ē̄ŕa*; Khal. *hajaz* 'clear sky' < PT **ańaŕ* < PA **ŋańa*; Khal. *hikkä* 'lung' < PT **öpke* < PA **opʿekV*; Khal. *häjir-* 'to twist, spin' < PT **egir-* < PA **egVrV*; Khal. *hiri-* 'to plait' < PT **ō̄r-* < PA **ōre*; Khal. *ham* 'vulva' < PT **(i)am* < PA **i̯amu*; Khal. *hāll* 'front' < PT **āl-* < PA **āla*; Khal. *hēǯäš* 'anger' < PT **ō̄č* < PA **ōčʿé*; Khal. *hāla-bula* 'variegated' < PT **āla* < PA **ǎ̄lV*; Khal. *āč* 'hunger' < PT **ạč* < PA **ēčʿo*; Khal. *hat* 'horse' < PT **at* < PA **atV*; Khal. *hoqlaɣo* 'bow' < PT **ok-* < PA **ǒkʿà*; Khal. *häjlä-* 'sieve' < PT **ělge-* < PA **algi*; Khal. *hāra* 'space between' < PT **āra* < PA **ǎ̄rV*; Khal. *haz* 'few' < PT **āŕ* < PA **āŕa*; Khal. *häps-* 'to winnow' < PT **ebs-* < PA **eba*; Khal. *hoqu-* 'to call' < PT **ok-* < PA **oki*; Khal. *hottuz* 'thirty' < PT **otuŕ* < PA **ŋ[i̯u]-*.

One may note that this prothetic h- is very frequent before long vowels and before the following -j-, -v-. However, the rules are not strict, and in general the emergence of h- in Khalaj is unpredictable. Absence of h- in Khalaj is therefore an almost certain sign of *0- (or *ŋ-) in Altaic, but its presence may be original or secondary. We shall thus continue to use PT forms without initial *h- (keeping in mind though

that it was probably present in the system) - given that the reconstruction of *h- can be made only on Khalaj data, and the latter is often quite ambiguous.

2.1.2. PA non-initial *-pʿ-

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
*pʿ	*p	*h (*w),b / -b	*p	*p	*p

Notes.

Japanese can occasionally have -m- before the following nasal, cf. **tʿi̯ŭ̆pʿo* > **túmá-* (= PT **tubńa-* < **tupńa-*).

The PM consonant *-h- in intervocalic position is traditionally romanized as -ɣ-, because it is not orthographically distinguished from -g- (or -G-, also romanized as -ɣ-). In order not to depart from tradition too much, we shall write -g- for -g- ("non-vanishing" -g-) and -ɣ- for -h- ("vanishing" -g-), even though phonetically it was most probably -h- (perhaps voiced -ɦ-) in Middle Mongolian.

It should also be noted that Mongolian did not tolerate *-h- (-ɣ-) in front of -i-: in this position it always has -j-. Sometimes -j- also appears instead of *-h- (-ɣ-) before -e-.

Mongolian preserves non-initial *pʿ as b in syllable-final position and in clusters with resonants. In intervocalic position it exhibits a variation of *-h- (sometimes with a preservation of the labial feature, *-hw- = -w-) and *-b-.

Japanese usually preserves *-pʿ- as -p-, but (as in case of other aspirated and voiced stops) reveals occasional cases of secondary voiced or prenasalized *-(m)p-.

It turns out that there is a fairly good correlation between Mong. *-h- and Jpn. *-p-, on the one hand, and Mong. *-b- and Jpn. -mp-, on the other. Here is a complete correlation chart:

2.1.2.1. Mong. *-h- : Jpn. *-p-

PA	Mong.	Jpn.
*čʿepʿa	*čoɣu-da-	*tapai
*čʿi̯opʿe	*čöɣe-rüm	*tə̀pî
*epʿo	*(h)aɣag	*əpə-mənə
*ḱepʿa	*keɣe	*kápúa
*ki̯àpʿu	*kajir-	*kùpí-(mpisù)
*ki̯ùpʿu	*kuji-	*kùpà-
*kăpʿu	*kaɣa-	*kupai

PA	Mong.	Jpn.
*kʿàpʿa	*kaɣur-čag	*kàpì
*kʿā́pʿa	*kawu-da-	*kapa
*kʿè̆pʿe	*kewü-	*kə̀pə̀-
*kʿopʿira	*köɣürge	*kápárá
*Ĺi̯ŭ̀pʿu	*ʒeɣeg	*nùp-
*ŏpʿikV	*(h)öɣe	*pùkùpùkù-si
*ṓpʿa	*uwu-	*apa-ik-
*pépʿa	*baɣa-su	*páp(u)i
*si̯ṓpʿi	*süje	*sípína
*ši̯úpʿu	*siɣü-	*súp-
*sépʿa	*siɣüre-	*sápár-
*tʿà̆pʿe	*tawul-	*tə̀pə̀r-
*tʿápʿa	*taji-	*tápútuá-
*tʿi̯opʿe	*taɣa-	*təp-
*tʿĕpʿa	*taɣ-, *tuji-	*tàpú-
*ʒapʿu	*ʒaɣa-	*dup-

2.1.2.2. Mong. *-b- (-w- before consonants) : Jpn. *-mp-

PA	Mong.	Jpn.
*čʿì̆pʿ[u]	*čuwčali	*tùmpá-mái
*di̯upʿu	*ʒiber	*tumpasa
*épʿa	*ebür	*ámpárá
*gàpʿa	*gabi	*kàmpà-
*gópʿa	*gobur	*kámpú
*kèpʿi	*kibag	*kìmpí (/*kìmí)
*kŏpʿe	*köbü-re	*kəmpu
*kupʿV	*kubi	*kùmpà-r-
*kʿepʿorV	*kabir-	*kəm(p)ura
*Ĺipʿu	*ʒibi	*numpa-
*opʿa(rV)	*(h)obur	*ampura-
*sắpʿi	*sibeɣe	*sìmpá
*sà̆pʿi	*sabaga	*sìmpái
*săpʿi	*sabir-/*sibere-	*simpuki
*sèpʿo	*saba	*sə̀mpa
*si̯ā́pʿi	*sebesüre-	*símpə́m-
*si̯ắpʿu	*saw-ga	*súmpa-
*sī́pʿi	*sibe-	*simpai
*šopʿe	*čow-kar	*səmpa-
*tḗpʿe	*debi-	*tə́mp-
*tʿĕpʿa	*tebeg	*tampua

PA	Mong.	Jpn.
*tʿi̯ŏpʿe	*tübü- (but also *teɣe-, *teji-)	*túmpú-
*tʿópʿú	*tobid	*túmpúa
*tʿopʿu	*toburu-	*tùmpú-ra

There are several cases of Mong. -b- : Jpn. -p- after Jpn. initial *p-: apparently in this position prenasalization did not occur. Cf.:

PA	Mong.	Jpn.
*ĕpʿa	*ebej	*pàpà
*pʿépʿa	*haba-kai	*pápái
*pʿi̯ŏpʿ[a]	*jabu-	*pápúr-

There are some exceptions, most of them allowing for an explanation:

1. PA **ĕpʿo* > Mong. *aba-rga*, but Jpn. **ə̀pə̀-*. Jpn. **ə̀pə̀-* 'big' may in fact belong to another root, cf. TM **ebi-* 'to be satiated, enough'.
2. PA **gi̯ŏpʿe* > Mong. *gübege*, but Jpn. **kəp(u)i*. Jpn. **kəp(u)i* 'swelling of feet' may in fact, together with **kə̀pà-* 'hard, strong' reflect a different Altaic root **kʿàpe* 'strong; to swell' (cf. TM **xabul-* 'swell'), or at least may have been influenced by this root phonetically.
3. PA **kʿi̯apʿe* > Mong. *kibe,* but Jpn. **kə̀pə̀rə́(n)kí*: an example of "Lyman's law", prohibiting two voiced (prenasalized) consonants within one root in Japanese.
4. PA **kʿĕpʿo* > Mong. *kajila-*, but Jpn. **kə̀mpə̀r-*. Here Mong. *kajila-* 'melt' was probably influenced by *kajira-* 'burn, roast'.
5. PA **làjpʿV* > Mong. **niɣa-*, but Jpn. *nàimpàr-*. Irregular development in this case was probably caused by the cluster -jpʿ- (perhaps the same in 6 and 7?)
6. PA **sĭpʿi* > Mong. *siɣu-*, but Jpn. **sìmpàr-*. Jpn. **sìmpàr-* 'tie, bind' may be actually a combined reflex of PA **sĭpʿi*, **sŭbi* and **ši̯ŭpo*, all distinguished only in the Western Altaic branch.
7. PA **ʒipʿo* > Mong. **ʒiɣar*, but Jpn. **(d)impu-s-*.

We see that the exceptions are both few and dubious, while the evidence in favour of Mong. *-h- : Jpn. *-p- and Mong. *-b- : Jpn. *-mp- is rather strong. One would be tempted to reconstruct two different phonemes here, but this is probably not the best solution, since there exist two other rows of correspondences (for PA *-p- and *-b- respectively), and there is no trace of evidence in favour of the existence of four series of stops in Altaic.

The explanation here is perhaps prosodic. Already Poppe in his "Introduction" noticed the split in Mongolian and put forward a hypothe-

sis that the reason for the split may have been accentological, something like Verner's law causing voicing of *-p- (in our reconstruction, *-pˊ-), e.g., in a stressed position. The idea was at that time purely hypothetical, since there was nothing to prove or disprove it. But if we look at the charts above, we may notice that, although exceptions are rather many, there is in Japanese a general tendency for words in type 1 to have low pitch on the syllable with -p- (cf. **tə̀pî*, **kùpà-*, **kàpì*, **kə̀pə̀-*, **pùkùpùkù-si*, **tə̀pə̀r-*), and in type 2 to have high pitch on the syllable with *-mp- (cf. **tùmpá-mái*, **ámpárá*, **kámpú*, **kìmpí*, **sìmpá*, **sìmpái*, **símpə́m-*, **túmpú-*, **túmpúa*, **tùmpú-ra*). Pitch, especially on non-initial syllables, is not always reconstructable, and certainly was subject to a lot of secondary influences (analogical, morphological etc.). Nevertheless, the correlation seems significant and may help us reconstruct prosodic characteristics of non-initial syllables in Proto-Altaic (on the better known prosody of the initial syllables see below).

It is therefore highly probable that PA possessed some prosodic distinction on the second syllable (pitch or perhaps vowel length) that caused voicing of *-pˊ- > *-b- in Mongolian and prenasalization (probably initially through gemination *-pˊ- > *-pp- > *-mp-) in Proto-Japanese. Mongolian has not preserved traces of this feature elsewhere; Japanese, however, demonstrates its effects in every series of stops, not only labials. See more on that below.

Examples for medial *-pˊ- can be found in following entries of the dictionary: **ápˊa*, **apˊakV*, **čˊăpˊa*, **čˊapˊi*, **čˊepˊà*, **čˊḗpˊu*, **čˊi̯ŭpˊì*, **čˊípˊú*, **čˊĭ̀pˊ[ú]*, **čˊi̯opˊè*, **čˊĭ́pˊa*, **čˊi̯opˊa*, **čˊi̯ū́pˊa*, **čˊopˊi*, **čˊupˊV*, **děpˊa*, **di̯upˊú*, **ĕpˊa*, **épˊá*, **epˊò*, **ĕ̀pˊo*, **épˊV*, **gàpˊá*, **gepˊV*, **gi̯ṓpˊe*, **gi̯ŭ̀pˊa*, **gópˊá*, **gṓpˊi*, **i̯apˊi*, **i̯ăpˊu*, **i̯apˊu*, **i̯opˊérV*, **kăpˊè*, **kìpˊé*, **kìpˊí*, **kḗpˊà*, **kḗpˊV*, **ki̯apˊa*, **ki̯àpˊù*, **ki̯ùpˊu*, **ki̯ùpˊù*, **kŏpˊé*, **kŏpˊV*, **kṓpˊi*, **kùpˊV́*, **kupˊe*, **k[ā]pˊá*, **kˊăpˊù*, **kˊàpˊà*, **kˊapˊu*, **kˊapˊV*, **kˊā́pˊà*, **kˊāpˊa*, **kˊi̯àpˊe*, **kˊĕ̀pˊó*, **kˊepˊorV*, **kˊĕ̀pˊè*, **kˊi̯ā́pˊa*, **kˊi̯ópˊe*, **kˊi̯upˊe*, **kúĺapˊV*, **kˊŏ̀pˊe*, **kˊópˊì*, **kˊópˊi*, **kˊópˊìra*, **lápˊì*, **ĺ̀ăpˊo*, **ĺā́pˊV*, **ĺepˊa*, **lépˊó*, **ĺipˊú*, **li̯apˊV*, **li̯àpˊ[à]*, **ĺi̯ŭ̀pˊù*, **lopˊV*, **nĕ̀pˊé*, **nepˊV(ĺV)*, **opˊá(rV)*, **ŏ̀pˊìkV*, **opˊV*, **ṓpˊà*, **ṓpˊV*, **ṓpˊV*, **pépˊà*, **pˊăpˊa*, **pˊapˊo*, **pˊépˊa*, **pˊi̯ṓpˊ[á]*, **sā́pˊí*, **sā̀pˊí*, **săpˊí*, **sàpˊì*, **sepˊa*, **sèpˊó*, **sèpˊù*, **si̯ā́pˊú*, **si̯ā́pˊí*, **si̯ṓpˊè*, **si̯ŏpˊu*, **si̯ṓpˊì*, **sĭpˊí*, **šĭpˊV*, **ši̯opˊa*, **ši̯úpˊù*, **sépˊà*, **šopˊé*, **tā́pˊV*, **tḗpˊé*, **tū́pˊe*, **tˊápˊà*, **tˊā̀pˊè*, **tˊi̯opˊè*, **tˊăpˊo(rV)*, **tˊèpˊà*, **tˊepˊV*, **tˊĕpˊá*, **tˊepˊà*, **tˊĕ̀pˊa*, **tˊi̯ṓpˊé*, **tˊi̯opˊu*, **tˊi̯upˊi*, **tˊi̯ŭpˊo*, **tˊópˊú*, **tˊopˊu*, **tˊòpˊú*, **tˊŭpˊi*, **ùpˊí*, **zepˊi*, **ʒapˊù*, **ʒā́pˊV*, **ʒipˊo*, **ʒipˊu*, **ʒi̯apˊe*, **ʒòpˊè*, **ʒapˊV(ĺV)*.

2.1.3. PA initial *p

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
*p-	*b-	*b-,h-	*p-	*p-	*p-

Notes.

Mongolian has here variation between b- (in the majority of cases) and *h- (less frequently, but still in a sufficient amount of cases).

Here, too, we may note a dependence of the distribution on prosodic factors.

a) before an original long vowel (on their reconstruction see below) Mongolian always has *b-: **pȁjku* > **beg-*, **pȁlča* > **balči-*, **pā̏li* > **bilaɣu*, **pȁli* > **belčir*, **pȁtʹe* > **batagana*, **pḗkʹo* > **baka-*, **pḗŕV* > **berseɣü*, **pȅžo* > **böži*, **pi̯ā̏tʹe* > **bat-*, **pi̯ṓro* > **burga-*, **pōto* > **bodu-*, **pṓtʹo* > **buta*, **pū̀ge* > **bug*, **pūsa* > **busu*.

The only exception is the root **pū́ne* 'to ride', where Mong. has a strange variation between **hunu-* and **unu-*, so far unexplained.

b) before a vowel with high pitch Mongolian always has *b-: **pā̏da* > **bad-*, **pélaba(nV)* > **barimal*, **pépʹa* > **baɣa-su*, **píla* > **bila-*, **píńŋe* > **beɣer*, **pi̯ā̏lagV* > **balaga-*, **pū́lo* > **boli-*, **pi̯ṓltorV* > **bolžir-*, **pi̯óso* > **bosuga*, **pi̯ū́kʹi* > **böküne*, **pṓgi(-rV)* > **böɣere*, **pótirkV* > **büdürkei*, **púla* > **bul-*, **púre* > **bor-*.

c) before a short vowel with low pitch Mongolian usually has *h-: **pi̯ȍka* > **(h)agi*, **pȍkʹe* > **hok-tal-*, **pȉlži* > **(h)ilži*, **pi̯ȁtʹe* > **hataɣa*, **pȅsa* > **hesi*.

There are two exceptions here, both probably explainable:

1. **pi̯ŭčʹa* 'to tear, split, cut' > Mong. **biči*, **bičal-*; the root is expressive and its prosodic characteristics are not quite firmly established.
2. **pŏru* 'to snow, rain' > Mong. *boruɣa*. The root is very close to **bŏ́ru* 'smoke, whirlwind' (> Mong. *bur-gi-*), and could have been easily influenced by it.

It seems thus that in this case, too, the Mongolian split was caused by prosodic factors. Moreover, it is difficult to separate the two described processes: split of medial *-pʹ- and of initial *p- in Mongolian. We can put forward the following explanation.

The process *pʹ- > *h- must have already happened very early, since it is common both to Turkic and Mongolian, probably in the common Turko-Mongolian protolanguage, and, as is often the case, triggered a series of further changes. Thus, Proto-Turko-Mongolian reduced the three-way distinction of **pʹ-*p-*b* in initial position to a two-way distinction **p-*b* (although word-medially and in other local series the three-way distinction was kept, see below). After the split of

Turko-Mongolian Turkic merged *p and *b into one voiced phoneme *b, both initially and medially. Mongolian, however, had a slightly more complicated development. The first change here was that of *-b- > *-w- (except in clusters, see below); next medial *-p- > -b-, just as in Turkic: we shall see below that PA *-p- and *-b- develop in different ways in Mongolian, which means that they had not merged early. In this way Mongolian also arrived at a two-way distinction **p-*b* (in medial position phonetically it was rather **pʿ-*b*), but in a fashion different from that of Turkic.

As seen from the above, Proto-Mongolian must have had some pitch distinctions that later became lost. It probably had high pitch on initial syllables with original vowel length (independently of tone) and on initial syllables with short vowels, but original high tone. It also had high pitch on non-initial syllables corresponding (at least partly) to high pitch in Japanese. Whether this high pitch reflects original high tone or vowel length on non-initial syllables is yet to be established. The process that happened afterwards can be described as follows: early Proto-Mongolian *p changed into *b in syllables with high pitch.

Finally, the rest of the instances of *p which were all probably aspirated (= *pʿ) by that time, changed to *f and then to *h, both initially and medially.

2.1.4 PA non-initial *p

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
*p	*b	*b	*b	*p	*p

Notes.

As we have said above, Turkic and Mongolian had a process of voicing *-p- > *-b-, although this voicing probably occurred independently. Tungus-Manchu also underwent the same process.

PA *-p- is generally reconstructed on the basis of Mong. *-b- (not changing to *-h-, as PA *-b-, see below) and Kor. *-p-. Note that such a behaviour of *-p- in Korean differs from *-t- and *-k- (which are normally reflected as *-d- > -r- and *-g- > -0-) and means that medial *-p- in Korean had early merged with voiceless *-pʿ-.

In Japanese *-p-, like other voiceless unaspirated stops, is not subject to prenasalization (< *gemination), as was shown by I. Gruntov. An only exception is noticed in a root with an initial voiceless aspirated *tʿ-, which means that an early assimilation **CʿVCV* > **CʿVCʿV* was operating in Japanese. Cf.: PA **tʿèpa* > **tʿèpʿa* > PJ **tàmpá*.

Occasionally one can also meet Jpn. -m- < *-p- before the following nasal, cf. **dàpà* > **dàmà* (= Mong. **daba-γan*); **lépù* > **númà* (= PTM **lebē-n*).

Examples for PA *p can be found in the following entries: **àpo*, **apuči*, **apV*, **ǎpi*, **čʿipV*, **čʿupa*, **dǎpà*, **ə́po*, **gúpu*, **ipe*, **i̯òpe*, **i̯ǎpV*, **i̯upo*, **kǎpi*, **kěpV*, **kēpu*, **ki̯àpì*, **ki̯opu*, **ki̯òpù*, **kopV*, **kʿàpe*, **kʿápa*, **kʿapV*, **kʿèpà*, **kʿèpù*, **ńipV*, **ńi̯ȍpo*, **ŋúpu*, **pi̯api*, **pʿi̯ȍpo*, **sápa*, **sapV*, **sěpo*, **sepV*, **sípa*, **sǐpi*, **sìpò*, **sipV*, **si̯ȍpe*, **sǐpe*, **sipa*, **ši̯ȕpo*, **tapV*, **tʿápV̀*, **tʿȅpá*, **zīpe*, **zi̯upi*, **ʒape*.

2.1.5 PA initial *b-

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
*b-	*b-	*b-	*b-	*p-	*p- / *b[a,ə,Vj]

Notes.

Initial *b- is usually well preserved in Turkic, Mongolian and Tungus-Manchu. In Korean it was devoiced like all voiced consonants in general and merged with *p- and *pʿ-.

The most tricky reflex of *b- is found in Japanese, where three rules regulate its development:

1. PA *b- > Jpn. p- before all voiceless aspirated consonants: **bǎtʿi* > **pìntì*, **bǎkʿu* > **pukusi*, **bekʿu* > **punku*, **bi̯ȍtʿe* > **pútá*, **bȍrkʿi* > **púk-*, **bi̯ukʿe* > **pùkùmpái*, **bǔtʿu* > **pùt-*, **bi̯ǔkʿi* > **pìnkàm-*, **bȍtʿe* > **pəntàk-*, **bučʿo* > **pətəpər-*.
2. PA *b- > Jpn. *p- before *i and *u: **balu* > **puruki*, **bǎŕ[i]* > **pìrə̀-*, **básì* > **písák-*, **bǎdi* > **pitapi*, **bǎri* > **pìtà*, **bĕdu* > **pùtuà-*, **bēʒu* > **piji-nta-* (~ *pui-*), **bi̯ǎĺmi* > **pínsá*, **bi̯ălu* > **pu-*, **bi̯ŏŕu* > **pítú-nsi*, **bi̯ási* > **písásí*, **bi̯ȍgi* > **pìja-*, **bi̯ogo* > **pia*, **bi̯ȍli-tʿi* > **píntì*, **bi̯or[a]* > **púrí*, **bi̯ȍr[e]* > **pírí-p-*, **bi̯udu* > **pí-n-kai*, **bi̯ùdo* > **pùjà-kà*, **bi̯ugu* > **pu*, **bi̯ǔlo* > **pùrə̀*, **bi̯uri* > **pitə*, **bi̯ūgi* > **pìwə̀-musi*, **bŏgdu* > **puti*, **bȍku* > **pùkù-m-*, **bŏĺi* > **pusi*, **bǔli* > **púr-*, **bǔĺi* > **pùsì*, **bǎlu* > **pùrù-*.
3. PA *b- > Jpn. *b- before low vowels and before the following *j: **bǎja* > **bái-m-*, **bèka* > **bàkà*, **bǎka* > **bàkàr-*, **bǎka* > **bàká-*, **bašo* > **basi-r-*, **bǎto* > **bàtà*, **bǎ́* > *bə, **bāla* > **bàràpai*, **bāŕa* > **báráp-*, **bĕ́* > **bá-i*, **bĕje* > **bə̀*, **béjo* > **bí* (~ **bái*), **bĕre* > **bə̀tá-*, **bĭ̀ (*ba)* > **bà-*, **bíju* > **bú(i)-*, **bi̯ǎĺča* > **bánsá-*, **bi̯ȍga* > **bà*, **bi̯ȍla* > **bàrà-mpì*, **bi̯ólo* > **bárì*, **bi̯ȍsa* > **bàsái*, **bóju* > **bíjá*, **bi̯úga* > **bà*, **bi̯ujri* > **bì*, **bȍka* > **bàkì*, **bòda* > **bàtà*, **bȍde* > **bə́ntár-*, **bǔka* > **bàkù*, **bȍke* > **bə́kás-*, **bójĺo* > **básì-p-*, **bóra* > **bár-*, **borso(kʿV)* > **bə̀sákí*, **bȍlo* > **bə́r-*, **bùjre* > **bàrə̀-*, **búĺa* > **básurá-*, **bǔĺo* > **bə̀sì-*, **bùro* > **bə̀r-*, **bǔŋe-* > **bamia-*.

There are four exceptions, where Jpn. for an unknown reason has voiceless *p- instead of the expected *b-: PA **bȁ̆ʒa* > **pàjá*; PA **bȅlo* > **pàrá-*; PA **bi̯ura* > **para-p-*; PA **bȕte* > **pàtákài*. The overwhelming majority of cases, however, follows the established rules quite strictly.

Note that this split must have happened rather late in the history of Japanese (but before the reconstructed Proto-Japanese period), because it depends on PJ vowels, already after a whole series of transformations that they underwent after PJ split from Proto-Altaic (see below on the vocalism).

The phonetic reasons here are not easy to discover. It is possible that what we reconstruct as PJ *b was in fact a fricative *β (in Old Japanese it is actually w-, but most Ryukyu dialects have the value b-). In that case we may think that the original *b weakened into *β before low vowels, but preserved its stopped articulation *b before more tense high vowels *i and *u, after which *b was devoiced into *p. The effect of *-j- (in cases like **biju* > **bu(i)*, **bóju* > **bija*, **bi̯ujri* > **bi)* deserves special attention, because this is very similar to what happened in Japanese with intervocalic *-b-, *-d- and *-g- (that changed to fricatives after -i̯-diphthongs, see below). The following *-j- must have had a palatalizing effect on *b-, so it changed to *ƀ́- (or *ƀ́) and subsequently escaped the general process of devoicing *b > *p.

The process of fricativizing *b- > *β- probably took place also in some archaic Korean dialects, which explains why in a few cases Korean also has 0- (< *w-) as a reflex of PA *b-. Unlike Japanese, however, these cases are very few, which means that the standard dialect where *b- > *p- in the long run prevailed. The probable cases with *b- > 0- in Korean are:

PA **bȉ* 'I, we' > Kor. **úrí* 'we' (= PT **bi-ŕ*)
PA **bi̯ujri* 'spring, well' > Kor. **ù-* in **ù-mɨ́r* id. (**mɨ́r* 'water')
PA **borso(kʿV)* 'badger' > Kor. **ùsɨ̀rk* id.
PA **bùjre* 'wrong, bad' > Kor. **ōi-* id.
PA **bíju* 'to be' > Kor. **ì-* id.

2.1.6 PA non-initial *-b-

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
*b	*b	*h/ [*R]b, *b(Vg) /-b	*b	*b / -p	*p / [*iV,*j]w

Examples for non-initial *-b- can be found in following dictionary entries: **èbà*, **ā́bá*, **ăbu*, **čȁbà*, **čabV*, **či̯obe*, **či̯obeŕV*, **čʿabo*, **čʿabu*, **čʿā́bu*, **čʿibe*, **čʿi̯abVkʿV*, **čʿi̯ōbé*, **ebo*, **debV*, **ĕbà*, **ȅbè*, **ebí*, **gébó*, **gĕbo*, **gibe*,

**gi̯ube*, **gi̯ūbe*, **gȍbè*, **gòbù*, **ìbè*, **i̯obo*, **ŋi̯ŏbu*, **i̯ùbú*, **i̯úb[u]*, **kabari*, **kábó*, **kébà(rV)*, **kŏbú*, **kób[e]*, **kúbé*, **kubirgV*, **kʹăbo*, **li̯ùbu*, **kʹébá*, **kʹébà*, **kʹibù*, **kʹi̯ŏba(kV)*, **kʹi̯óbarV*, **kʹi̯ŏbe*, **kʹi̯ȁbu*, **kʹi̯ube*, **kʹi̯ubu*, **kʹòbàni*, **kʹíbà*, **làbò*, **labV̀*, **ĺábó*, **múbè*, **nébì*, **nìbi*, **ń[i̯ō]ba*, **ŋi̯àbi*, **ebVrV*, **pi̯ȕbi*, **pʹȍba*, **pʹùb(a)gV*, **pʹubá-ktV*, **pʹVbV*, **pʹ[i̯o]bu*, **sábà*, **sǎbí*, **sábó*, **sāba*, **sebV(nV)*, **sebe*, **sibo*, **sìbi*, **sȉbi*, **ši̯ábu*, **si̯ȁbo*, **si̯ȕbi*, **si̯ū́bu*, **suba*, **ši̯ábu*, **ši̯óbi*, **ši̯uba*, **tabu*, **tȁbi*, **tȁbú*, **ti̯ubu*, **tȉbúlka*, **túbù*, **tʹabi*, **tʹábá*, **tʹéba*, **tʹebV*, **tʹȅbà*, **tʹébo*, **tʹúbé*, **tʹŭge*, **ǯi̯aba*, **ǯi̯úbù*, **ǯȉbì*, **ǯVbV*, **ʒebí*, **si̯ăbi*, **ʒobá*, **ʒebò*, **eba(-ku)*, **ni̯abo*, **dubi*, **ńȕbV*.

Notes.

In all languages, in addition to normal reflexes, we may observe weakened reflexes (-j-, in clusters also -0- in Turkic, -j-, -w- in Mong., -0- in Korean, -0- in clusters in TM, -0- (usually after -u- or -j-) in Japanese). It is quite probable that *-b- had an allophonic variant *-w- already in Proto-Altaic, but there seems to be not enough evidence to reconstruct a distinction between *-b- and *-w-.

Mong. normally has *-b- > -h-, but preserves -b- after resonants (see below). Thus in a few cases when Mong. has intervocalic -b- and Jpn. has -w-/-j- (which is the normal reflex after -i-diphthongs) and Kor. has -b-, it seems appropriate to reconstruct the cluster *-jb-. These are the cases:

PA **ăjbo* : Mong. *ebe-sü*, Jpn. **àwə-* (here *-j- is also responsible for the fronting *a > e in Mong.)

PA **ḗjba* : Mong. **(h)abad*, Jpn. **áwá-tá-*

PA **kejbe* : Mong. **keb-te-*, **kebiji-*, Jpn. **kəjə-*, Kor. **kìbúr-*

PA **ki̯ójbu* : Mong. **kubakaj*, Jpn. **kúi*

PA **tʹȅjbo* : Mong. **tabi-*, Kor. **tǎbi-*

PA **tʹujbu* : Mong. **tobi-*, Jpn. **tuà* (here *-j- is actually preserved in TM **tujba-*)

PA **ȕjba* : Mong. **ibil-*, Jpn. **àwà*

PA **ǯŭjbe* : Mong. **ʒoba-*, Jpn. **duàwà-*, Kor. **čubɨr-*.

There is another important group of cases where Mongolian preserves intervocalic -b- rather than changing it to *-h- (-ɣ-). This is the position of -b- before the following vowel + g, h (=ɣ). Cf.:

PA **ĺabo* > Mong. **debeɣe*

PA **sábo* > Mong. **sibe-gčin*

PA **sebVnV* > Mong. **sebe-γün*

PA **sibo* > Mong. **sibaga*

PA **sìbi* > Mong. **sibag*

PA **tȉbulka* > Mong. **čibaga*

PA *tʿába > Mong. *tabag
PA *ʒebi > Mong. *ʒibe-γü
PA *si̯ăbi > Mong. *siböge

In all of these cases we can neither reconstruct *-pʿ- (there is either a Turkic or TM form with *-b-), nor *-p- (there is voicing > *-mp- in Japanese, or Korean has *-b-), nor *-jb- (Japanese does not have -w-), so that the only solution is reconstructing *-b- with the mentioned positional condition.

We see that, unlike the case of -*pʿ-, the split of *-b- into *-h- and *-b- in Proto-Mongolian has nothing to do with prosody, being rather triggered by the "velar dissimilation rule".

Let us now look at the rules of split in Japanese. Here, too, we have a double reflex: stop (prenasalized or not - on this distinction see below) and resonant (fricative) *-w- (in some cases -j- or -0-, depending evidently on the vocalic environment). As was stated in Starostin 1997, the conditions of this split are purely vocalic: *-w- emerges after original diphthongs with -i̯-. Cf.:

a) PA *čăba > PJ *tàpàra; PA *čʿabu > *tupa-; PA *ěba > PJ *àpù-; PA *ěbe > PJ *ə̀p-; PA *ebi > PJ *impu-sia-; PA *gŏbe > PJ *kə̀p-; PA *kabari > PJ *kapiara; PA *kábo > PJ *kámpiá; PA *kéba > PJ *kápí; PA *kŏbu > PJ *kúmpuá; PA *kúbe > PJ *kuámpó-; PA *kʿéba > PJ *kápà; PA *kʿibu > PJ *kúpá; PA *kʿòbani > PJ *kàpìná; PA *kʿíba > PJ *kápiàru(n)tai; PA *làbo > PJ *nàpó; PA *labV > PJ *nàp-; PA *ĺabo > PJ *náimpú; PA *nébi > PJ *nípí-; PA *sǎbi > PJ *símpí; PA *sábo > PJ *sámpúrap-; PA *sāba > PJ *sàmpàk-; PA *sìbi > PJ *sìmpù-; PA *tǎba > PJ *tàpì; PA *tʿába > PJ *tàmp(u)î; PA *tʿéba > PJ *támpì; PA *tʿèba > PJ *tapasir-; PA *tʿúbe > PJ *tuámpí (~ -ə-); PA *ʒebo > PJ *dapara-; PA *tǎbu > *tùmpúnai;

b) PA *čʿi̯ŏbe > PJ *tùwái; PA *gi̯ube > PJ *kuwa-; PA *gi̯ūbe > PJ *káwór; PA *i̯ùbu > PJ *ùwá; PA *kʿi̯ŏbe > PJ *kua; PA *kʿi̯ube > PJ *kə̀wâi; PA *ni̯àbi > PJ *muà (~ *mə̀); PA *pi̯ŭbi > PJ *piwa-; PA *si̯ŭbu > PJ *súwá-i; PA *ʒi̯aba > PJ *duá-mp- (< *dawV-mp-).

We know only one exception: PA *ši̯ábu > PJ *súmp-. This root is very sparsely represented in Turkic and TM languages, so that the vowel reconstruction is not quite secure (but PJ *súmp- in this case can actually be a secondary contraction < *suwu-mp- and thus conform to the general rule).

Note that in all these cases plain vowels and diphthongs are reconstructed independently of the Japanese evidence, and the distribution is rather apparent. Since in many cases — especially when there is no TM evidence— it is rather difficult to distinguish reflexes of plain vow-

els from those of diphthongs, the Japanese distinction of *-p- vs. *-w- may actually help to reconstruct the vocalism. Such are the cases:
(with plain vowels):

PA **èba* > PJ **àp-*; PA **gébo* > PJ **kámpí*; PA **gòbu* > PJ **kùpà-*; PA **ìbe* > PJ **ìpùa*; PA **kʿéba* > PJ **kámpánái*; PA **múbe* > PJ **mápí-rənka-*; PA **pʿȍba* > PJ **pàp-*; PA **pʿuba-ktV* > PJ **pampuki*; PA **sába* > PJ **sápár-*; PA **tàbu* > PJ **tùpìjái*; PA **tȉbulka* > PJ **tùmpákì*; PA **túbu* > PJ **túpí*; PA **ǯȉbi* > PJ **(d)ìpià*; PA **ǯebi* > PJ **(d)impir-*;

(and with diphthongs):

PA **či̯obe* > PJ **təwə*; PA **či̯oberV* > PJ **túrá-*; PA **i̯úb[u]* > PJ **úwa-*; PA **li̯ùbu* > PJ **nì* (**nùi*); PA **kʿi̯óbarV* > PJ **káwá(ra)-k-*; PA **kʿi̯ubu* > PJ **k(u)i*; PA **ši̯ábu* > PJ **súwá-*; PA **si̯ȁbo* > PJ **sàwuà*; PA **ši̯óbi* > PJ **síwá*; PA **ǯi̯úbu* > PJ **dúwài*.

Japanese also regularly has *-w- or *-j- as a reflex of PA *-jb- (reconstructed on the basis of TM *-jb- or Mong. -b-, that has not shifted to -ɣ-, see above): PA **ȁjbo* > PJ **àwə̀-*; PA **ȁjbi* > PJ **û*; PA **ḗjba* > PJ **áwá-tá-*; PA **kejbe* > PJ **kəjə-*; PA **ki̯ójbu* > PJ **kúi*; PA **pȁjbu* > PJ **pùjà-*; PA **tʿujbu* > PJ **tuà*; PA **ȕjba* > PJ **àwà*; PA **ǯȕjbe* > PJ **duàwà-*.

The phonetic source of this distribution is probably the same as of initial *b- > *w- before the following *j (see above). Voiced consonants must have been palatalized in early Proto-Japanese after original *-i̯- diphthongs and these palatalized allophones (probably because they were also fricativized: *-ƀ- > *β́, *-d́- > *-ð́-, *-ǵ- > *-ɣ́-; on the development of dentals and velars see below) later escaped the general process of devoicing of stops.

We may note that here too Japanese has quite a number of cases with prenasalized *-mp- among stop reflexes of *b. This may mean that, unlike Mongolian where only voiceless *p was voiced in certain pitch environments, Japanese carried this process throughout the whole system of voiceless aspirated and voiced stops; see more on this below.

2.1.7 PA initial *m

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
*m-	*b-	*m-	*m-	*m-	*m-

Notes.

In general, the correspondences here are quite straightforward, except for the Turkic development *m- > *b-.

Here we should perhaps answer (belatedly) Doerfer's critique in TMN which maintained (p. 60): "es ist nicht bewiesen, daß einem mo. m- ein tü. b- (oder irgend ein anderer Laut) entspricht, für mo. m- (außer bei Nasalen) findet sich im Tü. kein einziges Vergleichswort." If this were the case, it would indeed be an argument against the relationship of Turkic and Mongolian. But is it?

Doerfer examines only six cases taken out of KW:

1. Mong. *miqan* 'meat' - Turk. **bɨkɨn* 'thigh'. This etymology seems incorrect to us, too (on Mong. *miqan* see PA **mékʿu*, on Turk. **bɨkɨn* see PA **bi̯ü̯kʿa*)
2. Mong. *mačaγ* 'fast' - Turk. **bačag* id. Doerfer says that "Nach Gabain 1950, 300b ist atü. *bačaγ* ein Lehnwort aus dem Sogd.". But Sogdian does not have anything similar. The only proposed Sogdian match was *pʿšyk* 'hymn', which even Clauson in his dictionary rejected as extremely implausible (and concluded that **bačag* is a genuine Turkic word). On the other hand, we have in Manchu the verb *maču-* 'to lose weight' and the noun *mačixi* 'fast', which can hardly be explained as borrowed from Mong. < Turkic (especially because of the verb which is absent in these subgroups). Finally, we have Jpn. *mátúr-* 'to celebrate, worship' which makes the common Altaic nature of the root rather plausible, exactly with the meaning "to fast, hunger with religious purposes" (see **mátʿa*).
3. Mong. *ma, me,* turk. *mä* 'take!' - correctly dismissed as a 'Lallwort'.
4. Mong. *majiγaq* 'clubfooted' - Turk. **bań-* 'to bow'. Here several things should be said. The Mong. word, actually only Kalmuck, is most probably borrowed from Turkic, cf. forms like Uzb. *bajmaq*, Kaz. *bajnaŋda-* etc. The Turkic root **bań-*, however, means 'clubfooted' only in derivatives, and does not mean 'to bow' at all. The attested meanings are rather 'to sway' or 'collapse' (with this meaning we have in Old Turkic *majɨš-*), and it corresponds quite well to WMong. *mai-mari-* 'to sway, walk swayingly'. Doerfer says: "Mo. **mayi-* und tü. **bañ-* wären aber nicht vergleichbar". Why? The transfer of nasalization to *-j- is a quite regular process in Turkic (and, on the other hand, the correspondence Turk. *-ń- : Mong. *-j- is also quite regular), so there seems to be nothing against this comparison, although in a shape distinct from the one proposed by Ramstedt. See PA **meju* (with further TM and Korean parallels).
5. Mong. *metü* 'like, similar' - Turk. *bet* 'face'. Doerfer does not like the semantic side of the comparison. We can only say that the change 'face' > 'compare, similar' is fairly common (cf. Russ. *lico* 'face', *sličat'* 'to compare'; Turkic *beŋiz-* and *beŋze-* - on which see below - etc.). That 'face' was the original meaning here is also corroborated

by the TM parallel, **miata* 'skin from animal's head' (the semantics here is quite straightforward, and we still have *m- corresponding to Turkic *b-). See PA **m̯iat'i*.

6. Mong. *mögersün* 'cartilage' - **bujŋuŕ* (**büjŋüŕ*) 'horn'. Again, Doerfer does not like the semantic side, and again we must say that the change 'horn' <> 'cartilage' does not seem strange at all to us ('horn' is frequently associated with horny matter, callosities and various bones).

Doerfer says further: "Nun gibt es aber kein Lautgesetz mo. -g- = Turk. -ŋ́-". This is typical for his system of criticism: first he criticizes the "Lautgesetze" put forward by Ramstedt and Poppe, and then he declines the parallels because they do not follow those "Lautgesetze". You cannot have it both ways: either the phonetic rules are wrong, in which case no comparison is possible at all until new rules are found, or you accept the system of rules and therefore the comparisons on which they are based.

The correspondence between Mong. -ɣ- (-w-) and Turk. -ŋ- (< PA *-ŋ-) is in fact quite common, see in the dictionary: **ăŋu*, **ēŋV*, **găŋi*, **goŋV(ŕV)* [about which Doerfer also says: "aus lautlichen Gründen mindestens unwahrscheinlich")], **maŋi* (by the way, also with **m-:*b-*), **ńaŋo*, **ni̯ăŋe*, **nŭŋu*, **siŋra*, **sìŋu*, **si̯oŋre*, **tuŋa* etc.

Doerfer proceeds to say: "Von dieser Art nun sind alle Beispiele, die Ramstedt (und Poppe 1960, 34-6) bringt, stets handelt es sich um Lallwörter, Onomatopoetika, semantisch oder lautgesetzlich nicht einwandfreie Gleichungen usw." We could say that all Doerfer's criticism is of this sort. He may notice mistakes and wrong comparisons (as in 1 and 4), but his entire spirit is set on discrediting the theory. To be sure, there are very many faulty comparisons in Ramstedt's and Poppe's papers, but instead of trying to correct the etymologies and widen the scope of comparison, he restricts himself to picking at the Turkic and Mongolian parallels and enjoying every vulnerable one of them.

Now back to *m- > Turkic *b-. Besides the above cases, the following instances of Turkic *b- < PA *m- can be found:

Turk. **bAńɨ-* 'to fade away, disappear, weaken' : Mong. **maɣu* 'bad': TM **maja-* 'to fail, be unsuccessful' < PA **maja*

Turk. **baj* (~ -ń) 'holy, God' : TM **maji-n* 'protecting spirit': OJ *mji* id. < PA **maji*

Turk. **bejŋi* 'brain' : Mong. **maŋlai* 'forehead' : OJ *mimi* 'ear' (< 'temple', a rather common semantic development) < PA **màjŋi*

Turk. **bɨńĺ(ɨk)* 'cat' : Mong. *malur* 'wild cat' : OJ *musasabji* 'squirrel' < PA **máĺe*

Turk. **bAkan* 'necklace' : TM **muKa* 'skin from deer's neck' : MKor. *mok* 'neck' : OJ *muk-* 'turn the head, neck' < PA **mi̯ákʿu*

Turk. **baltu* 'axe': Mong. **milaɣa* 'whip': TM **mala* 'cudgel': MKor. *már* 'stick, pole' < PA **màli*

Turk. **bạl* 'honey': Mong. **milaɣa-* 'to smear with oil': TM **mala* 'sesame oil, plant oil' < PA **malV*

Turk. **botu* 'young of camel': Mong. *manǯi* (< *mandi*) 'male elk': TM **manda-ksa* 'elk' < PA **măndo*

Turk. **beŋi* 'joy': Mong. *maɣa-s-* 'to enjoy' < PA **maŋi*

Turk. **bAsa* 'also, as well': Mong. *masi* 'very, extremely': TM **masi* 'strong, strongly', OJ *masu* 'more, again', *mas-* 'to become bigger' < PA **mása*

Turk. **bAlɨg* 'wounded': Mong. *milan* 'disease, plague': TM **māl-* 'to die (of epidemic)' < PA **mȁli*

Turk. **būn* 'defect': TM **mana-* 'to be exhausted, worn out': OJ *muna-si* 'empty, useless' < PA **mā́n[u]*

Turk. **baĺ* 'head': Mong. *malǯan*, *melǯen* 'bald': TM **meli-* 'back part of neck': MKor. *mə̀rí* 'head' < PA **mḗĺǯu*

Turk. **beŋiz* 'face; be similar' (note the meanings!): Mong. *maji-qai* 'skin covering the head of animals': OJ *mane* 'imitating, similarity' < PA **méŋa*

Turk. **baŋ-* 'to trot': Mong. *meŋde-* 'to hurry': TM **meŋ-* id. < **mĕŋa*

Turk. **beŋ* 'mole': Mong. *meŋge* : Kor. *məŋ* 'scar, bruise' < PA **meŋe*

Turk. **bečin* 'monkey' (not from Persian, as often suggested): Mong. *meči(n)* id.: OJ *masi* id. < PA **mḗča*

Turk. **bAgatur* 'hero': Mong. *magta-* 'to praise, glorify': TM **m[ia]g-* 'to shamanize': MKor. *mār* (< **maga-r*) 'speech': OJ *mawo-s-* 'to speak (polite)' < PA **mi̯àga*

Turk. **b(i)āka* 'frog': Mong. *mekelei* / *melekei* id.: TM **moKo(lV)-* 'bat': MKor. *mə̀kùrí* 'toad' < PA **mi̯ā́kʿo*

Turk. **bȫn* 'stupid, foolish': Mong. *mene-re-* 'to become dull, stupid': TM **mian-* 'to be confused': MKor. *mɨ̀ńɨ́ijə́p-* 'to be afraid, scared' < PA **mi̯ā́ni*

Turk. **bAńɨl* 'overripe': TM **munī-* 'to rot, spoil': MKor. *mȁi-p-* 'bitter, acid': OJ *m(j)in(w)or-* 'to ripen' < PA **mi̯ójni*

Turk. **belek* 'gift': Mong. *melǯe-* 'to bet, wager': TM **mula-* 'to pity': MKor. *mùr'í-* 'to present, barter': OJ *m(w)orap-* 'to obtain, receive gifts' < PA **mi̯óle*

Turk. **bert-* 'to break, damage, wound': Mong. *mer* 'wound': TM **mur-dul-* 'slaughter' < PA **mi̯ore*

Turk. **bar-* 'to walk, go': Mong. **mör* 'road': MKor. *mōr-* 'to follow, drive': OJ *mjiti* 'road' < PA **mi̯óri*

Turk. *boj- (~ -ń-) 'to be careless; forbid': TM *mija- 'to go astray, be misled': MKor. mì-čhi- 'be mad': OJ majwo-p- 'to go astray' < PA *mi̯ŏjo

Turk. *buŋ 'suffering': Mong. muŋ 'difficulty': Evk. miŋnī- 'to nag (of joints, heart)': Jpn. mugo- 'horrible' < PA *mi̯uŋo

Turk. *buŕ- 'to damage, oppress': TM *muru- 'to press, oppress': MKor. mīr- 'to push' < PA *mi̯uŕu

Turk. *böke 'big snake': Mong. mogaji 'snake': TM *mŭ̄kŭ̄ id.: Kor. mək-kuri 'big black snake': OJ mukade 'centipede' < PA *mi̯ūko

Turk. *bōjn 'neck': Mong. mun-daɣa 'crest, withers': TM *moŋa-n 'neck': MKor. mjə-k id. < PA *mŏ́jno

Turk. *bok 'dirt, dung' : Mong. moki(n) 'gum, clay, sulphur': TM *muK- 'to fart, bad smell' < PA *mŏkʿV

Turk. *bük-tel 'mature': Mong. mökü- 'to perish': TM *muxu- 'lose powers': MKor. mùk- 'to be old': OJ mukasi 'in old times' < PA *mókʿi

Turk. *buluŋ 'corner, angle': TM *mulu 'ridge of roof': MKor. mȁrȁ id.: OJ mune id. < PA *mólu

Turk. *būč-gak 'outer corner, angle': TM *muč- 'edge, end': MKor. mȁč(h)- 'to finish, end' < PA *mŏ́čʿa

Turk. *bŏ̄l- 'to divide, separate': Mong. möli- 'to cut (boughs etc.)': TM *mol- 'to cut into pieces': MKor. mȁrȁ- 'to cut, trim' < PA *mŏ́li

Turk. *bodun 'people': Mong. muǯi 'territory, province': TM *mugdī / *megdī 'bank, shore': MKor. màt(h) 'place, enclosure': OJ mati 'street' < PA *múgda

Turk. *bulan 'elk': Mong. maral (< *malar) 'mountain deer': TM *mul- 'deer, elk' < PA *mula

Turk. *büt- 'to end, accomplish': Mong. möči-s 'just enough': TM *mute- 'to fulfil': MKor. mòtă̆-n 'all': OJ muta 'together with' < PA *mŭ̆tʿi

Turk. *būka 'bull': Mong. *mok- '2-years-old male deer; penis': TM *muxa- 'man, male' < PA *mūkʿo

Turk. *büt- 'to believe': Mong. mede- 'to know': TM *mute- 'be able': MKor. mìt- 'to believe' < PA *mi̯uti

Turk. *bök- 'be satiated, full': Mong. *meke- 'to suck': TM *muKu- 'to fill mouth with liquid': MKor. mə̀k- 'to eat, drink': OJ makanap- 'to feed' < PA *mùkʿe.

We have only included here (as Doerfer demanded) examples reflected in Old Turkic. Some of these etymologies are new, but some are well known in the literature (like *mása > Turk. *bAsa, *mĕ́ǯu > Turk. *baĺč [which Doerfer omitted from his "short list", but elsewhere - TMN 2, 253 - mentions briefly as "unklar"], *mi̯ắkʿo, *mi̯àĺa, *mi̯uŋo, *mŏjno, *mŏ́li, *múgda, *múnu, *mŭ̆tʿi, *mŏ́ča). To be sure, not all of them would pass the test of Ramstedt's and Poppe's correspondences, especially in

the field of vocalism; but as we intend to show, their correspondences were actually too simplified and it is of course impossible to stuff all the really existing parallels into their Procrustean bed. But instead of trying to reevaluate the system of correspondences, Doerfer and other critics used them rigidly with the single purpose of dismantling the Altaic theory.

This lengthy passage may have little value in and of itself, but we wanted to dwell on this particular correspondence in detail to show the reader the sort of anti-Altaic criticism that has nearly ruined the whole field of studies.

2.1.8 PA non-initial *m

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
*m	*m	*m	*m	*m	*m

Examples on non-initial *m can be found in the following entries: **emV(ŋV)*, **ā́mo*, **ămV*, **ȁmú*, **ȁmV*, **ĺèmo*, **čamu*, **čȁma*, **tḗma*, **ǯi̯ŏmu*, **či̯ùmi*, **čʿamo*, **čʿī́mu*, **čʿi̯úmu*, **čʿi̯umu*, **čʿi̯ȕme*, **čʿȉme*, **čʿȉmu*, **čʿóme*, **čʿomi*, **dàma*, **ema*, **ȅma*, **ȅme*, **èmi*, **emo*, **gămo*, **gèmo*, **gḗmo*, **gíme*, **ìmè*, **ìmé*, **i̯ámu*, **umV*, **i̯ùme*, **i̯umi*, **i̯úmu*, **i̯umu*, **kajamV*, **kàma*, **kami*, **kàmo*, **kāma*, **kāmV*, **kéma*, **kȅma*, **kímo*, **ki̯ȁmò*, **ki̯ȁmù*, **ki̯uma*, **ki̯umo*, **kȕmu*, **kṓme*, **kúma*, **kumi* , **kumi*, **kúmi*, **k[i̯a]ma*, **kʿéma*, **kʿèmá*, **kʿèmì*, **kʿàmo*, **kʿi̯omo(lV)*, **kʿi̯ome*, **kʿi̯ṓme*, **kʿṓmi*, **kʿòmu*, **kʿȍmu*, **kʿume*, **kʿumi*, **kʿumV*, **kʿ[ō]mo*, **lā́mo*, **lȁmò*, **lemV*, **lēmo*, **ĺi̯ṓmo(ŋa)*, **li̯òmù*, **li̯ȕmo*, **mḗmV*, **ńàme*, **lami*, **ńȁmò*, **ńamo*, **nȁmo*, **nḗmè*, **nema*, **ńȉmi*, **ńi̯ama*, **ni̯áme*, **ńi̯áme*, **ńi̯àmi*, **ni̯ùmà*, **ńi̯ŭmi*, **nīme*, **luma*, **numu*, **ṓmu*, **omuŕV*, **pȅma*, **pʿémi*, **pȉmà*, **pʿī́mù*, **pʿòme*, **pʿṓmu*, **pʿuma*, **pʿ[ò]jamV*, **sȁmù*, **sám[u]*, **sarumV*, **sāmo*, **sĕme*, **sḗmi*, **sēma*, **sȅmi*, **sìmò*, **ši̯ȁmu*, **zi̯àmo*, **si̯òmì*, **si̯umi*, **si̯ȍmi*, **sòmú*, **suma*, **súme*, **sume*, **s[i̯ù]mu*, **šī́mi*, **šimučʿV*, **šṓmo*, **š[i̯a]mì*, **tḗmo*, **tèmò*, **tʿème*, **tumi*, **túmu*, **tʿàma*, **tʿȁma*, **tʿámu*, **tʿāma*, **tʿĕma*, **tʿèmo*, **tʿemV*, **tʿȅmu*, **tʿȉmá*, **tʿȍmù*, **tʿome*, **tʿŭmu*, **tʿúmu*, **tʿȕmi*, **úmu*, **úmu-tki*, **umuŋ(t)o*, **ǯèmá*, **ǯȕmo*, **ǯima*, **emV*, **kemV*, **si̯ame*, **tʿȕmV*, **dȁmù*, **čʿòmu*, **tʿi̯ame*, **muma*, **tʿi̯àma*, **samV*, **čʿimV*, **kʿamo*, **simo*, **čʿámo*.

Notes.

Non-initial *m, like initial *m, is generally well preserved. The only exception are several cases where it (like all other resonants except *ĺ and *ŕ) disappears in Japanese. Cf.:
PA **či̯ùmi* > PJ **ti*

PA **ĺi̯ŏmo(ŋa)* > PJ **ná(N)* 'name' (with the Hateruma dialect possibly still preserving a trace of the nasal as *nàN* 'name'; note that the verbal root **nəm-* 'to pray' still preserves *m)
PA **súme* > PJ **sua*
PA **tʿŭmV* > PJ **tù*

We should first note that there are only nominal stems in this list. Verbs never behave like this (except for two or three very archaic and probably originally monosyllabic roots — see above on root structure).

A suggestion put forward in Starostin 1997 was that we are dealing here with the working of an archaic nominal suffix (or several suffixes) like **ga,* perhaps also **ŋa* - actually, quite common, e. g., in Turkic and Mongolian, so that, e.g. **súme-ga* > **súmga* > **súga*, and, with final dropping of -g- > **sua*. However, we shall see below that *-g- could disappear only in a position after a diphthong, so the proposed rule has to be slightly modified. The diphthongs indeed had a palatalizing and fricativizing effect on the following voiced stops, but those were only stops of the second syllable (since diphthongs could occur only in the first syllable of the root). It seems probable, however, that voiced consonants in the third syllable were always fricativized (and, as a consequence, usually dropped) in early Japanese. This would explain a large proportion of nouns whose Auslaut can only be explained as a result of contraction - i.e. nouns in *-ai, *-ia and *-ua in PJ (all these sequences do not occur or occur only very rarely in the first syllable of a polysyllabic root).

We can now formulate the following hypothesis about prehistoric Japanese: any resonant preceding the weakened *-ɣ- in the third syllable was also weakened and dropped, together with the following vowel, viz.: **CVRVɣV* > **CVRɣV* > **CVɣV*. On the other hand, **CVCVɣV* > **CVCV.* This would account for the so called "-r-loss" observed by Martin and Whitman in their Korean-Japanese comparison ("-r-loss" is the most frequent phenomenon, but there certainly is also "-l-loss" , "-m-loss" and "-ŋ-loss" in Japanese).

Among the words listed above we can only find the word for "name" with the suffix **ŋV*, which is quite clearly seen, e.g. in Evk. *nim-ŋā-n-* 'to shamanize', *nim-ŋā-kān* 'fairy-tale'. It seems therefore probable that in Proto-Japanese **ĺi̯ŏmo-ŋa* > **ni̯ŏmɣa* > **ni̯õɣa* > **ná(N)*. This word is further interesting because it may also accept a second velar suffix *-kʿV (originally, probably, diminutive), cf. TM **nimŋākā-n* = Turk. **jom(ŋ)ak* = Mong. **domag*. The Kor. parallel is also known and it is MKor. *nì'jàkì* 'tale'. Now it seems that the Kor. form also reflects a common PKJ form like **ni̯omɣa-kV*, with a development *-mɣ- > -'- very

similar to Japanese. This would date the first part of the process we are describing (**CVRVγV* > **CVRγV*) to the common Korean- Japanese period. But unlike Japanese, Korean did not usually drop the resonant - instead, it dropped the *-ɣ- (sometimes, perhaps preserving it as -h-, see below) and the final vowel. The resonant is dropped in this case because a second suffix was added and the combination *-mɣ- turned out to be located in an intervocalic position.

More on this interesting Japanese development will follow, in notes on other PA resonants.

2.1.9 PA initial *tʿ-

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
*tʿ-	*t- [dV+Í,ŕ,r]	*t- / č[i]	*t-	*t-	*t-

Notes

In the vast majority of cases where the difference between *t- and *d- can be established (i.e. when the Oghuz reflexes are present), Turkic has *t-. Voiced *d- emerges, however, almost exceptionlessly when this consonant is followed by *Í: cf. PT **dōí* < PA **tʿōíi*, PT **dūí* < PA **tʿūíke*, PT **dūí* < PA **tʿūíi*, PT **d(i)āí-* < PA **tʿi̯āíke* (cf., however, **taíak* < **tʿaípʿV*). Less systematic is the behaviour of *tʿ- in front of the following *ŕ and *r: we have **torgaj*, **tōŕ*, **tōrum*, **turup* / **turum*, **tor*, **tēŕ*, **töŕ* / **törü*, **ter*, **terkü*, **terk-*, **törpigü*, **töre*, **teŕek* as opposed to **dīŕ* (but with suffixation: **tir-sgek*), **dīre-*, **da(:)ŕ*. There is also a tendency of voicing *t- > *d- before *-b- (in **debe* ʿcamel' < **tʿĩbŋe*, **debir-* ʿto capsize' < **tʿebV* as opposed to **tabɨíl̀gan* < **tʿèba,* but even in the latter case cf. secondary voice in Az. *dowšan).*

2.1.10 PA non-initial *-tʿ-

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
*tʿ	*t	*t / č[i] /-d	*t	*t	*t

Notes

In Mongolian, where all voice distinctions are neutralized in syllable-final position, *tʿ > -d; *tʿ is also palatalized (> *č) in front of the following *i, just as in Anlaut.

Examples of PA *-tʿ- can be found in the following entries: **atʿi*, **bǎtʿí*, **bi̯ŏtʿè*, **bŏ̀tʿé*, **bŭtʿù*, **ĕtʿè*, **ĕtʿa*, **gǎtʿì*, **getʿV*, **gotʿò*, **gŭtʿù*, **ĭ̀tʿá*, **ìtʿù*, **itʿVKV*, **i̯ò̀tʿíkV*, **i̯ŭtʿe*, **kātʿe*, **kétʿò*, **kétʿò*, **kítʿu*, **ki̯òtʿè*, **kòtʿe*, **kŏtʿi*, **kòtʿV*, **kùtʿá*, **kʿétʿò*, **kʿi̯ò̀tʿekV*, **kʿi̯ōtʿe*, **lǎ̀tʿá* (~ *Í-*), **métʿi(-rkV)*, **métʿò*, **mi̯atʿè*,

**mi̯atʿi, *mi̯otʿi, *mi̯otʿì, *mŭtʿì, *nìtʿá, *nìtʿà, *ńùtʿV̀, *i̯ȍtʿà(mu), *ȍtʿè, *pàtʿá, *pȁtʿe, *pi̯ȁtʿè, *pi̯ȃtʿe, *pŭtʿò, *pV̀tʿokʿV, *pʿátʿà, *pʿȃtʿà(-kV), *pʿȁtʿà, *pʿȃtʿi, *pʿútʿa, *pʿȍtʿè, *pʿȍtʿè, *sítʿì, *sìtʿò, *sitʿV́, *ši̯ȁtʿì, *tètʿo, *tʿȃtʿu, *tʿutʿì, *tʿutʿV̀, *utʿà, *ótʿó(rV), *tʿatʿàkʿV, *si̯ótʿe, *pátʿò, *tʿȁtʿe.*

The number of clear cases with *-tʿ- is smaller than of those with *tʿ-, because the reflexes of *-tʿ- are different from those of *-t- only in intervocalic position in Kor. and Mong. (and even in Mong. the two phonemes coincide in the position of palatalization, i.e. before *i). The distinction, however, is indirectly supported by Jpn., where non-initial *tʿ is subject to secondary voicing (prenasalization), as opposed to PA *t. Cf.:

1. **atʿi > *itua, *bi̯ȍtʿe > *pútá, *bŭtʿu > *pùt-, *ȅtʿa > *átúkáp-, *gȃtʿi > *kítár-, *gotʿo > *kəti, *gŭtʿu > *kutu-, *ìtʿu > *ùt-, *i̯ȍtʿikV > *ìtínkuà, *kétʿo > *kátù, *kítʿu > *kútúrənk-, *ki̯òtʿe > *kətài, *kŏtʿi > *kutu-, *kʿétʿo > *kátá-, *métʿi(-rkV) > *mitua, *métʿo > *mətə-, *mi̯atʿe > *mətər-, *mi̯otʿi > *mita, *mŭtʿi > *muta, *ńùtʿV > *məti, *i̯ȍtʿa(mu) > *ətəmà, *ȍtʿe > *ótə-nà, *pàtʿa > *pətər-, *pi̯ȁtʿe > *pətəp- / *pùtùk-, *pŭtʿo > *pəta, *pVtʿokʿV > *pətətəkí-su, *pʿatʿa > *pátà / *pətá, *pʿȃtʿa(-kV) > *pátá, *pʿȁtʿa > *pətək-, *pʿútʿa > *pátà, pʿŏtʿe > *pətə-pər-, *pʿȍtʿe > *pəta, *sítʿi > *sítáp-, *sìtʿo > *sìtəmi, *ši̯ȁtʿi > *sitəki, *tʿȃtʿu > *tútú-nká, *tʿutʿi > *tutuk-, *tʿutʿV > *təti, *utʿa > *ata-p-, *tʿatʿakʿV > *tatak-, *pátʿo > *pátà;*
2. **bȁtʿi > *pìntì, *bȍtʿe > *pəntək-, *ȉtʿa > *əntùkər-, *kutʿa > *kəntuá, *lȁtʿa > *nəntá, *nìtʿa > *nəntə- / *nəntə́-, *sitʿV > *sintai, *ótʿo(rV) > *ə́ntərə́, *tʿȁtʿe > *təntùk-.*

2.1.11 PA initial *t

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
*t-	*d-	*d- / č[i]	*d- /ǯ(i̯)	*t-	*t- / d[i,ə]

Notes.

Mong. has č- in the position before -i-, even though the reflexes of *tʿ- and *t- are distinguished in other positions. The only exception is the numeral "two", where Mong. has *ǯiw- / ǯui-* - probably because in all other cases the sequence **ti̯V-* had first changed to **ti-* and then to **či-*, whereas here **ti̯u-* was preserved longer and finally yielded **di̯u- > *ǯu-*.

The TM languages show palatalization in sequences with diphthongs: **ǯola < *ti̯ȍĺi, *ǯō(l) < *ti̯ȍle, *ǯube < *ti̯ubu, *ǯir- < *ti̯āre*, whereas the sequence **ti-* itself stays intact and yields **di-*. Note that this differs from the behaviour of **tʿi̯-* and **di̯-* which never get palatalized in TM.

Japanese has a clearcut distribution here: *t in front of voiceless aspirated consonants and +back *a, *u; *d in front of -back *i, *ə, cf.:

1. **tḗpʿe* > PJ **tə́mp-*, **tȁba* > **tàpì*, **tàbu* > **tùpìjái*, **tagu* > **tuku-nai*, **taja* > **tajə-r-*, **tál[u]* > **túrá-*, **tàńo* > **tànuà-*, **tȁnŋù* > **tùna*, **tara* > **tari*, **tāŋa* > **táná*, **tȁbú* > **tùmpúnai*, **tḗma* > **támá*, **tḗmo* > **támár-*, **tèmo* > **tàmà*, **tègà* > **tàkài*, **tēga* > **taka*, **tḗla* > **tar(a)-*, **tȅtu* > **tùtù-*, **ti̯ùke* > **tùk-*, **tȉbulka* > **tùmpákì*, **tógi* > **túkà*, **tokʿa* > **takua*, **tṓŕu* > **túrúmpài*, **túbu* > **túpí*, **tùdi* > **tùtù-*, **tȕgi* > **tùk-*, **tuju* > **tua-p-*, **tumi* > **tuntumi*, **túŋi* > **túmà*, **turi* > **tura*, **tùru* > **tùrû*, **tū́jkʿu* > **túnka-*, **tūri* > **tùtùm-*, **tūti* > **tútú*
2. **tắĺba* > **də́sə̀*, **tàĺbe* > **də̀sə̀p-*, **tā́jV* > **(d)ia*, **télki* > **(d)íká(n)ta*, **tḗre* > **də́ntá-ri*, **tȅri* > **(d)ìrə̀*, **ti̯ṓle* > **(d)i*, **ti̯ṓĺi* > **(d)ísì*, **tire* > **(d)ír-*, **tī́ri* > **(d)ita-*, **tóle* > **də́*, **tòlu* > **də̀r-*, **tṓj-* > **də-*

2.1.12 PA non-initial *t

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
*t	*t	*d / č[i]	*t	*r / -t	*t

Examples of non-initial *t can be found in the following entries: **ătV*, **bȁtò*, **bȕté*, **či̯ā́tu*, **găte*, **gàtù*, **ite*, **ìtí*, **ki̯áta*, **ki̯ā́tu*, **ki̯ùtí*, **kʿȅta*, **kʿet[o]*, **mèto*, **m[i̯u]ti*, **ni̯utu*, **pótirkV*, **pōto*, **pʿḗta*, **pʿȅtá*, **pʿḗt[e]*, **si̯óti*, **si̯ata*, **si̯útu*, *tʿotá*, **tʿ[u]tV́*, **zi̯ṓta*, **ǯi̯òto*, **pȕti*.

Notes.

See above (notes to *-tʿ-) for an explanation of the relatively low number of clearly reconstructed *-tʿ- and *-t- (in a great number of cases the two phonemes cannot be distinguishedr).

Korean must originally have had *-d- (> MKor. -r-) in intervocalic position, but *-t in syllable-final position. This is clearly seen in verbal paradigms like *mūd-* (i.e. *mūt-* / *mūrV-*) and *tăd-* (i.e. *tăt-* / *tărV-*), as well as in roots of the CVCV structure, where Korean normally has -r- (*pɨrɨ-*, *čūri-*), except for cases where an early vowel reduction in the first syllable occurred (*sta(h)*, *ptɨt*). Sometimes however the -t-grade was already in MKor. analogically extended to the intervocalic position, and thus we have *mit-*, *tat-* without any alternations. No alternations are attested in nominal paradigms, cf. *sot, soth* with uniform -t-.

In Japanese, medial *-t- is never voiced except for a few cases after an original aspirated stop: **pʿȅta* > **pàntá*, **tʿota* > **tanta-juap-*, **tʿ[u]tV* > **tə̀ntə-*, which proves that such roots underwent progressive aspiration in early PJ (> **pʿȅtʿa*, **tʿotʿa*, **tʿ[u]tʿV*), after which prenasalization (voicing) became possible.

2.1.13 PA initial *d

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
*d-	*j-	*d- / ǯ[i]	*d-	*t-	*d- / t[V+*pʿ,*tʿ, *kʿ,*čʿ]

Notes.

In Mong. *d- > *ǯ- in front of the following -i-. Before other vowels palatalization normally does not occur; a few cases like **ǯaha* < **dio̯ge* and **ǯehü-wün* < **dēgni* probably reflect a later secondary vowel shift (**ǯiha* > **ǯa'a* and **ǯihü-wün* > **ǯe'ün*) in the specific hiatus environment after loss of -h-.

In Jpn. there must have been an early devoicing of *d- in front of the following voiceless aspirated consonants: in this position *d- behaves exactly as *tʿ-, i.e. yields voiceless t-. Otherwise it gives a uniform *d-reflex. Here are all the cases of devoicing: PA **dǎkʿi* > **tìkà-*, **dǎŋkʿV* > **tànká*, **dȅlpʿa* > **tàpìra*, **dȅlpʿi* > **timpə-*, **dékʿa* > **tákái*, **dǐl(o)-čʿV* > **təsì*, **dio̯pʿu* > **tumpasa*.

2.1.14 PA non-initial *d

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
*d	*d	*d / ǯ[i]	*d	*r / -t	*t / [*iV,*j] j

Examples of non-initial *-d- can be found in the following entries: **ădV*, **bădo*, **bȁdì*, **bȅdù*, **bio̯udu*, **bio̯udi*, **bio̯údò*, **bio̯ùdo*, **bòdà*, **bŏdé*, **bodi*, **buda*, **čʿadVbV*, **ĕda*, **ĕdV*, **ēda*, **gȅdì*, **gio̯odV*, **gòdè*, **gódú*, **idV*, **io̯ude*, **io̯ŏde*, **io̯uda*, **io̯udi(rV)*, **io̯ŭdu*, **io̯ȗdu*, **kȁdaŋV*, **kádì(rV)*, **kádù*, **kadV*, **kio̯adi*, **kio̯ód[o]*, **kio̯àdi*, **kio̯ȃdu*, **tʿio̯udu*, **kio̯udu*, **kio̯ȗdi*, **kude*, **kʿada*, **kʿádí(-rV)*, **kʿàd[ú]*, **kʿĕdò*, **kʿio̯ȁda*, **kʿio̯údo(rgV)*, **kʿŏda*, **kʿude*, **kʿùdì*, **mio̯údu*, **módè*, **mude*, **nad[i]*, **nio̯údurgi*, **nio̯údi*, **nȍdà*, **odi*, **pȁdà*, **pédá*, **pʿȃdì*, **pʿádo*, **pʿȃdV*, **pʿāda*, **pʿedí*, **pʿio̯udo*, **pʿude*, **pʿŭdi*, **nio̯ȁda*, **sedurkʿV*, **sèdá*, **sidí*, **sido*, **sidu*, **sidV*, **sōdV*, **suda*, **tȃde*, **tùdì*, **tʿédù*, **odi*, **udu*, **udV*, **udV*, **ǯādV*, **sio̯udu*, **ǯàdé*, **tìdu*.

Notes.

Korean shows here the same distribution as for *-t-, i.e. -r- in intervocalic position, but -t in syllable-final position (cf. verbal paradigms like *kāt- / kərV-*, *nud- / nurV-*, *kjəd- / kjərV-*, *pɨd- / pɨrV-*). A generalization of -t- occurred in *kot-* 'straight' and the nouns *mut*, *pāt*; on the other hand, -r- has been preserved in *phɨr* < **pɨrh* < **pɨrVh* < **budVkV* and in *nir-kup* < **nadi-* 'seven', probably because of a late vowel reduction.

Just as in the case with *-t-, the stop is preserved in cases of an early vowel reduction in the first syllable (*stɨ-*, *stɨi*, *ptui-* etc.).

PTM usually preserves *-d- quite well, except in trisyllabic stems of the type CVdVrCV (*xürgü < *kʿi̯udorgV, *ńurga < *ni̯adurgi, *xargan < *kʿadi-rgV, *burgu- < *bĕdu-rgV), where -d- has disappeared in the secondary cluster *-dr- < *-dVr-.

Japanese has the same distribution of reflexes as for *-b-, i.e. *-j- after diphthongs, but *-t- elsewhere, with occasional prenasalization > *-nt-:

1. *bi̯udu > *pi̯uj- > *pí-n-kai, *bi̯udi > *pìjú, *bi̯údo > *pújù, *bi̯ùdo > *pùjàkà-, *i̯ude > *əja(n)si, *i̯uda > *aja, *i̯udi(rV) > *iá-r-, *i̯ŭdu > *i, *ki̯adi > *kí-, *ki̯ód[o] > *kájuá-p-, *ki̯udu > *kui, *kʿi̯ǎda > *kàjù-, *mi̯údu > *múi, *ni̯údurgi > *níji- > *nínkír-, *ni̯udi > *ní-, *ni̯ǎda > *nàjàm-, *si̯udu > *sia;
2. *bǎdi > *pitapi, *bĕdu > *pùtuà-, *bòda > *bàtà, *čʿadVbV > *tatipi-, *gĕdi > *kítà, *gòde > *kə̀tàpa-, *kádi(rV) > *kítú-, *kádu > *kútúwá, *kʿĕdo > *kəti, *kʿùdi > *kùtù-pìkì, *móde > *mə́tə́-pər-, *nŏda- > *nàtùkà-, *pǎda > *pátà, *pʿǎdi > *pítú, *pʿāda > *pátú-, *tùdi > *tùtù-, *tʿédu > *tútáp-, *tì̀du > *tùtùmí;
3. *bŏde > *bə́ntə́r-, *ēda > *ántá, *gódu > *kúntár-, *kʿadi(-rV) > *káintúr-, *kʿad[u] > *kùntùr-, *pʿedi > *pintua-, *sèda > *sàntàmà-, *sidi > *sintar-, *udu > *ùntài, *péda > *pantara, *ʒàde > *də́ntə́.

In a few cases before a nasal PA *-d- > Jpn. -n-, cf. *kǎdaŋV > *kání-pà; *tʿi̯udu > *tùnâi (= PT *Tɨdɨn); *nad[i] > *nana- (= PTM *nadan).

2.1.15 PA initial *n-

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
*n-	*j-	*n-	*n-	*n-	*n-

Note.

Before original *i and *-i̯-diphthongs, PTM may have ń- instead of n- here (the distinction of *n- and *ń- in PTM in this position is very dubious), so in this position the best evidence for the distinction is presented by Mongolian (which has *ʒ < *ń) and Japanese (which has *m < *ń), see below. Otherwise PA *n- is quite stable and preserved everywhere except Turkic (where all non-nasal resonants > *j-).

2.1.16 PA non-initial *n

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
*n	*n	*n	*n	*n	*n

Examples of non-initial *n can be found in the following entries: *ǎni, *ǎ̀ni, *ǎni, *či̯ŭ́nu (?), *di̯ǎ́no, *enu, *ĕ́nV, *ĕ́na(kV), *gèná, *gù̀no, *ĭ́na, *i̯unu, *i̯ŭ́ne, *i̯ù̀nì, *ì̀na, *kǎ̀nu, *kǎ́na, *ki̯úne, *kòna(-kV), *kune, *guna,

**kʿi̯une, *kʿȁno, *kʿi̯ā́no, *kʿi̯ŭnu, *kʿòbàni, *mana, *mána, *mā́n[u], *mȅnò, *mi̯ā́ni, *mùne, *múnu, *nā́ne, *ńȁna, *ŋḗni, *ŋḗnu, *ṓni, *ȍni, *ȍnV, *pùnV, *pū́ne, *pʿi̯ani, *pi̯ànà, *pʿi̯un[e], *pʿŭnV, *sȅ̀ni, *sȅ̀nV, *si̯ono, *si̯ū́na, *si̯ùnu, *si̯ū́ni, *si̯óna, *sȍ̀nu, *sȕna, *sùnà, *sūnu, *tʿāno, *tʿā́nV, *tʿi̯ȕni, *zíni, *zi̯ȁni, *sȉ̀ni, *kunu, *zi̯ōnu.*

Notes.

Non-initial *n is usually rather stable in Altaic languages. Cases when it is lost comprise the following:

a. In Mong., *-n- is lost before the nominal suffix -su (*či-su* < **čin-sun*); but just as in Japanese (see below), it is the only attested case of such a development and the root may in fact have been **či̯ū*. In a couple of cases *-n- was assimilated to a neighbouring velar and became *-n- > *-ŋ- > -h- (*neɣü* < **ŋēni*, *küɣün* < **ki̯une*).

b. In TM, *-n- is sometimes lost in verbal monosyllabic roots after a long vowel: **sī-* (**sū̄-*) < **si̯ūni*, **ā(n)-* < **āni*.

c. Korean regularly loses *-n- in the cluster *-jn-, cf. *čăi*, *kɨ̄i*, *mjə-k*; after a labial, *n is frequently assimilated to m, cf. *mom*, *pom*, *pom-nor-*, *s-pam*. Finally, sometimes *n > *ń, probably due to the original following front vowel, cf. *nań(ă)-*, *əńɨrɨm*, *ańă*, *ańi*, *mɨńɨi-*.

d. Unlike most other resonants, -n- seems to be always preserved in Japanese. The only exception seems to be **tí* 'blood' < PA **či̯ū́nu*. It cannot thus be excluded that we should reconstruct a monosyllabic **či̯ū* here, with a secondarily added suffix -n in Turkic (**dɨ̄n*) and Manchu (*ǯun*).

2.1.17 PA initial *s-

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
*s-	*s-	*s-	*s-	*s-, h-	*s-

Notes

Mongolian sometimes shows assimilation **sVč-* > **čVč-* (cf. **sarču* > **čarča-*, **sȁčʿi* > **seče-* / **čeče-*, **si̯uču* > **čiča-*, **suču* > **čučal(i)*, **s[i̯ó]čʿi* > **soči-* / **čoči-*). It seems that *s- has completely passed into *č- before *-č-, but is preserved better (with later dialectal variation s-/č-) before *-čʿ-, but the number of examples is rather limited and we would better postpone making final decisions.

In Korean we have a double reflex: *h- before PA *-i̯a-, *-i̯o- (except in cases of vowel reduction, when *s- stays as the first element of a cluster), but *s- in all other cases.

1. **si̯ăbi* > **hō-*, **si̯ȁjri* > **hjə̀*, **si̯ame* > **hə̀mɨ́r*, **si̯ā́ŕi* > **hȁrk*, **si̯arpu* > **hə̄r*, **si̯ȁjri* > **hā́i-*, **si̯oga* > **hoar*, **si̯óga* > **hə-*, **si̯òge* > **hók*, **si̯ȍgu* > **hā́i*,

**si̯óle > *hằ-, *si̯óna > *hằnàh, *si̯ȍrme > *hím, *si̯ótʿe > *hòthúi, *si̯ōje > *hjəi-, *si̯ȍjri > *hjó, *hàr-, *si̯ōlu > *húrí-, *si̯ȍĺ[e] > *hār-, *si̯ōjru > *hjə.*

2. **sa > *sà-, *sagu > *sòth, *săjgo > *sắi-, *sajri > *sjó-, *sắjV > *sắi-m, **sằkà > *sah-, *săkʿV > *sàk-, *sali > *sirh-, *saĺ(b)i > *sər-, *sápa > *sàpók, *sắpʿi > *sòp, *sằpʿi > *sap-, *sàrpʿa > *sárp, *sàru > *súrí, *sắŕi > *sari-, *sèkʿu > *sàkí-, *sĕme > *sam, *sẽni > *sín, *sejŋi > *sjā′òŋ, *sèpʿo > *sōp, *seri > *sìr′ói, *sero > *sàrí-, *seru(kʿV) > *sərk, *sése > *sìskú-, *sési > *sàsắm, *sebe > *sìpɨ-, *sẽgu > *sà′ó-nab-, *sẽmi > *sām, *sù̃re > *sār-, *sílV > *sìrɨ, *sĩ̃lgu > *sir-, *síŋri > *sì′úr, *sìŋu > *sɨin, *siŕu > *sìrɨ́m, *sìtʿo > *sàtằri, *si̯uga > *sāi, *si̯uru > *sɨr-, *si̯uŋe > *sóŋ-, *si̯únŋi > *sòní, *si̯ŭŕe > *sòrắi, *si̯úsa > *sàsắr, *si̯ŭ́jro > *sjəi-, *si̯ŭ́na > *s(j)ən-, *si̯ŭ́ra > *sàrằ-, *sĩ́la > *sár, *sĩ́la > *sər-, *sóga > *sù′ɨr, *soge > *sūi-, *sogŋV > *soŋ′i, *sȍnu > *sànhằiŋ, *sȍkʿe > *sòk-, *sȍlo > *săr-, *sȍra > *sằrb-, *suga > *sói, *súgo > *so′ok, *sugu > *sɨŋ′a, *sùjli > *súi, *sŭ́ku > *sok-kori, *sukʿe > *sak-, *súme > *sàm, *sŭ́ri > *sɨr-, *sū > *su.*

The only exception known is **si̯ȍsu > *sìs-, *sɨs-*, where preservation of *s- is clearly explained by assimilation, just as in **si̯uču > *čɨčhíi-* and **s[i̯ó]čʿi > *čòčh-*.

2.1.18 PA non-initial *s

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
*s	*s	*s	*s	*s	*s

Examples for *-s- can be found in the following entries: **ase, *básí, *bi̯ási, *bi̯òsá, *bŭsi, *bi̯ùsí, *mi̯usi, *dasa, *dắsi, *dísa, *eso, *ès[i], *gaso, *gi̯ose, *gusa, *ìsú, *isV, *i̯úse, *kaserV, *kasa, *késu, *kesa, *kesV, *kíso, *ki̯osa, *kósV, *kusu, *kʿắsi, *kʿăsi, *kʿásV, *kʿấsa, *kʿĕsa, *kʿi̯ȍsú, *kʿi̯úsè, *kʿi̯ŭso, *kʿi̯ŭ́se, *kʿusa, *másá, *màsò, *mésV, *mi̯úsu, *mùsi, *mŭ̀sV, *nàsà, *ńésa, *nèse, *ŋŭ̀sí, *orusi, *ȍse, *pằsi, *pĕ̀su, *pĭ̀sa, *pi̯ósò, *púsa, *puse, *pūsa, *pʿèsì, *pʿắsi, *pasi, *pĕ̀sá, *pʿísi(KV), *pisV, *pʿís[a], *pʿi̯úsa, *pʿi̯ŭsi, *pʿi̯ù̀so, *pʿŭ́sa, *sése, *sési, *si̯ā̀sa, *si̯ȍsu, *si̯úsa, *tʿaso, *tʿi̯àsá, *tʿȍsi, *tʿi̯ȍso, *ùso, *úsu, *zi̯ấsu, *ǯi̯oso, *gi̯aso, *ni̯oso.*

It seems to be the most stable Altaic phoneme, preserved without any changes in all branches.

In Jpn. it almost never gets voiced (prenasalized), except in some clusters (see below); the only exceptions are: **pánsú < *pʿŭ́sa, *pa(n)sa- < *puse, *pa(n)sai < *púsa* and **kínsú < *kʿắsi*. Reasons for voicing in these four cases are not yet clear.

2.1.19 PA *z-

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
*z-	*j-	*s-	*s-	*s-	*s-

Notes.

PA *z- is distinguished from *s- only within Turkic (*j- < *z- vs. *s- < *s-) which explains its relative rareness: when there is no Turkic reflex, one can reconstruct either *z- or *s-. A trace of the distinction *z- : *s- is, however, recoverable also in Korean, where *z-, unlike *s-, can never give a *h-reflex, even in the position before diphthongs, cf.: **zi̯ălVbi* > **sjə̄rb-*, **zi̯ā́su* > **sə̀sk-*, **zi̯oĺa* > **sằr-*.

This allows us to additionally reconstruct *z- in several cases when the Turkic reflex is absent: **zi̯à[kʿ]ó*, **zi̯àmo*, **zi̯ōnu*.

Another peculiarity of PA *z is that it is only found in word-initial position. This may indicate that it is either a complementary variant of some other PA phoneme (either *r, *ŕ or *j - neither of these three occurs in word-initial position), or has merged word-medially with some other phoneme (either *-s- or *-ǯ-). This problem cannot so far be resolved from within Altaic.

2.1.20 PA *-r-

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
*r	*r	*r	*r	*r	*r, *t

PA *-r- is one of the most frequent phonemes, but found only non-initially; examples can be found in the following entries: **ăjVrV*, **ằra*, **ara*, **arV*, **ărV*, **ā́rV*, **bā́ra*, **bằrì*, **bằri*, **bằré*, **bi̯are*, **bi̯or[a]*, **bi̯ṓr[é]*, **bi̯ura*, **bi̯uri*, **bi̯ure*, **bī́re*, **bṓru*, **bǜri*, **čărikV*, **tḗre*, **či̯ŭru*, **čǜra*, **čʿàro*, **čʿera*, **čʿĭre*, **čʿire*, **čʿȍrV*, **čʿ[i̯o]ra*, **dari*, **dărV(mV)*, **di̯ari*, **dorVkV*, **dòru*, **dòru*, **dōre*, **egVrV*, **ȅra*, **èrì*, **ḗro*, **ḗra*, **ḗre*, **gàrá*, **gera*, **gȅrè(bV)*, **gĕrV*, **giru*, **gi̯ări*, **gi̯ā́ru*, **gi̯óra*, **gȍre*, **gure*, **gŭri*, **gùri*, **tara*, **i̯ằré(KV)*, **ìri*, **íru*, **orV*, **i̯aru*, **i̯òre*, **i̯ugerV*, **ūre*, **i̯ùru*, **i̯úrù*, **ī́re*, **ȉrú*, **ī́ru*, **kabari*, **kàra*, **kara*, **kàra(ma)*, **kàrò(mV)*, **kare*, **kèro*, **kàru*, **kărV*, **kaserV*, **kéra*, **kéro*, **keru(ĺV)*, **kȅru*, **kìro*, **ki̯ăro*, **ki̯aǯurV*, **ki̯óru*, **ki̯ṓr[i]*, **ki̯ure*, **ki̯urumV*, **koru*, **kóre*, **kúra(mV)*, **kure*, **kuri*, **kúro(mV)*, **kǜrV*, **ki̯ăru*, **kʿăra*, **kʿi̯āra*, **kʿáru* , **kʿằre*, **kʿer[o]*, **kʿēro*, **kʿȉrégV*, **kʿìri*, **kʿírù*, **kʿi̯ā́rà*, **kʿi̯ằre*, **kʿi̯óbarV*, **kʿi̯ṓro*, **kʿi̯ura*, **kʿi̯ure*, **kʿi̯ùru*, **kʿi̯ǜrú*, **kʿi̯ǜru(mV)*, **kʿi̯ū́re*, **kʿópʿìra*, **kʿoru*, **kʿṓra*, **kʿori*, **kʿùre*, **kʿ[ǜ]ri*, **mā́ro*, **méra*, **mi̯ore*, **mi̯óri*, **mi̯ǜri*, **mȍro*, **mórV*, **múra*, **mū́ro*, **m[ī́]ro*, **nèra*, **ŋȅrá*, **nḗre*, **ńĕra*, **néro*, **ni̯ȍri*, **nȉra*, **ni̯uru*, **ńóro*, **núra*, **nū́ru*, **ŋurV*, **ṓri*, **óru*, **ȍrù*, **orusi*, **ŏrV*, **ṓre*, **ebVrV*, **ȍr(e)kV*, **pi̯àri*, **pi̯óro(-kʿV)*, **pi̯ṓro*, **pȍru*, **púre*,

**pure, *pĭ́rò, *pʿárà, *pʿărV, *pʿā́ra, *pʿèrì, *pʿè̄ro, *pʿerV, *pʿḗra, *pʿìrá, *pʿĭru, *pʿi̯ári, *pʿi̯áru, *pʿi̯ā́rV, *pʿi̯ò̄rí, *pʿi̯ù̄ri, *pʿò̄re, *pʿù̄ri, *pʿò̄rV, *pʿṓre, *pʿŭ́ri, *pʿŭrV, *pʿŭrVkʿV, *pʿù̄ri, *sàru, *sara, *sero, *sáro, *saru, *sarV, *seri, *seru(kʿV), *sera, *sĭra, *sire, *si̯orekʿV, *sira, *si̯ū́ra, *sṓra, *sū́ri, *sèrV̀, *šèru, *ši̯ò̄ri, *ši̯ŭru, *ši̯ŭ́r[e], *tăra, *tā́rV, *tà̄ro, *tēru, *tè̄rì, *tire, *ti̯ā́re, *tī́ri, *turi, *tùru, *tūri, *tʿaŋgiri, *tʿari, *tʿéra, *tʿè̄ra, *tʿiru, *tʿi̯ăru, *tʿi̯òra, *tʿi̯ŭ́re, *tʿī́ri, *tʿoŋerV, *tʿŏri, *tʿṓro(-kʿV), *tʿoru, *tʿṓro, *tʿṓrV, *tʿṓr[e], *tʿi̯ò̄re, *ŭra, *ura, *ŏri, *ŭ́ro, *zàrá, *zēra, *zuru, *zi̯àre, *ǯā́ra, *ǯére, *ǯḗro, *ǯè̄ri, *ǯi̯aru(kV), *ǯī́rV, *šero, *ǯù̄rVko, *sà̄rV, *i̯ure, *ā́ri, *si̯òri.*

Notes.

Korean frequently has -j- as a development of *-jr-.

In Jpn., the distribution between -r- and -t- is as yet unclear: it may well be that Jpn. here reflects some original distinction lost in other languages. A suspicious fact is an extreme frequency of non-initial *r, far exceeding that of any other PA phoneme, which may be an indication that we are in fact dealing here with two original phonemes, perhaps still distinguished in Japanese.

Besides -t-, Japanese sometimes has voiced (prenasalized) *-nt-. Unlike with the stops, however, the distribution here appears to be plainly positional: *-nt- in the vast majority of cases appears in intervocalic position before the following intervocalic -r-: cf. **tḗre > *də́ntá-ri, *gi̯óra > kántúrá, *keru > *kunturi, *koru > *kùntírà, *ò̄r(e)kV > *ə̀ntə̀rə̀k-, *pʿi̯ōri > *pìntárí, *šèru > *sùntàre, *ǯi̯aru > *dunturi*. Voiceless *-t- does not appear in such a position except in verbal stems, where the following -r- is syllable-final (**ī́re > *ítár-, *kʿēro > *kátár-, *saru > *sutar-*). In a few other cases (**i̯úru > *úntì, *seri > *sìntí, *mi̯ù̄ri > *mí(ntú), *nì̄ra > *nàntùki, *pʿire > *pintipa*) the reasons for voicing are not quite clear: note that the last two words are not actually attested in modern dialects and the readings with -nt- (OJ -d-) may in fact be fictitious, and -ntú in **mí-ntú* 'water' may be a suffix (the root is **mí* and may go back to PA **mi̯ūri-gV*, see below).

In nominal stems Jpn. has several cases of *-r- > -0-, all of which should be explained by original suffixation: **pə̀-* 'fire' < **pʿore-gV*; **pa* 'leaf' < **pure-gV* (cf. Mong. **bor-gu-*), **kua* 'flour' < **gure-gV*, **mə* 'weed' < **moro-gV* or *-ŋV* (cf. Evk. *moriŋā*), **bi* 'well, spring' < **bi̯ujri-gV* (cf. TM **bira-ga*), *kua* 'basket' < **kʿure-gV*, **pia* 'layer' < **pi̯ari-gV* (cf. TM **par-ga-*) or **-ŋV* (cf. PT **biar-ŋa-k*), *ta* 'field' < **tʿi̯ora-gV* (cf. Mong. **tari-ja-* < **tari-γa-*), *pu* 'growth' < **pʿù̄ri-gV* (cf. Turk. **urug*), *su* 'nest' < **zuru-gV*, perhaps also **mí* 'water' < **mi̯ūri-gV* (cf. Man. *mū-ke*).

In Mong. *r is normally preserved, although there are some indications that it could have been lost before the nominal suffixes *-su-, *-du

(cf. **ǯi-sü-*, **mo-du-*). There is also one case of a presumable metathesis *-r-l- > *-l-r- (**beltereg* < **ber-teleg*), but this phenomenon is much less widespread than the reverse one (i.e. *-l-r- > *-r-l-, see below).

Just as *l is dissimilated before the following *l (see below), *r in Mongolian was possibly dissimilated before the following *-r-, and the combination *-rVr- yielded *-hVr- (*-ɣVr-). Cases like this are, however, not easy to find: cf. perhaps *eɣere-* 'seek, wish' < **here-re-* < PA **pʿĕro*; on **kajir(a)-* 'bark' < **kari-ra* < PA **kʿéŕa* see below.

In TM, *-r- (just like *-n-) sometimes is lost in monosyllabic roots after a long vowel: **bū-* < **bi̯ōr[e]*, **bū-* < **būri*, **mō* < **mūro*, **mū* < **mi̯ūri*, **ī-* < **īre-*, **sē* < **zēra*, **dā* < **tārV*.

2.1.21 PA initial *l-

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
*l-	*j-	*l-, n-	*l-	*n-	*n-

Notes.

There are only about 40 clear examples of initial *l- because it is distinguished from *Ĺ (or *l_1) only in Mongolian (where the latter > *d- / *ǯ-, see below). The distinction between *l- and *Ĺ- is thus not absolutely secure, but rather probable because it supports the distinction of non-initial *l and *Ĺ.

Turkic, Korean and Japanese do not distinguish reflexes of *l- from those of *n- (see above). Tungus has regularly *l- here (although within Tungus there exists a strong tendency of confusing *l- and *n- as well); Mongolian has in many cases preserved *l- (especially before labials, but also in some cases before velars), but many dialects tend to replace *l- by *n-, and in some cases no traces of *l- are preserved at all. Still it may be observed that cases with *l- in Mong. reveal a high rate of correlation with *l- in Tungus (cf. **làbo*, **labV*, **làku*, **lakʿa*, **lǎŋi*, **lápʿi*, **là̀ble*, **lebu(nV)*, **lebV*, **li̯òmu*, **li̯ùbu*, **li̯u[k]u*, **lŭge*). We assume, therefore, that the tendency of *l- > *n- was unilateral, and reconstruct *l- in all cases when it emerges in Tungus and/or Mongolian (note that there does not exist a single case with Mong. *l- and TM *n- - which shows that Mong. *l- cannot be a secondary variant of the original *n-).

Let us once again return to Doerfer's criticism. In TMN 1, 63 he says:

"Ich möchte mich hier kurz fassen und nur soviel sagen, daß ich das gesamte Material für mit l- anlautende Wörter des Tu. durchgearbeitet habe (bei Benzing, 1955a und V), ohne im Tü. und Mo. auch nur ein einziges vergleichbares Wort zu finden."

Let us see what we have:

Turk.	Mong.	TM	PA
	*naɣa- ‘on this side’	*la-kV, *la-ŋ ‘near’	*la-
*jaba ‘very’	*lab / *naj ‘very,better’	*lab-du ‘many, plenty’	*làbò
*joblač ‘fine goat’s hair’	*lobsi ‘rags’	*leb-/*lab- ‘rags’	*labV̀
*jöke ‘lime-tree’	*nüger-sü ‘alder’	*laKa- ‘elm, oak’	*lako
*jak- ‘smear’	*lag ‘mud, dirt’	*lakti- ‘soot’	*làku
	*laka ‘sheat-fish’	*laka ‘goby’	*lakˆa
	*naki- ‘to bend’	*laxu- ‘to hang’	*làkˆù
*jilik ‘marrow’	*nila- ‘clingy’	*lala- ‘gruel; slime’	*làlè
*jalk- ‘suffer pain, be nauseated’	*nal(k)-‘be faint, drowsy, weak’	*lali ‘be hungry, weak’	*lalV
	*laji ‘mud, dirt, silt’	*laŋga ‘slimy, clammy’	*lǎŋi
*jap- ‘to smooth, level, flat’	*labta- ‘to be flat’	*lapta- ‘flat’	*lápˆì
*jām-čik > *jān-čik ‘pocket, bag’	*nambuga ‘leather sack’	*lam(b)a ‘bag’	*lā́mo
	*namug ‘marsh, swamp’	*lāmu ‘sea’	*lȁmò
*jāŕ-‘to miss, sin’	*nargi- ‘to carouse’	*largī ‘disorder, commotion’	*lā́ŕgu
	*labku ‘marshy ground’	*lebē ‘marsh’	*lépù(-nV)
	*labsi- ‘eat greedily’	*lebge- id.	*lebV
	*neke- ‘to pursue, follow	*leKe- ‘intend, demand’	*lèjkˆá
*jaglik ‘kerchief’	*nolga ‘shaman’s adornment’	*lelu(ke) ‘apron, corsage’	*lélugV
*jam- ‘pubic hair, groin’	*lami- ‘meat on sheep’s rump’	*lemuk ‘fat under skin of animals’	*lemV
*jAń- ‘to shake, sway’	*naji- ‘shake, sway, hang over’	*leŋgī- ‘bow, incline’	*leńa
	*najita- ‘sneeze’	Ma. leje- ‘sing without rhythm’	*lı̯ája
*japal (Sib.)	*niɣalta ‘spleen’	Orok lipče ‘spleen’	*lı̯apˆV

Turk.	Mong.	TM	PA
‘spleen’			
*jap-ɨĺč- ‘glue, stick to’	*niɣa- id.	*lipa-, *labgān- id.	*làjpˀV
*jagɨŕ ‘brown’	*nogoɣan ‘green’	*log- ‘green, dark’	*lı̯ŏga
Chuv. śəʷmren	*lumu ‘bow’	*liam- ‘bow, shoot’	*lı̯ò̯mù
	*neɣüne ‘lady bug’	Ud. loŋto ‘butterfly’	*lı̯ò̯ŋè
	*luw-ka ‘eye pus’	Evk. lū ‘resin, gum’	*lı̯ùbu
*jigi/*jɨgɨ ‘thick, dense’	*lüg / *lig id.	*lōgdi, *luku(tu) id.	*lı̯u[k]u
*jīg-la- ‘weep,cry’		*ligi- ‘snore’	*lı̄́gà
*jügen ‘bridle’		*luksi ‘belt in a yoke-team’	*lŭge
*jükün- ‘to bow’	*nugu- ‘to bend’	*loka- ‘hanger, to hang’	*luke
	*nowkai ‘rodent nest’	*lopi(gi) ‘squirrel nest’	*lopˀV
	*nüke ‘hole, make a hole	*lokto- ‘break through’	*lúkˀì
	*nogtu ‘wild boar’	*luke(te) id.	*luko
	*nagaj ‘female tar-bagan’	*loŋ-sa ‘lynx, sable’	*lúŋa
	*nogu-ɣal ‘young of lynx	*luKV ‘lynx’	*l[ù]kˀÈ

It is worth noting that both in Mong. and TM *l- may be called “an expressive phoneme”: the number of words starting with *l- and meaning ‘slimy substance’, ‘mud’, ‘to shake, sway’, ‘snore, shout’ is quite considerable. It seems, however, that this was the original PA situation (no matter what caused it ultimately), because several of these roots are undoubtedly common Altaic. But there is also a number of quite neutral roots with *l-, such as *la- ‘near, this side’, *làbo ‘more, better’, *lako ‘foliate tree’, *lápˀi ‘flat, broad’, *lā́mo ‘bag’, *lā̀mo ‘sea’, *lèjkˀa ‘intend, demand’, *lélugV ‘kerchief, pendant’, *lı̯ŏga ‘green, dark’, *lı̯ò̯mu ‘bow’, *lı̯ŭ́kˀa ‘seam’, *lŭge ‘halter, rope for animals’, *lopˀV ‘nest’, *luko ‘wild pig’, *lúŋa ‘furry animal’, *lùkˀV ‘lynx’ etc.

2.1.22 PA non-initial *l

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
*l	*l	*l	*l	*r	*r

Examples for *-l- can be found in the following entries: **agula, *ắla, *ála, *àlakʿu, *ale, *álikV, *àlu, *ā́la, *ȁle, *ā́li, *ȁlV, *ā́lV, *balu, *bāla, *pū́lo, *bȅló, *belV, *bèli, *bĭli, *bi̯ălu, *bi̯ŏla, *bi̯ŏla, *bi̯ṓli, *bi̯ȕlò, *bi̯ólò, *bi̯ule, *bi̯ū́le, *bi̯olo, *bṓlo, *bū́li, *bŭlu, *bŭlV, *bulV, *čălù, *čā́lo, *čḗlV, *čȅlV, *či̯òlú, *čʿali, *čʿàlù, *čʿi̯ale, *čʿi̯álV, *čʿi̯olu, *čʿi̯ṓli, *čʿŏli, *čʿuli, *dàli, *dalo, *dȁli , *talo, *dile, *dḗlì, *dȉlo, *dilu, *di̯ȕlu, *dȕle, *dū́li, *ĕlV(-kʿV), *ḗlV, *gắli, *gălV, *gȅla, *gȅle, *gìlè, *gilu, *gi̯ălu, *gi̯ā́la, *gi̯ȕla, *goli, *gṓli, *gȕlì, *ile, *ílékʿa, *ìlù, *ìla, *i̯ṓle, *i̯úle, *i̯ùlò, *i̯ùjŋula, *kā́la, *kȁle, *kălo, *kalu, *kela, *kele, *ki̯ujilV, *ki̯úli, *kȍlé, *kólè, *kōli, *kȕlV, *kʿala, *kʿalo, *kʿale, *kʿalVbV, *kʿela, *kʿíla, *kʿile, *kʿílo, *kʿi̯ăli, *kʿùla, *kʿi̯ŭli, *kʿi̯ū́le, *kʿóla, *kʿṓli, *kʿuli, *kʿúlo, *kʿŭli, *làlè, *lalV, *lélugV, *ĺi̯ul[o], *màli, *màlù, *male, *mála, *mȁli, *melo, *mĕlu, *mi̯ali(-kʿV), *mi̯alu, *mi̯óle, *mi̯ólo, *mòle, *mólu, *mṓli, *mula, *nālV, *zelo, *ni̯ála, *nóle, *nuli, *ńȍlo, *dilu, *ŋȁli, *ŋȅlu, *ŋi̯ōle, *ŋȍla, *ŏli, *óligV, *olu, *ȍlu, *pala, *pȁlukʿV, *pā́li, *pȁli, *píla, *pȉle, *pi̯ắlagV, *bȁlu, *púla, *pʿȁlà, *pʿéle, *ĺḗlV, *pʿìlo, *pʿi̯ole, *pʿi̯ṓlo, *pʿi̯ula, *pʿi̯ȁle, *pʿȉle, *pʿṓle, *pʿŭle, *pʿū́li, *pʿȕlo, *sálo, *sali, *sela, *séle, *si̯óle, *sìlá, *sila, *si̯alo(-kV), *si̯ŏlo, *si̯ōlu, *si̯ŭli, *sī́la, *sṓlo, *sȍlV, *ši̯ȍlí, *tál[u], *tā́lV, *telV, *tḗla, *tēlo, *tilV, *tóle, *dā́la, *tòlu, *tole, *tȕlu, *ti̯ṓle, *tʿā́la, *tʿḗlù, *tʿḗlV, *tʿi̯ȁlo, *tʿi̯ȍlo, *tʿi̯ula, *tʿi̯ule, *tʿȍlu, *tʿȍlV, *tʿolu, *ȕlu, *ulu, *ū́lo, *zăli, *zela, *zi̯ălVbi, *zŭli, *ʒắlo, *ʒā́li, *ʒā́lV, *ʒela, *ʒélu, *ʒi̯ōlu, *ʒi̯ul[u], *ʒi̯ū́lu, *gi̯òlo, *ni̯ȁlo, *gi̯ȁlá, *éli, *dala, *čalu, *tʿȍle, *ʒi̯ale, *ŭla, *tʿulu, *dā́lV, *kàla.*

Notes.

1. Turkic always preserves l.
2. In Mong. there are some cases of the loss of *-l- before the nominal suffix *-sü-, usually with variation across dialects (cf. **söl-sü* 'gall' > WMong. *sösü(n)*, Khalkha *sös*, but MMong. *sülsü*, Bur. *hülhen*). Two other processes must be also mentioned:

a) The sequence *-l-r- is regularly metathesized > *-r-l-, cf. **hurul* < **pʿulo*, **maral* < **mula* (although this does not seem to happen before the suffixes -čir, -bur, -kir in **belčir*, **čilbur*, **čulu-kir*, and perhaps in the clusters *jl, *bl cf. **ölir* < **ójle*, **ʒilar* < **di̯úblu*).

b) The sequence *-l-l- is regularly dissimilated > *-j-l- (or -h-l- if the intermediate vowel is -e-), cf. **küjil-sü* < **kʿōli*, **mojil* (= PT **beleĺ*) < **melu*, **beɣelej* < **bili*, **majila-su* < **mi̯alu*.

3. In TM *l is well preserved (except for sporadic cases of assimilation in clusters like **xińŋa-* < **xil-ŋa-* 'hair'). However, just as with *-n- and *-r-, there are cases of the loss of *-l in monosyllabic roots after a

long vowel: **ō-* < **ōlu*, **nā* < **nālV*, **sō-* < **sōlV*, **tī-* < **tʿi̯ōlo*, **sī* (but **sīl-se*) < **si̯ūli*, **ǯō* (but Nan. *ǯōl*) < **ti̯ōle*.

4. Korean has -0- (-i-) for *-jl-, cf. *pǎi* < **pʿējlo*, *kui* < **kʿūjlu*, *pih* < **bi̯ujlu*, *oijə-s* < **ojle*, *sui* < **sujli*.
5. Japanese loses *-l- (just like most other resonants) before the original suffix *-gV-, cf. **ká-* < **kal-gV* < **kʿila-gV* (= PT **Kɨl-k*, Mong. *kil-ga-*), **dua* < **dul-ga* (or **dul-ba*, cf. TM **dolba*?) < **dǔle*, **pa* < **pal-gV* < **pala-gV*, **du* < **dul-gV* < **di̯ūlu-gV* (= Mong. **dulaɣa-*, PT **jɨlɨg*), **da-* < **ǯal-gV* < **ǯalo-gV* (cf. Mong. *ǯalga-*), **pə* (reduplicated **pə-pə*) < **pəl-gV* < **pʿulo-gV*, **pu-* < **pul-gV* < **bi̯alu-gV*.
6. Intervocalic *-l- is lost in Korean and Japanese (but also in some forms of the Turkic paradigm) in a few basic verbal roots: cf. **gele* 'to come', **ōlu* 'to be', **si̯óle* 'to make, put', **ala* 'to take, receive', **pʿîlo* 'to dry, heat'. This seems to be a Proto-Altaic morphonological peculiarity; see more on that in the section on root structure.

2.1.23 PA initial *čʿ-

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
*čʿ-	*č-	*č-	*č-	*č-	*t-

Note.

Except for Jpn. *čʿ- > *t-, the phoneme is well preserved — but of course lost its originally distinctive aspiration — in all subgroups.

2.1.24 PA non-initial *-čʿ-

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
*čʿ	*č	*č	*č	*č	*t

Examples of non-initial *-čʿ- can be found in the following entries: **ǎčʿV*, **bučʿo*, **áčʿu*, **čʿéčʿí*, **čʿečʿu*, **čʿ[i]čʿV*, **ēčʿo*, **gàčʿi*, **gi̯óčʿe*, **ičʿu*, **ičʿV*, **ǒčʿé*, **káčʿu*, **ki̯ǎčʿù*, **kěčʿá*, **ki̯ūčʿú*, **kʿǎčʿV*, **máčʿà*, **máčʿV̀*, **mi̯ačʿe*, **mùčʿe*, **mǒčʿa*, **ni̯ačʿi*, **něčʿá*, **nečʿè*, **ńéčʿù*, **pi̯ǔčʿà*, **pučʿù*, **pʿačʿV*, **pʿéčʿV*, **pečʿi*, **pʿĩčʿi*, **pʿi̯ǎčʿo*, **pʿúčʿí*, **sǎčʿi*, **ši̯àčʿí*, **s[i̯ó]čʿi*, **šimučʿV*, **tʿučʿV*, **ùčʿe*, **ùčʿîkʿV*, **ǔčʿo*, **účʿu*, **ǘčʿi*, **ǯečʿi*, **kʿačʿe*, **kéčʿà*.

Notes.

In Korean a reflex *s is also possible in consonant clusters after vowel reduction (**čC* is not allowed), and in syllable-final position, where the distinction *-č : *-s was already weakened in MKor.: MKor. *kàčh / kàs* 'skin' < **káčʿu*, MKor. *nǎčh*, *nǎs* < **ŋi̯àkča*, **pìs-kɨrì-* < **pečʿi*, **sàskí* < **ši̯àčʿk[o]*, **skú-mí-* < **ùčʿikʿV*.

As in other cases, Japanese here has a split reflex (*-t- or voiced / prenasalized *-nt-):

1. **buč'o > *pətə-pər-, *č'eč'u > *tùtù-nsí, *ēč'o > *ə̀tə̀r-, *ič'u > *utu, *ki̯áč'u > *kútí, *máč'a > *mátúr-, *máč'V > *mátuá, *mùč'e > *màtú, *neč'e > *nə̀tì, *ńéč'u > *mútúkár-, *pi̯ǜč'a > *pàtùr-, *puč'u > *puta-, *ši̯àč'i > *sìtú, *si̯óč'i > *sítá-nkap-, *ùč'ik'V > *ùtùkù-, *ǜč'o > *ə̀tə́-, *ǯeč'i > *(d)ìtí, *k'ač'e > *kə̀tə̀, *kéč'a > *kátà, *mànč'u > *mùtù-kí, *mi̯úkč'a > *mútì*
2. *č'éč'i > *tíntí-, *ṓč'e > *ə́ntə́-, *kȅč'a > *kàntuá, *ki̯uč'u > *kùntə̀k-, *nȅč'á > *nàntá-, *p'úč'i > *púntí, *p'i̯ắnč'i > *pínták-.*

2.1.25 PA initial *č-

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
*č-	*d-	*d- /*č[i]	*ǯ-	*č-	*t-

Notes.

This phoneme was first reconstructed in АПиПЯЯ, on the basis of examples with *d- in Turkic and Mongolian correlated with affricate reflexes in TM and Korean.

In Turkic and Mongolian PA *č- early merged with PA *t- and yields exactly the same results. The reflex of *č- and *t- is quite similar also in Japanese; but note that PA *č- never yields *d- (unlike *t- which gives *d- before i, ə). Finally, in Korean and Tungus the reflex of *č- is the same as that of *ǯ- (q.v.).

2.1.26 PA non-initial *-č-

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
*č	*č	*č	*s	*č	*s

Examples for non-initial *č can be seen in the following entries: **apuči, *ăčV, *éča , *guči, *ȉče, *i̯ǜču, *káče, *kăči, *kḗči, *ki̯oči, *ki̯uču, *kóčè, *kūči, *k'ăču, *k'i̯áčo, *k'i̯oča, *k'i̯ùčù, *k'i̯ǜča, *k'ǜčV, *láčà, *mḗča, *nòču, *óče, *p'uču, *p'ȍči, *p'ùčV, *sìča, *si̯uču, *súču, *šàčú, *šéčo, *ši̯òče, *ši̯ṓča.*

Notes.

This row of correspondences occurs only in non-initial position and is thus in complementary distribution with word-initial *č-. Although its reflexes seem to be quite different from those of *č-, the difference is not difficult to explain. In Turkic we have a voiceless reflex, similar to the standard reflex of voiceless unaspirated consonants, whereas in initial position we find *č- > *d- with deaffrication (so that d-, -č- here is in fact analogous to d-, -t- < PA *t). In Korean we would expect something like *-ǯ-, but the general process of devoicing has resulted in *-ǯ-

> -č-. In Mong. we have a uniform reflex -č-, thus the phoneme behaves exactly like unaspirated *-t- in the position of palatalization, i.e. like [*t́]. In TM and Jpn., an early process of fricativization resulted in *-č- > -š- > -s-.

In a few cases TM has -š- instead of the expected -s-. This happens regularly due to assimilation after the preceding *š- (**šoša-*, **š[e]še-*, **šušu*), and in consonant clusters *-jč- or *-bč- (**ŋüši-*, **ma[b]ši-*).

Korean has the same variation of -s and -č in syllable-final position as with *čʿ: **čə́s* < **sìča*, MKor. *sùs* < **suču*, MKor. *čís* / *číčh* < **ši̯oče*, *nǎs-ká-* < **ŋṓjču*.

It is worth noting that just as all other voiceless stops medial *č is never voiced (prenasalized) in Japanese, except in some clusters with resonants (on which see below).

2.1.27 PA initial *ǯ-

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
*ǯ-	*j-	*ǯ-	*ǯ-	*č-	*d-

The phoneme gives quite simple and uniform reflexes in all branches. Note that in Japanese it always yields *d-, independently of following vowels or consonants. This indicates that by the time of the devoicing processes (*d- > *t-, see above) it was still an affricate or a palatalized *d́-; see more on this below.

2.1.28 PA non-initial *ǯ

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
*ǯ	*j	*ǯ	*ǯ	*č	*j

Examples for medial *-ǯ- may be found in the following entries: **aǯo*, **ǎǯV*, **bǎǯá*, **bēǯu*, **čʿăǯV*, **ki̯aǯurV*, **kùǯi*, **kʿĕǯa*, **kʿi̯ṓǯa*, **kʿuǯV*, **kʿuǯV*, **laǯV*, **nāǯV*, **òǯa*, **pȅǯo*, **pi̯oǯi*, **sàǯV*, **s[i̯o]ǯe*, **ǯaǯa*, **ǯi̯òǯu*, **ǯṓǯe*, **ǯāǯV*.

Notes.

Medial -ǯ- is not frequent, but seems to be reliably reconstructable.

In Jpn. -t- is encountered occasionally, as a result of early assimilation (cf. the variants *ti* < **tiji* / *titi*; **duta-ka* < **duda-ka* instead of the expected **duja-ka*). However, the standard and most frequent reflex is a uniform *-j- (sometimes reduced to -0- in -ia-/-ai- diphthongs, like in **sài-r-* < **sàǯV*).

In Kor. in syllable-final position we may also have the reflex -s (as with other affricates): MKor. *čjəs* < **čʹăjʒV*, *kàskàp-* < **kʹi̯ŏʒa*, *sàskì* < **s[i̯u]ʒakV*.

The *-j-reflex in Turkic was also criticized by Doerfer in TMN. He takes five rather unfortunate examples from Ramstedt's KW and comes to the conclusion that "Für mo. Wörter mit -ʒ- finden sich also im Tü. keine Vergleichswörter". The phoneme is not frequent, but nevertheless we can counter this conclusion with the following examples:

PT **čAj-na-* 'to chew, bite' : Mong. **ʒaʒi-* 'to chew' (< **čaʒi-* with assimilation) < PA **čʹăʒV*

PT **ŏj-* 'to think, understand' (-j- is lost here in Old Turkic, but well preserved in Yak. *üöj-*): Mong. **üʒe-* 'to see' < PA **ĕbʒo*

PT **Kąjɨr* 'salt steppe' : Mong. **kuʒir* 'salty earth' < PA **ki̯aʒurV*

PT **Kajɨra-* 'to whet, sharpen; to rub teeth' : Mong. **kaʒa-* 'to bite' < PA **kʹĕʒa*

PT **KAj-* 'to turn back, towards' : Mong. **kaʒiwu* 'side, edge' < PA **kʹi̯ŏʒa*

PT **jāj* 'summer' : Mong. **naʒir* id. < PA **nāʒV*

PT **oj-* 'to play' : Mong. **oʒu-* 'to kiss' < PA **ȍʒa*

PT **jogan* (probably < **jojgan* with dissimilation) 'thick' : Mong. **ʒuʒaγan* id. < PA **ʒi̯ȍʒu*

PT **jōj* 'cunning, lying': Mong. **ʒüʒig* 'show, act, theatre' < PA **ʒŏʒe*

Several of these words ('salt steppe', 'summer', 'play', 'thick') could be found in the literature, and in fact the words for 'play/kiss' and 'summer' are dealt with in other parts of Doerfer's TMN. But he still says "keine Vergleichswörter"...

2.1.29 PA initial *ń-

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
*ń-	*j-	*ʒ-	*ń-	*n-	*m-

Notes.

The Mong. reflex ʒ-, still absent in АПиПЯЯ, was discovered and proved by A. Dybo [Дыбо 1995].

The phonetically strange reflex in Japanese can be explained as a result of a shift *ń- > *ŋ- > *m- (already after the original *ŋ- had yielded 0- word-initially, see below). The change *ń- > *ŋ- is typologically rare, but attested, e.g., in Southern Chinese dialects. It is perhaps worth noting that the reflex *ń > ž (ʒ) is typical for Northern Chinese dialects. So the Altaic languages here reproduce the same model of development that was typical for Chinese in the 8th-10th centuries AD.

2.1.30 PA non-initial *-ń-

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
*ń	*ń	*j, n	*ń	*ń	*n, *m

Examples for medial *ń can be found in the following entries: **ȁńe(-čʿV)*, **ā́ńu*, **i̯ū́ńa*, **číńo*, **čʿȁńè*, **ṭȁńo*, **eńa*, **ḗńa*, **eńa*, **ińo*, **kʿi̯ùńí*, **kȅńu*, *ki̯ońo*, **kúńà*, **kúńe*, **kʿeńo*, **kʿȅńó*, **kʿéńo*, **kʿi̯ū́ńu*, **kʿùńe*, **kʿōńi*, **kʿȕńi*, **peńo*, **leńa*, **lȕńi*, **mā́ńa*, **mańukʿV*, **meń[o]*, **mińV*, **mi̯óńù*, **mṓńe*, **mùńa*, **mūńa(kV)*, **n[u]ńa*, **ŋȁńa*, **ŋȁńì*, **ȍńè*, **i̯ańu*, **pańi*, **beńa*, **pʿúńe*, **póńe*, **pȁńé*, **pʿeńu*, **pʿońa*, **pʿúńe*, **sáńo*, **sańV(-kʿV)*, **si̯ā́ńi*, **ni̯ańa*, **kṓńi*.

Notes.

Non-initial *ń exists in Turkic, TM and Korean, but is a highly unstable phoneme.

Turkic. The normal reflex here is *ń (often hardly distinguishable from *j). The palatal quality, however, is lost in secondary clusters (cf. **jīn-čik*, **jaŋɨ* < **jań-gɨ*, **En-č*, **saŋ-k* < **sań-k*), and frequently (although not always) after *ɨ, *o and *ü (cf. **gün* as opposed to **guńaĺ*, **Kīn*, **jonɨrčga*, **Konak*).

Mongolian. Here there are two basic reflexes: -j- and -n-, the distribution of which has been established by I. Gruntov. The rules are:

a) the basic reflex is *-j-;

b) the reflex -n- appears: in a dissimilative manner after -i- (*kinu-*, *sinu-*, *sine);* after and before *h (= intervocalic *-ɣ-), like in *čineɣe*, *inije-*, *keneɣe*, *kunija*, *munig*, *nimniɣa*, *suɣunag*, *hünir*, *huni-*, *hani*, *hünesü*.

Palatal *-ń- also disappears (just like *-n-, *-r-) before the nominal suffix -su (**ja-su*, **hü-sü*) and is liable to velar assimilation *-ń- > *-ŋ- > -h- (cf. *gege-ɣe* < **geɣe-* < **geŋe-* < **geńe-*; *köŋge-n* < **köń-ge-*; *saŋ-ga-* < **sań-ga-*; *oŋgo-n* < **oń-go-*). In some cases with initial velar it is not quite clear whether we are dealing with a case of velar assimilation (*köɣene* < **köŋene* < **köńene*) or a positional variant of -j- (*köɣene* = /köjene/).

PTM. Tungus-Manchu normally has -ń- except for some cases of neutralization before -i- and in consonant clusters (**xeŋ-gu-* < **xeń-gu-*, **xunǯi* < **xuń-ǯi*, **ŋāni-* = **ŋāńi-*, **mun-di-* < **muń-di-*, **uŋia-* < **uńi-ga-*, **pani-* = **pańi-*, **munī-* = **muńī-*, **puŋel* < **puń-gV-l*). Note that no cases of a loss of *-ń- are attested (perhaps accidentally).

Korean. The cluster *-jń- regularly yields -j- here (cf. *s-pjə*, *sai*, *kui*, *păi*). Otherwise, the normal reflex is *ń, with a sporadic change to -n- after *i and *u, cf. *pinɨr*, *nūn*, *kin(h)* and in clusters (*an-č-*).

Japanese. Here the reflexes are -m- (evidently < *-ŋ- < *-ń-, just as word-initially) and -n-; the distribution is so far unclear. There are

two possible cases of *-ń- > -0- before a suffixed *-gV: **ka-* 'day' < **gi̯ojńu-gV* (cf. Mong. *gege-γe*) and **ka* 'mosquito' < **kuńe-gV* (cf. TM **kuńī-kta*).

2.1.31 PA initial *š-

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
*š-	*s- /*č[*A]	*s- / *č[*A]	*š-	*s-	*s-

The reconstruction of PA *š- is based on the reconstruction of PTM *š — a phoneme usually reflected as š in Manchu, but as č in other languages. Elsewhere the phoneme basically merged with *s-, but traces of a special behaviour can be found in Turkic and Mongolian —where *š- > *s- only before front vowels, whereas before back vowels *š- > *č- —, as well as in Korean, where, despite a certain paucity of evidence, one can observe that *si̯- yields *h- before *-a-, *-u- , whereas *ši̯- always yields *s-.

2.1.32 PA non-initial *-š-

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
*š	*s	*s	*š	*s	*s

Non-initial *-š- is extremely rare (and, for some reason, found almost exclusively after velars); examples for *-š- are restricted to: **bašo*, **guša*, **kóšì*, **kŏše*, **kùši*, **kušu*, **kušV*, **kʿi̯òše*, **kʿŏši*.

Notes.

As seen from the correspondences, medial *-š- is distinguished from *-s- only in TM. The correspondence, however, is quite parallel to initial *š-, only without the positional affrication in Turkic, Mongolian and Korean. So the phoneme still seems worth reconstructing.

In Jpn. *-š-, like *-s- is not liable to voicing (prenasalization) - at least in those few cases where it is reflected at all.

2.1.33 PA *-ŕ-

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
*ŕ	*ŕ	*r	*r	*r	*r / t[i,u]

Examples for *-ŕ- can be found in the following dictionary entries: **àŕì*, **āŕa*, **bȁŕ[i]*, **bāŕa*, **baŕV*, **bĕŕa*, **bi̯ŏ́ŕu*, **boŕV*, **bŭŕi*, **či̯oberV*, **či̯uŕi*, **či̯úŕu*, **čʿiŕV*, **deŕa*, **ǯiŕe*, **dŭŕi*, **ḗŕa*, **gȁŕ[à]*, **gȁŕV*, **gi̯ȁŕá*, **gi̯ȍŕe*, **gī́ŕa*, **gṓŕV*, **gȕŕi*, **ī́ŕu*, **ki̯úŕu*, **kȉŕa*, **kʿaŕa*, **kʿéŕà*, **kʿȅŕo*, **kʿi̯óŕa*, **kʿi̯ŏŕo*, **kʿi̯uŕa*,

**kʿi̯ŭ́ru*, **kʿuŕe*, **kʿ[ú]ŕa*, **si̯uŕo*, **mi̯uŕu*, **ńi̯ăŕe*, **ńi̯àŕì*, **ni̯ắŕ[à]*, **ni̯úŕe*, **núŕi*, **ŋ̀ŏŕa*, **omuŕV*, **ŏŕe*, **ŏ́ŕì*, **ŏ́ŕi*, **pĕ́ŕe*, **pĕ́ŕV*, **pŭ̀ŕi*, **aguŕV*, **pʿi̯ŏ̀ŕe*, **pʿŭŕi*, **saŕi*, **sáŕo*, **sắŕo(-gV)*, **sắŕi*, **siŕu*, **ši̯ŭŕu*, **si̯ắŕi*, **si̯ŭ́ŕe*, **si̯ŭ̀ŕi*, **tŏ́ŕu*, **tʿĕ́ŕa*, **tʿeŕo*, **tʿĕ̀ŕù*, **tʿi̯ŭ́ŕe*, **tʿŏ̀ŕe*, **tʿŏ́ŕe*, **úŕi*, **i̯uŕo*, **ŭ́ŕV*, **ǯi̯uŕi*, **ǯ[i̯ō]ŕo*, **arŕV*.

Notes.

PA *ŕ, like *r, occurred only in non-initial position.

It is reconstructed basically on Turkic evidence where it is clearly distinct from *r. One may note, however, that the Jpn. correspondence also differs. Superficially Jpn. has the same two reflexes - r and t - as for PA *r. Here, however, they are in rather clear complementary distribution: -t- occurs only before root-final -i and -u, whereas -r- occurs in all other cases (root-finally, before -a and -ə). The only exceptions are those when the reflex of *-ŕ- is attested in the second syllable of a trisyllabic stem: **turu(m)pai*, **sita-t(a)-*, **katana*, **kətəpək-*, **kuruma*. In all probability the second vowel here is a result of later assimilation either to the first or to the third one.

Here, as with other resonants, in PTM loss of *-ŕ- after a long vowel in monosyllables is attested: **sā-* < **sāŕi.*

In Jpn., however, *-ŕ- (like other palatal resonants) is never lost. Its *-t-reflex is also never voiced (prenasalized). This lack of voicing may be important: it probably means that the change -ŕ- > -t- occurred quite late, already after the process of prenasalization of original stops was completed — which also complies with the fact that the change -ŕ- > -t- happens before PJ *-i and *-u, vowels that evidently come from many different Altaic sources, i.e. already after various important vocalic changes in the history of Japanese.

2.1.34 PA initial *Í-

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
*Í-	*j-	*d- / ǯ[i]	*l-	*n-	*n-

Notes.

Initial *Í- is reconstructed in a small but significant number of cases where all languages reflect *l- but Mong. has a reflex typical for *d-. In one case — **Íi̯ŏ́mo(ŋa)* — even the TM forms have not preserved traces of *l- (probably because of very early nasal assimilation **Íi̯ŏmo(ŋa)* > **ńi̯ŏmo(ŋa)*), but the Mongolian reflex *d- cannot be explained in any other way.

One could reconstruct something like a voiced lateral affricate here, but we assume that this correspondence is in fact a match for the

widely attested word-medial PA *-Í- (see below), whose initial reflex was hitherto unknown.

To provide additional information on Turkic *j- corresponding to TM *l- (but this time < *Í-) we shall list the cases here:

Turk.	Mong.	TM	PA
*jaku'coat'	*daku	*laKu (/*leKu) 'warm trousers'	*ĺakʿV
*jaba 'wild onion'	*debeɣe 'meadow'	*labikta 'moss, cudbear'	*ĺábó
*jek 'demon; to hate'	*ǯikeji (> ǯe-) 'mediocre, worse'	*lāK- 'difficulty, disorder'	*ĺȁkʿè
*jāpak 'fork,	*daɣaga(n)	*lap(ki) 'poles with bifurcation'	*ĺā́pʿV
bifurcation'	'horizontal bar'		
*jap- 'mass of hair or wool'	*daɣaki 'exuviation, tangled hair'	*lepu- 'feather, down'	*ĺepʿa
*jigren-'to hate, abhor'	*ǯig- id.	*lēgī- 'to scold'	*ĺȅgì
*jip- 'violet, purple'	*ǯibi 'rust'	Evk. lipereme 'dark red'	*ĺipʿú
*jom(ak) 'tale, legend; medicine'	*dom(ag) 'tale, magic'	*nim-ŋā- 'fairy-tale'	*ĺi̯ŏ́mo(ŋa)
*jul- 'to ransom'	*doli- id.	Evk. lelol- 'to ask'	*ĺi̯ul[o]
*jip 'thread'	*ǯiɣeg (> *ǯe-) 'thin thread'	*lup- 'to prick, pierce'	*ĺi̯ŭ̀pʿù
*jēl- 'to ride, trot'	*ǯilu- 'flee, run away'	*lelu- 'to jump, ride, trot'	*ĺḗlV
*jugur- 'to knead'	*ǯiɣura-	*lug-	*ĺi̯uga(rV)

2.1.35 PA non-initial *-Í-

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
*Í	*Í	*l	*l	*r	*s

Examples for *-Í- can be found in the following dictionary entries: **ăĺi, *aĺi, *aĺV, *ā́ĺa, *boĺe, *bŏĺi, *bū́ĺa, *bŭ̀ĺi, *bŭ̀ĺo, *čŏĺe, *dȁĺà, *ḗĺV, *gaĺi,*

**gǐĺò, *gi̯ā́ĺu, *gi̯ṓĺV, *gi̯ù̀ĺo, *g[i̯ú]ĺe, *i̯áĺa, *iĺa, *i̯oĺe, *īĺa, *ī́ĺi, *kʿě̀ĺú, *ki̯ǒĺe, *ki̯uĺe, *ki̯oĺa, *kṓĺi(kV), *kuĺV, *k[ā]ĺe, *kʿǎĺi, *kʿǎ̀ĺo, *kʿéĺe, *kʿìĺa, *kʿi̯uĺe, *kʿi̯ú́ĺa, *kúĺapʿV, *kʿúĺa, *kʿù̀ĺa, *máĺe, *mi̯à̀ĺà, *mi̯uĺi, *mi̯ú́ĺi, *móĺe, *ńiĺu, *ni̯ā́ĺi, *ńi̯ṓĺe, *oĺa, *pʿaĺi, *pʿě̀ĺo, *pʿi̯ṓĺo, *pʿǔĺi, *sáĺo, *si̯ṓĺe, *sīĺa, *ši̯ǎĺì, *tǎ̀ĺ[o], *teĺV, *ti̯ṓĺì, *ti̯ú́ĺu, *tù̀ĺe, *tǔ̀ĺe, *tʿuĺi, *tʿōĺi, *tʿúĺi, *ǔĺà, *uĺe, *uĺi, *oĺi, *uĺukV, *ŭĺi, *zi̯oĺa, *zi̯úĺa, *ʒě́ĺo, *gě̀ĺa, *kʿi̯aĺu, *i̯ṓĺe.*

Notes.

PA *Í is well preserved in all branches. Besides the standard reflexes we may note the following:

a) In Turkic, *-Í- > *-l- in combination with some affixes (Helimski's rule, see Хелимский 1986b); cf. **jul-tuŕ* (not **juĺ-tuŕ*) < **pʿi̯uĺo*.
b) In Mong., *-Í- > -0- before the affixes -du-, -su- (cf. *ho-dun* < **hol-dun* < **pʿi̯uĺo*, **si-dü* < **sil-dü*, **na-su* < **nal-su*, **mö-sü* (but also **möl-sü*)). Just like *-l-, *-Í- is dissimilated > -j- before the following -l- (**bujil-* < **bŏĺi*, **ujile* < **ilü-le* < **ī́ĺi*) and metathesized before the following -r- (**kerelʒegene* < **kele-r-ʒegene* < **kʿě̀ĺú*) .
c) In Kor., *-jÍ- > *-j-, -0- (cf. *na(h)* < **najĺV*, *soi* < **zejĺu*, *pɨi-* < **bujĺe*).
d) In Jpn., *-Í- (just like *-ŕ- and *-ń-), never yields -0- in combination with the following affixes. Thus the only reflex here is -s-, which, however, can also be voiced (prenasalized) into -ns-.

Conditions for prenasalization are here exactly the same as in the case with -nt- < -t- < *-r- (see above): *-s- > -ns- in intervocalic position before the following intervocalic -r-: cf. **ki̯ǒĺe* > **kə̀nsìrì*, **mi̯ú́ĺi* > **mínsə́rá-*, probably also **gǐĺo* > **kìsàra-nki* (not **kinsaranki* because of the dissimilation rule in Japanese); but in verbal stems **si̯ṓĺ[e]* > **sə́sír-*, **pʿě̀ĺo* > **pàsìr-*, **móĺe* > **músír-*, **búĺa* > **básúrá-*. Exceptions are **gi̯ā́ĺu* > *kusirə* and **dǎ̀ĺa* > **dàsìrə̀* 'shrine' (the latter probably under influence of **sirə* 'castle'). Note, however, that voicing of *-Í- occurs rather frequently in old consonant clusters (**Íč*, **Íb*, etc., see below).

2.1.36 PA *-j-

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
*j	*j	*j, h	*j	*j, *0	*j, *0

Examples of PA *-j- see in the following dictionary entries: **ăjV*, **ăjVrV*, **ǎja*, **bǎja*, **băjV*, **bě̀je*, **béjo*, **bíju*, **baja*, **bóju*, **čʿaju*, **čʿǎ́jV*, **čʿiju*, **éjá*, **ěju*, **gǎ̀já*, **gǎ̀ju*, **gajV*, **gijo*, **gojV*, **gǒje*, **kajamV*, **kaje*, **kaji*, **kàji*, **keju*, **kě̀ju*, **kìjá*, **ki̯ájo*, **ki̯à̀jú*, **ki̯ujilV*, **kúja*, **kúja*, **kujV*, **kʿě́ja*, **li̯ája*, **maja*, **maji*, **majV*, **meju*, **mi̯oje*, **mi̯ǒjo*, **móju*, **nàje*, **najV(rV)*, **ni̯ǎ̀ji*, **neji*, **lě̀ja*, **ńūje*, **ŋi̯aji*, **ŋù̀je*, **ŋū́ju*, **òje*, **ǒje*, **póju*, **pàjá*, **pàje*, **pàjò*, **pʿajo*, **pʿāji*, **pʿíjo*, **pʿoje*, **pʿójV*, **pʿūji*, **pʿuje*, **pʿujV*, **pʿ[i̯ù]ju*, **pʿ[ò]jamV*,

**sȁja, *saji, *sajo, *sǻjV, *sèjV, *si̯ōje, *sī́ju, *siju, *ši̯ŏju, *ši̯ȕjò, *taja, *tȁjV, *tā́jV, *tṓj-, *tuju, *tʿā́ja, *tʿȅja, *tʿijV, *tʿoje, *tʿŭja, *tʿùji, *tʿúju, *uji, *ùjò, *uju, *ujV(kʿV), *ṓjV, *ʒḗja, *naja, *dijV, *néji, *suji, *aje, *ŋi̯ūja, *ŋūja, *mȕjV.*

Notes.

PA *j is reconstructed only in word-medial position. It may well be thought, however, that it was represented word-initially as the first part of the *i̯-diphthongs **i̯a-, *i̯u-, *i̯o-* (see below).

PA *-j- is preserved everywhere, but in every subgroup it has a tendency to disappear — in the vicinity of front vowels, being swallowed up by preceding diphthongs etc.

In Mong. -j- tends to be replaced by -h-, mostly before the following -e or -u-vowels.

In TM there are several cases of *-j- disappearing after a long vowel: **gȍje > *gū, *ni̯ȁji > *ńā-, *ńūje > *ńē-, *pʿāji > *pā, *pʿūji > *pū-, *si̯ōje > *sū-, *tā́jV > *dā, *ŋi̯ūja > *ŋō-*.

In Turkic there are several cases when original *-j- seems to be reflected as *-d-: cf. **ŋi̯ūja > *jɨd, *ŋūju > *ūdɨ-, *sèjV > *sedre-, *gȁju > *Kadgu*. Note that in the cases where Chuvash has preserved these roots it has not the standard -r-reflex, but -j- (*ɨjɣъ, sajra, xojɣa*), so that in fact *-d- (*-ð-) may have been introduced here already after the separation of Chuvash. The conditions of its appearance, however, are not clear. In the case of **ūdɨ-* 'sleep', e.g., it could be just an added suffix (because the simple noun *ū 'sleep' is also preserved); in **jɨd* and **sedre* it could be a result of dissimilation < *-j-; finally, old interdialectal loans also cannot be excluded (in **Kaja* 'rock' we also find *-j- instead of an expected *-d-).

2.1.37 PA initial *kʿ-

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
*kʿ-	*k-	*k-	*x-	*k-	*k-

Note.

In PT, *k- and *g- are only distinguished before front vowels; before back ones we always write *K- which means that we cannot distinguish *k- from *g- in this position.

2.1.38 PA non-initial *-kʿ-

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
*kʿ	*k	*k, g / -g	*k/x	*k, h	*k

Examples of PA *-kʿ- can be found in the following entries: **ákʿà, *akʿa, *ā́kʿa, *ǎkʿè, *ǒkʿà, *ǎ̀kʿú, *àlakʿu, *bǎ̀kʿù, *bekʿú, *bi̯ǒkʿà(rV), *bi̯ǔkʿa, *bǔ̀kʿe, *bi̯ǔ̀kʿí, *bukʿV, *bi̯ukʿe, *čěkʿa, *čʿǎkʿi, *čʿakʿe, *čʿakʿa, *čʿě́kʿà, *čʿekʿV, *čʿēkʿV, *čʿikʿò, *čʿǐ̀kʿà, *čʿǐkʿa, *čʿi̯abVkʿV, *čʿi̯ā́kʿe, *čʿi̯ākʿe, *čʿi̯ǒ̀kʿó, *čʿúkʿi, *čʿòkʿe, *čʿǒkʿi, *čʿǒ̀kʿa, *čʿ[i̯a]kʿi, *dǎ̀kʿì, *dékʿà, *dǒn(e)kʿV, *èkʿá, *ěkʿà, *gékʿá, *gókʿì, *gǔ̀kʿà, *i̯ā́kʿV, *ukʿe, *ī́kʿè, *kákʿá, *kā́kʿi, *kakʿo, *kā́kʿò, *kā́kʿi, *kekʿV, *kǒ̀kʿò, *kǒ̀kʿè, *kòĺbèkʿV, *kǒ́kʿà, *kǒ́kʿe, *kúkʿè, *kʿi̯ǒ̀kʿò, *làkʿù, *ĺakʿV, *lǎ̀kʿa, *ĺǎ̀kʿè, *li̯ū́kʿa, *lokʿo, *lúkʿì, *makʿé, *mi̯ákʿù, *mékʿà, *mékʿù, *mi̯ā́kʿo, *mi̯ǎkʿó, *mi̯ókʿ[ú], *mǒkʿV, *mókʿì, *múkʿè, *mǔ̀kʿé, *mūkʿo, *m[ù]kʿè, *ni̯ákʿì, *nakʿi, *lakʿ[a], *nìkʿé, *nǐ̀kʿú, *nǐ̀kʿe, *nǔ̀kʿé, *ŋi̯ǎ̀kʿu, *òkʿè, *ǒ́kʿè, *okʿV, *pákʿ[ò], *pǎ̀lukʿV, *pě́kʿò, *pi̯ǔ̀kʿì, *pi̯ǔ́kʿí, *pū́kʿa, *pákʿà, *pě̀kʿi, *pekʿV, *pʿěkʿV, *pʿokʿe, *pʿǒkʿi(-ŕV), *pʿŭrVkʿV, *sakʿo, *sàkʿa, *sakʿu(rV), *sèkʿu, *síkʿè, *sǐ́kʿù, *si̯ǒ́kʿù, *si̯ā́kʿà, *si̯ǒ́kʿù, *si̯orekʿV, *sǒ̀kʿe, *sukʿe, *sukʿì, *šǎ̀kʿa, *šekʿa, *ši̯ā́kʿù, *ši̯ǔkʿu, *tàkʿu, *tǐ̀kʿi, *tokʿà, *tʿǎ́kʿì, *tʿákʿù, *tʿákʿù, *tʿǎ̀kʿò, *tʿǎ́kʿù, *tʿakʿi, *tʿě́kʿo, *tʿikʿV, *tʿi̯akʿa, *nekʿV, *tʿi̯ū́kʿe, *tʿǒkʿù, *tʿǒkʿV, *tʿǔ̀kʿV, *tʿǔ̀kʿù, *ukʿi, *úkʿu, *ŭkʿurkV, *úkʿè, *ukʿV, *ʒi̯akʿa, *ʒi̯ókʿè, *ʒǔ̀r(V)kʿe, *ukʿè, *čʿakʿV, *púkʿV, *ʒakʿV.*

Notes.

In Mong., there are cases of secondary voicing *-k- > -g- in front of a following -g- (-h-): cf. **sögüγe, *čaga-γan, *jaga-γan, *sege-γe-* (but also **seke-γe*) < **si̯ǒ́kʿu, *sege-γe* (but also **seke-γe*) < **si̯ā́kʿa*. Less frequent are other cases of voicing: **ege-če* as a suffixed form of **eke, *ogo-da-su, *daga-* in variation with **daka-*. The reflex *g also regularly occurs in syllable-final position, where all laryngeal features were neutralized in Mongolian (see above on labials and dentals). In two cases (**uγurga* and **ʒeγergene*; perhaps also **čiγire* < **čʿikʿò-rV*) there occurred further weakening *-g- > *-h- in a secondary cluster *-kʿr- (on cluster development see below).

In TM, where the distinction between *-k- and *-x- is maintained in the Southern subgroup (see below), PA *-kʿ- can yield both *-k- and *-x-. The distribution here seems to depend on the original following vowel: before PA *-a and *-e PTM has *-k-, while before the high vowels *-i and *-u, as well as before *-o, PTM has *-x-. Cf.:

1. **ā́kʿa > *akā, *ǒkʿà > *ok-, *čěkʿa > *ʒeki, *čʿǐ̀kʿà > *čiku-, *čʿǒ̀kʿa > *čōk(i)-, *dékʿà > *deke-, *gékʿá > *gek(u)-, *gǔ̀kʿa > *guk-, *ukʿe > *ukī, *ī́kʿè > *ikē-, *kǒ̀kʿè > *xuku-n / *kuku-n, *lǎ̀kʿa > *lāk-, *makʿé > *maka-, *mǔ̀kʿé > *mōk-, *nǐ̀kʿe > *nīka, *pū́kʿa > *pukē-n, *pʿokʿe > *puke-, *sǒ̀kʿe > *sōk-, *šǎ̀kʿa > *šāk-, *tʿi̯akʿa > *tiaku, *ʒi̯akʿa > *ʒiaka, *ʒi̯ókʿè > *ʒuke*
2. **ǎ̀kʿú > *axiri-, *čʿi̯ǒ̀kʿó > *čixa-, *dǎ̀kʿì > *daxa-, *kā́kʿi > *kaxa-, *làkʿù > *laxu-, *lokʿo > *loxa, *mi̯ǎkʿó > *muxa-, *mókʿì > *muxu-, *mūkʿo (~ -u) > *muxa- / *muxe-, *sèkʿu > *sexu-, *si̯ǒ́kʿù > *six-, *tʿǎ̀kʿò > *tāxVr, *tʿakʿi (~ -u) > *taxi, *tʿě́kʿo > *texēn, *tʿǒkʿù > *toxan, *tʿǔ̀kʿù > *tux-, *čʿikʿò > *čixe-*

Korean has normally -k-. However, after vowel reduction *CVkʿ- regularly yields *Ch-; in a few cases the reflex -h- (or even -0-) is observed even without vowel reduction, due to causes yet to be discovered.

In Japanese we have the usual split of *-kʿ- into voiceless *-k- and voiced (prenasalized) *-nk-:

1. *ákʿa > *ák-, *ắkʿe > *ə́kúr-, *ȍkʿa > *àkuàjài, *àlakʿu > *àrúk-, *bȁkʿu > *pukusi, *bi̯ṓkʿa(rV) > *pə́kə́rí, *bṓrkʿi > *púk-, *bi̯ukʿe > *pùkùmpái, *čĕkʿa > *təkə, *čʿḗkʿa > *ták-, *čʿikʿo > *təkusa, *čʿĭ̀kʿa > *tàkàrà, *čʿi̯ākʿe > *tə̀kì, *čʿŏkʿi > *tuku-mpap-, *dȁkʿi > *tìkà-, *ĕkʿa > *kaka, *gókʿi > *kúkì, *gȕkʿa > *kakàr- (but also *kànkì), *ī́kʿe > *íkár-, *kā́kʿo > *kákì, *kȍkʿo > *kə̀k-, *kȍkʿe > *kə̀kə̀rə̀, *kṓkʿa > *káká-, *kúkʿe > *kuaku-mi, *kʿi̯ȍkʿo > *kakurai, *kʿi̯ujkʿe > *kùkùi, *làkʿu > *nuki, *ĺȁkʿe > *nəkə, *lokʿo > *nə̀kə̂, *lúkʿi > *núk-, *mékʿa > *máká-, *mékʿu > *múkúrua, *mókʿi > *múkási, *múkʿe > *mák-, *m[u]kʿe > *màkànàp-, *òkʿe > *ə̀kə̀r-, *ṓkʿe > *ə́k-, *pḗkʿo > *pàkàr-, *pi̯ȕkʿi > *pìkù-, *sèkʿu > *sùk-, *síkʿe > *síkími, *sī́kʿu > *súkú-má-, *si̯ā́kʿa > *sákà-, *si̯ṓkʿu > *súk-, *sukʿi > *suki, *sū́jkʿi > *sikar-, *ši̯ā́kʿu > *súk-, *tokʿa > *takua, *tʿắkʿi > *tíkáp-, *tʿákʿu > *túkáp-, *tʿȕkʿù > *tùkàm-, *úkʿu > *úká-nkáp-, *úkʿe > *bə́ká, *ǯi̯ókʿe > *dúkì, *ukʿe > *bəkə;
2. *ȁkʿu > *ùnkàt-, *bekʿu > *punku, *bi̯ȕkʿi > *pìnkàm-, *borso-kʿV > *bə̀sánkí, *čʿi̯ȍkʿo > *tə̀nká-, *gékʿa > *kánkám-, *kákʿa > *kánká-, *lèjkʿa > *niànkàp-, *makʿe > *mənkar-, *mańukʿV > *mùnánkí, *mi̯ăkʿo > *manka, *mi̯ókʿ[u] > *mánká-, *mȕkʿe > *mànkúrúa, *nìkʿe > *nìnkà-, *nȉ̀kʿ[u] > *nə̀nkə̀p-, *nȕkʿe > *nuànkà-, *pi̯ū́kʿi > *pínkúrásí, *tū́jkʿu > *túnká-, *tʿḕkʿi > *tìnkìr-

2.1.39 PA initial *k-

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
*k-	*g-	*k-	*k-	*k-	*k-

Notes.

For Turkic see notes to *kʿ-.

PA *k- is distinguished from *kʿ- in Turkic (where the opposition is recoverable before front vowels) and in TM.

2.1.40 PA non-initial *-k-

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
*k	*k, gVr	*g / -g	*k	*0, h	*k

Examples for *-k- can be found in the following entries: *bèka, *bȁka, *bȁká, *băkV, *báku, *bȕkà, *bȍku, *bȍkà, *bṓke, *čărikV, *či̯oke, *čʿáko, *čʿika, *čʿȁki, *čʿukV, *dáku, *dḗkà, *dorVkV, *ḕka, *kìkú, *kʿòké, *kʿắka, *kʿȁkú, *kʿōkí,

**kʿùkè*, **kʿókì*, **lako*, **lí̯ǐ̯ǒki*, **luko*, **luke*, **mĕ̀ko*, **mi̯ūko*, **ńĕka*, **neku*, **nĕ̀ko*, **ni̯ăke*, **nǐkV*, **oki*, **ŏ́ki*, **ŏ̀r(e)kV*, **pi̯ǎ̀ki*, **pʿí̯àká*, **pi̯ǒ̀ka*, **pi̯óko*, **pʿí̯ukò*, **pōki*, **sǎ̀kà*, **sǎ́ki*, **si̯aku*, **si̯ōku*, **sūku*, **sokV*, **soke*, **sŭ́ku*, **suku*, **ti̯ùke*, **tʿǎ̀kù*, **tʿakV*, **tʿékù*, **tʿĕ̀kí*, **tʿí̯ákù*, **tʿí̯ukV*, **tʿŏ̀kè*, **tʿukì*, **tʿukí*, **tʿukV*, **ùkú*, **úku*, **zi̯úko*, **ǯòkó*, **si̯ǔ̀ku*, **šǎ̀ke*.

Notes.

Non-initial *-k- is somewhat hard to distinguish from *-kʿ- (see above). The reflexes in Jpn. and Turkic are basically the same - except that in Japanese *-k-, unlike *-kʿ- is not prenasalized (see below) and Turkic *-k-, unlike *-kʿ-, is regularly voiced before the following *r: cf. **iagɨr*, **biagɨr*, **ugra-*, **Kagur*, **čɨgɨr*, **jogurgan*, **jogurt-*, **boguŕ*, **sogur*, **tagra-*, **sɨgɨr*, **jagɨr* (in one case - **dEgiŋ* - also before *ŋ).

In TM *-k-, always gives a stop *-k- (unlike *-kʿ- which in very many cases yields *-x-, see above).

In Kor. *-k- usually does not give -k-, but disappears or leaves aspiration (-h-); exceptions are cases of vowel reduction in the first syllable (**skór* < **si̯aku*), and assimilations (like *mək-kuri* 'big black snake' < **mi̯ūko*, *sok-kori* (but mod. *sokhuri* = **soh-kuri*) 'basket' < **sŭ́ku*).

The really decisive language here is Mongolian which regularly has *-g- < *-k-.

In very many cases, however - when Turkic has *-k- without a following *r, the Mong. reflex is unknown (or has a syllable-final -g, or has a -g- before the following -ɣ-), the TM reflex is ambiguous, and the Kor. reflex is unknown or has a syllable-final -k, *-k- and *-kʿ- cannot be distinguished from each other. This explains a relatively small number of clear cases of *-k-.

Japanese, as we said above, does not usually voice (prenasalize) *-k-, like all other unaspirated stops. All exceptions occur only in roots with initial aspirated consonants: **kʿǎ̀ku* > **kùnkùtú*, **kʿōki* > **kunki*, **pʿí̯àka* > **pànkiá-*, **tʿǎ̀ki* > **tinkui*, **tʿĕ̀ki* > **tìnkìr-*, **tʿuki* > **túnk-*. This is obviously the result of an early assimilation process *CʿVCV > *CʿVCʿV (see above on the same with other stops).

2.1.41 PA initial *g

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
*g-	*g-	*g-	*g-	*k-	*k-

Notes.

Turkic neutralizes the distinction of *k- and *g- before back vowels, see above, so in that position we write *K- in Proto-Turkic.

The correspondence Mong. ɣ- : Turkic q- — i.e. exactly PA *g- before back vowels— was also criticized by Doerfer (p. 60), who says he can find only one clear case: Mong. ɣar 'hand, arm' : Turk. *qar* (i.e. **Kar*) 'arm'.

He is correct in abolishing four of Ramstedt's examples that are actually borrowings. We think that Ramstedt's another example (Turk. **Kob-* 'to follow, chase': Mong. **guji-* 'to search, ask' (cf. also TM **gob-* 'to hunt', Jpn. **kəp-* 'to ask') is still quite valid. Doerfer argues that the older form attested in Mong. is *γuju-* (in the SH), so that *γuji-* must be a recent assimilation, and cannot therefore go back to a form with *b-. To this we may comment that the SH is by no means the most archaic form of Mongolian with respect to vowels: numerous cases of assimilation are already attested there — such as *ʒurokan* 'heart' against WMong. *ʒirüken*. More significantly, no process like "assimilation of u to the preceding j" has ever taken place in the history of Mongolian. Still another refuted example (for semantic reasons) is Turk. **Kol-* 'to beg, beggar' (not "bitten" as Doerfer writes): Mong. *γolu-* 'to be unhappy, despise'; the original meaning here was obviously just 'be unhappy, endure' (cf. the TM and Jpn. parallels in PA **gi̯ò̀lo*), whence "to be a beggar" is a quite natural development.

Let us now look at other examples:

Turk. **Kadgu* 'sorrow' : Mong. **gaj* id. < PA **gǎ̀ju*

Turk. **KAj-* 'to pay respect' : Mong. **gajika-* 'to wonder' < PA **gajV*

Turk. **Kal* 'wild, rough': Mong. **galʒaγu* 'wild, rabid' < PA **gǎ̀li*

Turk. **Kabɨk*, **Kabɨŕ* 'shell, husk': Mong. **gawr-su* 'chaff, straw' < PA **gébo*

Turk. **KAkɨ-* 'to be angry': Mong. **gaγa-* id. < PA **gḗga*

Turk. **Kalɨŋ* 'thick': Mong. **goli-* 'be tall, stately, gross' < **gi̯ǎlu*

Turk. **Kiāl-* 'to stay behind': Mong. **gal-* 'to walk slowly, be lazy' < PA **gi̯ǎ̄la*

Turk. **Kula-* 'to jump over', **Kulač* 'fathom' (< *'spread') : Mong. **guldu* 'along smth.' < PA **gi̯ŭldo*

Turk. **Kōl* 'valley' : Mong. **gowl* id. < PA **goblu*

Turk. **Kodɨ* 'below, downwards': Mong. **gudu-* 'to lower, downward' < PA **gódu*

Turk. **Koŋuŕ* 'beetle' : Mong. **guwur* 'larva of a gad-fly' < PA **goŋV(ŕV)*

Turk. **Kun-* 'to rob, plunder, attack' : Mong. **gani* 'berserk; to strive, endeavour' < PA **guna*

Turk. **Kūtuŕ* 'mad, enraged, instigate': Mong. **gutu(ra)-* 'lose power, lose courage' < PA **gū́tʿu*

Most of these examples have been mentioned in the literature, and four are actually taken from the same text which Doerfer is criticizing.

This is again an example of Doerfer's debating technique (for *m-, *l-, *-ǯ-, see above): poor evidence is criticized while better evidence is omitted from discussion.

2.1.42 PA non-initial *g

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
*-g-	*g	*h, g, -g	*g	*0, h, -k	*k,[*iV]0

Examples for *-g- can be found in the following entries: **agà, *ágà, *agu-la, *ȁgò, *ā́gi, *ȁgV, *bagu, *begV, *bi̯ȍga, *bi̯ȍgi, *bi̯ogo, *bi̯úga, *bi̯ū́ge, *bi̯ugu, *bògé, *bi̯ūgi, *bŏga, *bū́gà, *čágo, *či̯ŏge, *čʿi̯aga, *čʿùgù, *čʿṓga, *čʿ[a]ge, *dā́gá, *dagi, *dȁgì, *dagV, *tègà, *di̯òge, *d[é]gì, *ĕgi, *egVrV, *ḗgó, *gḗgà, *i̯agu, *i̯ā́ga, *i̯ā́gi, *i̯ā́ga, *i̯ugerV, *i̯úgu, *i̯ȕge, *kȕgù, *kʿegVnV, *kʿi̯oge, *kʿi̯ȕge, *ĺȅgì, *li̯ŏga, *lī́gà, *lŭge, *mi̯àga, *mūga, *ńi̯ȍgè, *ni̯ugu, *ĺi̯uga(rV), *ȍge, *óligV, *pʿágò, *pi̯áge, *pṓga, *pṓgí(-rV), *pṓgV, *pȕgò, *pʿàgò, *pegò, *pʿi̯ȁge, *pʿi̯agu, *aguŕV, *pʿi̯agV, *pʿi̯ùgV, *pʿṓgè, *pʿugu, *pʿȕgé, *sago, *si̯oga, *ságú, *sagè, *ségì, *segu, *sȅgù, *sȉgà, *sȉgà, *sígá, *sigo, *sigí, *sī́gú, *si̯ȁgi, *si̯óga, *sagu, *si̯ṓgu, *si̯ȍgu, *si̯uga, *sī́gò, *sógà, *soge, *si̯òge, *sogì, *sogú, *sugá, *súgò, *sugú, *ḗga, *ši̯ogo, *ši̯ȍgV, *ši̯uga(lV), *tago, *tagù, *teg[u], *tēga, *tógì, *tȕgì, *tʿȁgè, *tʿégè, *tʿégè(-rV), *tʿi̯age, *tʿi̯úgo, *tʿi̯ȕge, *tʿògà, *tʿoge, *tʿògì, *i̯uga, *úgà, *uge, *ugi, *i̯uge(ŕV), *zego, *ǯígù, *tegá, *di̯ági, *ǯi̯úgi, *ǯuge, *ǯugi, *zagè, *čʿi̯ugu, *togV, *kagVlV, *tʿȁgo*.

Notes.

In Mong., the usual reflex is -h- (orthographically -ɣ-, see above; -j- in front of -i-), but before the following -ɣ-, -j- we see a stop reflex -g-: **aga-ɣar* (the WMong. spelling is *aɣar*, but modern forms like Khalkha *agār* show that it should be amended to *aɣaɣar*) < **aga*; **aguji* < **ága*; **aɣu-* (Khalkha *ū-dam*), but **agu-ɣu*, **agu-ji* (Khalkha *agū*, *aguj*) < **ḗgo*, **nogo-ɣan* < **li̯ŏga*, **ügej* < **ȍge*, **sigi-ɣa-* < **síga*, **sigu-j* < **sȉgo*, **dege-ɣe* < **teg[u]*, **togu-ɣa(n)* < **tʿi̯age*, **tuguj* < **tʿi̯ȕge*, **ǯögeji* < **ǯuge*.

In clusters with resonants and in syllable-final position, Mongolian always has the stop reflex g.

In Japanese the distribution of reflexes is quite similar to that of *-b- and *-d-, namely, after original diphthongs we always have a 0-reflex, (cf. *-w- < *-b-, *-j- < *-d-), usually resulting in vowel contraction, but sometimes leaving a trace as -j- or -w-; in other cases there may be either *-k- or the voiced (prenasalized) *-g-:

1. **bi̯ȍga* > **bà*, **bi̯ȍgi* > **pìja-*, **pì*, **bi̯ogo* > **pía*, **bi̯úga* > **bà*, **bi̯ū́ge* > **bə*, **bi̯ugu* > **pu*, **bi̯ūgi* > **piwə-*, **či̯ŏge* > **tia*, **di̯òge* > **də̀-*, **i̯ā́ga* > **ia*, **i̯ugerV* > **bəri*, **i̯úgu* > **ú-pa-*, **kʿi̯ȕge* > **k(ù)i*, **li̯ŏga* > **nà*, **mi̯àga* >

**màwə̀-s-, *ńi̯ȍge > *mù-(kuâ), *li̯uga(rV) > *niàr-, *pi̯áge > *píjái, *pʿi̯agu > *pu, *pʿi̯agV > *pí, *pʿi̯ùgV > *pà, *si̯oga > *sa, *si̯óga > *sá-, *sə́-, *si̯ṓgu > *sú, *si̯ȍgu > *suà-rá , *ši̯ogo > *səjə, *tʿi̯úgo > *tu-i, *tʿi̯ȕge > *tù, *i̯uge(ŕV) > *ùrà;*

2. **aga > *àkî, *ága > *ákúp-, *bū́ga > *bák-, *čʿúgu > *tùkà, *dȁgi > *(d)ìkùsà, *tèga > *tàkài, *d[é]gi > *(d)íká, *gḗga > *kákúat-, *kȕgu > *kùkùpí, *kʿegVnV > *kəkənə-, *ĺȅgi > *nìkù-, *lī́ga > *nák-, *mūga > *mákí, *pʿágo > *pákuá, *pȕgo > *pə̀k-, *pʿàgo > *pàkà, *pego > *pəkurə, *pʿṓge > *pə́kə́r-, *sage > *sakai-mp-, *ségi > *sík-, *sȅgu > *sùkù-jaka, *sȉga > *sàkàpì, *sȉga > *sàkùrì, *sĭgo > *sika, *sóga > *sáká-i, *sogi > *suki-, *súgo > *sə́kə́, *tagu > *tuku-nai, *tēga > *tàkà-, *tógi > *túkà, *tȕgi > *tùk-, *tʿȁge > *tə̀k-, *tʿége > *tə́kə́, *tʿége(-rV) > *tə́kə́rə́, *tʿòga > *tàkù-, *tʿògi > *tùkà, *úga > *ákú, *ǯígu > *dúk-, *zage > *sək-;*
3. **bòge > *bə̀nkám-, *dā́ga > *dánká-, *ḗgo > *ənki-rə, *pṓgi(-rV) > *púnkúri, *pʿȕge > *pànk-, *ságu > *súnkúi, *síga > *sánk(úr)-, *sȉgo > *sìnkài-, *sigi > *sinkúrai, *sī́gu > *súnká-, *sogu > *sunkur-, *suga > *sankí, *sugu > *sunkai.*

In Korean, the standard reflex is -0- (at the syllable boundary written as -ʻ-) or -h-, with distribution as yet unclear; -k- is preserved only in cases of early vowel reduction in the first syllable (**skā́r-* < **ségi*, **skúr* < **ši̯ȍgV*). A few cases that appear to have -k- in a syllable-final position most probably reflect a contraction < *-Vg-Vk, with a frequent velar suffix -k (< *-kʿV); thus probably *ak-su* 'heavy rain' < **agak-su* (PA **aga*); *čók* 'bundle' < **čuguk* (PA **čʿùgu*); *čə̀k* 'lye' < **čuga-k* (PA **čʿū́ga*, cf. PT **čōgak*, PTM **čuguk*), *hók* 'wart' < **hoge-k* (PA **si̯òge*); *sik-* 'to cool off' < **sig-Vk-* (PA **ši̯ogo*, cf. PT **sog-ɨk*, Manchu *šax-* < **sig-ak-*), *tuk* 'mound, dam' < **tug-Vk* (PA **tógi*).

2.1.43. PA initial *ŋ-

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
*ŋ-	*0-,*j-	*n-,*0-,*j-,*g-	*ŋ-	n-	*0-,*m-/*n-

Notes.

PA *ŋ- is best preserved in TM.

In Turkic, the usual reflex is 0-, but there are a few cases of j- before original diphthongs with -i̯- and *-e-, cf. **jal-* < **ŋȅlu*, **jānu-* < **ŋḗnu-*, **jar-ɨn* < **ŋȅra*, **jebeg* < **ŋi̯àbi*, **jɨd* < **ŋi̯ūja*. In one quite exceptional case we have *n-, reconstructed in Turkic in just one word, viz. the interrogative pronoun **nē* < PA **ŋi̯V*.

Mongolian has a quite complicated distribution, depending on the following vowel. It must be stressed that the distribution must be quite

recent, because the vowels that follow have the timbre acquired already in Mongolian, after the complicated changes of the original PA system. Thus Mongolian has:

a) *j- in several cases before original diphthongs: **jeɣü-* < **ŋi̯àbi*, **ja-(ɣu-)* < **ŋi̯V*

b) *g- in front of -u-: **gub-* < **ŋupu*, **gura* < **ŋurV*, **gu* < **ŋ[i̯u]*

c) *0- in front of -ö-, -ü-: **öle* < **ŋi̯ōle*, **ündü-sü* < **ŋi̯ǜŋtʿe*, **öčü-* < **ŋṓjču*, **üne-* < **ŋònŋi-*, **ösügeji* < **ŋǜsi*, **öjekeji* < **ŋǜje*

d) *n- in all other cases: **na-m-* < **ŋa*, **naji-* < **ŋǎńi*, **neɣü-* < **ŋḗni*, **naŋ-si-* < **ŋḗnu*, **naran* < **ŋèra*, **nagčar-kaj* < **ŋi̯àkča*, **nokaj* < **ŋi̯ǎkʿu*, **nolig* < **ŋòla*, **nojir* < **ŋū́ju*.

Japanese has normally *0-, but in three cases *n- before the following *-n- (original or secondary), probably due to assimilation: **nàs-* < **ŋānsa*, **nàn-kà-* < **ŋòla(-kʿV)* and **nV̀* (**nà-ni*) < **ŋi̯V*. It appears, however, to have a reflex *m- < *ŋ- before diphthongs, cf. **mùrà-(saki)* < **ŋi̯ōle*, **mə̀tə̀* < **ŋi̯ǜŋtʿe*, **mə̀* < **ŋi̯àbi*, **mə̀mì* < **ŋi̯ǎŋe*. This evidently means that the combination *ŋi̯- > *ń- in early Proto-Japanese, because m- is the standard reflex of PA *ń-, see above.

2.1.44 PA non-initial *ŋ

PA	Turk.	Mong.	Tung.	Kor.	Jpn.
*-ŋ-	*ŋ	*ŋ, h	*ŋ	*ŋ, 0	*n,*m

Examples of PA *-ŋ- can be found in the following entries: **àŋa*, **ăŋu*, **aŋV*, **ǎŋo*, **bǜŋe*, **čĭŋV*, **čʿaŋo*, **diŋe*, **ēŋV*, **ȅŋV*, **găŋi*, **gi̯aŋu*, **goŋV(ŕV)*, **íŋo*, **iŋV*, **òŋè*, **i̯oŋo*, **káŋV*, **kȅŋi*, **keŋV*, **kòŋa*, **kŏŋe*, **kōŋa*, **kúŋe*, **kŭŋi*, **k[i̯a]ŋe*, **kʿaŋa*, **kʿeŋa*, **kʿi̯ŏŋa*, **kʿi̯óŋi*, **kʿi̯úŋu*, **kʿi̯uŋu*, **kʿoŋi*, **lǎŋi*, **li̯òŋè*, **lúŋa*, **lúŋu*, **maŋi*, **méŋa*, **mĕŋa*, **méŋu*, **meŋe*, **míŋa*, **mi̯uŋo*, **mṓŋi*, **m[a]ŋi*, **ńáŋa*, **ni̯áŋa*, **ńaŋo*, **nḗŋu*, **ni̯ǎŋe*, **ńi̯oŋe*, **ni̯ŏŋe*, **ni̯àŋu*, **nǘŋu*, **ŋi̯ǎŋe*, **òŋi(čV)*, **ṓŋe*, **pi̯úŋu*, **pʿéŋi*, **pǐŋa*, **pʿi̯ŭŋi*, **pʿi̯ùŋi*, **pʿŏŋe*, **saŋe*, **sǎŋo*, **saŋu(ńV)*, **seŋa*, **sìŋù*, **si̯ăŋe(rV)*, **si̯ǘŋV(-kV)*, **si̯ùŋe*, **si̯úŋe*, **s[i̯ú]ŋu*, **šǎŋu*, **šŏŋe*, **tāŋa*, **tǎŋo*, **tuŋa*, **túŋì*, **tʿaŋa*, **tʿǎŋu*, **tʿā́ŋe*, **tʿeŋa*, **tʿèŋo*, **tʿȅŋà*, **tʿi̯oŋe*, **tʿi̯ùŋo-(bV)*, **tʿoŋe*, **tʿoŋerV*, **tʿǘŋe*, **tʿúŋi*, **uŋe*, **ǯi̯ȍŋè*, **si̯ùŋu*, **ńuŋe*, **nuŋu*, **si̯āŋa*, **tʿuŋe*, **pòŋa*, **čʿi̯aŋu*, **ši̯ȍŋe*.

Notes.

PA *-ŋ- is a quite frequent phoneme, but its reflexes are not easy to establish, because they have to be separated from the (also frequent) clusters like *-ŋk-, *-ŋg- and *-ŋn-, *-nŋ- (on which see below).

In Turkic, *ŋ normally stays unchanged, except a few cases of assimilation (**gemürgen* < **geŋürgen* < **gi̯aŋu*, **bōn-čok* < **bōŋ-čok* < **mōŋi*).

The same is valid for TM, which generally preserves *-ŋ- quite well, but has occasional cases of palatalization *-ŋ- > -n-, -ń- before *i (cf. **būni* < **bùŋe*, **xońi* < **kʹoŋi*).

In Mongolian, *-ŋ- has complicated reflexes. It remains unchanged in syllable-final position — with occasional assimilation *-ŋ- > *-n- before dentals: **men-dü* < **méŋu*, perhaps also **nuntug* < **n̯iuŋu*. In intervocalic position it is reflected just like PA *-g-, i.e. as *-h- (or -j- before i) in the vast majority of cases. We should note however that Written Mongolian in these cases frequently has not -g-, but -0- (= -w-), unlike usual PM *-h- (< PA *-g-), almost always rendered as -g- in Written Mongolian. Some other types of reflexes are also found in certain environments:

a) PA *-ŋ- is reflected as *-g- after *n- (rule established by I. Gruntov): **nagaj* < **luŋa*, **nagaču* < **něŋu*, **nige(n)* < **n̯iŏŋe*. There may also be some variation in this position: we have both **niγül* (> Kalm. *nūl*) and **nigül* (> Khalkha *nügel*) from **n̯iăŋe*; **nowur-su* (Khalkha *nōrs*, *nōs*) and **nogur-su* (Dong. *noGosun* etc.) from **nŭŋu*; and only **newne* (= **neγüne*, Khalkha *nūne*) from **l̯iòŋe*.
b) before the following *-γ- and *-b- it is reflected as -m-, cf. **simaγul* < **s̯iŭŋV(-kV)*, **temeγel* < **tʹéŋo*, **kamar* (but also **kabar*) < **kaŋ-bar*, cf. with standard reflexes of the same root **kaŋ-si-jar*, **kaŋ-kul-*, **kaγu-rga-sun*.
c) in a few cases before the following -ir-, -ur-, -ul- Mong. has -ŋg- instead of the expected -γ- ~ -j-: **aŋgir* < **aŋa(tV)*, **koŋgurčak* < **kʹaŋa*, **(h)öŋgür* < **pʹŏŋe*, **öŋgül* < **ŏŋe*; note also MMong. *nuŋγa-su*, WMong. *noŋγa-su* < **noŋgur-su* together with the attested variants **nogur-su* and **nowur-su*, see above. In these cases there is no reason to suppose any original clusters, so there must have been a dialect variation between *-γ- and *-ŋg- in this position.

Korean normally has ŋ in syllable-final position, but -0- (written as -ʹ- at the syllable boundary) or -ŋʹ- in intervocalic position. In a few cases we also encounter assimilated reflexes -m- (**kūm(p)-* < **goŋV(ŕV)*, -ń- *(*kíń-* < **kĕŋi*, **kɨń-* < **kŏŋe)* or -n- *(*kăn̆r* < **koŋa-rV*, **sɔ́nɨr* < **s̯iuŋe-ÍV*).

Japanese can reflect *-ŋ- as -n- or -m-, with the rules of distribution so far unclear (as in the case of PA *-ń-, see above).

Like other resonants (*r, *l, *m) *-ŋ- can disappear in Japanese in nominal stems before original velar suffixes: **k(u)i* < **g̯iaŋ(u)-gV* (cf. PT **gemü-rgen*), **ía* < **iŋV-gV* (cf. Manchu *joŋgan*), **kuá* < **kuŋ(i)-gV* (cf. Mong. **köw-γün* 'son'), **kuà* < **kʹi̯uŋ(u)-gV*, **ná-* < **lúŋ(a)-gV* (cf. Mong. **naga-ji*), **mú-i* < **méŋ(u)-gV*, **nùa* < **n̯iùŋ(u)-gV*, **tɨ́ua* < **tʹŭŋ(i)-gV*, **sa-i* < **seŋ(i)-gV* (cf. TM **seŋ-gi*).

2.1.45. The problem of voicing (prenasalization) in Japanese and its consequences for Altaic

While discussing the fate of PA *pʿ we have paid attention to the fact that the PJ prenasalized reflex *-mp- is correlated with the PM voiced reflex *-b- and that both the voicing in Mongolian and prenasalization in Japanese may have been due to prosodic factors. We have also seen that the majority of cases with -mp- are associated with high pitch (in cases when it can be reconstructed), while the majority of cases with -p- are in syllables with low pitch.

Let us now try to examine the whole Japanese evidence and see if these conclusions are valid elsewhere, not only for Altaic *-pʿ-.

The following preliminary remarks must be made here:

Unlike the first syllable, the pitch in the second and following syllables has several restrictions in Japanese:

1. All possible values of pitch are found in disyllabic nouns;
2. In tri-(and more)-syllabic nouns, with very few exceptions, high pitch on the first syllable can only be followed by high pitch;
3. In verbs, with very few exceptions, high pitch can only be followed by high pitch
4. In tri-(and more)-syllabic verbs low pitch can only be followed by low pitch;
5. In adjectives high pitch can only be followed by high pitch, and low pitch can only be followed by low pitch.

Voicing (prenasalization) in polysyllabic forms also has one general restriction, namely: two voiced (prenasalized) consonants within one stem are not allowed.

It follows that several cases of apparent exceptions may be actually due to the above restrictions: the pitch of the second syllable is irrelevant (neutralized) in trisyllabic nouns like **CV́CV́CV́* (**CV́CV̀CV́* is not allowed), in verbs like **CV́CV́-* (**CV́CV̀-* is not allowed), in adjectives like **CV́CV́-* or **CV̀CV̀-* (neither **CV́CV̀-*, nor **CV̀CV́-* are allowed); absence or presence of nasalization is irrelevant (neutralized) in a structure like **CVCVnCV* (**CVnCVnCV* is not allowed).

Below we shall restrict our observations to relevant structures only.

1. PA voiceless aspirated or voiced stops : PJ voiceless stops

a) low pitch: **kʿàpʿa* > **kàpì*; **kʿĕ̀pʿe* > **kəpə̀-*; **ŏpʿikV* > **pùkùpùkù-si*; **tʿèpʿa* > **tàpà-*; **tʿằpʿe* > **təpər-*; [**ĕpʿa* > **pàpà*]; **lı̯àpʿa* > **nàpài*; **sàpʿi* > **sìpə*; **tʿŭ̀pʿi* > **tùpàk-* (but modern *tsubaki* - with secondary voicing?); **ʒòpʿe* > **dəpərə́*; **sèpʿu* > **sùpà-dai*; **čằba* > PJ **tàpàra*; **ĕba* > **àpù-*; **kʿéba* > **kápà*; **kʿòbani* > **kàpìná*; **tằba* > PJ **tàpì*; **ìbe* > PJ **ìpùa*; **tàbu* > PJ **tùpìjái*; **ʒĭ̀bi* > PJ **(d)ìpià*; **nìbi* > *nìpəp-*; **bằtʿo* > **bàtà*; **kétʿo* > **kátù*;

**kiòtʹe > *kətài; *métʹo > *mátə-; *iõtʹa(mu) > *àtàmà; *pàtʹa > *pàtàr-; *piãtʹe > *pətàp- / *pùtùk-; *pʹatʹa > *pátà* (but also **pàtá*); **pʹãtʹa > *pàtàk-; *pʹútʹa > *pátà; *sìtʹo > *sìtəmi; *pátʹo > *pátà; *bòda > *bàtà; *gẽdi > *kítà; *kʹùdi > *kùtù-pìkì; *pãda > *pátà; *najadi > *nàità-m-; *ēčʹo > *ətər-; *nečʹe > *nətì; *piũčʹa > *pàtùr-; *kʹačʹe > *kətə; *kéčʹa > *kátà; *õkʹa > *àkuàjài; *čʹĩkʹa > *tàkàrà; *čʹĩãkʹe > *təkì; *gókʹi > *kúkì; *gũkʹa > *kàkàr-; *kãkʹo > *kákì; *kõkʹe > *kəkərə; *kʹiujkʹe > *kùkùi; *òkʹe > *əkər-; *pẽkʹo > *pàkàr-; *ʒiókʹe > *dúkì; *čʹúgu > *tùkà; *dãgi > *(d)ìkùsà; *tèga > *tàkài; *kũgu > *kùkùpí; *pʹàgo > *pàkà; *sẽgu > *sùkù-jaka; *sĩga > *sàkàpì; *sĩga > *sàkùrì; *tógi > *túkà; *tʹòga > *tàkù-; *tʹògi > *tùkà;*

b) high pitch: **kẽpʹa > *kápúa; *pépʹa > *páp(u)í; *tʹẽpʹa > *tàpú-;* [**pʹépʹa > *pápái*]; **kiùpʹu > *kùpá; *lápʹi > *nípá;* PA **kéba > *kápí; *kʹibu > *kúpá; *làbo > *nàpó; *túbu > *túpí; *biõtʹe > *pútá; *pʹãtʹa(-kV) > *pátá; *pʹãdi > *pítú; *kiáčʹu > *kútí; *máčʹV > *mátuá; *mùčʹe > *mètú; *šiàčʹi > *sìtú; *ũčʹo > *ətá-; *ʒečʹi > *(d)ìtí; *úkʹe > *bóká; *d[é]gi > *(d)íká; *mūga > *mákí; *pago > *pákuá; *sóga > *sáká-i; *súgo > *sókó; *tóga > *táká; *tʹége > *tókó; *úga > *ákú; *õtʹe > *ótə-nà.*

2. PA voiceless aspirated or voiced stops: PJ voiced (prenasalized) stops

a) high pitch: **čʹĩpʹ[u] > *tùmpá-mái; *gópʹa > *kámpú; *kèpʹi > *kìmpí; *sãpʹi > *sìmpá; *sãpʹi > *sìmpái; *tʹiúpʹo > *túmpúa; *tʹopʹu > *tùmpú-ra; *kāpʹa > *kàmpú-; *nẽpʹe > *nəmpú-; *tʹẽpa > *tʹẽpʹa > *tàmpá; *kábo > *kámpiá; *kõbu > *kúmpuá; *Ĺabo > *náimpú; *sãbi > *símpí; *tʹúbe > *tuámpí; *tãbu > *tùmpúnai; *gébo* > PJ **kámpí; *tĩbulka* > PJ **tùmpákì; *kutʹa > *kàntuá; *lãtʹa > *nàntá; *nìtʹa > *nəntə-; *pʹẽta > *pʹẽtʹa > *pàntá; *ēda > *ántá; *ʒàde > *dəntó; *kẽčʹa > *kàntuá; *pʹúčʹi > *púntí; *borso-kʹV > *bəsánkí; *čʹiõkʹo > *tənká-; *mańukʹV > *mùnánkí; *mũkʹe > *mànkúrúa; *bòge > *bənkám-; *ságu > *súnkúi; *sigi > *sinkúrai; *suga > *sankí;*

b) low pitch: **gàpʹa > *kàmpà-; *kupʹV > *kùmpà-r-; *kʹẽpʹo > *kəmpər-; *làjpʹV > *nàimpàr-; *sĩpʹi > *sìmpàr-; *ùpʹi > *ùmpà-p-; *sāba > *sàmpàk-; *tʹéba* > PJ **támpì; *bãtʹi > *pìntì; *bõtʹe > *pəntək-; *kʹad[u] > *kùntùr-; *udu > *ùntài; *kiučʹu > *kùntək-; *ãkʹu > *ùnkàt-; *biũkʹi > *pìnkàm-; *lèjkʹa > *niànkàp-; *nĩkʹ[u] > *nənkəp-; *tʹẽki > *tʹẽkʹi > *tìnkìr-; *kʹãku > *kʹãkʹu > *kùnkùtú*

The general picture which emerges is quite curious. We see that there are many more examples with low pitch and voiceless stops (67 cases) than with high pitch and voiceless stops (30 cases); and with high pitch and voiced stops (34 cases) than with low pitch and voiced stops (19 cases). Moreover, of the 30 cases with high pitch and voiceless consonants 22 cases are disyllabic nominal structures of the type **CV́CV́*; and of the 19 cases with low pitch and voiced consonants 15 are disyllabic verbal structures of the type **CV̀CV̀C-*.

We may with high probability suppose that there was a tendency in Proto-Japanese for a metatony **CV́CV̀* > **CV́CV́* in disyllabic nouns (note that, as we have said above, trisyllabic nouns with low pitch after high pitch are already completely absent); and for a metatony **CV̀CV́C-* > **CV̀CV̀C-* in disyllabic verbs (again, as we have said above, trisyllabic verbs with high pitch after low pitch are already completely absent). If we exclude those cases we get the following distribution of tones and voice (prenasalization) on non-initial syllables:

	High	Low
Voiced	22	4
Voiceless	8	56

It is therefore very probable that voicing (prenasalization) in Proto-Japanese depended on the tone (pitch) of the syllable: high tone caused prenasalization while low tone did not. Since - at least in the series of labial stops - this phenomenon is clearly correlated with voicing in Mongolian (see above), we may safely project this prosodic feature on the Proto-Altaic level, and reconstruct high tone (pitch) where Japanese has prenasalization, and low tone (pitch) where it has none.

It is most certain that this conclusion will have far-reaching consequences. Several phenomena (pitch on non-initial syllables in Korean, vowel length on non-initial syllables in Tungus-Manchu; loss or preservation of final vowels in Turkic, Mongolian and Korean) may possibly be explained using this information. But this remains work for the future.

2.2. Development of the PA consonantal system in the daughter languages.

2.2.1. Tungus-Manchu.

The TM system appears to be the most archaic. Only the following changes took place:

A. Voicing of initial unaspirated dentals:

1. *t- > *d-, *č- > *ǯ-

B. Spirantization of the velar *kʿ

2. *kʿ > x

C. Loss of the distinction of aspirated vs. unaspirated consonants

3. *pʿ-, *tʿ-, *čʿ- > *p-, *t-, *č-

4. *-p- > -b-, *-č- > -s-

[Note: the latter rule probably means that the affricates in early PTM were phonetically fronted: otherwise we would expect a merger of *-č- with *-š-, not with *-s-.]

5. *-pʿ-, *-tʿ-, *-čʿ- > *-p-, *-t-, *-č-

D. Loss of *z-:

6. *z- > *s-

E. Loss of resonants in some structures of the type CV̄R(V):

7. *CV̄n-, *CV̄r-, *CV̄l-, *CV̄j- > *CV̄-

F. Loss of palatal *Í, *ŕ

8. *Í, *ŕ > *l, *r

Note that rules 1-5 are successive; a change in their order would lead to different events. Rule 7 must also precede rule 8 (since *Í and *ŕ are never lost, their change to *l, *r must have occurred already after the original *l and *r were lost). But in relation to each other, the groups of rules 1-5 and 7-8, as well as 6 (*z- > *s-) are independent, and could have occurred in any order.

2.2.2. Turkic.

The following processes must have happened resulting in the reconstructed PT system:

A. Loss of *š

1. *š- > *čʿ- before back vowels

2. *š > *s elsewhere

B. Loss of *pʿ-

3. *pʿ- > *h- (still present in PT to judge from the Khalaj data, see above)

C. Deaffricatization of *č-

4. *č- > *t-

D. Loss of initial resonants

5a. *ń- > *ǯ-, *Í- > *d-

5b. *n-, *l- > *d-, *m- > *b-, *ŋ- > 0-

E. Palatalization of *d-, *z- and *ǯ-

6. *d-, *z- > *ǯ- > *j-

F. Loss of aspiration contrast

7. *p- > *b-, *t- > *d-, *k- > *g-

8. *-p- > -b-, *-k- > -g- [the latter only before -r-]

9. *pʿ > p, *kʿ > *k, *čʿ > *č, *tʿ > *t [occasionally *tʿ- > *d- before *r, *ŕ, *Í]

Rules 1-5a are the earliest, because they are common for Turkic and Mongolian (see below); this is the main reason why we think that the initial resonants were lost not simultaneously, but in two successive steps (first the palatalized, then the rest).

Rules 5-8 are specifically Turkic and have to be ordered exactly this way, because otherwise the final system would look quite differently.

2.2.3. Mongolian

Here we must suppose the following sequence of events:
A. Loss of *š
1. *š- > *čʿ- before back vowels
2. *š > *s elsewhere
B. Loss of *pʿ
3. *pʿ- > *h-
C. Deaffricatization of *č-
4. *č- > *t-
D. Transformation of resonants
5a. *ń- > *ǯ-, *Í- > *d-
5b. *ŋ- > *0-, *n-, *g- (depending on the following vowel, see above)
5c. *-ŕ- > *-r-, *-Í- > -l-, *-ń- > -n- or -j- [the latter with still unclear distribution]
E. Loss of *z
6. *z- > *s-
F. Palatalization of dentals before *i
7. *tʿ > *čʿ, *t > *č, *d > *ǯ
G. Fricativization of *-b-, *-g-, *-ŋ-
8. *-b- > *-w- [except for positions in clusters and before *k, *g]
*-g- > *-h- [except for positions in clusters and before *g]
*-ŋ- > *-h- [except for positions in clusters where it stays as *-ŋg-; after *n- where *-ŋ- > -g-; and before *b, *g where *-ŋ- > *-m-]
H. Intervocalic Lautverschiebung
9. *-p- > *-b-, *-t- > *-d-, *-k- > *-g- [but not *-č- > *-ǯ-!]
10. *-pʿ- > *-p-, *-tʿ- > *-t-, *-kʿ- > *-k-, *-čʿ- > *-č-
I. Accent transformation of *p
11. *pV̀ > (*fV) > *hV
J. Initial Lautverschiebung
12. *p-, *t- > *b-, *d-
13. *tʿ-, *kʿ-, *čʿ- > *t-, *k-, *č-

Rules 1-5a are common Turko-Mongolian (see above).

Rules 5b-6 are in fact independent and unordered; they could also be positioned anywhere in between any of the rules 8-13 or even after them.

Rules 7-8 also are independent of each other and their order could be reversed; but they both had to precede the ordered group of rules 9-13.

2.2.4. Japanese

A. Loss of *l-, *ĺ-
1. *l-, *ĺ- > *n

B.
2. -g- > -ɣ- in the 3d syllable
C. Transformation of affricates
3. *č > *čʿ-, -š-
4. *z, *š > *s
5. *čʿ > *ťʿ, *ǯ > *ḑ
D. Aspiration rules [established by I. Gruntov; Z here denotes any voiced consonant]
6. *CVCʿV, *ZVCʿV > *CʿVCʿV; *CʿVCV (not *CʿVZV) > *CʿVCʿV
E. Palatalization rules
7. *b > *ḃ, *d > *ḑ, *g > ǵ after *i̯-diphthongs and before -j-
8. *ŋ- > *ń- before *i̯
F. Prenasalization rule
9. *-Cʿ-, *-Z- (not *-C-!) > *-nC- in non-initial syllables with high pitch
G. Voice shifts and mergers
10. *b- > *β- before low vowels, *d- > *ð- always
11. (*k > g, *p > b), *t > *d [but *ḑ before front vowels]
12. *ḃ > *β, *ḑ > *ð, *ǵ > *ɣ
13. *Cʿ, *Z > *C
H. Transformation of resonants
14. *ŋ- > *0-
15. *ŕ > *t before -i, -u
16. *ĺ > *nĺ before *-rV-, *r > *nr before *-rV-
17. *nr > *nt, *r > *t (sporadically)
18. *ĺ > *s, *ŕ > *r, *l > r, *ń > *ŋ
19. *ŋ > m-, -m- / -n-
I. Disappearance of voiced fricatives
20. *β > *b-, -w-, *ð > *d-, -j-, *-ɣ- > *-0-

The final rule may not in fact be necessary: it depends on our interpretation of the reconstructed PJ system. S. Martin, e.g., prefers to reconstruct *-b- and *-d- in intervocalic position as well, even though OJ and all dialects reflect -w- and -j-; on the other hand, it may be argued

that PJ did not have *b- and *d-, but only *w- (*β-) and *j- (*δ-), even though Ryukyu dialects have b- and d- - these all are non-distinctive features.

The rules of phonetic development in Japanese are rather complicated and involve a hypothesis about several intermediate steps with assimilations, prenasalizations and palatalizations. Moreover, only rules 1-2 (*l- > *n- and weakening of *-g- in the 3d syllable) are common to Japanese and Korean and distinguish this subgroup both from Turko-Mongolian and Tungus-Manchu. Since both prenasalized consonants (clusters like *-mp-, *-nd- etc.) and palatalized consonants (*d́, *ǵ) are quite common in Austronesian languages, one might speculate that most phonological changes in the history of Japanese occurred already after the very early split of Korean and Japanese (around the 3d millennium BC) and the subsequent migration of Proto-Japanese to the Japanese archipelago, under the influence of substratum Austronesian languages.

2.2.5. Korean

A. Loss of *l-, *ĺ-
1. *l-, *ĺ- > *n
B.
2. -g- > -ɣ- in the 3d syllable
C. Transformation of affricates
(3a) *-i̯u- > *-u-
3b. *si̯- > *ś- > *h-
4. *z, *š > *s
D. Voice shift
5. *t, *k > *d, *g
6. *-b-, *-d-, *-g- > *-w-, *-r-, *-ɣ-
7. *C', *Z > *C
E. Resonants
8. *ŋ-, *ń- > *n-
9. *r, *ŕ, *l, *ĺ > *r
10. *-jR- > *-j-
F. Final dialectal developments
11. *-ɣ- > -h- ~ -0-
12. *-ŋ- > -h- ~ -0-

Groups of rules C, D and E are independent of each other and could have happened in any order - but after groups A and B (the only two rules common to Japanese and Korean) and before group F.

2.3. Consonant clusters

Initial consonant clusters are highly atypical for modern Altaic languages (although occasionally they emerge due to vowel loss, as in some Southern Mongolian dialects, Korean and modern Japanese dialects), and were certainly absent in Proto-Altaic. However, medial consonant clusters were fairly common.

The most frequent medial clusters are nŋ, rk, ŋg, jb, jr, lg, Íb, rg, nt, jkʿ, gd, jl, bl, rpʿ, lkʿ, lk, ŋn, kt (each reconstructable at least in five roots).

The most typical cluster types are "resonant" + "occlusive", but we also meet "occlusive" + "resonant", "resonant" + "resonant" and "occlusive" + "occlusive".

Here is a complete chart of PA consonant clusters and their reflexes.

PA	PT	PM	PTM	Kor.	Jpn.	Roots
*rpʿ	(r)p	rb	rp	rp	p	*àrpʿá, *sàrpʿa, *sarpʿe, *sarpʿi,*sirpʿa
*rp	rp	rb	rb	r?	(m)p	*si̯arpu, *kʿi̯ŭrpe, *sàrpa
*rb	rp/b	rb	r		t	*tʿǎrba, *tʿĕrbò
*rm	r	rm	m	m		*kʿĭrma, *si̯ŏrme
*rtʿ	rt	t	[rt]			*tertʿa, *ērtʿa
*rt	rt	d	rd	r	(n)t	*ki̯òrtème
*rd	r(V)t	rd/(r)ʒ	r[d]		t	*bŭrdV, *kérdu
*rč?	rč	rč	č	nč	ns	*sarču, *šĕrčú
*rs	rs	rs	rs	s	s	*borso(kʿV), *kărsi, *kirsi
*rkʿ	rk	rk	rg	k	k	*bŏrkʿi , *sarkʿV, *sedurkʿV, (*tʿerkʿo)
*rk	rk	rg	rk(/gd)	(r)k	(n)k	*čúrka, *kòrke, *ńi̯ǎrke, *pʿerkV, *erka ,
						*gérki, *kʿĭrka, *s[é]rko,*tʿi̯árko, *pʿarkV
*rg	r(V)g	rg,r(V)ɣ	rg	r(h)	nk	*érga, *i̯àrgi, *mi̯urgu,

PA	PT	PM	PTM	Kor.	Jpn.	Roots
						*ńargu, *kubirgV,
						(*kʿúrgo), *gurgi
*ŕm	ŕ	rm/rb	m	r(V)m	m	*eŕmu, *kʿi̯ā́ŕme
*ŕk	ŕ	rk				*kʿū́ŕkV
*ŕg	ŕ	rg	rg	r	(rV)k	*i̯ū́ŕgi (?), *tʿī́ŕge, *lā́ŕgu, *ńi̯uŕge
*lpʿ	lp	lb	lp		(m)p	*dȅlpʿi , *dȅlpʿà
*lp	lp	lb	lb	(r)p	(m)p	*ălpa, *šálpu, *ni̯ȁlpá
*lb	l(Vg), lb	lb	l(b)	r(V)b,rm	(m)p	*tʿelbu, *ulbo
*lm	l	l(b)	lm, ?lVp	rVm	m	*kʿòlmV, *ŋalma, *čʿi̯ŏl[m]i (?), *kúlme
*ltʿ	l	lt	lt	r	(n)t	*màltʿe, *mìltʿe, *kaltʿo
*lt ?	lt	lt	ld	t?	t	*kelta(rV), *pi̯ȍltorV (?)
*ld	l(d)	ld	ld	r	t	*alda, *zi̯ŭldu, *gi̯ŭldo, *gū́ldi
*lč		lč	lǯ		(n)t	*pȁlčà
*lń	l		lń		n	*kʿèlńí
*lkʿ	lk	lk	lk	nk	k	*mi̯olkʿo, *nelkʿV,*pʿi̯àlkʿi
*lk	l(k)	lg	lk	rk	(n)k	*salkV, *kʿòlke, *télki, *nilko
*lg	lg / l(V)k	lg, lVɣ	lg	r	(n)k	*pʿi̯ŏlge, *sȉlgù, *di̯ŭlgu, *pʿŭlgi, *tʿi̯òlgu, *tʿi̯olge, *ălgi, *pȁlgà
*Ípʿ	Í	lb	lp		(m)p	*tʿaÍpʿV
*Íp	Í	lb	l(b)		s(Vp)	*ēÍpo, *ū́Ípe, *kaÍpa
*Íb	Í	lb, lVɣ	lb	r(b)	(n)s	*īÍbi, *kòÍbèkʿV,

PA	PT	PM	PTM	Kor.	Jpn.	Roots
						*kʿŏĺba, *mĕĺba, *sèĺbò,
						*tăĺbà, *tàĺbe,*ńăĺba, *nèĺbù
*ĺm	ĺm	lb	lVb	rm	(n)s	*bi̯ăĺmi
*ĺd	ĺ	ld	d			*tùĺdi
*ĺn	n	jVl	ln>lŋ			*kʿi̯ŭĺnu
*ĺčʿ	ĺč	lč	lč	č	(n)s	(*čʿĭĺčʿu) , *bilčʿi
*ĺč	ĺč	lč	l/j	r	(n)s	*ăĺčà, *bi̯ăĺča, *kèĺčo
*ĺǯ	ĺ(č)	lǯ	l/j	r ~č	s	*pĭĺǯi, *ĕĺǯu, *kèĺǯo, *mĕĺǯu
*ĺń	ń	n	lń			*pʿoĺńe
*ĺk	ĺ	lg	lk			*iĺkV, *tʿūĺke, *tʿi̯ăĺke
*ĺŋ	j ~ ń	lVg	lŋ	r		*pʿăĺŋa
*mpʿ	m(b)	m	mp	m(p)	mp	*kampʿo, *kómpʿi , *kʿómpʿ[e], *ki̯ampʿa
*mp	p	mb	mb/mp	p	mp	*kòmpo, *sa̋mpi, *sèmpa
*mb	m	mb	mb	m	m	*kumba(ka), *li̯àmba, *ámbe, *ni̯ombu
*mt	mt	md	mt		mVt	*kómtV, *símta
*mr	rb/rm	nd	md			*čʿăm̄ro
*ml		mVl	lm	m		*kʿi̯uml[e]
*mč	nč	mǯ	m[s]		s	*nĭmči(-kʿV)
*mń		mn	mń			*ni̯amńa
*mŕ	bŕ	md	nd			*kemŕa
*ms	s	bs			ns	*kámsa
*mkʿ	mVk		mk		(n)k	*s[i̯ù]mkʿi
*mk	mg	mk/nk	ŋk		nk	*i̯òmke
*mg	mg	mg/ŋg	mg	ŋ	(m)	*tʿumgi, *ki̯omga
*mŋ	ŋ	m	mŋ			*kʿĕmŋV
*ntʿ	nt	nt	nt	nt	nt	*antʿa, *kà̋ntʿV,

PA	PT	PM	PTM	Kor.	Jpn.	Roots
						*kʿi̯ŏntʿ[a], *tʿìntʿa
*nt	nt	nd/nč	nd	nt,ń	(n)t	*ā́nta, *zùnti, *gentV, *kanti, *ki̯àntú,
						*ùntu, (*pʿŭnte), *i̯ánti(-kV)
*nd	t	nd/nʒ	nd		n	*ā́nda, (*kènda), *mǎndo, *ŋǐndó
*nr		ŋgVr	ŋg?/nd	nVr	r	*ménrV, *pi̯únri
*nčʿ	nč	nč	nč	nč	(n)t	*kʿi̯ùnčʿo, *mànčʿu, *ménčʿo, *pʿi̯ǎ́nčʿi
*nʒ	nč	nʒ	nʒ		(n)s	*mi̯ùnʒù, *sanʒV, *kènʒé
*ns	s		ŋs (<ns)		s	*ŋ̀ansa
*nŕ	nŕ	r	[ńr]	nVr	r	*píńŕa
*nŋ	ŋ(g)	n/m	nŋ(ŋń)	n	m,(n)	*ènŋù, *ki̯onŋu, *ŋònŋi, *pʿā́nŋi, *si̯únŋi, *si̯únŋu, *mónŋo, *ńanŋa, *sònŋu, *tʿànŋú, *tʿi̯ǔnŋá, *gènŋa, *tǎnŋù
*ńd	ń	nd	nd		m	*mi̯óńde
*ńŋ	ń (n)	ɣ/ŋg	nŋ (ńŋ)	ń	n	*i̯uńŋu, *píńŋe, *pʿòńŋa
*ŋtʿ	ŋ(d)	n,ŋd,(ŋ)ʒ(i)	nd,ŋd	ŋt	nt	*uŋtʿe, *uŋtʿV, *aŋtʿà, *kuŋtʿV
*ŋt		d, nd	ŋd		nt	*kòŋti, *tʿŏŋta
*ŋd	t		ŋd	ń	n	*óŋdu
*ŋr	ŋVr	ɣVr/nd	r	Vr		*siŋra, *síŋri, *si̯oŋre
*ŋn	n	(n)/ŋ,ŋn	ŋ(n)	0,ŋ’	n,(m)	*múŋna, *ńi̯ūŋne, *tʿaŋnà, *tʿǎŋnV, *kaŋne

PA	PT	PM	PTM	Kor.	Jpn.	Roots
*ŋč	ŋč	ǯ	s		ns	*ńǐŋči
*ŋń	n	ŋ/ɣ	ŋń	0	(nV)m	*ńéŋńi, *ńi̯ùŋńù
*ŋĺ	ŋVĺ	ŋl			s	*muŋĺe
*ŋs	ŋs			s		*eŋsV
*ŋkʿ	ŋ(k)	jVk,nVk	ŋ(k)		nk	*pʿi̯àŋkʿi, *dǎŋkʿV, *bǎŋkʿi
*ŋk	ŋ	ŋ(g)	ŋk	ŋk	nk	*šaŋku, *ǒŋke, *pʿùŋké, *zìŋke
*ŋg	ŋ(g)	ŋg	ŋg	ŋk,-ŋ(h)	nk	*koŋgV, *ĺeŋgV, *puŋga, *kʿuŋgo, *tʿaŋgiri, *čaŋgu, *maŋga, *ĺoŋgV, *téŋgu
*jpʿ	jp	ɣ, -b	p	p	(m)p	*sìjpʿó, *làjpʿV
*jp		b	(b)		p	*tújpè
*jb	b	b	(j)b	b(0)	w(j)	*ǎjbo, *éjba, *ki̯ójbu, *ǔjbà, *ǎjbi, *tʿujbu, *ʒǔjbe, *kejbe, *pǎjbu, *tʿèjbo
*jm	jm	(jV)m	(j)m	m	m	*kijmV, *pʿojme, *pʿujme
*jt	t	d	t	t	(i)t	*kǎjta
*jr	r	r	r	0(i)	r/t	*bi̯ujri, *mi̯ùjre, *sajri, *si̯ǒjri, *bùjre, *séjra, *si̯ǎjrí,*si̯ǎjri, *si̯ǔjro, *tʿájri, *tʿàjrá
*jl	l	l	l	0(i)	r	*bi̯ùjlu, *kʿǒjli, *kʿǔjlu, *ńǎjla, *ójle, *pʿèjló
*jč	č	č	š	č	s	*ŋǒjču
*jʒ	(jč)	ɣVʒ	(j)ʒ	č	t/j	*čʿǎjʒV
*js	js	s				*ijsV
*jń	n,ń	n/j/gVɣ	ń	0(i)	n	*gi̯òjńu, *pʿèjńé, *pòjńV́, *zèjńa
*jŕ	ŕ	j	ʒ	0	0(j)	*gǔjŕe, *kʿi̯ǔjŕo

PA	PT	PM	PTM	Kor.	Jpn.	Roots
*jÍ	Í	l	l	0(i)	(n)s	*bojÍe, *nàjÍV, *zejÍu
*jkʿ	(jV)k	k	(j)k	k	k	*kʿi̯ujkʿè, *lèjkʿá, *pʿèjkʿV, *sajkʿV, *sőjkʿì, *tűjkʿú, *g[i̯o]jkʿu, *pʿĭjkʿe
*jk	g(<k)	g	jk			*ujkV
*jg	g	ɣ	j ~g	0(i)	0	*săjgo
*jŋ	j(V)ŋ	ŋ/ɣ/j	ŋ	0(i),ń	m,j,n	*màjŋì,*mújŋi, *kʿi̯ójŋo, *i̯ùjŋula, *sejŋi, *sĭjŋo
*bd			bd		t	*ʒabda
*pr	r(b)	wr (ɣVr)	rp	r		*kʿăpra, *kʿáپri
*br	r	wr, r	(bV)r	r	r	*kàbro, *obri, *tʿőbru
*bl	(bV)l	ɣVl/jVl/wl	l(b)	r	r	*nable, *èbla, *goblu, *là̀blè, *dible, *di̯úblu
*bčʿ	(b)č	wč	č			*ubčʿV
*bč		č	[b]š		s	*m[a]bči
*bʒ	(b)j	ʒ	ʒ		*ébʒo	
*pʿŕ	pVŕ	ɣVr			t	*kùpʿŕó
*bŕ	(b)ŕ	ɣVr			r	*nĭ́bŕo
*bÍ	(b)Í		bl		s	*nibÍa
*bs	s	s	bs		s	*zi̯ăbsa
*bkʿ	k	k	bk		k(Vp)	*ibkʿV
*bg	g(j)	b/g	bg			*subga
*bŋ	b	mVɣ	bŋ			*tʿĭbŋe
*gm?	gVn	ɣVm	m			*egmV
*ktʿ	t	gt	kt	t(h)	t	*di̯oktʿV, *pʿoktʿo(-rV), *zaktʿi
*kt	t	gd/gʒ	gd	t(h)	t	*bűktV, *čǎkte, *mi̯uktu, *tʿǎkta, *gǎ̀gtà
*gt?	(g)t	ɣVʒ	gd			*zi̯ő̆gtu

PA	PT	PM	PTM	Kor.	Jpn.	Roots
*gd	d	d/ǯ	gd	t(h)/r	(n)t	*bŏgdu, *múgdà, *pa̋gdì, *pʿágdi , *si̯ȍgdú, *ǯŭgdV, *mùgdó
*kr	r	ɣVr	kVr	(h)	kVr	*bŭkrV, *ńíkrV
*gr	gVr	ɣVr	rg	rh	r	*ki̯a̋gru
*kl?	gl	gl	lg,g(l)		(n)k	*tʿaklu, (*ĺekleKV)
*gl		wl	lg	r	(0)	*negle
*kŕ	gr/ gVŕ	ɣVr	kt	rk	kVr	*čikŕo
*gĺ	gVĺ	ɣVl	l			*kogĺu
*gn	gn	ɣVɣ	ŋg,n		nk,-N	*dȅgni, *zi̯ognV
*gs	gVs	gs	ks	(h)s		*segsV, *tʿȍgsu
*kʿŋ	k	ŋg	ŋk		k	*pʿū́kʿŋi
*kŋ	g	ŋg	ŋ			*kekŋV
*gŋ	g	ɣVg	ŋ(g)	ŋ	m	*àgŋa, *sogŋV
*gń	g		ŋń	ń		*ńugńa
*kčʿ			kč	čh	t	*mi̯úkčʿ[à]
*kč		gč	ks	č		*ŋi̯àkča
*kǯ	č	gǯ	gǯ			*pʿukǯi
*tʿkʿ?	t	t	kt			*ŏtʿkʿV
*tk?	dg (gd)	d(Vg)	kt			*ǯi̯utke
*dg?	gd	d	(g)d			*zodgV
*čʿk	čk		čVk	sk		*ši̯ṓčʿko
*sk		sk	sk		(n)sVk	*pʿȕske

It may be noted that some consonants behave differently in clusters than in plain intervocalic position. Exact rules, however, are rather difficult to formulate because of the general instability and rarity of consonant clusters. Especially unstable are the clusters with -j- as the first component: this consonant may leave direct traces in Turkic and TM (but may also disappear without a trace there), but tends to disappear elsewhere. A number of *-j-clusters are reconstructed on indirect evidence: preservation of *-b- (instead of regular *-ɣ-) in Mongolian (where *-jb- thus behaves similarly to *-rb-, *-lb-); fricativization of *-jb-, *-jg- in Japanese; development *-jR- > -0- in Korean. It is also tempting to reconstruct *-j-clusters in two small groups of cases:

a) since clusters with *-j- occasionally result in vowel diphthongization in Japanese (cf. the cases **làjpʿV*, **kā́jta*, **kʿi̯ū́jŕo*, **lèjkʿá*), we could reconstruct similar clusters in a few other cases where PJ has *-ia- in the structure *CiaC- (generally very rare), namely, in **dḗlì* 'mane, collar' (= **dḗjlì*), PJ **(d)iárì*; **l[ù]kʿV* 'wild cat' (= **lòjkʿV*, PJ **niàkua*), **mi̯ore* 'hurt, damage' (= **mi̯ojre* or **mojre*, PJ **miar-*), **pʿèrì* 'edge' (= **pʿèjrì*, PJ **piàrì*).

b) since clusters with *-j- occasionally transfer this -j- to the beginning of the syllable in Korean (cf. the cases **čʿǎ̀jǯV*, **kʿi̯ójŋo*, **lèjkʿá*, **mṓjno*, **pʿèjńé*, **sajri*), we could reconstruct similar clusters in several other cases when Korean has -jə- but without any trace of a PA *-i̯-diphthong (which is the usual source of Korean -jə-), namely in **tū́kʿú* 'make a sign' (= **tū́jkʿú*, PK **tjək-*), **máŋV* 'go-between' (= **májŋV*, PK **mjə̀nɨ́rí)*, **čʿakʿe* 'forearm' (= **čʿajkʿe*, PK **čjàkái-*), **čʿēkʿV* 'k. of cloth' (= **čʿējkʿV*, PK **čjə́k-*), **čʿḗpʿu* 'ulcer' (= **čʿḗjpʿu*, PK **čjūpók)*, **čʿ[a]ge* 'bast' (= **čʿ[a]jge*, PK **čjòhǎ́i)*, **dǎ̀ĺà* 'hide, enclosure' (= **dǎ̀jĺà*, PK **tjə́r*), **kesa* 'suffer' (= **kejsa*, PK **kjəs-*), **kè̀čʿá* 'slanting' (= **kè̀jčʿá*, PK **kjə́čh*), **nèra* 'thin, flat' (= **nèjra*, PK **jə̄r-p-*), **ǯapʿV(ĺV)* 'wormwood' (= **ǯajpʿV(ĺV)*, PK **čjəpɨi-*). Absence of the standard development *-jr- > -0- in some of these cases (**kʿi̯ójŋo*, **májŋV*, **dǎ̀jĺà*, **nèjra*) could in fact be explained by an early shift of *-j- to a different position within the syllable.

Since these phenomena in Japanese and Korean are difficult to link to each other and to any evidence in other Altaic languages, the reconstruction of *-j- in such cases still remains problematic.

2.4. Vowels

The traditional system of vowel correspondences proposed by Ramstedt and Poppe was already perceived as outdated during the writing of "The Altaic Problem and the Origin of Japanese" (АПиПЯЯ). Further research led to its complete revision. We now suppose that the PA vowel system was completely devoid of vowel harmony which evolved in all the subgroups later as a result of complex interaction between the vowels of the first and the second syllables in polysyllabic roots and derivatives.

The system assumed to be Proto-Altaic consisted of five vowels (*i, *e, *u, *o, *a) and three diphthongs (*i̯u, *i̯o, *i̯a), the diphthongs being restricted to the first syllable of the word. The interaction of eight vocalic units of the first syllable and five vocalic phonemes of the second syllable leads to an extremely diverse system of correspondences, of

which the traditional Ramstedt-Poppe correspondences are only a small subset.

The diphthongs with *-i̯- are basically reconstructed where Turkic and TM have specific reflexes (*-ia- in Turkic, *-ia- and *-ü- (-iu-) in TM); in several cases, however, diphthongs have been lost in those subgroups as well and can be reconstructed only on circumstantial evidence, see below.

The phonetic nature of PA diphthongs is still debatable. We prefer to treat them as diphthongs because they are preserved as such in a number of cases in PT, PTM and Korean, but an interpretation of diphthongs as front vowels could also be possible. In that case, *i̯a = *ä; *i̯o = *ö; *i̯u = *ü. Further research is needed to choose one of these two alternative solutions.

The TM system of vowels appears to be the most conservative and was used as a basis of reconstruction. Turkic, Mongolian and Korean usually modify the first vowel under the influence of the second one. Thus, fronted first vowels usually signal that the second vowel was a front one. However the second vowel could also be fronted or shifted to back under the influence of the first vowel, leading to numerous variations in reflexes. Japanese seems to have exclusively assimilated the first vowel to the second one (a process very similar to what later happened in Mongolian), so that the quality of Japanese vowels in the first syllable is normally a good indicator of the original quality of the second vowel, which itself may have been assimilated or disappeared altogether.

Vowels of the non-initial syllable are generally very unstable in all modern Altaic languages. They tend to become assimilated to initial vowels, are frequently contracted in various combinations with following suffixes, and are often lost completely. They are best preserved in Tungus-Manchu languages and completely lost in the majority of Turkic and Korean roots. The situation therefore is very close, e.g., to Germanic or to the Nakh languages in the Eastern Caucasus, where the quality of non-initial vowels can now only be recovered on the basis of umlaut processes in the first syllable. Thus, the approach we have chosen - reconstructing non-initial vowels on indirect evidence (the way they have influenced the vowels that preceded them) - seems to be the only possible solution. Rules for individual development of non-initial vowels in particular subbranches of Altaic have yet to be established, and depend substantially on a future analysis of verbal and nominal morphophonemics and accent systems.

Below we list the vocalic correspondences between the Altaic languages. In the Proto-Altaic column we list all recoverable combinations

of the first and second syllable vowels. The notation U in PTM, PM and MKor. means that any of the two back rounded vowels - u or o - can act as a reflex, due to frequent variation between u/o in those languages. Similarly, the notation A in MKor. means that either a or ə can act as a reflex (due to very frequent a/ə variation in Korean). The notation P stands for any labialized consonant (modifying adjacent vowels in Mongolian and Turkic) and R - for any liquid resonant (conditioning the development of closed / open vowels in Turkic).

PA	PTM	PM	PT	PJ	MKor.
*a-a	a	a	a (Pa-/Pạ-)	a	A
*a-e	a	a [i]	a-, ɨ	ə	A
*a-i	a	a [e]	e [a]	i	A [i]
*a-o	a	a [i, e]	o (ja, aj)	a	ă [o]
*a-u	a	a [U]	a	u	A [U]
*e-a	e	a [e]	a (ạ) [e]	a	A
*e-e	e	e (ja-)	e (ẹR; ja-)	ə	A [i, ɨ]
*e-i	e	e [i]	e (ẹR; ja-)	i	i [ɨ, A]
*e-o	e	a [e, Pü/Pö, üP/öP]	ạ [ẹ]	ə [a]	ă [U]
*e-u	e	e [a, Po, oP]	e [a, ạ]	u	U [a]
*i-a	i	i	ɨ [i]	a	A
*i-e	i	e [i]	e (ẹR)	i	i [ɨ]
*i-i	i	i (Pe)	i	i	I
*i-o	i	i	ɨ	i [ə]	U [ɨ]
*i-u	i	i	ɨ [i]	u	i [ɨ]
*o-a	U	U	o	a	Ă
*o-e	U	ö [ü, o]	ö [o]	ə	ɨ [U]
*o-i	U	ö	ö [o]	u	U
*o-o	U	u	o	ə	Ă
*o-u	U	U	o	u	ă [U]
*u-a	U	a [U]	u [o]	a	A
*u-e	u	U [ü, ö]	ü	ua (Pa-)	ɨ [A]
*u-i	u	ü [ö]	ü [u]	u	U [ɨ]
*u-o	U	U	u	ə	U [ɨ]
*u-u	U	U	u	u	U
*i̯a-a	ia (Si)	a	ia, ja [e]	a	ă (Pa, aP)
*i̯a-e	i	i [a,e]	ia, ja	ə	i [(j)ə]
*i̯a-i	ia (Si)	i [e]	ia, ja [e]	i	ă [(j)ə]

PA	PTM	PM	PT	PJ	MKor.
*i̯a-o	U	e	ia, ja, pa	a	ă [U]
*i̯a-u	U	a, U	ẹ, a, Pạ	u	U [(j)ə]
*i̯o-a	U	a, U	ia, ja, pa	a	U [ă]
*i̯o-e	U	e, ö	ẹ, a, Pạ	ə [u]	U [jə]
*i̯o-i	U	i [e, ö]	ia, ja, pa	i	U [ă]
*i̯o-o	i	ö [ü, U]	o [u]	ə [a]	i, (j)ə
*i̯o-u	ia (Si)	e [i, u]	u [o]	u	ă [u, jə]
*i̯u-a	U	U [i]	ɨ	a	A
*i̯u-e	ü, Pu	ö [ü, U]	ü, iR [ö]	u [ə]	(j)A [U]
*i̯u-i	i (Pu-)	ö [ü, U]	ü [ö]	i	ɨ (i, U)
*i̯u-o	ü	U	u [o]	u [ə]	(j)A [U]
*i̯u-u	U	i [U,ü,ö]	ɨ	u	U (i, ɨ)

2.4.1. PA *a

PTM *a - PJ *a

This correspondence indicates the PA sequence **CaCa*, and is usually rather stable. All languages normally have *a here, with the following exceptions:

1. Turkic normally has *a, but in a few cases - closed *ạ: **ǎla > *ạl-, *bǎka > *bạk-, *dǎgá > *jạgu-k, *kʿǎsa > *Kạ̄sɨk, *mana > *bạnɨ-, *pʿǎtʿà(-kV) > *ạtkɨm, *pʿǎra > *ạ̄r-, *pʿǎtʿà > *ạt-*. Usually this development is observed after historical labials, but the distribution is not quite strict (cf. **ǎla*, **dǎgá* and **kʿǎsa* above; cf., on the other hand, **pʿǎlà > *ala-, *pʿāda > *adɨ-, *pʿǎpʿa > *apa-, *pàtʿá > *bat-, *bǎra > *bār, *bāla > *bāla*).
2. Korean has both a and ə, cf.

a) **agà > *ak-su, *ákʿà > *àk-, *alda > *arăm, *ǎlpa > *àrphǎ-, *ápʿa > *àpí, *āŕa > *ārǎi, *dasa- > *tàs-, *kāma > *kàmóthi, *kʿápa > *kàphí-, *kʿǎpʿà > *kàph-* (but also **kàph-*), **kʿǎsa > *kàsǎm, *mana > *mān(h)-, *màra > *mār-, *mára > *mar-, *nátʿa > *nāt, *pala >* *par, **pǎlgà > *pár, *pàtʿá > *pàt-, *pákʿà > *pàk-, *pʿátʿà > *pàt(h), *pʿǎtʿà(-kV) > *pàtók, *pʿǎra > *parh-, *pʿǎtʿà > *pat-, *sǎja > *sāi-, *sápa > *sàpók, *sàrpʿa > *sárp, *tǎĺbà > *tàrǎ-, *tǎra > *tār, *tʿàjrá > *tājà, *tʿaŋnà > *tàŋʼàrí, *tʿǎla > *tàrʼái-, *tʿāma > *tám*

b) **ála > *ər-, *antʿa(gV) > *əntək, *bǎra > *pər-, *gǎtʿa > *kət-, *kʿaŋa > *kəʼúč, *kʿǎra > *kjór, *láčà > *nəčhúr, *pʿǎlà > *pór(h)*

3. Japanese, as we said, normally has *a in this type of correspondences. However, it should be borne in mind that Japanese hardly tolerates *a and *ə within one morpheme. Therefore, a small group of cases

where Japanese has *ə in the second syllable — probably because of some prehistoric vowel contractions that are hardly recoverable in detail — reveal also *ə, not *a, in the first syllable, cf.: **tắĺbà* > **də́sə̀*, **zàrá* > **sə̀tə́*, **ǯắra* > **də́rə́-*.

PTM *a - PJ *ə

Except for the three cases listed above, this correspondence indicates the PA sequence **CaCe* (in Japanese **CaCe* > **CeCe* > **CəCV*). Other languages have the following reflexes here:

1. Mongolian has either *a or a fronted reflex *i/e:

a) **ắkʿè* > **(h)aki-*, **ámbe* > **(h)amban*, **ȁle* > **al-*, **káče* > **kači*, **kaje* > **kaji-*, **kăpʿè* > **kaji-či*, **kare* > **kar-bu-*, **kaserV* > **kasirag*, **kā́tʿe* > **katari-*, **kʿàpe* > **kab-*, **máĺe* > **malur*, **pȁtʿe* > **batagana*, **sarpʿe* > **sarbaɣa*, **tʿȁgè* > **taji-la;*

b) **āńe(-čʿV)* > **eje*, **en-*; **kʿȁre* > **kira*, **làlè* > **nila-*, **ĺȁkʿè* > **ǯekej*, **makʿé* > **mek(e)-*, **màltʿe* > **meltür-* > **möltür-*, **ńam(ń)ektʿV* > **ǯimuɣu-su*, **sagè* > **siɣu-g-*, **tā́de* > **čidör*, **zagè* > **seg* (on the distribution of *e and *i see below).

2. Turkic normally has *a- in Anlaut, but *-ɨ- after a consonant, cf.: **ắkʿè* > **(i)aku-ru-*, **ale* > **ăl*, **ȁle* > **ăl-* (but also **āńe-čʿV* > **Enč*); but **čā́kte* > **Tɨ̄t*, **čʿakʿe* > **čɨkan*, **káče* > **Kɨča*, **kaje* > **Kɨj-*, **kȁle* > **Kɨlɨč*, **kaŋne* > **Kɨna*, **kăpʿè* > **Kɨp-*, **kare* > **Kɨrɨĺ*, **kaserV* > **Kɨsɨr*, **kā́tʿe* > **Kɨ̄tɨr-*, **kʿȁre* > **Kɨrɨg*, **làlè* > **jɨlɨk* > **jilik*, **máĺe* > **bɨnĺɨk*, **nable* > **jɨlɨm*, **ńàme* > **jɨmga*, **ńam(ń)e-* > **jɨmurt*, **nā́ne* > **jɨ̄n*, **pȁtʿe* > **bɨt*, **sagè* > **sɨgɨt-*, **sarpʿe* > **sɨp*, **tā́de* > **dɨ̄d-*, **zagè* > **jɨg-*.

3. Korean also has a split into back *a and front *ə:

a) **ale* > **àrái*, **āńe(-čʿV)* > **ànč-*, **ńam(ń)e-ktʿV* > **nàmòk*, **pȁtʿe* > **pátắrí*, **pàńé* > **pám*, **kʿačʿe* > **kàčí.*

b) **ȁle* > **ə̀rí-*, **kā́tʿe* > **kə̀thí-*, **ĺȁkʿè* > **nək-*, **makʿé* > **mə̀k-*, **ńàme* > **jə́m-*, **tā́de* > **tət*.

PTM *a - PJ *i

This correspondence reflects the sequence **CaCi*, with a variation of back and front reflexes in other languages.

1. Turkic has normally *e, but also *a:

a) **ăĺi* > **ẹĺit-*, **ălgi* > **ĕlge-*, **ắni* > **eŋ*, **ȁjbi* > **Ebür(d)ek*, **ȁni* > **en*, **ā́ni* > **ēn-čü*, **bȁdì* > **bEd-*, **bȁrì* > **bEr-*, **bȁri* > **bẹr*, **čărikV* > **dẹrek*, **čʿăkʿi* > **čekü-rtke*, **čʿali* > **čEl*, **čʿȁki* > **čEket*, **dȁli* > **jẹlim*, **gā́tʿì* > **gē(j)t-*, **kăči* > **geč-*, **kaji* > **gejik*, **kā́kʿi* > **Kēk-*, **kami* > **KEmek*, **kăpi* > **gebre-*, **kā́kʿi* > **gēkir-*, **kʿádí(-rV)* > **KEdir-*, **kʿăĺi* > **keĺ*, **kʿắsi* > **kes-*,

**kʿăsi* > **kes-*, **màjŋì* > **bejŋi*, **ŋàli* > **el*, **pàli* > **bẹldir*, **pʿǎdì* > **ẹ̄diĺ*, **pʿalí* > **ẹĺ*, **pʿǎnŋi* > **ēŋe-*, **pʿǎtʿi* > **ētük*, **sǎbi* > **sEbrük*, **sajri* > **ser-*, **saĺ(b)i* > **seĺ-*, **săpʿí* > **sep-*, **sàpʿì* > **sEp*, **sǎčʿi* > **sEč-*, **sǎki* > **sēk-*, **sǎŕi* > **sEŕ-*, **tʿǎki* > **TEk-*, **zăli* > **jẹl*.

Among more or less secure examples there are 22 cases of open *e and 8 cases of closed *ẹ.

b) **álikV* > **Ălaŋɨr*, **àŕì* > **aŕɨg*, **ǎpi* > **Abɨ-*, **ǎgi* > **ạ̄gu*, **ǎli* > **Āl*, **atʿi* > **Atɨ*, **básí* > **basɨg*, **bǎtʿí* > **bat-*, **dǎgì* > **jagɨ*, **dǎkʿì* > **jAk-ɨn*, **dǎsi* > **jAs-*, **gǎli* > **K(i)al*, , **kádì(rV)* > **Kadɨr*, **kǎrsi* > **KArsak*, **lápʿì* > **jap-*, **maji* > **baj*, **màli* > **baltu*, **mǎli* > **bAlɨg*, **lami* > **jAmak*, **pǎsi* > **bas-*, **pǎli* > **bālɨk*, **pʿágdi* > **adak*, **pʿǎsi* > **as-*, **saji* > **sAj-*, **sali* > **sal-*, **sǎmpi* > **sAP*, **sǎpʿíʿ* > **sapak*, **saŕi* > **sAŕak*, **tǎbi* > **dabul*, **tʿaŋgiri* > **taŋrɨ* (but also **teŋri*), **tʿari* > **tArakaj*, **zaktʿi* > **jạtŕuk*, **žǎli* > **jĀl-*.

Note that closed *ạ is quite rare here (only 2 cases as opposed to 16 cases of open *a).

2. Mongolian can also have front reflexes i/e or a back reflex *a:

a) **ǎgi* > **eɣe-de-*, **čǎrikV* > **čirgaj*, **čʿàki* > **čigör-*, **dagi* > **deɣüren*, **dari* > **dereji-*, **dǎli* > **žil-*, **gǎtʿì* > **getül-* (but also **gatul-*), **kádì(rV)* > **keder*, **kǎkʿi* > **kek-*, **kami* > **kemerlig*, **kǎpi* > **kebere*, **kǎrsi* > **kirsa*, **kǎkʿi* > **kekere-* (but also **kakira-*), **kʿádí(-rV)* > **kederge*, **kʿǎpri* > **keɣürge*, **màli* > **milaɣa*, **mǎli* > **milan*, **lami* > **limbaj*, **pǎli* > **bilaɣu*, **pàli* > **belčir*, **pasi* > **hesüre-*, **pʿāji* > **hejil-*, **saji* > **seji-le-*, **saĺ(b)i* > **sel(b)-* (but also **salb-*), **sǎpʿí* > **sibeɣe*, **săpʿí* > **sibere-* (but also **sabir-*), **saŕi* > **ser-*, **sǎčʿi* > **seče-*, **sǎki* > **sege-*, **sǎŕi* > **seri-*, **tʿari* > **čirükej*. [Note that *i usually occurs before *-a-, *-ö- and *-u-, while *e occurs before *i, *e and *ü, thus **sibeɣe* and **sibere-* must go back to earlier **siböɣe* and **siböre-*].

b) **ǎli* > **al-dar*, **álikV* > **(h)alag-*, **ǎni* > **aŋ-ka*, **àŕì* > **ariɣa*, **ǎpi* > **abu-ra-*, **ǎli* > **aliɣa*, **ǎni* > **anžu*, **atʿi* > **ači*, **bǎtʿí* > **bat-ga*, **bǎdì* > **badara*, **bǎrì* > **baraɣun*, **bǎri* > **baraɣa*, **dǎgì* > **dajin*, **dǎkʿì* > **daka-*, **dǎsi* > **dasinga*, **gǎli* > **galžaɣu*, **kanti* > **kančir*, **kʿǎli* > **kali-sun*, **kʿǎsi* > **kasu-*, **lǎŋi* > **laji*, **lápʿì* > **labta-*, **màjŋì* > **maŋlai*, **ŋǎńì* > **naji-*, **pʿágdi* > **(h)adag*, **pʿǎsi* > **(h)asa-*, **pʿǎnŋi-* > **hana-*, **sajri* > **sar(b)a-*, **sǎmpi* > **samba-gan*, **sǎpʿí* > **sabaga*, **tʿǎkʿì* > **taki-*, **tʿaŋgiri* > **taŋgarag*, **tʿájri-* > **tara-*, **zăli* > **salki*, **žǎli-* > **žala-*.

In a few cases (**dàli* > **dölü*, **tǎbi* > **düjiren*, **čʿǎkʿi* > **čoku*), the vowel becomes labialized under the influence of secondary labialization of the second syllable (caused probably by an original labial suffix like *-bV- > -wV-: **dàli-bV* > **dàli-w-* > **delü-* > **dölü* etc.).

Mongolian and Turkic evidence displays a large number of e/a doublet readings, showing that the split into front and back variants in Turkic and Mongolian is secondary, probably caused by the old dialec-

tal variant development **CaCi* > **CeCE* vs. **CaCi* > **CaCA*. In general there is no direct correlation between front and back reflexes in Turkic and Mongolian; we find that Turkic slightly prefers front reflexes (44 cases of *e vs. 36 cases of *a), while Mongolian rather favours back reflexes (33 cases of *a vs. 29 cases of *e, plus 4 cases with a variation *e/a).

3. Korean, too, has a split into *a and *ə, but also has a number of *i-reflexes:

a) **ăĺi* > **ār-*, **ăńi* > **àńí*, **ãni* > **an-*, **ãni* > **ān-*, **atʿi* > **àtăr*, **bằrì-* > **pàrằ-*, **bằri* > **pār*, **dàli* > **tàr-*, **kàji* > **kāi-*, **kấkʿi* > **kài'ò-*, **kʿấsi-* > **kàsk-* (but also **kəsk-*), **lápʿî* > **nàp-* (but also **nəp-*), **màli* > **már*, **pấli* > **par-*, **pasi* > **pàs-*, **pʿấtʿi* > **pàtì*, **saŋe* > **sài'ó-*, **sằpʿí* > **sap-*, **sấŕi* > **sari-*, **zaktʿi* > **sàt*, **zăli* > **sar-*

b) **pằli* > **pər-*, **sajri* > **sjə-*, **saĺ(b)i* > **sər-*, **sấpʿí* > **səp*

c) **ằpi* > **ìpà-tí*, **ấli* > **ìr-bə́ń-*, **dấsi* > **tìsài*, **ŋằńì* > **nīń-*, **pańi* > **pìń-*, **sali* > **sirh-*, **tʿájri* > **tí-*.

PTM *a - PJ *u

This correspondence reflects the PA sequence **CaCu*. Other languages have the following reflexes:

1. Turkic predominantly has *a (**tāt* < **tʿấtʿu*, **daŋ-* < **tằnŋù*, **saran* < **saru*, **samala* < **sằmù*, **sakɨrtka* < **sakʿu(rV)*, **bańak-* < **mańukʿV*, **Kara* < **kàru*, **Kadgu* < **gằju*, **čal-* < **čʿàlù*, **dal* < **čălù*, **āń* < **ấńu*, **aglak* < **ăgu-la*).

Closed *ạ is attested, however, in **jạ̄ŕ-* < **lấŕgu*; and in some trisyllables before -u- we have a secondary labialization -a- > -o- (**jogurgan* < **dáku*, **bokursɨ* < **bằkʿu*).

2. Mongolian has *a, but may also reveal labialized reflexes u/o:

a) **ăgu-la* > **aɣula*, **apuči* > **(h)abisu-n*, **ằmú* > **(h)ama-n*, **bằkʿù* > **baki*, **čălù* > **daldaw*, **čʿabu* > **čaɣur*, **čʿàlù* > **čali*, **gằju* > **gaj*, **kádù* > **kada-*, **kàru* > **kara*, **kʿăpʿù* > **kaɣa-*, **làku* > **lag*, **làkʿù* > **naki-*, **lấŕgu* > **nargi-*, **máltʿu* > **malta-*, **pằlukʿV* > **haluka*, **sakʿu(rV)* > **sag*, **sarču* > **čarča-*, **saru* > **sar-*, **sagu* > **sag-su*, **šằŋu* > **čaŋ*, **tàbù* > **daɣ-*, **tagù* > **dagna-*, **tằbú* > **daɣa-*, **tʿámu* > **tama-*, **tʿằŋu* > **taɣu*, **tʿấtʿu* > **tačir*, **ǯapʿù* > **ǯaɣa-*;

b) **ằkʿú* > **uku-*, **bagu* > **buɣurul*, **balu* > **bulagan*, **čʿābu* > **čuw*, **gàtù* > **gudu-* (but also **godu*), **káčʿu* > **kuči-*, **kalu* > **kul-*, **kằnu* > **kuna*, **kʿapʿu* > **kubilǯagana*, **mańukʿV* > **munig*, **ńabĺu-čV* > **ǯulǯa-gan*, **saŋu(ńV)* > **suwnag;*

c) **ăbu* > **owči*, **ăŋu* > **oɣuna*, **ā́ńu* > **oji(n)*, **bāku* > **bog*, **čamu* > **dom*, **kʿăču* > **kočur-*, **kʿáru* > **kormu-sun*, **ńargu-* > **ʒorgul*, **sarumV* > **sormu-*, **šalpu* > **čolbun*, **tʿákʿù* > **toki*, **tʿaklu* > **togli*, **tʿànŋú* > **tonu-*

3. Korean displays similar reflexes: normally *a or *ə, but occasionally also *u or *o:

a) **àlu* > **àr-* (but also **ər-*); **káčʿu* > **kàč*, **làkʿù* > **náks*, **màlù* > **maru*, **tǎnŋù* > **tan*, **tʿákʿù* > **tàk*, **tʿámu* > **tām-*, **ʒapʿù* > **čàp-*;

b) **gǎju* > **kəiʿəm*, **mańukʿV* > **məijùkí*, **sarumV* > **səm*, **šàčú* > **čə́s*, **tʿā́tʿu* > **tə̀tə́i;*

c) **bagu* > **pùhɨi-*, **čălù* > **čùr-kí*, **kádù* > **kùrʿə́i*, **máltʿu* > **mùt-*, **maru* > **muri;*

d) **kǎnu* > **kón*, **kʿǎ̀kú* > **koāŋ*, **kʿáru* > **kòró*, **lā́ŕgu* > **nòrā́s*, **tàbù* > **tòbɨ́i-*.

In a certain number of words seemingly pointing to **CaCa* (with TM *a and Jpn. *a) Mongolian unexpectedly displays front *i or *e; Turkic has *o; and Korean has *ă or labialized *o, *u (typical for PA *o, see below). It seems appropriate to reconstruct here the type **CaCo*, with secondary merger of **CaCo* and **CaCa* in Japanese. The following comments are needed here:

1. Turkic normally has *o (with occasional narrowing > *u in contact with labials, cf. **um-* < **ā́mo*, **budur-* < **bǎdo*, **buta-* < **bǎ̀tò*, **Kumɨŕ* < **kàmo*, **jum-* < **nǎ̀mo*). For the *o reflex cf. **tʿaso* > **tosun*, **tʿăpʿo(rV)* > **topra-k*, **tǎ̀ŋo* > **doŋuŕ*, **tago* > **dogra-*, **sāmo* > **som*, **sáŕo* > **soŕak*, **pʿapʿo* > **op-la*, **ńamo* > **jo[m]*, **ńǎ̀mò* > **jom-*, **mā́ro* > **bōr*, **măndo* > **botu*, **kʿǎ̀no* > **Kon-*, **kʿalo* > **Kolaŋ*, **kʿăbo* > **Kob-*, **karmo* > **kor-daj*, **kaltʿo* > **Kolak*, **kakʿo* > **Kokɨ-*, **kàbro* > **Kor*, **gămo* > **Koma*, **čʿáko* > **čok*, **čā́lo* > **dōl-*, **čágo* > **ToK-*, **ǎ̀ŋo* > **oŋ*, **àpo* > **obu-*.

In the following cases, however, we find the reflex *a: **čAm* < **čʿamo*, **čar* < **čʿàro*, **čārba-* < **čʿā́mro*, **Kalɨm* < **kălo*, **KAĺak* < **kʿǎĺo*, **jaba* < **làbò*, **jaba* < **ĺábó*, **jĀmčɨk* < **lā́mo*, **jAŋgak* < **ńaŋo*, **ajɨt-* < **pʿajo*, *sag- < **săjgo*, **saja-* < **sajo*, **sargan* < **sáro*, **jala-* < **ʒǎ́lo*.

It is easy to see that with few exceptions the *a-reflex is present in the vicinity of Turkic palatals *j, *č or *ĺ.

2. Mongolian, as said above, has normally *a, but rather frequently also the fronted reflexes *i or *e:

a) **ā́mo* > **ama-*, **talo* > **dalu*, **dali*, **kakʿo* > **kaku-*, **kălo* > **kala-*, **kaltʿo* > **kalta-s* (but also **kelte-*), **kampʿo* > **kamki-*, **kʿăbo* > **kaɣur-*, **kʿǎĺo* > **kal-*, **kʿǎ̀no* > **kani*, **labo* > **lab* / **naj*, **lā́mo* > **nambuga*, **măndo* > **manʒi*, **ma[kʿ]o* > **makiji-*, **mā́ro* > **mara-*, **ńǎ̀mò* > **ʒaɣu-n*, **pʿádo* > **(h)adar*, **pʿajo* > **haɣu-*, **pʿapʿo* > **hawl-*, **săjgo* > **saɣa-*, **salo* > **sal(u)-*,

**tago* > **daɣa-*, **ǯǻlo* > **ǯalga-*. [In **kowr* < **kàbro* and **toɣur-* < **tʿăpʿo(rV)* we see a secondary assimilative labialization *a > *o].

b) **aǯo* > **(h)iǯe*, **bašo* > **bisi-ɣu*, **čʿabo* > **čibka*, **čʿamo* > **čima-*, **čʿaŋo* > **čiɣul-*, **čʿā́mro* > **čindaga*, **kàmo* > **kimur*, **ńamo* > **ǯim*, **ńaŋo* > **ǯiɣag*, **nȁmo* > **(n)im*, **sábó* > **sibe-gčin*, **sáŕo* > **siröge*, **sā́ŕo(-gV)* > **siröge*

c) **ȁjbo* > **ebe-sü*, **àpo* > **ebe-*, **ȁŋo* > **eŋge-*, **čā́lo* > **del-*, **kábó* > **keji-d*, **ĺábó* > **debeɣe*, **màsò* > **mese*, **papʿó* > **(h)eb*, **sago* > **seɣü-der*, **sȁŋo* > **seɣü-*, **sáro* > **sere-*, **tʿāno* > **teneji-*.

A secondary labialization occurred in **bödüne* < **bedüne* < **bădo*, **söɣem* < **seɣü-m* < **sajo*.

The general rules of distribution between *i and *e are the same as in the types **CaCe*, **CaCi*, i.e. *i usually before *-a-, *-ö- and *-u-, while *e - before *i, *e and *ü; thus **sibe-gčin* must go back to earlier **sibö-gčin*; less clear are the examples **(h)iǯe* (< **(h)iǯö*?) and **bisi-ɣu* (< **bisö-ɣu*?; note also the strange variant **busi-ɣu*). The rules of choice between back *a and front *i/*e, however, remain unclear.

3. Korean, as said above, has either *ă or, less frequently, *o/*u:

a) **čā́lo* > **čăra-*, **čʿamo* > **čhā́m-*, **čʿàro* > **čărɨ-*, **dalo* > **tȁr-*, **tàńo* > **tȁń-*, **talo* > **tȁr'ái*, **kălo* > **kā́r-*, **kaltʿo* > **kȁrȁ-*, **kampʿo* > **kā́m-*, **karmo* > **kȁrmjə́kí*, **kʿȁĺo* > **kā́r*, **làbò* > **năboi*, **lā́mo* > **nȁmȁčh*, **ma[kʿ]o* > **mȁi-*, **pʿádo* > **pȁrȁm*, **pȁró* > **phā́r-*, **sago* > **sȁ-n*, **săjgo* > **sā́i-*, **salo* > **sā́r-*, **sáĺo* > **sȁràŋ*, **sáńo* > **sȁńí*, **ǯā́lo* > **čȁrȁ-*, **pátʿo* > **pȁtȁi*;

b) **gămo* > **kòmá*, **kàbro* > **kòr-*, **kábó* > **kò'ā́r*, **kʿalo* > **koraŋ*, **mā́ro* > **mòr'ái*, **tȁŋo* > **to'a-*;

c) **čʿabo* > **čūb-*, **pʿajo* > **pūi-*.

2.4.2 PA *e

PTM *e - PJ *a

This correspondence reflects PA **CeCa*. Other languages have the following reflexes:

1. Turkic can have both *a and *e:

a) **běŕa* > **bAŕ-*, **dě́kà* > **jak-*, **dȅlpʿà* > **jalpɨ*, **èkʿá* > **agsa-*, **eńa* > **ańɨg*, **ě́ńa* > **ana* (but also **eńe*), **eńa* > **ańak*, **ěpʿa* > **apa(j)*, **erka* > **Arka-*, **ēda* > **Ada*, **ḗŕa* > **āŕ-*, **gȅnŋa* > **KAŋɨr-*, **kelta(rV)* > **KArtal*, **kéra* > **Kạrɨn*, **kȅnda* > **KAt*, **kȅčʿá* > **KAč-*, **kʿéŕà* > **Kaŕ*, **kʿéma* > **Kamɨĺ*, **kʿépà* > **Kaptal*, **kʿȅta* > **KAtar-*, **leńa* > **jAń-ka-*, **měŋa* > **baŋ-*, **nèra* > **jAr-*, **ŋȅrá* > **jạrɨn*, **pélaba(nV)* > **bAlbal*, **pʿépʿa* > **Apač-*, **pʿḗra* > **ārɨ*, **pʿḗta* > **āt-*, **sēma* > **sAm-*, **šekʿa* > **sakak*, **tēga* > **dāg*, **tḗla* > **dāl-*, **tʿȅpʿa* > **TAp-la-*, **tʿḗŕa* > **dAŕ*, **tʿȅbà* > **tabɨĺ-*, **zèjńa* > **jaŋɨ* (but also

jeŋi), **zēra* > **jar-*, **ʒela* > **jAla*, **ʒèmá* > **jam*, **ʒéja* > **jāj*, **tertʿa* > **dart-*, **zela* > **jạla-ŋuk*.

b) **tḗma* > **dēmin*, **dékʿà* > **jEken*, **ěbà* > **ebs-*, **ěda* > **ed*, **ēŋa(kʿV)* > **ēŋ*, **ěra* > **er-*, **éjba* > **ēb-*, **éna(kV)* > **ēn*, **éra* > **Ērig*, **étʿa* > **ēt-*, **gèla* > **gEle-Íč-*, **gèná* > **gEne*, **gékʿá* > **Kek-*, **kéma* > **Kemeke*, **kemŕa* > **kEbŕe*, **kéjna* > **gĒne*, **kḗpʿà* > **gēp*, **kʿébá* > **gEbre*, **kʿèpà* > **kebü-*, **méŋa* > **bEŋiŕ*, **mḗča* > **bĒčin*, **nema* > **jem-*, **ńěra* > **jẹr*, **pédá* > **bEdiŕ*, **pʿètá* > **et*, **tʿéba* > **Teb*, *tʿèkʿá* > **tek-*, **tʿeŋa* > **TEŋ-*, **tʿěpʿá* > **tepö*, **tʿèŋà* > **tEŋ*, **tʿèpʿà* > **TEpiŕ*.

Note that closed **ạ* and **ẹ* are very rare here and occur only before **-r-* and **l* (**Kạrɨn*, **jạrɨn*, **jẹr*, **jạlaŋuk*).

2. Mongolian also can have both **a* and **e*:

a) **dělpʿà* > **dalba-*, **ěda* > **ada-*, **èkʿá* > **(h)agsa-*, **eńa* > **ajaga(n)*, **erka* > **arga-*, **ēda* > **(h)ada*, **éjba* > **(h)abad*, **éra* > **ar-*, **gènŋa* > **gana-*, **kelta(rV)* > **kaltar*, **kènda* > **kandagaj*, **kʿérà* > **kajir(a)-*, **kʿéma* > **kamgar*, **kʿeŋa* > **kaŋka-*, **kʿépà* > **kabta-su*, **kʿèta* > **kadaga-la*, **lḗńa* > **naji-*, **mékʿà* > **mak-*, **méŋa* > **maji-kai*, **nèra* > **nari-n*, **nèra* > **nara-su*, **ŋèrá* > **naran*, **pélaba(nV)* > **barimal*, **pépʿà* > **baɣa-su*, **pʿépʿa* > **haba-kai*, **pʿéta* > **(h)ada-*, **pʿètá* > **(h)adaska*, **sēma* > **samur-*, **šekʿa* > **sakaɣu*, **tʿèja* > **tajibu-*, **tʿekʿa* > **taka*, **tʿeŋa* > **taŋga-*, **tʿèpʿa* > **taɣ-*, **tʿḗŕa* > **tarbalʒi*, **tʿèbà* > **tawlai*, **zēra* > **sara*, **ʒela* > **ʒali-*, **ʒèmá* > **ʒamug*, **méra* > **maril*, **tertʿa* > **tata-*.

b) **běŕa* > **berele-*, **tḗma* > **demej* (also with secondary labialization **demü* > **dömü-*), **dékʿà* > **dek-*, **èbla* > **(h)eɣülde*, **eńa* > **ende-*, **ěpʿa* > **ebej*, **épʿá* > **eb-*, **ěra* > **ere-*, **ḗna(kV)* > **eŋ*, **ḗŕa* > **ereɣü*, **gèná* > **gene-*, **gékʿá* > **gek-*, **kemŕa* > **kemde-*, **kèra* > **kere-*, **kḗpʿà* > **keɣe*, **kěčʿá* > **keč*, **kʿébá* > **keɣür*, **kʿèpà* > **kebe*, **lèjkʿá* > **neke-*, **měŋa* > **meŋde-*, **mḗča* > **mečin*, **nema* > **neme-*, **pédá* > **beder*, **pʿḗra* > **herbe-kei*, **séjra* > **sereɣe*, **sèdá* > **sede-*, **tēga* > **deɣe-*, **tʿéba* > **tew-ke*, **tʿèkʿá* > **teg-si*, **tʿěpʿá* > **tebeg* (but also **tab)*, **tʿèpá* > **teberi-*, **tʿèpʿà* > **tebči-*.

There are also several cases of **i* (before **j*: **lèja* > **niɣe-*, **zèjńa* > **sine;* and also **ńěra* > **ʒir(u)-*, **sépʿà* > **siɣüre-* < **siɣöre-*?). The general distribution of **e* and **i* is here more or less the same as in the types **CaCe*, **CaCi* (see above): **e* occurs only before **e* and **ü*; but final **-a*, *-u* and **-ö* (also **-i*) are extremely rare in this type, so that the expected reflex **-i-* is very rare, too. It probably means that the type **CeCa* was very early transformed into **CeCe* (or **CaCa*), while **CaCe* first changed into **CaCi*.

It is also worth noting that, unlike the type **CaCe* where fronting in Turkic and Mongolian must have been an independent process (the correlation between Turkic **e* and Mong. **e* in that type is more or less

random), here we find a largely interdependent development: in most cases when Mong. has *a, Turkic also has *a (25 cases against 9 cases of Mong. *a - Turk. *e), and in most cases when Mong. has *e, Turkic also has *e (16 cases against 9 cases of Mong. *e - Turk. *a). This probably means that the process of splitting **CeCa* into **CaCa* / **CeCe* started earlier than the process of splitting **CaCe* (on which see above); but the conditioning factors for it still remain unclear.

3. Korean, as always, has a double reflex: *a or *ə:

a) **bétà* > **pàdǎr*, **tḗma* > **tāmǎi-n*, **dékʿà* > **tái* (?), **děpʿa* > **tàpók-*, **èbla* > **árh*, **éča* > **àčhǎm*, **eńa* > **āń-*, **ḗna(kV)* > **ánh*, **ḗra* > **ar-*, **kéma* > **kàmá*, **kéra* > **kari*, **kʿébà* > **kai*, **mékʿà* > **màk-*, **ŋ̀ěrá* > **nár*, **lèja* > **ná-*, **pépʿà* > **pap*, **tḗla* > **tarh-*, **tʿěpʿá* > **tapar*, **zèjńa* > **sái*.

b) **ḗńa* > **àńí*, **épʿá* > **əp-*, **erka* > **àrk-*, **ḗŕa* > **ərjób-*, **kḗjna* > **kāi*, **kěčʿá* > **kjóčh*, **lèjkʿá* > **njàkí-*, **nema* > **nəm-*, **pʿḗra* > **pər-*, **séjra* > **səi(h)*, **tēga* > **tə-*, **tʿepʿà* > **tàph-*, **tʿ̀ěpá* > **tàpír-*, **zēra* > **sār*, **kéčʿà* > **kàčh*, **méra* > **mər'úi*.

4. Japanese, as we said above, has a uniform *a. Since PJ *a and *ə are hardly compatible in one morpheme, almost none of the words in question have an *ə in the second syllable here, except for one case: PA **ǯèmá* > PJ **dəmó(n)kui*, where as a result the first vowel became secondarily assimilated (on some similar cases < PA **CaCa* see above). Another similar case may be **čěkʿa* > PJ **təkə* (although here a reconstruction **čěkʿo* can not be entirely excluded; on the type **CeCo* see below).

PTM *e - PJ *ə

This correspondence (except for the irregular case with **ǯèmá*, on which see above), indicates PA **CeCe*. Other languages have the following reflexes:

1. Turkic uniformly has *e, with the open and closed variants distributed in the following way:

a) **ěme* > **eme*, **kʿéĺe* > **kelǐč*, **sebe* > **seb*, **tḗpʿé* > **depre-*, **tʿégè(-rV)* > **Tegre*

b) **gě̀le* > **gęl-*, **gě̀rè(bV)* > **gęr-tü*

In one case, viz. **(j)īn-čik* < **pʿèjńé,* we observe a narrowed *-i-reflex, probably conditioned by the medial -j-.

After initial *j- (< *n-) there may also appear back *a (*ạ): cf. **nḗmè* > **jama-*, **ně̀pʿé* > **jap-*, **nḗre* > **jạr-*.

The distribution between *e and *ę, *a and *ạ here seems to be conditioned by the following consonant: closed variants appear before *r and *l, open variants are found elsewhere.

2. Mongolian, too, uniformly has *e, except in the position after *j- (*ja-su < *jan-su < *pʿèjńé). Just as in the case of *CeCa, *-i- could be possible, but the only attested cases here are with the vowels *-e-, *-i- or *-ü- in the second syllable (*eme < *ěme, *ečige < *ětʿè, *gere(-γe) < *gěrè(bV), *kenʒe < *kènʒé, *kewü- < *kʿěpʿè, *deglej < *ĺekleKV, *nebse- < *něpʿé, *nere < *nére, *selü- < *séle, *debi- < *tépʿé).

We see thus that PA *CeCe behaves exactly like the fronted variant of *CaCe, see above.

3. Korean has reflexes similar to those of *CaCi, i.e. basically *a or *ə, but also a number of *i and *ɨ-reflexes:

a) *ěme > *ám, *ětʿè > *àtǎ, *gěle > *ká-;

b) *ěbè > *əp-, *séle > *sərì;

c) *kejbe > *kìbúr, *něpʿé > *nìp-, *nére > *(n)ìrh-, *nìrǎ-, *sése > *sìs-kú-, *sebe > *sìpɨ-;

d) *gěrè(pV) > *kɨr, *nečʿè > *nɨč-.

PTM *e - PJ *i

This correspondence reflects the type *CeCi, and other languages have the following reflexes:

1. as in the case of *CeCe, Turkic has a more or less uniform reflex *e, with the open and closed variants distributed in the following way:

a) *gédì > *ged, *gérki > *Kerke-, *kěŋi > *geŋir, *kéči > *gēč, *ŋéni > *ēn-, *pěkʿi > *bek, *télki > *Tel(k)-, *délì > *jēl;

b) *kʿèlńí > *kẹli, *tèrì > *dẹri, *ʒèri > *jẹr-;

The rules of distribution appear similar to those in the type *CeCe, i.e. closed *ẹ before *r, *l, open *e elsewhere (however, several cases of open *e before *r,*l - *Kerke, *Tel, *jēl - are also attested).

Just as in the case of *CeCe there are some examples of -a- after *j- (cf. *zepʿi > *jap-, *ʒebí > *jAb); cf. also *nébì > *jub-ga, probably a vowel metathesis < *jab-gu.

We see that in general the type *CeCi behaves in Turkic very similarly to *CeCe; but there are a few attested cases where Turkic has a narrow *-i- here: *bèli > *bil- (but in a derivative: *bel-gü); *dègni > *(j)igne, *pʿedí > *idi; *sěni > *sin-čök; *sejŋi > *siŋil.

2. Mongolian has either *e or *i:

a) *bèli > *bele-, *dělpʿi > *delbe-, *déli > *del, *gédì > *gede, *kěŋi > *keŋ-, *kéči > *keči-, *ńéŋńi > *ʒeγü-n, *ŋéni > *neγü-, *ségì > *seg-l-, *sémi > *seme-, *télki > *deleg, *néji > *nej, *éli > *el-, *dègni > *ʒeγü-wün.

b) *gérki > *girgawl, *kʿèmì > *kim, *ĺègì > *ʒig-, *nébì > *niγu-n, *neji > *ni-sa-, *pečʿi > *hiče-, *pʿedí > *hide, *pěkʿi > *hike, *pʿémi > *himer-, *pʿèrì

> **hir-*, **seri* > **sireɣe*, **tȅrì* > **čiraj*, **tʿȅkʿí* > **čig*, **ʒȅri* > **ʒirke-*, **ʒebí* > **ʒib-*.

The general distribution rules of *i and *e (*-i- before *a, *u and *ö; *-e- before *e, *i and *ü) are somewhat violated here by a relatively large number of *CiCe* (*hiče-*, *hide, hike, himer-*, *sireɣe*, *ʒirke*). The reason for this development is yet to be established.

3. Korean has exactly the same reflexes as in the type **CeCe*:

a) **ŋȅ́ni* > **nàń(ǎ-)*, **sȅ́mi* > **sām*, **sejŋi* > **sjā'òŋ*, **sési* > **sàsǎ́m*, **sèmi* > **sàm-*, **tʿȅ̀kí* > **tàhí-*;

b) **ebí* > **əbí-*, **métʿi(-rkV)* > **mòrtəkə́n*, **nébì* > **nə-*, **pȅ̀kʿi* > **phək*, **pʿéŋi* > **pəŋ-*, **ʒečʿi* > **čjəčái*, **éli* > **ər-*;

c) **čʿéčʿí* > **čìčír-*, **kȅ̀ŋi* > **kíń-*, **neji* > **ní*, **sȅ̀ni* > **sín*, **seri* > **sìr'ái*, **zepʿi* > **sìp-*;

d) **bèli* > **pírí-*, **pečʿi* > **pìs-kírì-*, **télki* > **tìrkuər*.

PTM *e - PJ *u

Here it is natural to reconstruct **CeCu*, with the following correspondences in other languages.

1. as in **CeCa*, Turkic can have both *a and *e:

a) **ènŋu* > **ạnkaj*, **keju* > **Kạjɨn-*, **keru* > **KArɨĺ-*, **kȅ̀ru* > **Kạrɨ*, **kȅ́rdu* > **Kạ̄rt-*, **lélugV* > **jaglɨk*, **meju* > **bań-*, **ńéčʿu* > **jačan-*, **ŋȅ̀lu* > **jAl-*, **ŋȅ́nu* > **jānu-*, **pʿeńu* > **Ań*, **sèkʿu* > **sạk(ɨ)-*, **sȅ̀gù* > **sạg*, **šèru* > **sar-*, **tʿelbu* > **tAlagu*, **sèpʿù* > **sạp*

b) **bȅ̀dù* > **bEdü-k*, **bekʿú* > **bEkre*, **čʿečʿu* > **čeček*, **eŕmu* > **eŕen*, **kȅ̀ju* > **Kej-*, **kēpu* > **gēb-*, **kʿèpù* > **Kẹbi-Ĺč-*, **mělu* > **bẹleĺ*, **nȅ́ŋu* > **jeŋe* (but also **jaŋa* in Yak. *saŋas*), **pȅ̀su* > **bes*, **šȅ̀rčú* > **serče*, **téŋgu* > **deŋgil*, **tȅ̀tu* > **Tetig*, **tʿélù* > **tēl*, **tʿȅ̀rù* > **tEŕek*, **zejĺu* > **jElme-*, **ělžu* > **Eĺčgek*.

We can notice the following here: *e is almost always open (except in **Kẹbiĺč* and **bẹleĺ*), but *a is for the most part closed *ạ (**ạnkaj*, **Kạjɨn-*, **Kạrɨ*, **Kạ̄rt-*, **sạk-*, **sạg*, **sạp*). All the cases with open *a contain a palatal (**jaglɨk*, **bań-*, **jačan*, **jānu-*; **sar-* < **šèru*). Thus, the distribution between *a and *ạ in the type **CeCu* is similar to the distribution of *a and *o in the type **CaCo*, see above.

2. Mongolian reflexes are rather complicated in this type of correspondence. We can have

a) *a: **ȅ̀rù* > **ar(a)-su*; **keju* > **kajira-*; **kȅ̀ru* > **kari-*; **kȅ́rdu* > **kaʒir*; **lépù* > **lab-ku* (but also **lob-ku*); **meju* > **maji-*; **nȅ́ŋu* > **nagaču*; **ŋȅ́nu* > **naŋ-si-*; **sedurkʿV* > **sadurkaj*; **sekʿu* > **saki-*; **seru(kʿV)* > **sarku*; **sȅ̀gù* > **saji(n)*; **šèru* > **sara-*; **tēru* > **dar-ta-*; **tʿȅ̀mu* > **tamara-*.

After or before a labial there usually appears a labialized reflex *o or *u (although some cases of *a are also attested, cf. **maji-* and **tamara-* above, as well as a variant reflexation **labku* and *lobku*):

b) *o/*u: **bēǯu- > *buǯa-; *kʿèpù > *kubil-; *mĕlu > *mojil-; *pȅsu > *(h)osu-; *pʿeńu > *(h)ojimu; *segu > *sowsar; *tʿelbu > *tolbu.*

A labialized reflex also appears in **una-gan < *ènŋù* and **nolga < *lélugV*, despite the absence of labials. Here we are probably dealing with an early vowel metathesis or assimilation **una-gan < *anu-gan* and **nol(u)ga < *nal(u)ga*.

Besides the back reflexes we also observe front *e and *i:

c) *e: **bȅdù > *bedi-ɣün, *bekʿú > *bekir, *déru > *derbe-, *eŕmu > *ermen, *keru > *kereldüg, *kȅńu > *kene-ge-* (but also **kinu-*); **kēpu > *kebi-; *kʿȅĺú > *kerelǯegene, *méŋu > *men-dü, *méru- > *merije-* (but also **marija-*), **tʿédù > *teǯije-, *tʿḗlù > *tele-, *zejĺu > *seleme, *ĕĺǯu > *elǯigen;*

d) *i: **čʿḗpʿu > *čijigan, *mékʿù > *mikan, *nèku > *nigu, *tȅtu > *čida, *sèpʿù > *sibsirga;*

The distribution of *e and *i here is standard (*e before -i-, -e-, -ü-, *i before -a-, -u-).

We may notice that here, too, as in the case of **CeCa*, Mongolian and Turkic largely coincide in the distribution of back and front variants — Mong. back : Turkic back in 13 cases; Mong. back : Turkic front in 8 cases (interestingly enough, most of them close to labials, i.e. with the Mong. reflex o/u); Mong. front : Turkic front in 9 cases; Mong. front : Turkic back only in 3 cases.

It is also interesting to notice the different behaviour of **CeCa* and **CeCu* both in Turkic and Mongolian: a) **CeCa* yields PT *a (almost never closed *ạ) and PM *a without any labialized variants in the vicinity of labials; b) **CeCu* yields PT *ạ (with a variant *a only in the vicinity of palatals) and PM *a, with a variant *o/*u close to labials.

This all seems to indicate that the development **CeCa > *CaCa*, but **CeCu > *CạCu* was a common Turko-Mongolian feature, with the vowel *ạ preserved in Turkic (and ultimately reflected as Yak., Chuv. -ɨ- vs. -a- in other Turkic languages), and having developed into *o(*u) in Proto- Mongolian before or after labials (while plain *a stayed unchanged).

3. Korean can have here both standard reflexes *a/*ə and labialized *o/*u:

a) **keru > *kar-; *késu > *kàs* (but also **kə̀s*); **kʿèpù > *káps, *sèkʿu > *sàkí-, *sȅgù > *sà'ó-náb-, *šèru > *sár;*

b) **seru(kʿV) > *sə̀rk, *tʿelbu > *tə̄rə̀b-, *tʿȅŕù > *tə̄r-;*

c) **bekʿú > *pok, *eŕmu > *òrmí, *keju > *kò'ɨ̀, *lélugV > *nòríkái, *ŋȅlu > *nōr-ra-, *téŋgu > *thòŋ, *zejĺu > *sói;*

d) **č̆ʿḗpʿu* > **čjūpók*, **meju* > **mūi-*, **nḗŋu* > **nù'ɨ̀i*, **tʿékù* > **tùthə̀b-*.

Occasionally, we also encounter a reflex *ɨ close to labials: **bḕdù-* > **pɨ̀rɨ̀-*, **lépù* > **nɨp(h)*.

Just as in the case with PA *a (**CaCo*) there is also a fifth type of correspondence. In a number of cases when TM has *e and Jpn. either *ə or *a (i.e. where we would reconstruct PA **CeCe* or **CeCa*), all other languages have quite different reflexes: Korean has *ă or *o/u (typical for PA *o, see below, and for PA **CaCo*, see above); and Turkic has predominantly closed *ạ or *ẹ. It seems probable that we are dealing here with the PA root structure **CeCo*. Let us mention at once that distribution between Jpn. *a and *ə is still unclear in this type of correspondence, but it seems hardly possible to reconstruct any additional distinctions here: the opposition **a : *ə* does not seem to correlate with anything else outside Japanese. It is possible that we are dealing with early vowel assimilations which result in part of the **CeCo* words being assimilated to **CeCe*, and another part to **CaCo*.

Let us sum up the evidence for **CeCo* in other languages.

1. Turkic, as in most heterovocalic stems, can have both back and front reflexes:

a) **ḕpʿo* > **Ap* (but also **Ep)*, **ḗro* > **ạrɨ*, **ēčʿo* > **ạ̄č*, **ḗpo* > **Āb*, **gébó* > **Kạb-*, **kèĺčo* > **Kạĺ(č)ɨ-*, **kèĺǯo* > **KAĺga*, **kʿĕdò* > **KAd*, **kʿeńo* > **Kạń*, **kʿḕńó* > **Kạń-*, **kʿepʿorV* > **KApur-*, **kʿḕŕo* > **Kaŕgan-*, **kʿétʿò* > **Kạt*, **kʿēro* > **Kạrga-*, **néro* > **jArman-*, **zelo* > **jạlɨŋ*, **sero* > **sạr-*, **šéčo* > **sạč-*, **tḗmo* > **dam*, **tʿèmo* > **Tạm-*, **tʿeŕo* > **dAŕ*, **ǯĕĺo* > **jạĺɨ-*, **ǯebò* > **jAbaĺ*.

b) **béjo* > **bEje*, **depo* > **jẹbi-*, **epʿò* > **Epej*, **eso* > **ẹsür-*, **ḗgó* > **ẹ̄g-id-*, **ḗĺpo* > **ēĺü-*, **gĕbo* > **geb-*, **gḗmo* > **gẹ̄mi*, **kèro* > **gErü*, **kéro* > **gErüĺ-*, **lēmo* > **jẹ̄miĺč*, **melo* > **bẹl*, **métʿò* > **bẹtü(g)*, **pḗkʿò* > **bẹ̄ken-*, **pʿḕĺo* > **ẹĺ-*, **pʿḕro* > **er-*, **tēlo* > **dẹ̄l(b)ü-*, **tʿerkʿo* > **TẹrKe-*, **zego* > **jEgit*.

In the majority of cases when there is a Chuvash or Yakut reflex available, they point here to closed *ạ and *ẹ. Exceptions are **dakɨ* (Yak. *taɣanɨ*), **Kaŕgan-* (Yak. *xahān-*), **dam* (Chuv. *tom-la-*, Yak. *tamma-* - but notice also the PT variant **dɨm*), **dart-* (Chuv. *tort-)*; **geb-* (Chuv. *kavža-*, but also *kъʷbъʷš* < **gẹb-ĺ-*); **er-* (Yak. *erke*, but Chuv. *jərgəń*, probably < **ẹrk-*); **ḗĺü-* (Chuv. *alъk*). Reflexes of open *a or *e in these few cases are probably due to later vocalic assimilations or dialectal mixture.

2. Mongolian, too, has both back and front reflexes:

a) *a: **béjo* > **bajita-sun*, **bḕló* > **balai*, **epʿò* > **aɣag*, **ḕpʿo* > **(h)aba-*, **ḗro* > **ariɣ-*, **ḗgó* > **aɣu-*, **ḗpo* > **aba*, **gébó* > **gawr-su*, **kèro* > **kari-*, **kèĺčo* > **kalča-*, **kèĺǯo* > **kalǯa-*, **kʿeńo* > **kajaɣa*, **kʿéńo* > **kaji-*, **kʿḕpʿó* > **kajila-*,

**kʿepʿorV* > **kabir-*, **kʿétʿò* > **kata-*, **kʿēro* > **kara/ija-*, **lēmo* > **lamaɣa*, **néro* > **narba-*, **pḗkʿò* > **baka-*, **sero* > **sariwu*, **šéčo* > **sačʊ-*, **tʿerkʿo* > **tariki*, **tʿeŕo* > **tar-*, **tʿȅrbò* > **tarbagaj*, **tʿȅjbo* > **tabi-*, **tʿébo* > **tab*, **zego* > **saɣaka-*, **ʒḗĺo* > **ʒalka-*, **sèpʿó* > **saba*; in **ḗĺpo* > **(h)olbug* Mongolian has a secondary labialization (< **(h)albug*).

b) *e / i: **depo* > **debte-*, **emo* > **emü-*, **eso* > *es-, **kéro* > **kere-*, **kétʿò* > **ketü*, **kʿḗŕo* > **kerig*, **métʿò* > **med*, **pʿȅjló* > **helige*, **pego* > **heɣü*, **sèĺbò* > **selbi-ɣür*; **zelo* > **sildaŋ*,**šero* > **sira-*.

The distribution of *e and *i here is standard (-e- before e, ü, i; -i- before a).

But additionally Mongolian has quite a number of labialized reflexes **ö/ü*, probably developed secondarily from *e/i through regressive labialization and thus also pointing to the labialized nature of the second vowel: **ḗbʒo* > **üʒe-*, **gȅbo* > **güji-*, **gèmo* > **gömür-*, **kʿȅdò* > **küdeŋ*, **kʿȅńó* > **köŋgen*, **mèto* > **möči-*, **mȅnò* > **mön*, **pȅʒo* > **böʒi-*, **pʿȅĺo* > **hülde-*, **zelo* > **sülde*, **ʒebò* > **ʒöɣelen*.

In this case, as with **CaCe* (and unlike **CeCa*, **CeCu*) it is difficult to find a direct correlation between front/back reflexes in Mongolian and Turkic. The developments **CeCo* > **CạC-*/**CẹC-* in Turkic and > **CaC-*/**CeC-*/**CöC-* in Mongolian thus must have been independent processes, already after the disintegration of Proto-Turko-Mongolian. It can also be seen that the vowel *ạ in PT here differs from the vowel *ạ in the type **CeCu* (see above): while the latter reflects a common Turko-Mongolian development **CeCu* > **CạCu* (with *ạ yielding specific a/o reflexes in Mongolian), the former is a purely Turkic development (no o/u-reflexes are attested in Mongolian in the type **CeCo*).

3. Korean, as said above, demonstrates here reflexes typical for PA *o, namely *ă or *o/*u:

a) **bȅĺó* > **pȁrk-*, **gèmo* > **kăm-*, **kèĺčo* > **kȁr-*, **kétʿò* > **kȁtȁk-*, **kʿeńo* > **kȁń*, **kʿȅńó* > **kȁnȁr-*, **kʿéńo* > **kȁńȁi*, **lēmo* > **nȁmȁrh*, **mȅko* > **mȁi-*, **métʿò* > **mȁt*, **néro* > **nȁr-*, **pʿȅjló* > **pȁi*, **pʿȅĺo* > **pȁrb-*, **pʿȅro* > **pȁrá-*, **šéčo* > **čȁčȁi-*, **tḗmo* > **tȁm-*, **tʿeŕo* > **tȁrk*, **tʿȅjbo* > **tȁbi-*, **zelo* > **sȁr-*, **šero* > **sȁrm-*.

Here we should also attribute the cases **ēčʿo* > **áč-* / **ač-* and **epʿò* > ***ap,* reduplicated **páp:* because in Kor. *ă could not stand in word-initial position, it was probably early replaced by *a- / **ə-*.

b) **ȅpʿo* > **opɨ(s)*, **gébó* > **kòʿɨi*, **gḗmo* > **kòmȁr*, **kèĺʒo* > **kór(čhí)*, **lépʿó* > **nòph-*, **mȅnò* > **móm*, **nȅko* > **nóh-*, **tʿèŋo* > **toŋʿăi*, **tʿébo* > **tōb-*, **sèpʿó* > **sōp*

c) **kéro* > **kūr-*, **kʿepʿorV* > **kùpɨrəŋ*, **kʿétʿò* > **kùt-*, **mèto* > **mūd-*, **sèĺbò* > **súr*, **zego* > **sú(h)*.

2.4.3. PA *i

PTM *i - PJ *a

This type reflects the PA structure **CiCa*. Other languages display the following reflexes:

1. Turkic can have either back *ɨ or front *i:

a) **čʿípʿa > *čīp, *iĺa > *ɨĺɨ-, *ḯna > *ɨŋɨr, *īĺa > *ɨĺ(č), *kȉba > *Kɨbak, *kìjá > *Kɨj(g)ak, *kȉŕa > *Kɨŕ-, *kʿíla > *Kɨl(k), *kʿȉrka > *Kɨrk-, *lḯgà > *jɨg-, *nȉra > *jɨr, *pʿìrá > *ɨra-, *sȉgà > *sɨgra, *siŋra > *sɨŋɨr, *sípa > *sɨba-, *símta > *sɨmta-*

b) **ìla > *iler-, *ȉna > *ini, *kʿìĺa > *Kiĺe-, *nìtʿá > *jit-, *nìtʿà > *jiti, *píńŕa > *bińŕ, *sìlá > *sil, *sīĺa > *sīĺ* (but also **sīĺ*), **sīĺa > *sīl-* (but also **sīla-*), **tʿȉmá > *Tiŋ(mi), *tʿìntʿa > *tint-*

2. Mongolian normally has *i, but a variation i/e before the following -e-, cf. **dísa > *ʒise-, *ìla > *ile, *ȉtʿá > *itege-, *tʿȉmá > *čimeɣe*, but **kʿìĺa > *kelbe-, *kelke-, *nìtʿá > *nete-*).

3. Korean has a usual variation of *a and *ə:

a) **čʿȉkʿà > *čjakai, *ȉna > *àńǎ, *kʿíla > *kār(h), *kʿìĺa > *kár, *nìtʿà > *nát, *píńŕa > *pànǎr, *pȉmà > *pām, *sīĺa > *sár, *tʿȉmá > *tamɨr-*

b) **ḯna > *əńɨrɨm, *nìtʿá > *njəth-, *sìča > *čəs, *sila > *sərí, *sīĺa > *sər-, *ʒima > *čjəmɨr-*

Note that in some cases, despite the breaking of *i (> a/ə), a trace of it is left as -j- (*čjakai, njəth-, čjəmɨr-* etc.).

PTM *i - Jpn. *i

Here it would be natural to reconstruct PA **CiCi*, but Turkic parallels show that we are in fact dealing with two types of structures:

a) PTM *i - Jpn. *i - Turk. *i < PA **CiCi*

b) PTM *i - Jpn. *i - Turk. *e < PA **CiCe*.

Although PA *-e turns most initial vowels into PJ *ə, it evidently behaved differently with PA *-i-, which was not assimilated (a special development is also attested for PA *-u- before *-e, see below).

We shall start with the type **CiCe*.

1. Turkic. As we said above, the normal reflex here is *e, cf. **čʿibe > *čebir-, *ìbè > *eb, *ìbè > *ebin, *ìmé > *em-, *ḯkʿè > *ēke-, *nīme > *jem-kek, *pʿȉjkʿe > *ejekü, *síkʿe > *sekü, *tʿȉbŋe > *debe, *tʿḯŕge > *tēŕ-, *zìŋke > *jeŋgül*.

Closed *e normally appears before *r, *l (cf. a similar distribution in types **CeCe*, **CeCi*) although in a few cases open *e occurs in this position as well, cf. **čʿȉre > *čẹr, *dile > *jẹlin, *ile > *ẹl-t-*, but **kʿile > *kel-, *tire*

> *deriŋ. Closed *ẹ is also observed (for unknown reasons) in *diŋe > *jẹŋ-, *pʿī́kʿè > *ẹ̄ke-.

2. Mongolian, like Turkic, has for the most part *e here, but can also retain *i:

a) *bī́re > *ber-, *čʿĭre > *čer, *dile > *deleŋ, *dible > *dewel, *diŋe > *dejil-, *gibe > *gewü-n, *gire > *gere, *ìbè > *eɣüde, *ipe > *ebül, *ī́kʿè > *(h)egde-, *nìkʿé > *negsi, *pȉle > *heliɣe, *píńŋe > *beɣer, *síkʿe > *seg, *tʿĭbŋe > *teme-ɣen, *tʿī́ŕge > *terge-.

b) *čʿȉme > *čimöge, *ȉče > *iču-, *ile > *ileɣe-, *ìmé > *(h)ima-gta, *ī́re > *ire-, *kʿile > *kilim, *kʿȉrégV > *kiröɣe, *sȉpe > *siber, *zìŋke > *siŋgen-.

The distribution here is more or less usual for *e/i: *-i- before *a, *u and *ö; *-e- before *e, *i and *ü. Just as in the type *CeCi, however, there is a number of exceptional *-i- reflexes before the following -e-, -i- (*ileɣe-, ire-, siber-, siŋgen, kilim*).

3. Korean, as in most rows of correspondences, can have a front reflex (*i) or a back reflex (*ɨ):

a) *čʿĭre > *čiri-, *ìbè > *íp, *ìmé > *ima-, *ī́kʿè > *ìkɨ́i-, *ī́re > *irɨ-, *nìkʿé > *nìk-, *nīme > *nìmá, *síle > *sìrɨ̀

b) *píńŋe > *pɨ̀ńɨ̀rɨ̀m, *tire > *tɨ́r-.

PTM *i - PJ *i - PT *i

(reflecting PA *CiCi)

In this type, Mongolian normally also has *i, but a variation *i/*e before the following -e- (i. e. behaves exactly like with the type *CiCa, see above), cf. *ìtí > *(h)ideɣür, *īĺbi > *(h)ilbeɣe-sün, *šī́mi > *sime, *šī́kʿi > *siɣe-, *tȉkʿi > *čike, but *bĭli > *beɣelej, *pʿĭčʿi > *(h)ečüg-le (?*(h)ečeg-le-), *pʿísi(KV) > *heske-.

Korean has predominantly *i (*bilčʿi > *pìč-, *ī́ĺi > *īr, *pȉĺǯi > *pìrí-, *sidí > *sīd-, *síŋri > *sì'úr, *sítʿì > *sìtɨ́rə́p-, *tʿī́ri > *tìrɨ̀-, *ǯȉbì > *čìp), but also -ɨ- in *šī́mi > *sɨ́mɨ́i- - i.e. the same reflexes as in the type *CiCe.

PTM *i - PJ *u

This correspondence presupposes PA *CiCu. In the words of this type other languages have the following reflexes:

1. Turkic may have back *ɨ or front *i:

a) *čʿiju > *čɨjɨk, *čʿī́mu > *čɨm-, *čʿȉmu > *čɨm-, *íru > *ɨr, *ìsú > *ɨsɨr-, *ī́ŕu > *ɨ̄ŕ (but also *īŕ), *ȉrú > *ɨrɨm, *kʿȉjĺu > *Kɨjĺ-, *nȉkʿú > *jɨk-, *pʿī́mù > *ɨm, *pʿĭru > *ɨr-, *sī́gú > *sɨg-, *sī́kʿù > *sɨk-, *sìkʿu > *sɨk, *sìŋù > *sɨŋok (but also *siŋök), *siju > *sɨ-rga, *šimučʿV > *čɨmɨč-, *tʿī́[kʿ]ù > *tɨkɨ-

b) **čʿī́lčʿu* > **sīĺč*, **ičʿu* > **ič*, **ìtʿù* > **it-*, **ī́ru* > **īr-*, **kìkú* > **Kik-*, **kʿibù* > **Kibente*, **ĺipʿú* > **(j)ip-*, **sī̋lgù* > **silk-*

2. Mongolian normally has *i, but occasionally *e in front of the following -e- (as in the type **CiCa*), cf. **kítʿu* > **kičiɣe-*, **sī̋lgù* > **silgeɣe-*, **sísu* > **sisegej*, but **čʿī́lčʿu* > **čelčeji-* (but also **čili-* and, quite exceptionally, **čulčaji-*), **ìtʿù* > **ete-*, **kìkú* > **kegʒe-*, **kʿìjĺu* > **kelbe-* (but also **kilu-*).

3. Korean, as usual, can have both front (*i) and back (*ɨ) variants:

a) **čʿiju* > **čī-n*, **ī́ŕu* > **ìráŋ*, **kítʿu* > **kìtɨ́r'ó-*, **kʿírù* > **kìrɨ́má*, **nìkʿú* > **nìkì-*, **pʿĩru* > **pīr-*, **sī̋lgù-* > **sir-*, **tʿī́[kʿ]ù* > **tìk-*, **čʿípʿú* > **čìp-*.

b) **čʿī́mu* > **čúmə̀kúi* (probably assimilation < *čɨ́mə̀kúi*), **íru* > **ɨ̀rp-*, **ìsú* > **ɨsɨr-*, **ī́ru* > **ɨrɨ-*, **sìŋù* > **sɨ̀in*, **sísu* > **sɨ̀s-*.

In a number of cases we observe the correspondence PTM *i : PJ *ə. Turkic almost exclusively has a reflex *ɨ here, thus pointing to an original back second vowel, while Korean has variation between *ɨ and *o/*u, and Mongolian has a uniform *i. It is natural to reconstruct here PA **CiCo*, cf.:

PA	PTM	PT	PM	Kor	Jap
*čʿikʿò	*čike-	*čɨgɨt (but also *čigit)	*čiɣire	*čùkɨ́r	*təkusa
*dǐlo	*dilačā	*jɨl	*ʒil	*torč	*tə̀sì
*kíso	*kisa-	*kɨs-	*kisa-	*kɨ̀s-	*kə́sə́(n)ká-
*ńiro	*ńiru-		*ʒirga		*mərəkə
*pʿìlo	*pile-		*hil-		*pə̀-
*sǐjŋo	*siŋu-	*sɨń-	*süj (< *sijü)		*sə̀nàpà-

Cf. also **nī́bŕo* > PM **niɣur*, PT **jū̋ŕ* (instead of **jɨ̄bŕ* with contraction), PJ **nər-*.

More frequently, however, Japanese appears to have a reflex *i in the same row of correspondences, cf.:

PA	PTM	PT	PM	Kor	Jap
*číńo	*ʒiŋ	*dɨŋ	*čineɣe	*čɨ̄ń-	*tínám-
*čʿǐkʿo	*čiKi	*čɨkanak	*čigta	*čítóri (<*čɨ́tóri)	*tikiri
*gijo	*gia-	*Kɨj			*ki
*gǐĺò	*gil-	*Kɨĺ			*kìsàra-(n)ki
*íŋo	*iŋi-	*ɨŋɨra-	*iŋča-		*íná-nak-
*kímo	*kim-	*Kɨm-	*kima-		*kímá-

PA	PTM	PT	PM	Kor	Jap
*kìro	*k[i]ren-	*Kɨr-	*kira-		*kìr-
*ŋ̌ndó	*ŋinda-	*ɨt (also *it)			*ìnú
*pˊíjo	*pia-	*ijik (probably a sec-ondary fronting < *ɨjɨk)		*pu-	*pí
*sìjpˊó	*sip-	*sɨjpa-	*sibka-	*spù- (with re-duction)	*sìmpər-
*sìmò	*sim-	*sɨm	*similʒan		*sìmài
*sǐgò	*sig-	*sɨgun	*seɣe- ~ *siɣe-		*sika
*čikŕo	*ʒik-	*Tɨgra-	*čiɣirag	*čirk- (~-ɨ-)	*tíkàrà
*ʒipˊo		*jɨpar	*ʒiɣar		*(d)impu-
*sìpò	*sibu-		*sibür	*súp(h)	*sìpì

It appears, therefore, that in Japanese, *i was more "resistant" to the influence of second vowels than other vowels of the first syllable: it tends to stay unchanged before the following *o and does not change to *ə before the following *e (see above). It did, however, assimilate to the following *a and *u (see above), yielding *a and *u respectively.

2.4.4. PA *o

Preliminary note.

The vowels *o and *u are generally hard to distinguish in Altaic because there is constant variation — probably dialectal in origin — between o and u in Tungus-Manchu, Mongolian and Korean. There are, however, some general guidelines which still allow us to make this distinction in PA:

a) Korean *ă seems to correspond exclusively to PT *o or *ö, not to PT *u or *ü.

b) Korean *ɨ, on the other hand, is predominantly found corresponding to Turkic *u or *ü, not to *o or *ö (although there are some exceptions, see below).

Thus it seems reasonable to base the distinction between *o and *u on Turkic and Korean indications, ignoring the constant o/u variation in TM and Mongolian.

PTM *o/*u - PJ *a

This correlation points to the PA type *CoCa in most cases when Turkic has *o and Korean has *ă. TM and Mongolian here have a variation of *o and *u, cf.:

1. TM:

a) *ŏkʿà > *ok-, *bŏkà > *boka-, *bóra > *borī-, *čʿŏkʿa > *čōk(i)-,*kòŋa > *koŋna-, *kōŋa > *kōŋā-, *kʿòbàni > *xobanī, *ŋòla > *ŋōli-, *ŋòŕa > *ŋōr-ča-, *òǯa > *(x)oǯu, *pŏga > *poga-, *tokʿà > *dokta-, *pʿòńŋa > *pōnŋa-.

b) *kòna(-kV) > *kuŋge, *kŏkʿà > *kuKe-, *kʿŏĺba > *xulbü-, *opʿá(rV) > *(x)upara-, *ōtʿa > *(x)utinŋe, *sŏra > *sure, *tʿotá > *tut[a]-, *čʿŏga > *čuguk.

2. Mongolian:

a) *ŏkʿà > *oki, *bòdà > *boda, *bŏkà > *bogoni, *čʿōkʿa > *čoki-,*kòŋa > *koŋ-, *kŏkʿà > *koki-, *kōŋa > *koŋku, *kʿòbàni > *koŋ-, *kʿŏĺba > *kolbu-, *ŋòla > *nolig, *opʿá(rV) > *(h)obur, *òǯa > *oǯu-, *ōtʿa > *(h)očki-n, *pŏga > *boɣo-, *sŏra > *sori-

b) *górà > *guri-, *kòna(-kV) > *kunar, *oĺa > *(h)ulalǯi, *ŏpʿà > *uw(u)-, *tokʿà > *duku.

PTM *o/*u - PJ *ə

This correlation points to the PA type *CoCe when there is an indication of a front second vowel: front *ö or *ü in Mongolian, front *ö in Turkic or *ɨ in Korean (by the way, this is the only case when Kor. *ɨ can reflect PA *o; in all other cases *ɨ is indicative of PA *u, see above). On PTM *o/u : PJ *ə reflecting PA *CoCo see below.

Let us look at the reflexes in more detail:

1. TM, as always, has variation between *o and *u here (although *u is more frequent):

a) *bŏke > *bokan-, *bŏtʿé > *botā-, *dŏne(kʿV) > *doŋka, *kŏŋe > *koŋ-, *kŏše > *koša, *kòtʿe > *kota-, *ŏŋke > *oŋka, *ŏtʿè > *(x)ot-, *ŏkʿè > *oK-, *pŏkʿè > *poK-, *pʿŏre > *pora-n, *tʿòŋke > *toŋal-, *bojĺe > *bol-, *tʿome > *tom-ka-n.

b) *bŏdé > *buduri-, *čŏĺe > *ǯule, *čʿóme > *čuŋnu, *gŏre > *gur-, *gòje > *gū, *ŏčʿé > *(x)uč-, *kóčè > *kuči-, *kŏkʿè > *xuku-n, *kŏlé > *kul-, *kŏpʿé > *kupe-, *kóre > *kuri-, *kòrke > *kurke, *kʿòlke > *xulki-, *móĺe > *mul-, *mòle > *mul-, *nóle > *nul-, *òje > *ujV-, *ŏje > *uju-, *òkʿè > *(x)uk-t-, *ŏse > *us(a), *ò[kʿ]è > *uKu-, *ŏtʿè > *(x)ut-, *pʿolńe > *pulńe-, *pʿome > *pum-te, *pʿŏre > *puri-, *pʿŏtʿè > *put-, *pʿŏle > *pul-, *pʿŏtʿè > *putē, *soge > *sug-, *soke > *suku-, *tʿŏkè > *tuKa-la, *tʿoŋerV > *tuŋde, *tʿŏŕe > *turgun, *tʿŏŕe > *turV, *ǯŏkʿe > *ǯuke, *ǯŏǯe > *ǯuǯa-, *boĺe > *bulu-, *dōre > *dūr-, *póńe > *puń-

2. Turkic also has both a back reflex *o and a front reflex *ö:

a) **dőne-kʿV* > **jōnak*, **gòdè* > **Kodur-*, **òŋè* > **oŋ* (but also **öŋ*), **kólè* > **Kolu*, **kŏŋe* > **Koŋur-*, **óče* > **očɨg*, **ǒse* > **osa-*, **pʿolńe* > **oń*, **soge* > **soglɨ-*, **šopʿé* > **čopur*, **tʿoŋerV* > **To(ŋ)gurak*, **tʿőŕe* > **tōŕ*, **ʒőkʿe* > **jōk*, **ʒőʒe* > **jōj*, **dōre* > **jorɨ-*, **bojĺe* > **boĺ*, **tʿome* > **Tomar*.

After labials, sometimes a narrowed reflex *u is attested: **bőke* > **buk-*.

b) **oŋne* > **öŋ*, **bògé* > **bögü*, **boĺe* > **böĺük*, **čŏĺe* > **döĺ*, **gǒre* > **gör-*, **gõje* > **göjü-*, **ő̄čʿé* > **ő̄č*, **kóčè* > **göč-*, **kǒkʿè* > **gökürʿ*, **kʿòké* > **kök*, **kǒlé* > **Köl-*, **kŏpʿé* > **göpe(ne)*, **kóre* > **Kört*, **kòrke* > **Körke*, **kŏše* > **Kösri*, **kòtʿe* > **göt*, **ǒge* > **ög-*, **ǒje* > **öj*, **òkʿè* > **ökün-*, **ő̄tʿè* > **öt-*, **ò[kʿ]è* > **ög*, **ő̄kʿè* > **ő̄k-*, **ő̄re* > **ő̄r-*, **ő̄tʿè* > **ő̄tü-*, **pʿő̄gè* > **ög-*, **pʿome* > **ömül-dürük*, **pʿǒre* > **ört*, **pʿő̄le* > **ő̄l*, **pʿő̄re* > **ő̄r-*, **soke* > **sök-*, **tʿǒke* > **Tök*, **tʿǒŕe* > **töŕ*, **tole* > **döle-*, **ōkʿe* > **ő̄kü*.

After labials, sometimes a narrowed reflex *ü is found as well: **bő̄dé* > **büdi-*, **mòle* > **bül-*, **pǒkʿè* > **bügde*, **pʿǒtʿè* > **üt-*, **pʿő̄tʿè* > **ǖt*.

3. Mongolian can have any labialized vowel, although *u occurs relatively rarely.

a) **bògé* > **bogda*, **gǒre* > **gori*, **kʿòké* > **kog-si-*, **kòrke* > **korgu*, **kŏše* > **kosiɣu*, **kòtʿe* > **kota-gar*, **òje* > **oji-mu-* (but also **üji-*), **ò[kʿ]è* > **oki-n* (but also **öki-n*), **pǒkʿè* > **hoktal-*, **pʿő̄re* > **horaj*, **šopʿé* > **čob*, **tʿoŋerV* > **towrai*, **tʿő̄ŕe* > **tortag*

b) **gõje* > **gujir-*, **kǒlé* > **kul-či-*, **òkʿè* > **(h)uki-la-*, **pʿǒtʿè* > **hutuɣa*, **ʒő̄kʿe* > **ʒug* (but also **ʒüg*), **póńe* > **huni-*

c) **oŋne* > **önü-*, **čŏĺe* > **döli*, **čʿóme* > **čöm*, **dőne-kʿV* > **döŋ(ge)*, **òŋè* > **öŋge*, **ōčʿé* > **öče-*, **kóčè* > **köske*, **kǒkʿè* > **kökön*, **kŏpʿé* > **köb-* (but also **küb-*), **kóre* > **kör*, **kʿòlke* > **kölge*, **móĺe* > **mölʒi-*, **nóle* > **nöl-*, **oče* > **očüge*, **ő̄ŋke* > **öŋ*, **ǒse* > **ös*, **ő̄tʿè* > **öči-*, **ő̄kʿè* > **ög-*, **ő̄re* > **ör-*, **ő̄tʿè* > **öte-*, **pʿő̄gè* > **(h)öɣeg-si-*, **pʿǒre* > **(h)örde-*, **soke* > **sögüd-* (but also **sog-suji-*), **tʿǒkè* > **tögüčeg*, **tʿǒŕe* > **töre*, **kóbe* > **köbsi-*

d) **bő̄dé* > **büdüri-*, **bő̄ke* > **büg-* (but also **bög-*), **boĺe* > **büli* (but also **böle*), **bǒtʿé* > **büči*, **gòdè* > **güʒi-*, **kólè* > **küli-*, **ǒge* > **ügej*, **ǒje* > **üje*, **pʿolńe* > **hüne-sü*, **pʿome* > **(h)ün-Külčig*, **pʿő̄tʿè* > **hütü-*, **soge-* > **süji-*, **ʒő̄ʒe* > **ʒüʒig*, **dōre* > **dürbe-*, **tole* > **döli-gen*.

It seems that no direct correlation can be established between back and front row reflexes in Turkic and Mongolian. In both subgroups the front reflexes (*ö in Turkic, *ö/*ü in Mongolian) are the most abundant, which explains a relatively high proportion of Turk. *ö : Mong. *ö/*ü (23 cases against just 2 cases of Turk. *o : Mong. *o); but there are also 10 cases of Turk. *o : Mong. *ö/*ü and 11 cases of Turk. *ö : Mong. *o/u - which shows clearly that the distribution is random and the process of

fronting **CoCe* > **CöC-* must have operated independently in Turkic and Mongolian.

4. Korean, as said above, in the majority of cases has the reflex **ɨ* here (otherwise typical for PA **u*, see below); but it can also have labialized **o* and **u* reflexes:

a) **bŏt'é* > **pɨth-*, **čŏĺe* > **čɨrə*, **dŏ́ne-k'V* > **tɨŋ*, **gŏ̀re* > **kɨ́rì-*, **gŏ̀je* > **kɨ̄i-*, **k'òké* > **kɨh-*, **kŏŋe* > **kɨ̀ń-*, **kŏše* > **kɨ̀sɨ́rk* (a metathesis < **kɨ̀sɨ́rk*), **móĺe* > **mɨ̀r-*, **mòle* > **mɨ́rə̆-*, **p'ome* > **phɨm* (~ **phum*), **p'ŏre* > **pɨ́r*, **p'ŏt'è* > **pɨth-*, **p'ŏ́le* > **pɨ̀rhɨ́-*, **t'ŏ́re* > **tɨ̀rɨ́*, **ǯŏ́ǯe* > **čɨ̀čh-*, **bojĺe* > **pɨ̀i-*, **póńe* > **pɨ̀ńək*.

b) **kŏk'è* > **kokăi-*, **kŏp'é* > **kòp-* (but also **kùp-*), **ŏ̀ge* > **ói-rə̆b-*, **ŏ́re* > **ōr*, **p'ŏ́t'è* > **pot*, **t'òŋke* > **tonkor-*, **t'ome* > **tòmá*.

c) **kòrke* > **kúkì*, **kòt'e* > **kút*, **nóle* > **nuri-*, **ŏ́k'è* > **ukɨr*, **soge* > **sūi-*.

PTM *o/u - PJ *u

This correlation may point to **CoCu* (see below), but there is also a rather large number of cases when Turkic and/or Mongolian have a fronted reflex **ö* here, pointing to a front second vowel. In such cases it is natural to reconstruct PA **CoCi*, assuming that the vowel **o* in Japanese did not get assimilated to the following **i*, but stayed labialized (just like the vowel **u*, see below).

The individual subgroups behave here as follows:

1. TM, as usual, has variation between **o* and **u*:

a) **bŏĺi* > **bolgikta*, **č'ŏk'i* > **čoK[i]-*, **gòlí* > **goli*, **goli* > **gola*, **k'ŏjli* > **xolda-n* (but also **xul-ŋsi*), **mŏ́li* > **mol-*, **oki-* > **ok-*, **t'ògì* > **togar*

b) **gók'ì* > **gugda*, **kóšì* > **kuši-pun*, **kómp'i* > **kumpe(ke)*, **kŏt'i* > **kutu-*, **k'ŏ́mi* > **xumu-*, **k'óp'ì* > **xup-*, **k'ōkí* > **kūkta*, **k'ŏ́li* > **xule-*, **mók'ì* > **muxu-*, **òŋi(čV)* > **uŋ-se*, **ŏp'ìkV* > **upVkte*, **ŏ̀ti* > **(x)utur-*, **ŏ́rì* > **uri*, **p'ŏ́gí(-rV)* > **pugi-*, **pótirkV* > **putukā*, **sogì* > **sugulē-n*, **k'ori* > **xurē*, **ŋònŋi* > **ŋunŋe*, **sŏ́jk'ì* > **sujKu-*, **k'ōńi* > **xuńa-*.

2. Turkic occasionally has **o* (**k'ŏjli* > **Kol*, **oki* > **ok-*, **k'ori* > **Korum*); but **ö* in the vast majority of cases: **bŏĺi* > **böĺ*, **bŏ́rk'i* > **bȫrk*, **č'ŏk'i* > **čök-*, **goli* > **Köl-*, **kóšì* > **köse-*, **kómp'i* > **gömül-dürük*, **kŏt'i* > **göt-*, **k'ŏ́mi* > **göm-*, **k'óp'ì* > **köp*, **k'ōkí* > **kök*, **k'ŏ́li* > **kȫl*, **mók'ì* > **böktel* (~-ü-), **mŏ́li* > **bȫl-*, **òŋi(čV)* > **öŋüč*, **ŏp'ìkV* > **öpke*, **ŏ̀ti* > **öt-*, **ŏ́ni* > **ȫn-*, **ŏ́rì* > **ȫŕ*, **ŏ́ri* > **ȫŕ* (/**ū̄ŕ*), **pŏ́gí(-rV)* > **bögür*, **sogì* > **sögül-*, **ŋònŋi* > **öŋ-ed-*, **sŏ́jk'i* > **sȫk-*, **k'ōńi* > **kȫjnek*.

3. Mongolian, likewise, has both back and front reflexes, and the back ones are also rather rare (only **ŏ̀ti* > **oči-*, **bŏĺi* > **bujil-* (but also **büjil-*), **sogì* > **suɣumaji*, **k'ōńi* > **kunija*). In the vast majority of cases Mongolian has **ö*, somewhat less frequently - **ü*:

a) **čʿŏkʿi > *čökü-, *gókʿì > *gögde-, *gòlí > *gölmi, *goli > *göle-, *kóšì > *kösi-, *kómpʿi > *kömürge, *kŏtʿi > *kötü-, *kʿŏjli > *köl, *kʿópʿì > *köb-čin, *kʿōkí > *kögene, *mókʿì > *mökü-, *mṓli > *möli-, *òŋi(čV) > *öŋgül-, *ȍpʿìkV > *(h)öɣe, *ṓni > *öndü, *ṓŕì > *örü, *ṓŕi > *örgü- (*ergü-), *pṓgí(-rV) > *böɣere, *tʿògì > *töɣe, *sṓjkʿì > *sögeɣe-*

b) **bṓrkʿi > *bürkü-, *kʿṓli > *küjil-, *oki > *üge, *pótirkV > *büdürkei, *pʿōki > *(hü)gün; *kʿori > *kür, *ŋònŋi > *üne-*

It is interesting to observe that **CoCi* generally behaves in Turko-Mongolian somewhat differently than **CoCe*: back reflexes in the former type are much less frequent. It is reasonable to suppose that the fronting **CoCi* > **CöCi* already occurred in common Turko-Mongolian, while the process **CoCe* > **CöC-* operated (as we mentioned above) already after the split of the protolanguage and did not occur in some dialects.

4. Korean here has the standard labialized reflexes *o or *u; there are no cases of *ɨ, and two cases of *ă (**kʿṓli > *kằrắm* and **mṓli > *mằrằ-*) can be easily explained by secondary vowel assimilation.

a) **gókʿì > *kòkái, *kʿópʿì > *kòp-, *oki > *o'ăi-, *ṓŕi > *òrắ-, *kʿori > *kòráŋ.*

b) **čʿŏkʿi > *čùk-, *kʿŏjli > *kūi-, *mókʿì > *muk-, *ṓni > *un-tu, *pṓgí(-rV) > *pùr* (with a secondary dissimilative or contractive variant **pɨ̀r*), **kʿōńi > *kùńí.*

As we said above, the correspondence PTM *o/u : PJ *u can also reflect PA **CoCu*. In this case both Turkic and Mongolian uniformly have back vowels (Turkic *o, Mong. *o/u), while Korean reveals the reflex *ă (typical also for *CoCa and *CoCo), as well as the standard back vowels *o/u.

1. In TM we observe, as usual, both *o and *u:

a) **dòru > *dora(n), *goblu > *gola, *kobu > *kobi, *koru > *koru, *olu > *ola-, *óŋdu > *oŋda, *óru > *or-, *ȍlu > *ō-, *pʿṓmu > *pom-, *sòmú > *soma, *sònŋu > *soŋka, *tʿókʿu > *tokta-, *tʿŏkʿù > *toxan, *tʿȍlu > *tol-, *tʿȍmù > *tomka-, *tʿopʿu > *top(V)g-, *ṓmu > *omga*

b) **bŏgdu > *bugdi, *bȍku > *bukse, *dòru > *duru-, *kȍru > *kuri, *moju > *muja-, *mólu > *mulu, *ŋṓjču > *ŋujši-* (= **ŋüši-*), **ȍrù > *(x)urī-, *pȍru > *pur-, *póju > *puj(u)-, *pʿó[k]u > *puk-* (but also **pok-*), **sogú > *suge-le-, *sȍnu > *suna, *tṓŕu > *duri, *tʿṓbru > *turku-, *tʿòpʿú > *tup-, *tʿoru > *turi-kta, *tʿolu > *tule-, *kʿoru > *xurumü-, *tʿȍgsu > *tuksa-*

2. Mongolian also has back *o or *u:

a) **dòru > *doru, *goblu > *gowl, *kṓbú > *koɣu-su, *koru > *korbu, *kʿoru > *koru-, *nòču > *noču-, *ṓmu > *(h)omu, *omuŕV > *omur-, *óru > *ori-* (but also **uri-*), **ȍrù > *oro-, *ȍlu > *ol-, *pȍru > *boruɣa, *pʿṓmu >*

**homba-, *sogú > *soɣoŋgu-, *tolu > *dolgi-, *tʿŏbru > *towr, *tʿŏgsu > *togsi-, *tʿókʿù > *togsi-, *tʿòlu > *tolugai, *tʿŏmù > *tomu-, *tʿopʿu > *tojig* (but also **tuwkai*), **tʿòpʿú > *tob-*.

b) **bŏgdu > *budu-, *dòru > *dura-, *gódú > *gudu-, *olu > *(h)ul-, *sòmú > *sumu, *sònŋu > *sun-du-, *tŏŕu > *duru-sun*.

3. Korean has *ă, *o or (less frequently) *u:

a) **kŏru > *kărái, *moju > *măin, *mólu > *mărà, *ŋójču > *nač-, *pʿó[k]ù> *păk-* (~-a-), **sòmú > *sămái, *tʿŏbru > *tăràčhí, *tʿòlu > *tăikòr, *tʿoru > *tărái, *tʿolu > *tăr(b)-*.

b) **goblu > *kōr, *kŏbú > *kō-r-, *koru > *kòrài, *kʿoru > *kòrh-, *kʿòmu > *kōmá, *ŏmu > *òmìnòi, *óŋdu > *òńărí, *òlu > *ó-, *pŏru > *pora, *tolu > *tór*.

c) **póju > *pùthjə̀, *tŏŕu > *turəi*.

PTM *o/u - PJ *ə

This type evidently reflects PA *CoCo.

TM here has the usual split into *o and *u:

a) **kòmpo > *komba-, *mŏjno > *moŋa-n, *mónŋo > *monŋi-, *mòro > * *mōr-, *pʿoktʿo(rV) > *pokta, *šŏmo > *šom-, *lokʿo > *loxa, *ótʿó(rV) > *utu-*.

b) **kŏkʿò > *kuk-pun, *sŏkʿo > *suK-, *sŏlo > *sula-, *tʿŏro(-kʿV) > *turākī*.

A similar split is, as usual, observed in Mongolian:

a) **bójĺo > *bolgu-ɣa-, *borso-kʿV > *borki, *kŏkʿò > *kokir, *kòmpo > *kombo-, *pʿoktʿo(-rV) > *hogtorgui, *sŏkʿo > *sogug, *šŏmo > *čomu-*

b) **mŏjno > *mundaɣa, *mónŋo > *mun-, *sŏlo > *sula-, *tʿŏro(-kʿV) > *turagu*.

Other languages have quite uniform reflexes: *o in Turkic, *ă in Korean.

2.4.5. PA *u

PTM *o/u - PJ *a

The correspondence is quite similar to PTM *o/u : PJ *a < PA *CoCa, see above. However, we reconstruct **CuCa* in cases when Turkic has the reflex *u, not *o:

PA	PTM	PT	PM	PJ	PK
*bŭ́gà	*bugar	*būg	*baɣa-gi-	*bák-	
*bŭkà	*boKi-	*bukagu	*bugu-	*bàkù	
*bŭ́ĺa	*bolga-	*būĺ-	*bala-	*básúrá-	

PA	PTM	PT	PM	PJ	PK
*čŭra	*ʒur-	*dur-		*tàt-	*čàrí
*kúra(mV)	*kor-	*Kur-	*kor-	*kátáma	
*kumba(ka)	*kōmba	*Kumgan	*kombuga	*kámá	
*kúńà		*Kuńak	*kujag	*kámì	
*kùtʿá	*kuturi	*Kut	*kutug	*kàntuá	
*kʿúĺa	*xolda-	*Kuĺ	*kolta-	*kásá	
*mùńa	*mun-di-	*buńur-	*mana-	*màmuàr-	*mòńí-, *màńăr
*múra	*murV-	*bura-	*murui	*márə	*muri
*mūńa(kV)	*mōń(i)ka	*buńgak	*manaka		
*pʿŭsa	*puse	*us	*hasaɣu-	*pánsú	(*psí-)
*úgà	*ug-	*ugut	*(h)aɣag	*ákú	
*ŭtʿa		*ut-	*učira-	*átá-	

It is important to notice that both Mongolian and Korean seem to have some *-a-reflexes here (which they do not show in the *CoCa type, see above). This allows us to classify several other cases as reflecting PA **CuCa*, even though Turkic may have *-o- there (this is usually in the vicinity of labials, where *o and *u are extensively confused in Turkic as well):

PA	PTM	PT	PM	PJ	PK
*buda	*boda-	*bodu-			*pət
*čʿupa	*čub-rī-	*čubar	*čabidar		
*guša	*goši-		*gasi-ɣun		
*kúja	*kujukī		*kajil-		*kə̀jú
*kuja	*kuju-kta			*kaja	*kài'óm
*kukata	*koKalta		*kagda	*kakatə	
*kúma	*kumu-n	*Komuŕ			*kə̀mńkó
*guna	*gun-	*Kun-	*gani-		
*kʿùla	*xol-sa		*kalimu	*kàra-	
*kúĺapʿV	*kolopo-kta			*kásípà	*kàràp
*kʿusa	*xusikta		*kusi	*kasi	*kasi
*lúŋa	*loŋ-sa		*nagaj	*ná-i	*nə̀ŋ'úrí
*múgdà	*mugdī	*bodun	*muʒi	*mátì	*màt(h)
*mula	*mul-	*bulan	*maral		
*múŋna	*muŋ-	*bunar	*maŋ-		*mah
*mūga	*mōgdi		*maj-	*mákí	
*ńugńa	*ńuŋńakī	*jugak		*nə̄ńí	
*pŭkʿa	*pukēn	*bokak	*bakawu		

PA	PTM	PT	PM	PJ	PK
*pūsa	*pūski		*busu-	*pásí	*pàsk
*suda		*sud-	*sadara-		
*tuŋa	*doŋota	*doŋ	*daɣara-		
*tʿŭja	*tuju-	*toj	*taɣu-		
*núra	*nora-		*norum	*nárámp-	*nar-

In many cases, however, the type **CuCa* is very difficult to distinguish from **CoCa,* basically because the TM and Jpn. evidence is the same for both types.

PTM *o/u : PJ *ua

This is a very specific type of correspondence and the only one where PJ reveals a diphthong (in numerous other cases the PJ diphthongs *ua, *ia, *ai go back to contractions after the disappearance of some intervocalic consonant). It must be said that Turkic regularly has *ü here, while Mongolian, too, may have *ü or *ö, and Korean *ɨ: this all points to an original front vowel in the second syllable. Therefore we may choose here between reconstructing PA **CuCe* or **CuCi*. However, **CuCi* must be reconstructed for the type PTM *u : PJ *u (with front reflexes in Turkic and Mongolian, see below), since the Japanese reflex there is quite parallel to that of **CoCi* (see above). Therefore it is most probable that we are dealing here with a specific Japanese development of **CuCe* (probably through **CuəCe*). Details of the development of PA **CuCe*:

1. TM, as usual, has variation of *o and *u, although *u is encountered more frequently:

a) **dŭle > *dolba; *kupʿe > *kopu-, *luke > *loka-, *muŋĺe > *moŋla, *mŭkʿé > *mōk-, *puse > *pos-, *pʿŭske > *poske-, *pʿŭgé > *pōg-, *ʒŭjbe > *ʒoba-, *kure > *kora-, *uge > *oksari, *tŭĺe > *dōlā*

b) **bŭté > *butu-; *bŭŋe > *būni-; *gŭjŕe > *guʒej; *kúbé > *kub-, *kúkʿè > *kuKu-; *kúmle > *ku(l)maka; *kúńe > *kuńī-kta; *kúŋe > *kuŋ-; *kʿude > *xuda, *lŭge > *luksi, *múbè > *mub(up)-, *mùčʿe > *muči-kta, *múkʿè > *muK-, *nŭkʿé > *nuK-, *nure > *nur-, *ŋŭje > *ŋūjelse, *ūre > *ūri, *pʿúńe > *puń-, *pŭ́ne > *punŋe-, *pʿuje > *puju-, *pʿujme > *pume-, *pʿúńe > *puńe-, *pʿùŋké > *puŋk(u)-, *sukʿe > *suK-, *súme > *sumu-, *tʿúbé > *tuba, *tʿŭge > *tuge-, *tʿule(kV) > *tulge, *ùčʿe > *uč-, *úkʿè > *(x)uKu-, *ūĺpe > *ulgu-kī, *uŋtʿe > *(x)unda-, *uŋe > *uŋ-, *ukʿè > *(x)uKu-, *tʿŭ́ŋe > *tuŋke, *ŭ́nŋe > *(x)uŋ(ia)-.*

2. Turkic usually has *ü, but occasionally also *ö:

a) **bǔté > *büt-, *gŭjŕe > *güŕel, *gure > *KürüĹ, *kúbé > *güb-, *kude > *güde-, *kúmle > *Külmüŕ, *kúńe > *güńe* (but also **guńa*), **kune > *güni, *kʿude > *küdüg, *lŭge > *jügen, *luke > *jükün-, *mùne > *bün, *muŋĺe > *büŋülĺ, *púre > *bür, *pŭ̄ne > *bū̄n, *pʿuje > *üjük, *sukʿe > *süksük, *súme > *süm-, *tʿŭge > *tüge-, *tʿŭ̄ŋe > *tüŋ-, *tʿule(kV) > *tülki, *ùčʿe > *üčün, *ū́ĺpe > *ū́ĺ, *uŋe > *üŋ-, *ū́nŋe > *ū́n, *kure > *Küre-, *uge > *ügi*

b) **bŭ̄ŋe > *böŋre-, *kúŋe > *göjŋ-il, *kʿùńe > *köń-, *ŋŭ̀je > *öjek, *ūre > *ör* (~ **ür*), **puse > *bös-, *pʿuŋké > *öŋ* (but also **oŋ*), **ukʿè > *ökte*.
Back *u is attested only in one case: **ʒŭ̀jbe* > PT **jub-ka*.

3. Mongolian can have any labialized vowel, just as in the type **CoCe*:

a) **bùjre > *buruɣu, *gure > *guril, *kude > *kuda, *kʿude > *kuda-ldu, *luke > *nugu-, *múkʿè > *muku-, *mùne > *mun-du-, *pŭ́ne > *hunu-, *pʿuje > *hujil-, *pʿŭ̀gé > *(h)ug-* (but also **(h)üg-*), **sukʿe > *sukaj, *sume > *sumun, *tʿŭge > *tuji-, *ùčʿe > *učir, *úkʿè > *(h)ukaɣa, *ū́nŋe > *uŋ-si-, *kure > *kur(u)-, *uge > *uɣuli, *ubre > *(h)uɯr, *tŭ̀Ĺe > *dul*

b) **bŭté > *bodu(ɣa), *tújpè > *dobu* (but also **döbe*), **gŭjŕe > *goju, *lŭge > *logtu, *púre > *bor-, *pʿùŋké > *(h)oŋgu-, *sŭ̀re > *sori-, *tʿúbé > *tojigun, *ū́ĺpe > *olbo, *uŋtʿe > *(h)ona-, *uŋe > *oŋgi, *ʒŭ̀jbe > *ʒoba-, *tʿŭ́ŋe > *toɣuna, *ūre > *orai*

c) **bŭ̄ŋe > *büŋsi-, *dŭ̀le > *düli-, *múbè > *müjide, *pʿúńe > *hünir, *pʿúńe > *hü-sü, *ukʿè > *(h)üki*

d) **kúbé > *köɯ-* (but also **küɯ-*), **kupʿe > *köbü-, *mùčʿe > *möčir, *mŭ̀kʿé > *mök-, *nŭ̀kʿé > *nögči-, *nure > *nör-, *ńūje > *ʒöɣe-, *ŋŭ̀je > *öjekeji, *pʿŭ̀nte > *hötün, *pʿŭ̀ske > *(h)öskil-, *súme > *sömü-sü*.

4. Korean can have here *o (pointing to an original labialized vowel), but *a/*ə reflexes are also rather frequent, which links together the Korean and Japanese (see below) reflexes of **CuCe*. It is worth noting that *-u- is very rare (but cf. **ʒŭ̀jbe > *čubɨr-*).

a) **bùjre > *ōi-, *gŭjŕe > *kò'í-, *kúkʿè > *kòkí, *múkʿè > *moka-, *pŭ́ne > *pòm-nor-, *ubre > *órh-, *uŋe > *òŋ-táŋ-* (but also **ùŋ-táŋ-*).

b) **kúŋe > *kà'ón-tǎi, *kupʿe > *kàpǎi-, *nure > *nàrhó-, *pʿŭ̀nte > *pántó, *sukʿe > *sak-, *súme > *sàm, *tʿúbé > *tàbàkí, *ùčʿe > *áčh.*

c) **kúńe > *kəńúi, *pʿùŋkʿé > *pəŋkɨr-, *pʿŭ̀gé > *pəhí-, *uŋtʿe > *əŋtəŋ'i, *ʒŭ̀jbe > *jəbɨi-, *múbè > *mābi-* (but also **mɨbi-*), **sŭ̀re > *sār-*.

5. Japanese normally has *-ua-, but *-a- after labials:

a) **dŭ̀le > *duà, *gŭjŕe > *kuà-p-, *gure > *kua, *kúbé > *kuámpó-, *kúkʿè > *kuaku-mi, *kúmle > *kuáma, *kune > *kuanami, *luke > *nuaki* (~ -ə-), **nŭ̀kʿé > *nuànkà-, *nure > *nuarua-* (~ -ə-), **súme > *sua, *sume > *suama, *sŭ̀re > *suarasi, *tʿúbé > *tuámpí* (~ -ə-), **tʿule(kV) > *tuara, *ʒŭ̀jbe > *duàwà-, *kʿùre > *kuà, *tʿŭ́ŋe > *túa;*

b) **bùjre* > **bàrə-*, **bȕté* > **pàtákài*, **bȕŋe* > **bamia-*, **múbè* > **mápí-rə(n)ka-*, **mùčʹe* > **màtú*, **múkʹè* > **mák-*, **mùne* > **màntù-*, **muŋĺe* > **masu-*, **mȕkʹé* > **mànkúrúa*, **pʹúńe* > **páná*, *pure > **pá*, **puse* > **pansa-*, **pűne* > **pana-*, **pʹúńe* > **pánái*, **pʹùŋké* > **pànká-*, **pʹȕske* > **pànsìk-*, **pʹȕgé* > **pànk-*.

A special situation ariseis when the first consonant is absent or dropped in PJ. In such a case early PJ must have had a regular reflex **uaC-* > OJ *uoC-*; but since the diphthong -uo- in OJ can only occur after consonants, it is regularly replaced by wo-. In fact we are not able to distinguish PJ **bəC-* < PA **bVCV* from PJ **uaC-* < PA **uCe*:

**ŋȕje* > PJ **bə̀* ~ **uà* (OJ *wo*), **ūre* > PJ **bətə* ~ **uatə* (OJ *woto-*), **úkʹè* > PJ **báká* ~ **uákà* (OJ *woka*), **ű́ĺpe* > PJ **bəsə* ~ **uasua* (OJ *woso*), **ubre* > PJ **bətu* ~ **uatu* (OJ *wotu*), **ukʹè* > PJ **bəkə* ~ **uakə* (OJ *woko*).

Note that in several cases OJ has variation wo- / u- here (*woso* ~ *uso*, *wotu* ~ *utu*, *woko* ~ *uko*).

PTM *u : PJ *u

This correspondence points to PA **CuCi* in cases when Turkic and/or Mongolian have front reflexes, indicating a front second vowel.

Details of **CuCi* reflexation:

1. TM has the usual split into *o and *u, although *u is a more frequent reflex:

a) **gurgi* > **gorgakta*, **gŭri* > **gora*, **gùri* > **gori-*, **kuri* > **kori*, **kʹŭli* > **xol-*, **pʹukʒi* > **pogʒV*, **sùjli* > **sol-gi*, **tȕldi* > **dōldī-*, **tűti* > **dodo-ka(n)*, **tʹȕmi* > **tōma*, **zȕnti* > **sōn-da-*

b) **bűli* > **bul-*, **čʹuli* > **čulbi-*, **dŭŕi* > **dur-*, **dűli* > **dulbu-*, **guči* > **gusi*, **gȕŕi* > **gurē-*, **gȕlì* > **gūle*, **gűldi* > **gulde-*, **kŭŋi* > **kuŋā*, **kutʹi* > **kuta*, **kūči* > **kusū-*, **kʹùdì* > **xudekī*, **kʹuli* > **xulē-*, **újŋi* > **muŋi*, **mùsi* > **musun*, **műtʹì* > **mute-*, **pʹȕri* > **pur-*, **pʹūji* > **pū-*, **pʹŭdi* > **pude-*, **pʹűli* > **pule-*, **pʹȕĺi* > **pule-*, **pʹűkʹŋi* > **puŋku*, **sűri* > **suru-*, **tȕgì* > **dug-*, **túŋì* > **duŋ-*, **turi* > **duru-n*, **tʹȕpʹi* > **tupi-*, **tʹutʹi* > **tute-*, **tʹűĺi* > **tulī-*, **uĺi* > **ulē-*, **zŭli* > **suli-*, **ʒugi* > **ʒugū-*.

2. Mongolian has either *ü or *ö (but normally no back reflexes):

a) **bűli* > **büli-*, **dűli* > **dülei*, **gurgi* > **güreɣe*, **gŭri* > **gür*, **gűldi* > **güldi-*, **kuri* > **kürijen*, **kūči* > **küči-n*, **kʹŭli* > **küjilen*, **pʹȕri* > **hüre*, **pʹűri* > **(h)üre-*, **pʹűkʹŋi* > **hüŋgü-*, **tȕgì* > **tügsi-*, **tumi* > **düŋgür*, **turi* > **düri*, **tʹùji* > **tüjit-*, **uĺi* > **(h)ülte-*, **ű́čʹi* > **üʒüɣür*, **zŭli* > **sülbe-*,**zȕnti* > **sünde-sü*, **pʹŭdi* > **hüde-*

b) **čʹuli* > **čölü-*, **dŭŕi* > **dörü*, **gȕŕi* > **görü-*, **gùri* > **gör-*, **kŭŋi* > **köw*, **kʹùdì* > **ködü-sü*, **újŋi* > **möɣer-sü*, **mùsi* > **mösü(n)*, **műtʹi* > **möči-*, **nuli* > **nölüɣe*, **pʹūji* > **(h)öjeɣe*, **pʹukʒi* > **(h)ögʒeg*, **pʹűli* > **(h)ölmej*,

*.*sùjli > *söl, *tūri > *dörseji-, *tʿukì > *tögüs-, *tʿűĺi > *tölöb, *tʿùmi > *tömü-sün, *úŕi > *öri, *ǯugi > *ǯöɣe-*

3. Turkic may have a back *u or a front *ü:

a) **bűli > *bulga-, *gurgi > *Kurgak, *kuri > *Kur-, *kʿűli > *Kula, *mújŋi > *bujŋuŕ* (but also **büjŋüŕ*), **mùsi > *bus, *nuli > *juli-, *pʿűri > *urug, *pʿūji > *uji-, *pʿűdi > *ud-, *pʿűri > *ur-, *sùjli > *suli* (but also **süli*), **tʿùji > Tujug, *tʿűĺi > *dūĺ, *tʿùmi > *tum-gu-, *uĺi > *uĺa-, *űčʿi > *ūč, *zűnti > *junt*

b) **čʿuli > *čülik-, *dűŕi > *jüŕ-, *dűli > *jűl-, *gűri > *gür, *gűŕi > *güŕ-, *gùri > *Kür, *gùlì > *gül, *gűldi > *gűl-, *kűŋi > *güŋ, *kutʿi > *Küte(re), *kūči > *gűč, *kʿùdì > *küdiŕ >* (with assimilation) **kidiŕ, *pʿűĺi > *üĺ-, *pʿűkʿŋi > *ű̄k-, *sűri > *sűr-, *műtʿi > *büt-, *tűgì > *düg-, *tumi > *düm-, *túŋì > *düŋür, *turi > *dür, *tùĺdi > *düĺ-ün-, *tūri > *dűr-, *tűti > *dűtük, *tʿukì > *tüke-, *tʿűpʿi > *tübkür-, *tʿútʿi > *tüt-, *tʿutʿì > *Tüt-, *úŕi > *üŕ-, *zűli > *jül-, *ǯugi > *jü-.*

4. Korean may have *o/*u or *ɨ:

a) **dűli >* *tor (but also **tur-*), **kūči > *kóčăk, *műtʿi > *mòt(á)-, *pʿűri > *pòrì, *uĺi > *ori-.*

b) **čʿuli > *čūr-, *gűri > *kūrk-, *nuli > *nùrí-, .*sùjli > *súi, *tʿutʿi > *tùtɨrí-, *űčʿi > *učuk.*

c) **gűŕi > *kɨrì-, *gùri > *kɨrì-, *mújŋi > *mɨi'ìm, *pʿűli > *pɨrhải, *pʿűĺi > *phɨr-, *sűri > *sɨr-,*tùĺdi > *tɨd-, *tʿútʿi > *tɨt-, *ǯugi > *čì-* (probably < **čɨj- < *čɨg-*).

PTM *o/u : PJ *ə

This correlation points to PA **CuCo* when Turkic and Mongolian have back vowels (PT *u, PM *u/o); Korean in these cases also has *o/u or *ɨ.

1. TM:

a) **pűlo > *polo-kta, *kʿúlo > *xol-* (but also **xul-*), **műro > *mō, *pűtʿo > *pota, *ùjò > *oji-.*

b) **bűĺo > *bulī-, *gűno > *gūn-, *kúro(mV) > *kurumV, *kʿul(g)o > *xulgu-, *luko > *luke-, *pùgo > *pūg-, *pʿűlo > *pul-, *ŭčʿo > *(x)uča-, *ùso > *usī-.*

2. Mongolian:

a) **pűlo > *boli-, *kúro(mV) > *kormaj, *kʿúlo > *kolkida-, *luko > *nogtu-, *műro > *mo-du.*

b) **gűno > *guni-, *kùpʿró > *kuɣur, *kʿul(g)o > *kulu-su, *pűtʿo > *buta, *pùgò >* *bug, **pʿűlo > *hurul, *űlo > *uli-.*

3. Korean:

a) **kúro(mV) > *korɨm, *kʿul(g)o > *kōr, *műro > *mòró, *pʿűlo > *pór-, *ùso > *ós.*

b) **kʿúlo > *kùbɨr-* (?), **űlo > *ūr-.*

c) **bǜĺo > *pɨ̀rə́-, *gǜno > *kɨ̀nɨ̀r-, *luko > *nɨktai*.

PTM *u/o : PJ *u

This correlation may point, as we noticed above, to PA **CoCi*, **CoCu* and **CuCi*. However, in cases where PT has a back *u (corresponding to PTM *u/o and PJ *u) it seems possible to reconstruct PA **CuCu*. Other languages have the usual labialized reflexes here (*o/u in TM, *o/u in Mongolian, *o/u in Korean):

1. TM:

a) **kušu > *košikta, *múnu > *moŋ-nV-, *sǘku > *soka-, *ùkú > *oKa-, *úkʿu > *(x)oksa-, *úmu > *omu-* (but also **umu-*);

b) **gǘtʿù > *gutu-, *kǜmu > *kum-, *kǜgù > *kūku, *luŋu > *luŋur, *nǘŋu > *nuŋari, *ŋǘju > *ŋu(j)a, *pʿuču > *pusi(-kV), *tuju > *duja, *tǘjkʿú > *duKū-, *tʿŭmu > *tumŋu-, *uĺukV > *ulēk, *zūru > *suru*.

2. Mongolian:

a) **nǘŋu > *nowur-, *ŋǘju > *nojir, *tǘjkʿú > *doki-, *tʿŭmu > *tom-;*

b) **čʿùgù > *čug-, *gǘtʿù > *gutu-, *kǜmu > *kumi-, *kušu > *kusiga, *múnu > *mun-, *sǘku > *sugu-, *tuju > *duɣul-, *uju > *uj, *ùkú > *ugtu-, *úkʿu > *uka-, *uĺukV > *ulig, *úmu > *(h)umaj.*

3. Korean

a) **čʿùgù > *čòk, *kǜgù > *kòhài, *sǘku > *sok-kori;*

b) **ùkú > *ùhɨ́i-, *úmu > *ūm*.

In a couple of cases (usually in the vicinity of labials) Kor. has an unexpected reflex -a-/-ə- here, possibly due to dissimilation: **kǜmu > *kàm-, *pʿuču > *pə̀čɨ́m, *tǘjkʿú > *tjə̀k-*.

Since PA **CuCu* and **CuCo* are kept distinct only in Japanese (and in a few cases where Korean has **CɨC-* < **CuCo*), it is generally difficult to distinguish those two types of root structure from each other.

2.4.6 Diphthongs

Among subgroups of Altaic, diphthongs are present in Turkic (only *ia), Tungus-Manchu (*ia and *iu; the latter is usually noted as *ü in the reconstruction of Benzing and Tsintsius which we follow, but was probably phonetically rather something like **i̯u*), Korean (-ja-, -jə-, -ju-) and Japanese (*ua, *ia, *ai, *ui, *əi). All Japanese diphthongs usually originate from various contractions after the loss of intervocalic consonants (see above); the only exception is *ua which can go back to PA *u in the context **CuCe*. Korean diphthongs are generally unstable and may also reflect various contractions, but in some cases do represent original diphthongs (see below). We shall see, however, that most

original diphthongs can also be represented by Korean monophthongs, due to the general instability of Korean vocalism.

The reliable sources for reconstructing the PA system of diphthongs are thus Turkic and Tungus-Manchu.

We find the following rows of correspondences involving diphthongs in PT and PTM:

2.4.6.1. PTM *ia : PT *ia

PA	PTM	PT	PM	Kor.	Jpn.
*bi̯áĺča	*bial-	*biāĺč	*bilčaɣu		*bánsá-pápí
*gi̯ála	*giala-	*Kiāl-	*gal-		*kára-
*i̯àkʿì	*iaKu	*iak-			*ìkà-i
*i̯ánti	*iandaku	*(i)anduk	*jòń		
*ki̯ampʿa	*kiam/pa	*K(i)am/pak		*kàmá	*kàm(p)-
*ki̯áta	*kiata	*K(i)atɨr-	*kadaraŋ		*kátú-
*ki̯àdi	*kiade-le-	*K(i)adɨ-	*kaʒi	*kjòd-	
*kʿi̯árà	*(x)iarū-n	*K(i)arɨĺ	*kari		*kárà
*kʿi̯ápʿa	*xiap-	*K(i)āpan	*kab-		
*mi̯ali(kʿV)	*mia(l)-	*b(i)alk-	*mel-	*mǎrk-	
*pʿi̯àká	*piaKa	*iagɨr			*pànkiá-
*si̯ǎjri	*siarū-	*siarɨg	*sira	*hǎi-	*sìruà-
*si̯ákʿa	*siaK-	*siāk-	*seke-	(*skǎi-)	*sákà-
*tʿi̯akʿa	*tiaku	*tiakɨgu	*takija		
*tʿi̯àsá	*tias-	*t(i)as	*tasu		*tàsí-

In some cases Turkic may have *e as an old (dialectal?) variant of *ia:

PA	PTM	PT	PM	Kor.	Jpn.
*mi̯atʿi	*miata	*bĕt	*metü		
*ńi̯àŕì	*ń(i)ari	*jeŕne	*ʒer-me-	*nǎr-ná-	*mìtù
*pʿi̯àlbí	*pialakī	*jelbe			*pìmpárí
*si̯ǎgi	*siakta	*següt	*siɣer		
*si̯ǎsa	*siasi-n	*ses			*sàsà

To these examples we may add a number of others where Turkic has initial **ja-*, because the sequences **ja-* and **jia-* are not distinguished there:

PA	PTM	PT	PM	Kor.	Jpn.
*di̯ari	*ʒ(i)arami	*jar-	*ʒirke	*tǎràmí	*(d)ìtàti

PA	PTM	PT	PM	Kor.	Jpn.
*i̯ā́gi	*iag-ʒakta	*jāg	*eɣükü		
*pʿi̯ǎnčʿi	*pianči-	*jạnč-	*niča-		*pínták-
*ni̯ála	*nial-	*jAl-ki-	*naliɣur	*nǎrǎ	
*ni̯ańa	*ńiani-	*jań-			*nama-
*ńi̯ama	*niama	*jAmač	*nam		*mama
*ni̯ā́li	*ń(i)ali-	*jāĺ	*nilaɣu	*nǎr	
*ńi̯àmi	*ńiam-	*jam	*ʒim		
*pʿi̯àlkʿi	*pialki-	*jAlki-		*pǿnkái	*pìkàr-
*pʿi̯àŋkʿi	*piaŋkV	*jAŋak	*(h)enike		*pìnkùrái
*zi̯àni	*sian-	*jạŋak	*sinaɣa		
*ʒi̯àjnà	*ʒian-	*jan-		*čǎi	*dànì
*ʒi̯akʿa	*ʒiaka	*jaka	*ʒaki-		

We can see the following regularities here:

1. Japanese can have here only *a or *i, which would point to a distinction of two types: **CiaCa* and **CiaCi*.
2. In cases when Jpn. has *a, Mongolian usually has *a (**gal-*, **kadaraŋ*, **kari*, **malu*, **tasu-*, **nam*; exceptions are only **bilčaɣu* and **seke-*), whereas in cases when Jpn. has *i, Mongolian only has *e/*i (**sira*, **ʒirke*, **niča-*, **(h)enike*)
3. Korean frequently has *ǎ here (but also a number of *a/ə cases, with a distribution not yet clear).

There is a special group of cases where all the correspondences are basically the same, but TM has *i instead of the expected *ia:

PA	PTM	PT	PM	Kor.	Jpn.
*kʿi̯ǎda	*xidar			*kǎráb-	*kàjù-
*si̯ǎ́ri	*siru-	*siaŕ	*siraɣu	*hǎrk	*situ
*ši̯ǎĺì	*šilki		*silbi	*sǎ́rh	*sìsì
*zi̯ǎbsa	*sibsV	*jasimuk	*sisi		*sasa(n)kai
*kʿi̯ǎli	*xilŋü	*Kele-	*kele-	*kǎró-	
*zi̯ǎlVbi	*silba-	*jęlbi-	*silbe-	*sjərb-	*sìrà(m)p-

It can be easily seen that all these cases involve words with initial fricatives and short vowels, as opposed to cases with all other initial consonants or with fricatives and long vowels. We may therefore safely postulate a rule according to which the short diphthong *-ia- changed to *-i- in PTM after fricative consonants.

Thus, the correspondence rules for PA **CiaCa* and **CiaCi* are:

PA	PTM	PT	PM	Kor.	Jpn.
*ia-a	*ia/*Sĭ	*ia(/ja-)/e	*a(/e)	*ă/*A	*a
*ia-i	*ia/*Sĭ	*ia(/ja-)/e	*e/i	*ă/*A	*i

But these are not all correspondences involving diphthongs. We also find a number of cases where Turkic has the same as above, viz. *ia or, sometimes, *e, corresponding to PJ *ə. In these cases TM has not *ia, but usually *i, while Mong. has a variation of i/e and a, and Korean, a variation of *i and *a/*ə (sometimes *jə). Here we reconstruct PA *C*i̯aCe*:

PA	PTM	PT	PM	Kor.	Jpn.
*čʿi̯ākʿe	*čiK-	*čiāk-	*čag	*čək	*tə̀kì
*i̯ǎré(KV)	*irki	*Erin	*eriwü-		*ə̀tə́(n)kapi
*kʿi̯ǎkʿe	*(x)igʒa-	*K(i)ak	*kagda-		
*ni̯ǎke	*nikimna	*jaka	*nigur-su		
*ni̯áme	*nim(b)a	*jAm	*namaɣa	*nìmǎr	
*ńi̯áme	*ńim-	*jem-ür-	*ʒime	*namɨra	*mə́má-
*ni̯ǎŋe	*niŋī-	*jAŋɨl	*niɣül		*nə́nə́sír-
*ńi̯ǎŕe	*ńiru-	*jạŕ-	*ʒiru-	*nìrk-	
*ńi̯ǎrke	*nirku-	*jarkak	*ʒirge-		*mə̀(n)k-
*pi̯ǎtʿè	*pita-	*b(i)at	*hataɣa		*pə̀tə̀p-
*pi̯ǎtʿe	*pit(a)	*biāt	*bat-	*patɨk	
*pʿi̯ǎge	*pigi-n	*jag-	*(h)aɣa-	*pí	
*ti̯ǎre	*ʒir-	*d(i)ār		*tjə̀r-	
*zi̯àre	*sir-	*jara	*sirka		*sə̀r-
*ʒi̯apʿe	*ʒipu-	*jạpɨtak	*ʒajidaŋ		

A quite complicated problem is involved in reconstructing PA sequences *C*i̯aCo* and *C*i̯aCu*. There is a significant number of cases where Turkic has a *-ia-diphthong, Japanese shows *a, Korean, *ă or *o/u and Mongolian, *e/i. The correspondence is therefore quite similar to *CaCo* (see above), and it seems plausible to reconstruct here *C*i̯aCo*. PTM, however, quite unexpectedly has here a labialized vowel (*o/u):

PA	PTM	PT	PM	Kor.	Jpn.
*ki̯ǎmò	*kum-	*Kiam	*keme-		*kàmù-
*ki̯ájo	*koja	*K(i)ajɨr	*kej		*kái-
*ki̯ǎro	*kori	*K(i)arga	*kerije	*kǎr-	*kara-su
*kʿi̯áčo	*xusu-	*K(i)ača	*kičir	*kòčái	*kasunkapi
*kʿi̯áno	*xuŋī-kta	*Kiān			
*mi̯ǎkʿó	*muxa-	*b(i)ak	*mekeji-		*manka

PA	PTM	PT	PM	Kor.	Jpn.
*mi̯ákʿo	*moKo(lV)-	*b(i)āka	*meke-lej	*məkúrí	
*pʿi̯áčʿo	*pŭč-	*iāči-g		(*pčǎ-)	
*si̯àbo	*sōba		*seɣül		*sàwùa
*si̯alo(-kV)	*solüki	*sialɨk	*sileɣü-sü	(*sɨra-)	
*zi̯à[kʿ]ó	*suka-		*segle-	*suk-	*sànka-
*tʿi̯árko	*turki		*terge	*tǎrkó	
*tʿi̯àlo	*tōli	*T(i)alk-	*telej	*tǎr-	*tàra-

As for **Ci̯aCu*, we would (by analogy with other vocalic developments) expect here PT *ia and PJ *u. Such a correspondence, however, is completely absent. Instead we find a number of cases where the reflexes are quite similar to PA **CaCu* (*a in Turkic, *a or *o/u in Mongolian, *u in Japanese, *o/u in Korean), but TM has a labialized reflex *o/u, just like in the case with **Ci̯aCo*. Turkic additionally can have here *e, and Korean - (j)ə. We tentatively reconstruct the type **Ci̯aCu* for this correspondence, although none of the languages (except perhaps Korean in a few cases) has preserved a diphthong here. In TM, the type **Ci̯aCu* must have early coincided with **Ci̯aCo* and lost the diphthong because of vowel labialization; in Turkic, the words of the type **Ci̯aCu* must have early undergone an assimilative change > **Ci̯ɔCu* > **CöC-* and gave the same reflex as **Ci̯oCe* (see below).

Here are examples of the hypothetic **Ci̯aCu* type:

PA	PTM	PT	PM	Kor.	Jpn.
*či̯átu	*ʒutī	*dāt	*dadu-		
*gi̯ǎlu	*gulukun	*Kalɨŋ	*goli-		
*gi̯áĺu	*goldi	*K(i)āĺ-		*kòrhói	*kusirə
*i̯ámu	*umu-	*(i)am	*(h)uma-	*ùmùk	*úmá-
*i̯apʿu	*upa	*(i)apɨl	*oɣuli		
*i̯aru	*ora-	*(i)arkun	*(h)ori	*ərí-	
*ki̯áčʿù	*kuči-n	*KĒčir	*kačir		*kútí
*ki̯àjú	*kuje	*K(i)aj	*kuj	*kùrì-	*kùjúr-
*ki̯ǎmù	*kuma	*Kạma		*kōm	*kùmà
*ki̯aʒurV	*kuʒur-	*Kạjɨr	*kuʒir		
*ki̯átu	*kota	*gēt	*godoli		
*ki̯ǎru	*kor-pi-	*gẹrge-	*kara	*kari-	
*kʿi̯àbu	*xū(be)	*K(i)ab	*kaɣul-	*kjə[b]-	
*mi̯ákʿù	*muKa	*bAkan		*mòk	*múk-
*mi̯alu	*molori	*b(i)ala-	*majila-		*murua
*ni̯àŋu	*ŋuŋi	*(i)aŋɨŕ	*nuntug	*nón	(*nùa)

PA	PTM	PT	PM	Kor.	Jpn.
*ŋi̯ȁkʿu	*ŋōKe	*eker	*nokaj	*nəkori	
*pʿi̯áru	*por-	*ar-	*hor-	*pòròkí	
*ši̯ȁmu	*šūm-	*s(i)amar	*sumal	*sjóm	
*ši̯ábu	*šoba-	*seb-re-	*saɣa-		*súmp-
*ši̯ák̓ù	*šoKa-	*s(i)āki-	*sokar	*sjōkjóŋ	*súk-
*tʿi̯ăru	*turē-	*tẹrk-	*tarki-		
*tʿi̯ȁku	*tōkī	*teke	*togij		
*zi̯ásu	*suse	*jās	*(h)us-	*sòsk-	*súsá-
*ʒi̯aru(kV)	*ʒugde-n	*jẹrük		*dunturi	
*si̯ap̓ú	*sup-	*sep-	*saw-ga		*súmpa-

2.4.6.2 PA *i̯o

Above we have considered a number of forms which point to PA **Ci̯aCo*. There is, however, also a very similar row of correspondences where Mongolian has a back reflex *a or *o/u. Here we tentatively reconstruct PA **Ci̯oCa*, since Jpn. *a may reflect both PA *-o and *-a. But since Mongolian vocalism is not the most stable and indicative one, we cannot exclude that the reconstructions **Ci̯oCa* and **Ci̯aCo* should be reversed. The relevant cases are:

PA	PTM	PT	PM	Kor.	Jpn.
*bi̯ŏ̀ga	*buga		*baɣu-	*pá	*bà
*bi̯ŏla	*bule	*b(i)aldak	*bol-/*bul-		
*bi̯ŏ̀là	*boloka	*bạl-gɨn	*bal-	*puro	*bàrà(m)pì
*bi̯ò̀sá	*bosoga	*basɨg			*bàsái
*gi̯óra	*gurbi	*K(i)argɨ			*kántúrá
*ki̯omga	*kumga	*K(i)amgak	*kamkak		
*ki̯osa	*kosi-	*Kasɨ	*kasi-		
*ki̯oĺa	*kola	*K(i)aĺaŋ	*kula-gai		*kasum-
*kʿi̯ŏŋa	*xoŋa-	*K(i)aŋ-	*ka[m]ar	*kóh	*kaN-k-
*kʿi̯óŕa	*(x)or-	*Kaŕɨlgan	*karg-		*kátúrá
*kʿi̯ŏ̂ʒa	*xoʒa-n	*K(i)aj-	*kaʒiwu	*kȁč-	*kajər-
*li̯ŏga	*ĺog-	*jạgɨŕ	*nogoɣan	*nò-nǎ-	*nà
*pi̯ŏ̀ka	*puka	*bakɨr	*(h)agi	(*phá)	*pàkuá-
*si̯oga	*sug-	*s(i)agun	*saɣali	*hoar	*sa
*si̯óga	*sogda-	*sagrɨ	*sajir	(*hàŋŋùr)	*sá-
*ši̯ó̂ča	*šušu	*siāč	*čas		
*zi̯oĺa	*sulū-n	*jạĺ(č)-	*soloŋga	*sȁr-	*sas-

We can also see here another important distinction: although Turkic has one *-ia- case here (**siāč*), it is in the vicinity of the palatal *č, and the normal reflex appears to be non-diphthongized *a (or *ạ), cf. **bạlgɨn*, **basɨg*, **Kaŕɨlgan*, **jạgɨŕ*, **bakɨr*, **sagrɨ*, **jạĺ(č)-*, **Kasɨ-*.

There is also a quite similar row of correspondences where Japanese displays not *a, but *i, and Mongolian also has a front reflex *e/i (but sometimes also labialized *ö). Here it seems plausible to reconstruct the PA sequence **Ci̯oCi*:

PA	PTM	PT	PM	Kor.	Jpn.
*i̯ōtʿikʿV	*ōkta			*òtǻi	*ìtí(n)kuà
*kʿi̯óŋi	*(x)uŋ-	*K(i)aŋ		*kù'ɨi	*kímí
*Íi̯ȍki	*luktu-		*ʒigutu-		*nìnká-
*mi̯ójńi	*munī-	*b(i)ańɨl		*mǻi-b-	*mínə́-r-
*mi̯óri		*bar-	*mör-	*mōr-	*mítí
*mi̯ótʿi			*möči	*mǻtǻi	
*pʿi̯ȍrí	*purki-	*ār-t	*hörö-ne		*pìntárí
*si̯óti	*soti		*sido	(*stà(h))	*sítá
*si̯òmì	*sumu		*simarga		*sìmə̀
*si̯ȍmi	*sōm-		*sima-		*sìmàr-
*ši̯óbi	*šoba-				*síwá
*ti̯ōĺi	*ʒola	*diāĺ	*čilaɣu	*tōrh	*(d)ísì

The only reliable case of a diphthong in PT here is **diāĺ* 'stone', i. e. again in a position before the palatal *Í.

A third similar row of correspondences where we reconstruct **Ci̯oCe*, differs from the preceding one in that Japanese here has either *ə or a narrowed reflex *u. Korean may have a labialized *o/u or a diphthong *jə (/*(j)a), sometimes monophthongized to *i:

PA	PTM	PT	PM	Kor.	Jpn.
*bi̯ȍtʿè		*bạt	*büte-		*pútá
*či̯obe	*ʒuba-				*təwə
*čʿi̯opʿè	*čup-/*čop-	*čap-čak	*čöɣerüm	*č(j)apa-	*tə̀pî
*gi̯ȍpʿe		*Kāp-	*göb-/*güb-	*kòpóm-	*kəp(u)i
*i̯oĺe	*ulī-	*(i)aĺ	*öl		
*i̯òpe	*upsi		*ibeɣe-	(*p-sɨ́-)	*ə̀p-
*ki̯òtʿè	*kotoran-	*Kat-	*kete		*kə̀tài
*kʿi̯ȍbe	*xub(u)te	*K(i)ab	*köbdü		*kua
*kʿi̯ópʿe	*xupu-	*Kạp-			*kúmpá-
*kʿi̯óše	*xuše	*Kas	*kisu-		*kə̀sà-/*kùsà-
*kʿi̯ȍtʿekV	*xūkte	*Kạtkuč	*kedgene	*kúitə́kí	

PA	PTM	PT	PM	Kor.	Jpn.
*li̯òŋè	*loŋ-		*neɣüne		*nə̀mì
*mi̯oje	*mujē-		*mejeɣe-	*mùi-	
*mi̯óńde	*mundu-kān	*b(i)ańɨ-	*möndele	*mə́m-	
*mi̯óre	*mur-		*mereji-		*mútúm-
*ni̯ŏŋe	*noŋ-	*jaŋɨŕ	*nige(n)	*njə̀nɨ̀(k)	*nəmi
*ŋi̯ōle	*ŋule-	*(i)āl	*öle	*nùrɨ́-	*mùrà-
*pʿi̯ŏlge	*pulga-	*ạlkɨ-	*(h)ergül		*pə(n)k-
*si̯ōje	*sū-	*sā(j)-	*siɣü-	*hjə̄i-	
*si̯ṓĺe	*sulu	*siāĺ-	*sila-	*hār-	*sə́sír-
*si̯ṓpʿè	*supti-	*s(i)ap-			*sə́p-
*si̯ȍrme	*sumu-		*sirmö-	*hím	
*ši̯òče	*šoša-	*s(i)ač		*číčh	
*ti̯ṓle	*ǯō(l)	*d(i)ālak	*deliɣün	*tira	*(d)ə-i (~-u-,-i-)
*ǯi̯ṓke	*ǯuku-	*jāk	*ǯüg		*də́kə́
*ǯi̯ókʿè	*ǯuke		*ǯike-ɣün		*dúkì
*ǯi̯ȍŋè	*ǯōŋi-	*jaŋ	*ǯeɣü-	*čá(ŋ)-	*dùmài

In a rather large number of cases Turkic may also have a front reflex *e in the same row of correspondences:

PA	PTM	PT	PM	Kor.	Jpn.
*či̯oke	*ǯuku-n	*dEgiŋ		*čúi	
*čʿi̯ȍkʿe	*čūKa	*čekin		*soksăi	*tùkúsi
*i̯ṓde	*(x)odinsa	*ed-	*(h)ideɣe-		
*i̯òre	*ur	*ẹr-kek	*(h)üreɣe	*òràpì	*ə̀tə
*ki̯òrtème	*kutumi-	*gErtme	*kedemen		*kù(n)tàmə̀nə̀
*kʿi̯ome	*xumā-n	*kEmük	*kemi		
*mi̯óle	*mula-	*bẹlek	*melǯe-	*mūr-	*mə́ráp-
*ńi̯ȍgè	*ńōg-	*jEgin	*ǯeɣe		*mù-kuâ
*ńi̯oŋe	*ńuŋ-de-	*jEŋ	*ǯiŋ-de-		
*pʿi̯ole	*pul-sa	*Eldiri	*helde-		*pərə
*si̯obe	*subgu	*seb-	*seb		
*si̯òge	*sogi-	*s[e]göl	*söɣel	*hók	
*si̯oŋre	*soro-ptun	*sEŋir	*seɣer		
*tʿi̯olge	*tolga	*TElgen	*telegen		
*tʿi̯ṓpʿé	*tubu-	*tep-	*teɣe-	*tjap-	*túmpú-
*tʿi̯ór(g)e	*turga-	*Terki	*terki-	*tòrí	*túrí-
*tʿi̯ȍre	*tōrī-	*ter	*türije-		*tùtuà-ma-

We see that in reflexes of PA diphthongs that we have been dealing with so far two basic principles are observed:

1. The correlation "Turkic *ia : TM *ia/*i" points to PA *i̯a before non-labialized vowels
2. The correlation "Turkic *ia or *a : TM *o/*u" points to PA *i̯a before labialized vowels or *i̯o before non-labialized vowels.

But there are also two other rows of correspondences where Turkic has labialized *u or *o, whereas Tungus-Manchu has *i or *ia. Japanese here has *ə (less frequently *a) or *u, thus indicating that the second vowel was *o or *u. It seems therefore natural to reconstruct here the two missing sequences: **Ci̯oCo* and **Ci̯oCu*, assuming that in TM there occurred a labial dissimilation in the first syllable, whereas in Turkic, conversely, labialization was retained because of assimilation to the vowel of the second syllable. The evidence is following:

***Ci̯oCo**

TM has here *i; Turkic - *o/u; Mongolian - any labialized vowel; Japanese - usually *ə (but sometimes also *a); Korean - a variation of *i and *(j)ə.

PA	PTM	PT	PM	Kor.	Jpn.
*bi̯ólò	*bila-		*bolʒu-		*bə́rì
*bi̯óro	*bir[u]-kan		*borgija	*pìrə́/*pjər	
*čʿi̯ȍkʿó	*čixa	*čok-	*čoku-		*tənká-
*gi̯ȍkó	*gik-	*Kog-	*güji-		*kàká-
*gi̯ȍlo	*gil-	*Kol-	*golu-		*kərápá-
*ki̯ońo		*Konak	*köɣene	*kìńím	*kəmài
*kʿi̯omo(lV)	*ximŋe-kte	*Kumlak	*kömeli		*kamira
*kʿi̯ójŋo	*xiŋü-	*Kujaŋ	*köji-	*kjə̀ńí	*kəju-
*kʿi̯ȍkʿo	*xīkeri		*kokima-		*kakurai
*kʿi̯ȍro	*xirga-	*Kūrt	*koro-kai		
*Íi̯ȍmo(ŋa)	*nim-ŋā-	*jom(ŋak)	*dom(ak)	*nì'jàkì	*ná(N), *nəm-
*mi̯olkʿo	*milkü-		*mölki-	*miK-	*məkə-jəp-
*mi̯ólo	*mila-	*bol-	*möl-(/*mel-)	*mīr-	*mə́r-
*mi̯ojo	*mija-	*boj-		*mì-	*majua-
*pi̯ȍltorV	*pilti-	*buldɨr-	*bolʒir-	*pìtùrí	*pàtuâ
*pi̯ȍro	*piregde	*bōr-	*burga-		
*pʿi̯ȍlo	*pile-	*jōl		*pjər-	
*pʿi̯ȍĺo		*jul-durʹ	*ho-du	*pjər-	*pəsi
*si̯ȍlo	*silu-kta	*solak	*söl-		
*ši̯ogo	*šig-	*sogɨ-k		*sik-	*səjə-

PA	PTM	PT	PM	Kor.	Jpn.
*tʿi̯ŏso	*tisū-	*Tusu(g)	*tüsi-	*thas	*tàsùkà-

***Ci̯oCu**

TM here has *ia or *i, with the usual distribution (normally *ia, but *i for short *i̯o after sibilants; Turkic - *o/u; Mongolian - *u/o, but also non-labialized *e/i; Japanese has *u; Korean - *ă or *u/o (but sometimes also *jə).

PA	PTM	PT	PM	Kor.	Jpn.
*čʿi̯olu	*čial-	*čoluk	*čile-	*čərk,*čjəri-	*tur-
*ŋi̯ŏbu	*ńiabe-ri-	*ju(b)-	*jeɣü-	*nūb-	
*ki̯ójbu	*kiaba-	*Kuba/*Koba	*kubakaj		*kúi
*ki̯opu	*kiaba-	*Kobga	*kob-		
*ki̯óru	*kiaru	*Kur	*kiri	*kòrǎ-	*kúrá
*kʿi̯ŏsú	*xisi-		*kusu-		*kùsú
*mi̯óńù	*miańam			*mǎńǎm	*múnà-
*ńi̯oru	*ńiara-	*jur-	*ʒur-		
*si̯ŏgdu	*sigde		*sudal		*sùntí
*si̯ŏgu	*sigūn			*hǎi	*suà-rá
*si̯ōku	*siaKu		*segel-		*suki
*si̯ŏkʿù	*six-	*suk-	*sekeɣe	(*skí-)	*súk-
*si̯ōlu	*siali-		*sila-	*húrí-	*sura-
*si̯ŏpʿu	*sip-	*supɨ	*sibo-		
*si̯ójru	*siaraŋ	*sūrɨk	*surgaɣag	*hjə	
*tʿi̯òlgu			*tergel	*tǎr	*tùkùi
*zi̯ŏgtu	*sigdi-pu	*jo(g)ta	*seɣüʒi		
*ʒi̯òʒu	*ʒ(i)aʒi-	*jogan	*ʒuʒaɣan	*čǎč-	*dùtá-ka-

2.4.6.3 PA *i̯u

The simpliest cases where one may reconstruct a PA *i̯u-diphthong are those where PTM has *ü (which may also be phonologically treated as *i̯u). In all those cases Japanese has a variation of *u or *ə, and Korean, of *a/ə (sometimes preceded by -j-, and thus also pointing to a diphthong) or *u/o. Turkic and Mongolian can have either front or back labialized vowels (ö/ü, u/o). We may note, however, that there is a clear correlation between Turkic and Mongolian here: when Turkic has a back vowel, Mongolian has one, too; and, reversely, when Mongolian has a front vowel, Turkic also has a front one. It seems therefore possible to reconstruct two different PA sequences with the diphthong *-i̯u-

distinguished from each other in Turko-Mongolian. We reconstruct them as **Ci̯uCe* and **Ci̯uCo* respectively (reasons for determining the final vowels will be given further below):

1. *Ci̯uCe

PA	PTM	PT	PM	Kor.	Jpn.
*Ci̯uCe	*ü	*ü/*ö	*ü/ö/*u/*o	*(j)A/O	*u/ə

Here Turkic may additionally have a delabialized reflex *i before liquids (*r, *l), frequently in variation with *ü. Cf.:

PA	PTM	PT	PM	Kor.	Jpn.
*bi̯ure		*bürče	*bürge	*pjərók	
*gi̯ube	*güb-	*Küb-			*kuwa-
*i̯ude		*öd-kün-			*əja-(n)si-
*i̯úle	*ül(k)e-	*öl-č-	*üli-	*ərkùr	
*i̯úse	*üse-	*ös-	*ös-	*ìsàk (< *jə-)	
*i̯ùge	*ū(g)-	*ög-	*uɣur		
*i̯ū́tʿe	*üt-	*ōt-	*öte-		
*ki̯úne	*kün-	*Kün	*küɣün		*kúní
*ki̯ure	*kürekte	*Körtük	*kur		
*kʿi̯ube	*xū(b)-	*kü(b)	*küw-	*kubɨi-	*kəwaî
*kʿi̯ùge	*xūkte	*Kögme	*köɣeme	*kəhúm	*k(ù)i
*kʿi̯ujkʿe	*xüj(k)e	*kök		*kòkɨri	*kùkùi
*kʿi̯upʿe	*(x)üpi-	*Küpi-	*köbe-		
*kʿi̯ŭrpe	*xürbe	*körpe	*körbe		
*kʿi̯úsè		*küs-	*kosiŋ		*kúsài
*kʿi̯ū́le	*xül-	*kōle	*kölü-sü		
*kʿi̯ū́re	*xür-	*gīr-	*kür-	*kūr-	*kúrá-
*kʿi̯ū́se	*xüse	*kūse-	*küse-		*kəs-
*ŋi̯ùŋtʿè	*ŋūŋte		*ündü-sün		*mətə
*si̯ùŋe	*süŋü-	*s[i]ŋ	*söŋ	*səŋ-/*sən-/*san-	*sùnsù-
*si̯úŋe	*süŋkē-	*söŋülʹ/-ü-			*súmápú
*si̯ū́ŕe	*sür-	*sörʹ	*sür-/*sur-	*sòrǎi	
*ti̯ùke		*dök-		*tahi-	*tùk-
*tʿi̯ū́ŕe	*türē-kse	*dīrʹ	*türej	*tàrí	

We see that among the listed examples, words with TM initial labials are completely lacking. In fact there are several examples with the same correspondence after labials, where PTM appears to have *u, not *ü (so that the rows are in complementary distribution):

PA	PTM	PT	PM	Kor.	Jpn.
*bi̯ŭ́ge	*bug-	*bögür	*böɣerüg	*pàhói	*bə
*bi̯ule	*bulin	*bilik			
*bi̯ŭ́le	*bula	*bile-	*büle-	*pjə̀ró	
*bi̯ukʿe	*buKu-			*pàk	*pùkù(m)pái

2. *Ci̯uCo

PA	PTM	PT	PM	Kor.	Jpn.
*Ci̯uCo	*ü	*u/o	*u/o	*(j)A/O	*u/ə

Cf.:

PA	PTM	PT	PM	Kor.	Jpn.
*gi̯ŭldo	*gülde-	*Kula-	*gulda-		
*i̯ùlò	*ül-	*oluk	*(h)olugaj		*ùruà
*i̯upo	*üb-	*ubut	*ubaj		*əpəpə-
*kʿi̯údo(rgV)	*xürgü	*Kudruk	*kudurga	*s-kòrí	
*kʿi̯ŭso	*xüse-	*Kus-			
*mi̯uŋo	*müŋnī-(~-i-)	*buŋ	*muŋ		*munkua-
*pʿi̯ukò	*püKV	*oka	*(h)ugulǯa		*puki
*ši̯ȕpo	*šū̄ba	*sub-luk	*subu-		
*ši̯ȕjò	*šū̄je	*sojagu	*sojuɣa	*sāi	*sə̀jà
*tʿi̯úgo	*tüksa	*Tugur	*tuɣurga	*tù’ə́i	*tu-i
*tʿi̯ŭ́pʿo	*tüpa	*tubńak	*tuwra	*tòph	*túmái
*ńi̯ūno	*ńüŋ-	*jōn-	*ǯoma-gul		

By analogy with other vocalic rows of correspondences, one would also expect the existence of **Ci̯uCa*, **Ci̯uCi* and **Ci̯uCu* in PA. However, the correspondences to PTM *ü are exhausted by the two correspondences described above. On the other hand, there are exactly three rows of correspondences left which involve labialized vowels in Turkic, Mongolian, TM and Korean and which have as Japanese reflexes *a, *i and *u respectively. It is therefore natural to assume that these are the rows reflecting PA **Ci̯uCa*, **Ci̯uCi* and **Ci̯uCu*, and that the diphthong in those sequences was lost in TM, being preserved only before neutral (mid-high) vowels of the second syllable, i.e. in sequences **Ci̯uCe* and **Ci̯uCo*. These system considerations, apart from natural phonetic plausibility, are in fact the basic reason for reconstructing **Ci̯uCe* for the correspondence TM *ü - Turkic *ü/ö and **Ci̯uCo* for the correspondence TM *ü - Turkic *u/o.

3. *Ci̯uCa

Here TM has the usual variation of labialized *u/o. Mongolian has the same, but in some cases also a fronted *i-reflex. Turkic quite systematically displays non-labialized *ɨ, while Korean and Japanese have *a-like reflexes (*a in Japanese, *a/ə in Korean).

PA	PTM	PT	PM	Kor.	Jpn.
*bi̯ura	*burī-	*bɨrak-		*pəri-	*parap-
*gi̯ùla	*gōl-	*Kɨl-	*gulbi-		*kàrú-
*i̯uda	*udī-				*aja
*ki̯ùta	*kōta	*Kɨt			*kàta-
*kʿi̯ū́ńa	*xuńi-	*Kɨ̄jn	*könüɣe- (< *kinüɣe-)		*káná-
*ni̯ùmà	*ńume-	*jɨm-ĺčak	*nomu-/*nima-		*nàmia
*ni̯ùra	*ńūrikte		*norakai	*narot	
*li̯uga(rV)	*lug-	*jɨgur- (*jugur-)	*ʒiɣura-	*nəhír-	*nàir-
*pi̯ǔčʿa	*puče-	*bɨč-	*biči-	(*pčíč-)	*pàtùr-
*pʿi̯úsa	*pusi-		*hisuge	*pàs-	*pásám-
*si̯uga	*sog-	*sɨgirčɨk	*sojir	*sāi	
*si̯ū́na		*sīn	*sonos-	*s(j)ən-	
*si̯úsa	*susē-	*sɨs		*sàsǎŕ	*sása
*si̯ū́ra	*sori	*sīr-	*sur	*sàrǎ-	*satu-i
*zi̯uĺa	*suli-	*jɨĺ	*sili		*sasu

4. *Ci̯uCu

This sequence behaves quite similarly to *Ci̯uCa* in TM, Turkic and Mongolian (although in Turkic we occasionally also find a front reflex *i), but is reflected as *u in Japanese and as *u/o (occasionally also *ɨ, *i) in Korean.

PA	PTM	PT	PM	Kor.	Jpn.
*či̯ū́nu	*ʒun-	*dɨ̄n	*či-su		*t(u)i
*di̯ùlu	*dūl-	*jɨli-g	*dulaɣan		*dù
*i̯ùbú	*(x)ob-		*öje-	*īb-	*ùwá-
*i̯ǔdu	*(x)odu	*ɨduk	*id-		*i/ju
*i̯úmu	*uma-kta	*imit(~ɨ)			*úmái
*i̯umu	*umī-	*im-	*öm-	*umur-	
*i̯ujŋula		*ɨjŋala-	*ujila-	*ùnàr-	
*i̯ùru	*uru-	*ɨra	*urma-		*ùrià-
*i̯úrù	*urū-	*irk-	*ir-	*ur-	*ú(n)tì
*i̯ùču	*ōs-	*ɨčgun-			*us-

PA	PTM	PT	PM	Kor.	Jpn.
*tʿi̯udu		*Tɨdɨn	*tuʒi		*tùnaî
*ki̯uču	*kusi-	*Kič-gir-	*kuča-	*kìčhí-m	*kusam-
*ki̯ūčʿú	*koči-	*Kīč-	*koči	*kùčíčh-	(*kùntək-)
*ki̯udu	*kudē	*Kidɨg	*kiʒaɣar		*kui
*ki̯ùpʿu	*kupen	*Kɨp	*kib	*kīp	*kùpá
*ki̯ùpʿù	*kob-ta	*Kɨpɨ-	*kuji-		*kùpà-
*ki̯úŕu	*kur-	*Kɨŕak	*kür-dün		*kúrúmá
*kʿi̯ùčù	*xosī-kta	*Kič-	*kučil-	*kóč	*kùsì
*kʿi̯ŭnu	*(x)on-	*Kɨn-	*kina		*kunank-
*kʿi̯úŋu	*xuŋke-	*Kɨŋ-	*kiji- / keje-		*kúnkúm-
*kʿi̯ŭŕu	*xuri-	*Kīŕ-	*küre-	*kùrí	*kúrá-
*kʿi̯ùru	*xur-ge	*Kɨr-		*kórǎ-	*kùrù-sì-
*kʿi̯ŭrú	*xura-kta	*Kɨrtɨĺ	*körü-sü	*kúr	*kùrí
*kʿi̯ŭĺnu	*xulŋu	*kīn	*köjil-sü		
*ĺi̯ŭpʿù	*lup-	*jip	*ʒeɣeg	*nupi-	*nùp-
*mi̯údu	*muduri			*mìrɨ́	*múi
*mi̯urgu	*murgi			*mír(h)	*mùnkí
*ni̯údurgi	*nurga	*jɨdruk	*nidurga		(*nínkír-)
*ni̯uru	*ńur(g)a-	*jɨr-	*nürgi-	*nòr-	
*ńi̯ùŋńu	*ńōŋńa	*jɨn / *jin	*ʒuŋgag	*nu(ŋ)-	*ùmì
*pi̯úŋu	*poŋdV	*bɨŋɨt	*boŋčiliki	*pì'út	*pùnâ
*ši̯ŭŕu	*šurgī-	*sɨŕ-	*sir-		
*si̯uču	*sosa-	*sɨč-	*čiča-ga	*čɨčhíi-	
*si̯únŋu	*suŋnī-		*sinaɣa		*súná
*si̯ùŋu	*soŋa-	*siŋ-			*sùnà-
*si̯útu	*sut-		*side-	*sòt-	*súta-
*si̯ŭbu	*sube-	*sīb-ri	*seɣü-	*sìbúr	*súwá-i
*ši̯ŭkʿu	*šuK-		*süke		*súkí
*ši̯úpʿu	*šupa-	*sɨp-	*siɣü-	(*sp-)	*súp-
*ši̯ŭru	*šuri-	*sɨrɨčga-	*sirü-		
*ti̯ŭm(k)u	*duŋk-	*dɨm-	*düŋ-		
*zi̯ŭldu	*suldu-	*jɨldɨŕ	*šülde-sü		
*ʒi̯úbù	*ʒubu		*ʒüj		*dúwài

5. *Ci̯uCi

In this type of correspondence both TM and Japanese have *i, but TM - just as in the type *Ci̯uCe* - has *u after labial consonants. Turkic has front *ü (with occasional delabialization > *i) or *ö, Mongolian - any

labialized vowel, also repeating the behaviour of PA **CiuCe*. Korean has predominantly *ɨ/i, but can also have a labialized reflex *u/o.

PA	PTM	PT	PM	Kor.	Jpn.
*bi̯uri		*bir	*büri	*pìrí-	*pitə
*bi̯ūgi	*bugu-tuna	*bōg	*böɣe-sü		*pìwə̀-
*bi̯ŭkʿí	*buk-	*bük-	*bök-		*pìnkàm-
*či̯ùmi		*Tümen		*čɨ́mɨ́n	*ti
*čʿi̯ŭpʿì	*čip[u]	*čüɣe-		*čòp-	*tìpì-sà
*i̯umi	*(x)im-	*(i)öm	*ömü-		
*i̯ùnì	*īn-		*ün-ʒi-	(*nūi)	*ìnə̀-tí
*ki̯ùtí	*kitiri		*küderi		*kìtúnái
*ki̯ŭ́di	*kidu-	*gū̄d-		*kìrí-	
*kʿi̯ŭli	*xil(i)-	*kül-	*küli-		
*kʿi̯ŭ́čʿi		*kō̄če	*küč-	*kìčàŋ	
*mi̯uĺi	*mul-		*mulga-	*mòrǎ-	*misu-
*mi̯ùri	*mū		*mören	*mɨ́r	*mí-
*pi̯únri	*ponda			*pìnɨ́r	*pírái
*pi̯ŭbi	*pubu-	*bij-	*(h)üji-	*pjàpǎi-	*piwa-
*pi̯ŭkʿì	*poKa-		*hokar		*pìkù-
*pʿi̯ŭŋi	*puŋtu	*öŋi			*pina
*pʿi̯ŭri	*purkē-		*hurin		*pìrù-m-
*si̯ùbi	*sīb-		*söɣe-	*sùb-	*siwa-
*si̯ŭ́ni	*sī-	*sō̄n-	*sönü-		*sín-
*si̯ŭ́tʿi	*site-	*sū̄t	*ü-sün	(*stɨ́-)	
*si̯ŭŕi	*sir-	*süŕ-	*sür-		
*tʿi̯upʿi	*tip-	*tüpi			
*tʿi̯ùni	*tīnu-	*tün	*tüne		
*zi̯upi	*sibe-	*jib	*sübe	(*sp-)	
*ʒi̯úgi	*ʒija-	*jügür-		*čòh	
*ʒi̯uŕi		*jüŕ-	*ʒor	*čɨrɨ-	

2.5. Prosody in Altaic

Above we repeatedly mentioned prosodic factors as reasons for certain phonetic changes in Mongolian (voicing *p > *b) and Japanese (voicing / prenasalization). The general outline of prosodic reconstruction for the first syllable was given in Starostin 1995. Here we shall confine ourselves to a brief table of correspondences.

PA	PTM	PT	PM	Kor.	Jpn.
*V̋	*V̆	*V̆	*V	*V̀	*V́
*V̏	*V̆	*V̆	*V	*V́	*V̀
*V̋	*V̆	*V̄	*V	*V̀	*V́
*V̏	*V̄	*V̆	*V	*V́	*V̀

A few comments:

1. The table above describes the behaviour of vowel length / tones only in the first syllable. As for the second syllable, it appears to have had no length distinctions, but a distinction in pitch should be probably reconstructed, on the basis of Japanese tones and voicing of the initial consonant of the second syllable in Japanese and Mongolian, see above. The reflexes of second syllable pitch in other languages are as yet unclear.
2. Proto-Tungus-Manchu has preserved vowel length in initial syllables with original vowel length + low pitch. PTM occasionally also has vowel length on vowels of the second syllable, but its origins are as yet unclear.
3. Proto-Turkic has preserved vowel length in initial syllables with original vowel length + high pitch. Whether PT preserves any prosodic distinctions in non-initial syllables is as yet unclear.
4. Proto-Mongolian has lost all traces of the original prosody except for voicing *p > *b in syllables with original high pitch (see above).
5. Korean and Japanese appear to reflect original pitch distinction (in a contrasting manner, Japanese high tone usually corresponding to Korean low tone, and vice versa), but do not reflect vowel length. It must be said that Korean has vowel length, but it appears to have developed secondarily, due to contractions (see Ramsey 1978). Some traces of Proto-Japanese vowel length may also be preserved in Ryukyu dialects, but it is as yet unclear how the Ryukyu length correlates with Turkic or TM.
6. While evaluating tone correspondences one should keep in mind that several secondary metatonic processes happened in Japanese (on the second syllable, see above) and in Korean, basically in the verb subsystem: all verbs have a strong tendency towards low pitch on the first syllable.
7. The phonetic interpretation given above is certainly not definitive. While there is little doubt that length should be reconstructed where it is reconstructed, the entities marked as high (*V́) and low (*V̀) tones are phonetically not quite clear and their places can in fact be exchanged.

CHAPTER THREE

COMPARATIVE AND HISTORICAL PHONOLOGIES OF ALTAIC SUBGROUPS

The phonological section of this introduction would be incomplete without an account of phonological developments in each of the Altaic subgroups. Although for the most part we use traditional reconstructions and correspondences, there are also some innovations presented and some points to discuss. Therefore we give below a short outline of the comparative-historical phonology for each of the subgroups of Altaic, as currently perceived by the authors of the dictionary.

3.1. Turkic [by A. Dybo]

The system of Proto-Turkic accepted in this dictionary looks like this:

Consonants

p	b		-m-	
t	d	s	-n-	-r-, -l-
č	j		-ń-	-ŕ-, -Í-
k	g		-ŋ-	

Vowels of the first syllable:

i	ü	ɨ	u
e	ö	ạ	o
e		a	

All the vowels could be short or long.

Vowels of other syllables:

I		U
		O
	A	

The row of any non-first vowel (front or back) depended on the row of the vowel of the first syllable, thus producing seven (eight?) vocalic allophones:

i	ü	ɨ	u
e	ö	a	(o)

The back -o- is actually not attested, but it may be perhaps reconstructed in some auxiliary morphemes.

Thus, the reconstruction is almost completely traditional, with only the following modifications:

1. The distinction of initial voiced/voiceless consonants is primarily based on Oghuz evidence, as was already shown in Иллич-Свитыч 1963, 1965, accepted in EDT and additionally elaborated in АПиПЯЯ 6-10, Дыбо 1991 and PP 70-85. We should mention that the distinction of *g- vs. *k- is reliably reconstructed only before front vowels; before back vowels we can only reconstruct a "hyperphoneme" *K-.

2. Medial voiced/voiceless consonants: reconstruction is for the most part traditional. Details of development can be summarized as follows: the original voiced labial and velar stop are fricativized and/or lost in most languages and in most combinations with preceding and following vowels. Original voiceless consonants are regularly voiced in intervocalic position in Siberian languages and in Chuvash. In the Oghuz languages, voiceless consonants become voiced after originally long vowels; the new voiced labial becomes fricative, and even disappears in some positions, in a part of the Turkmen dialects, in Khorezmian (Oghuz) dialects of Uzbek and in Salar (details see in PP 36, 61). In the Karluk languages the voiceless labial and velar stops are regularly voiced after original long vowels, and occasionally after short ones. A similar reflexation is observed in Kypchak languages, where additional morphological analogies tend to obscure the situation: all Kypchak languages demonstrate a morphological voicing of labials and velars in an intervocalic position on a morpheme boundary.

3. O. Mudrak (Мудрак 1989, Мудрак Дисс.) has reconstructed a separate phoneme, *-jı-, reflected as -j- in Chuvash, but coinciding with *-d- in other languages. Since the examples of it are not very numerous, and it does not seem to have any specific Altaic origin, we have not adopted this reconstruction in the dictionary.

4. On the reconstruction of *-ń- and its distinction from the clusters *-jn-, *-jŋ- see PP 85-87 (where *-ń- is denoted as *-j̃-). Clusters are reflected as such in Oghuz languages (with a permitted vowel insertion in word-final position, and with -j- frequently lost after front vowels); Kypchak languages reveal a different development of clusters after original long and short vowels, cf. **Kojn* 'sheep' > *koj*, **bejŋi* 'brain' > *mɨj* as opposed to **Kājnat* 'wing' > *kanat*, **Kījn* 'punishment' > *kɨjɨn*, **Kōjn* 'armpit' > *kojun*, **bōjn* 'neck' > *bojun*.

5. The problem of *ŕ and *Í is treated in the classical "zetacism-sigmatism" spirit, with an additional modification by O. Mudrak, who has shown (see Мудрак 1989, Мудрак Дисс.) that in Chuvash, *Í > l in syllable-final position, but > š (ž) between vowels; *ŕ > r, but *ŕs > s.
6. For Chuvash it has been shown that dentals and velars were palatalized not only in front of original diphthongs (*čul* < **diāĺ* 'stone', *jur* < **Kiār* 'snow'), but also in front of *i, *ɨ - earlier this palatalisation was only noticed on morphemic boundaries; details see in Мудрак 1988, Мудрак Дисс.
7. For a detailed account of the reflexes of Turkic vowels in Chuvash see Мудрак 1993, Мудрак Дисс.
8. Long vowels are reconstructed on the basis of Turkmen and Yakut reflexes, taking into account also the voicing of stops after original long vowels in Oghuz languages. Short vowels are also reflected as pharyngealized in Tuva and Tofalar, as opposed to non-pharyngealized original long vowels (pharyngealization is well recorded in Бичелдей 2001, Рас. ФиЛ, Рассадин 1995); this reflexation was first formulated in Иллич-Свитыч 1963. On the preservation of long *ā and *ō in Gagauz see in PP 23-24. Besides, the distinction of *ē vs. *e is preserved in Azerbaidzhan as a distinction of close vs. open e; in Turkmen the long and short vowels also give different qualitative reflexes in some environments (e.g. *ab > ov, but *āb > āv). We prefer to regard the opposition of short vs. "half-long" vowels in Khalaj as non-distinctive (probably just phonetic variants, as can be seen from numerous variations between short and half-long in G. Doerfer's records), but the plain long ("super-long") vowels appear to be reasonably well derived from original long vowels.
9. One of the most complicated problems in Turkic reconstruction is the distinction of open/close *e vs. *ę, *a vs. *ą.

Close *ą was reconstructed by O. Mudrak (see Мудрак 1993, Мудрак Дисс.) for the correspondence Turk. a - Chuv. ɨ, Yak. ɨ. Let us mention that Yak. can also have a secondary -ɨ- < *a in front of -j-, cf. *ɨj* 'moon', *kɨjat* 'wing', *ɨj-* 'show, describe'.

As to the reconstruction of *e and *ę, no final agreement has been reached so far. In the dictionary we have adopted the reconstruction of O. Mudrak (as proposed in Мудрак 1993, Мудрак Дисс.), but A. Dybo still keeps her own views, presented in Дыбо Дисс., PP 39-44. Both researchers agree that the Oghuz distinction of open *e : close *ę is not original. The distribution of e (=ä) and ę (=e) in Azerbaidzhan is complementary, e occurring after j-, in front of š, č and the Common Oghuz *j (not in front of the secondary j < *g), and ä occurring in all other cases. The Azerbaidzhan situation is thus secondary compared with

Turkmen where short open and close e are not distinguished at all. Thus, for short vowels we have two sets of correspondences:

*e : Oghuz *e, Yak. e, Chuv. a

*ẹ : Oghuz *e, Yak. i, Chuv. i (before nasals and r, as well as after ś - ĕ)

As for the long vowels, O. Mudrak regards the Proto-Oghuz distinction (based on the correspondences between Turkmen and Azerbaidzhan) as secondary, with a rather complicated formulation of conditioning rules. The distinction *ē vs. *ẹ̄ is reconstructed only on the basis of the correspondences *ē > Yak. ie, Chuv. a; *ẹ̄ > Yak. ī, Chuv. i. O. Mudrak additionally introduces a "labialized" e, which yields complicated reflexes in Chuvash (in particular, i in front of l), while the Oghuz languages reflect it as e independent of neighbouring consonants; examples of this e^w are few and this phoneme has not been adopted in the dictionary.

According to A. Dybo, the opposition of *ē vs. *ẹ̄ in Oghuz goes back to Common Turkic and is additionally reflected in Khalaj:

*ē : Oghuz *ē, Khal. ǟ, Yak. ie, Chuv. a

*ẹ̄ : Oghuz *ẹ̄, Khal. īe (ä after initial h-), Yak. ie, Chuv. a

For a small number of examples where Oghuz, Yakut and Chuvash have a variation of close and open reflexes (and Chuvash sometimes j+vowel) she reconstructs PT *e (or *ẹ) followed by *-j- as the first element of a consonant cluster. In Chuvash initial *ej- of this type apparently gave rise to a rising diphthong; the following reconstructions are proposed:

*ẹj : Oghuz *ẹ, Yak. e, Chuv. -i-/jə-, i-, Khal. ä

*ēj : Oghuz *ē, Yak. ie, Chuv. -i-, Khal. īe

*ẹ̄j: Oghuz *ẹ̄, Yak. ī, Chuv. -i-/ja-, Khal. īe.

The details of the reconstruction, as well as precise origins of this Proto-Turkic distinction are yet to be established.

9. In reconstructing the diphthong *-ia- (long and short) we follow Владимирцов-Поппе 1924, relying on the correspondence of Turkic a (ā) to Chuv. ju- word-initially and -u- (-o-) with palatalization of the preceding consonant in a postconsonantal position. Its Mongolian parallels are, however, not as straightforward as proposed in that paper (see above on Altaic vowel correspondences).

10. Difficult, and not completely solved yet, is the problem of reconstructing vowels of non-initial syllables. Proto-Turkic probably lacked labial vowel harmony and had a distinction of labialized vs. plain vowels in non-initial syllables, independently of the features of the first syllable. This can be proved by the material of MK, as well as by Runic Turkic evidence, see e.g. Meyer 1965. This distinction is additionally

reflected in some vowel-consonant combination reflexes in the Oghuz and Kypchak languages, see details in PP 44, and in the "o"-dialect of Yakut and in Uyghur, where the original second labialized vowel causes labialization of the vowel of the first syllable (as opposed to the second non-labialized vowel, causing the Uyghur Umlaut), e. g.: Uygh. *xotun,* Yak. *xotun* 'woman', Orkh., OUygh. *qatun (*Katun),* as opposed to Yak. *balɨk,* Uygh. *belik* 'fish', MK *balɨq (*balɨk),* Osm. *jarum,* Yak. *jarɨm,* Uygh. *jerim* 'half', MK *jarɨm (*jarɨm)* etc.

As to reconstructing the PT labialized low vowels, we tend to accept the hypothesis of G. Clauson (EDT), who reconstructs *o/*ö in non-initial syllables in the cases where daughter-languages reveal a variation in labialization of the first syllable and a variation between high and low reflexes of the second syllable (which may itself lose labialization): cf. the reconstructions **sigöl* 'wart' and **süŋök* 'bone' in EDT. At least in Common Oghuz the reflexes of this *-ö- were redistributed: high vowel in a closed syllable, low vowel in an open one, cf. **s[e]göl* 'wart': *sögöl* (OUygh.), *sigil* (MK), Tur. *sigil*, Az. *zijil*, Turkm. *siŋŋil*; **siŋök* 'bone': *süŋök* (Orkh.), *süŋük* (OUygh.), *süŋük* (MK, KB), Tur. *süŋük*, Az. *sümük*, Turkm. *süŋk, süjek*; **sinčök* 'ankle-bone': Tur. dial. *sinǯik*; but **tepö* 'hill, top': *töpü* (OUygh.), *tepe* (Tefs.), *töpü* (KB), Tur. *tepe,* dial. *depe*, Az. *täpä*, Turkm. *depe*; **tikö* 'piece, part': *tikü* (MK), Tur. *tike*, Az. *tikä*, Turkm. *tike*. See PP 45.

11. Proto-Turkic and most modern Turkic languages possess the so-called vowel harmony: all words are subdivided into "front" (with vowels *i, *e, *ę, *ü, *ö) and "back" (with vowels *ɨ, *a, *ą, *u, *o). The vowel of any non-initial syllable has to be "harmonized" with the vowel of the initial syllable.

Below is a table of basic consonant correspondences between Turkic languages:

PT	OUygh	Karakh	Yak	Tuva	Tof	Khak	Shor	Oyr	Kirgh	Uygh	Uzb	Kaz., KKalp	Nog	Bashk	Tat	Kum	Balk	Karaim	Turkm	Az	Gag	Tur	Khal	Chuv
b-[1]	b-	b-	b-	b-/p-	b-/p-	p-	p-	b-	b-	b-/p-	b-	b-	b-	b-	b- (Sib. p-)	b-, p-	b-	b-	b-/p-	b-/p-	b-/p-	b-/p-	b-	p-
p/V̌_	p	-p-, -b-, -p	-b-, -p	V”v V, /ŋV-, -“p	V”pV, -“p	-b-, -p	-b-, -p	-b-, -p	-p-, -b-[2], -p	p	p	p, -b-	p, -b-[2]	p, -b-	p, -b-	p, -b-	p, -b-	p, -b-	p	p	p	p	-b-, -p	-b-, -p
p/V̄_	-p-	-p-, -b-, -p	-b-, -p	VvV, -p	VbV, -p	-b-, -p	-b-, -p	-b-, -p	-b-, -p	p	-v-, -p/b[3]	-b-, -p	-b-, -p	-b-, -p	-b-, -p	-b-, -p	-b-, -p	-b-, -p	-b-, -p	-b-, -p	-b-, -p	-b-, -p	-b-, -p	-b-, -p
-b-	b	v	b /0[4]	-v- /-0-[4], -g	-b- /-0-[4], -g	-b- /-0-[4], -g/-b	-b- /-0-[4], -g[5]/-p	b/0[6]	-b- /-j- /-0-[4]	b/v/g/j/0[5]	v/g/j/0[5]	b/w/j/0[4]	b/w/j/0[4]	w/j/0[4]	w/j/0[4]	w/j/0[4]	w/j/0[4]	w/j/0[4]	w/j/0[5]	v/j/0[5]	v/0[4]	v/j/0[5]	v/0[4]	v/0[4]
-m(-)	m, -n	M, -n	m, -n	m, -n	m, -n	m, -n	m, -n	m, -n	m, -n	m, -n	m, -n	m, -n	m, -n	m, -n	m, -n	m, -n	m, -n	m, -n	m, -n	m, -n	m, -n	m, -n	m, -n	m, -n
t-	t	t	t	t, d[7]	t, d[7]	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t, d	t	t	t, d[7]	t, d[7]	t, d[7]	t, d[7]	t	t[8]
t/V̌_	t	t	t[9]	V”d V, -“t	V”tV, -“t	-d-, -t	-d-[10], -t	-d-, -t	t	t	t	t[11]	t[11]	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	-d-[12], -t
t/V̄_	t	t	t[9]	VdV, -t	VdV, -t	-d-, -t	-d-[10], -t	-d-, -t	t	t	t	t[11]	t[11]	t	t	t	t	t	d, -t	d	d, -t	d, -t	t	-d-[12], -t
d-	t	t	t	t, d[7]	t, d[7]	t	t	t	t	t	t	t, (d-)	t, (d-)	t	t	t, d	t	t	d	d, t[13]	d, t[7]	d, t[7]	t	t[8]
d	d	δ	t	VdV,	VdV,	z, -s	z, -s	d́, j[14]	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	d	-r-

PT	OUygh	Karakh	Yak	Tuva	Tof	Khak	Shor	Oyr	Kirgh	Uygh	Uzb	Kaz., KKalp	Nog	Bashk	Tat	Kum	Balk	Karaim	Turkm	Az	Gag	Tur	Khal	Chuv
				-t	-t																			
s-	s	s	0	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	s	h	s	s	s	s	ϑ,s[15]	s	s	s	s	s[16]
s/V̆_	s	s	-h-, -s, -t[17]	-“z-, -“s	“s	z	z	z	s	s	s	s	s	ϑ	s	s	s	s	ϑ,s[15]	s	s	s	s	-s- (=-z-)[18]
s/V̄_	s	s	-h-, -s, -t[17]	-z-, -s	-z-, -s	z	z	z	s	s	s	s	s	ϑ	s	s	s	s	ϑ,s[15]	s	s	s	s	-s- (=-z-)[18]
n	n	n	n	n[19]	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n[21]	n	n	n	n, m
r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r, -j/-0-	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	
č-	č	č	s	š	š	s	š	č	č	č	č	š	š	s	č	č	č	č	č	č	č	č	č	ś[8]
č/V̆_	č	č	-h-, -s	-“ž-, -“š	-“ǯ-,-“ š	-ǯ-, -s	-ǯ-, -š	č	č	č	č	š	š	s	č	č	č	č	č	č	č	č	č	ź[12]
č/V̄_	č	č	-h-, -s	-ž-, -š	-ǯ-, -š	-ǯ-, -s	-ǯ-, -š	č	č	č	č	š	š	s	č	č	č	č	-ǯ-, -č	ǯ	-ǯ-, -č	-ǯ-, -č	č	ź[12]
j-	j	j	s	č	č	č	č	d′, j[14]	ǯ	j[20]	j[21]	ž	j	j	j, ǯ[22]	j, ǯ	ǯ	j	j	j	j	j	j	ś
j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	d′, j[14]	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j
j[1]	d	δ	t	VdV,	VdV	z	z	-j-	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	d	j/v/0[4]

PT	OUygh	Karakh	Yak	Tuva	Tof	Khak	Shor	Oyr	Kirgh	Uygh	Uzb	Kaz., KKalp	Nog	Bashk	Tat	Kum	Balk	Karaim	Turkm	Az	Gag	Tur	Khal	Chuv
ń[23]	j/ñ	j	j/ǰ	j/ǰ	ǰ	ǰ > j[24]	ǰ > j[24]	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j/v/0[4]
ŕ	z	z	-h-, -s, -t[17]	-z-, -s	-z-, -s	-z-, -s	-z-, -s	-z-, -s	z	z	z	z	z	z	z	z	z	z	z	z	z	z	z	r, s
Í/V̌_	š	š	-h-, -s, -t[17]	-"ž-, -"š	-"ǯ-, -"š	-z-, -s	-ž-, -š	-ž-, -š	š	š	š	s	s	š	š	š	š	š	š	š	š	š	š	l, š
l′/V̄_	š	š	-h-, -s, -t[17]	-ž-, -š	-ǯ-, -š	-z-, -s	-ž-, -š	-ž-, -š	š	š	š	s	s	š	š	š	š	š	š	š	š	š	š	l, š
k-[25]	k, q[26]	k, q[26]	k, x[27]	k, x[17]	k, x[17]	k, x[26]	k, q[26]	k	k	k, q[28]	k, q[28]	k, q[26]	k	k, q[26]	k	k, g, q[26]	k, g, q[26]	k	k, G[26]	k, G[26]	k	k	k, q[26]	k, x[29]
k/V̌_	k, q[26]	k, q[26]	g, ɣ[26]	-"g-, -"k	-"h-, -"k/"q[26]	g, ɣ[26]	g, ɣ[26]	g	-g-, -k-[2], -k	k, q[28]	k, q[28]	-g- /-ɣ-, -k- /-q-[2], -k/-q[26]	-g-, -k-[2], -k	-g- /-ɣ-, -k- /-q-, -k/-q[26]	-g-, -k-[2], -k	-g- /-ɣ-, -k- /-q-, -k/-q[26]	-g- /-ɣ-, -k- /-q-, -k/-q[26]	g-, -k-, -k	k, q[26]	k, x[26]	k	k	k, q[26]	-g-, -k /-x[29]
k/V̄_	k, q[26]	k, q[26]	g, ɣ[26]	-g-, -k	-g-, -k/q[26]	g, ɣ[26]	g, ɣ[26]	g	-g-, -k-[2], -k	k, q[28]	k, q[28]	-g- /-ɣ-, -k- /-q-[2],	-g-, -k-[2], -k	-g- /-ɣ-, -k- /-q-,	-g-, -k-[2], -k	-g- /-ɣ-, -k- /-q-,	-g- /-ɣ-, -k- /-q-,	g-, -k-, -k	-g- /-ɣ-, -k/q[26]	-g-/-ɣ-, -k/-x/-G[7]	-g- /-0-[7], -k	-ɣ-, -k	k, q[26]	-g-, -k /-x[29]

PT	OUygh	Karakh	Yak	Tuva	Tof	Khak	Shor	Oyr	Kirgh	Uygh	Uzb	Kaz., KKalp	Nog	Bashk	Tat	Kum	Balk	Karaim	Turkm	Az	Gag	Tur	Khal	Chuv
												-k/-q[26]		-k/-q[26]		-k/-q[26]	-k/-q[26]							
g-[30]	k	k	k	k, x[17]	k, x[17]	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k, g	k, g	k	g	g	g-	g-	k	k
g	g, ɣ[26]	g, ɣ[26]	0	-0-, -g /-ɣ[26]	-0-, -g/-ɣ[26]	-0-, -g /-ɣ[26]	-0-, -g /-ɣ[26]	0/j/g[6]	0/j/g[4]	g, ɣ, -k/-q[31]	g, ɣ, -k /-q[31]	-w-/ -j-, -0/-w/-j[4]	-w-/ -j-, -0/-w/-j[4]	-w-/ -j-, -0/-w/-j[4]	-w-/ -j-, -0/-w/-j[4]	-w-/ -j-, -0/-w/-j[4]	-w-/ -j-, -0/-w/-j[4]	g/w/j/0[4]	ɣ/w /j[6]	ɣ/w/j[6], -0[32]	ɣ/w /j[6], -0[32]	ɣ/w /j[6], -0[32]	ɣ/w /j[8], -0[32]	v/0[4]
ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ, 0[33]	ŋ, 0[33]	-g- /-0-, -ŋ	-g- /-0-, -ŋ	ŋ[34]	ŋ	ŋ, n[35]	ŋ, -j-, n[35]	ŋ, -j-, n[35]	ŋ, -j- n[35]	ŋ, -j- , -g-, n[35]	ŋ, -j- , -g-, n[35]	ŋ, -j- , n[35]	ŋ, -j- , -g-, n[35]	ŋ, -j- , -g-, n[15]	ŋ[36]	n, j	n, m, j[6]	n, m, j[6]	ŋ, j , g, n[37]	n, m[4]

Notes.

1. In most languages (except Tur. and Gag.) > m- before a following nasal, with slightly differing rules. The same is true for (*-p-) > *-b- > *-m- in the second syllable.
2. Voicing occurs on morpheme boundaries and occasionally - in cases of morphological reanalysis (cf. cases like Tat. sıpır- / sıbır- ʻto sweep', where -ır- could have been re-analysed as a causative suffix).
3. Probably dialectal variants, occasionally rendered in orthography.
4. Depending on vocalic environment.
5. After labialized vowels.
6. Depending on vocalic environment and with dialect variation.
7. See more details in PP.
8. *t-, *d-, *č- > č- in front of -i-, -ı-.
9. -d- in the intervocalic cluster *-rt- and in the beginning of auxiliary morphemes.
10. Occasionally recorded as voiceless in Verbitskiy's materials.
11. -d- in the beginning of auxiliary morphemes.
12. *-t-, -č- > -ǯ- in front of -i-, -ı-.
13. *d- > t- before the following voiceless -x-.
14. Variation in dialects and recordings.
15. Variation in dialects.
16. *s- > š- in front of -i-, -ı-.
17. Distribution unclear.
18. *-s- > -ž- in front of -i-, -ı-.
19. In some dialects lost with compensatory vowel nasalization.
20. In dialects also ǯ-.
21. In dialects also variants ǯ-, ž- before narrow vowels.
22. Normally j before a, o, ö, u, ü, ε; ǯ before e, i, ɨ; but the distribution may be additionally somewhat confused because of dialect variation.
23. In most languages is not distinguished from *-j-, but causes nasalization of initial *b- > m-.
24. Frequently causes nasalization of initial *j- > n-.
25. Before back vowels voiceless *k- and voiced *g- cannot be distinguished in PT; in this position we usually write *K-.
26. Depending on whether the following/preceding vowel is front or back.
27. Depending on whether the following vowel is wide or narrow.
28. Depending on whether the original following/preceding vowel was front or back.

29. Depending on whether the original following/preceding vowel was front or back. *K- > j- before an original diphthong.
30. Reconstructable only before front vowels.
31. Devoicing of final *-g is a characteristic feature of the Karluk languages; however, both in Uzbek and in Uighur it occurs irregularly, depending probably on morphological derivational analogies.
32. In the end of a polysyllabic word. Details see in PP.
33. Variation in dialects; in case of disappearance nasalization is preserved on the preceding vowel.
34. In dialects also -g- or -0-.
35. In some combinations and in the end of a polysyllabic word.
36. In combinations with palatals - n, in some vocalic environments - j.
37. Distribution not quite clear.

Basic vowel correspondences between Turkic languages

PT	OUygh	Karakh	Yak	Tuva	Tof	Khak	Shor	Oyr	Kirgh	Uygh	Uzb	Kaz, KKalp	Nog	Bashk	Tat	Kum	Balk	Karaim	Turkm	Az	Gag	Tur	Khal	Chuv
i	i	i	i	i	i	ə	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	e	e	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	ə, ъ[38]
ī	i	i	ī	i	i	ə	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	e	e	i	i	i	ī	i	i	i	ii	ə, ъ[38]
ẹ	(i)	(i)	i	e	e	i	e	e	e	e, ä[39]	e	e	e	i	i	e	e	e	e	ä, e[40]	e	e	ä	i
ẹ̄	(i)	(i)	ī	e	e	i	e	e	e	e, ä[39]	e	e	e	i	i	e	e	e	ī	e	e	e	ie	i
e	(e)	(e)	e	e	e	i	e	e	e	e, ä[39]	e, a[41]	e	e	i	i	e	e	e	e	ä, e[41]	e	e	ä	a[42]
ē	(e)	(e)	ie	e	e	i	e	e	e	e, ä[39]	e	e	e	i	i	e	e	e	ǟ	ä, e[41]	e	e	ǟ	a[42]
a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a,e[43]	a, ɔ[44]	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	o[45]
ā	a	a	ā	a	a	a	a	a	a	a, e[43]	a, ɔ[44]	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	ā	a	a	a	āa	o[45]
ạ	a	a	ɨ	a	a	a	a	a	a	a, e[43]	a, ɔ[44]	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	ɨ
ạ̄	a	a	ɨ̄	a	a	a	a	a	a	a, e[43]	a, ɔ[44]	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	ā	a	a	a	āa	ɨ
ɨ	ɨ	ɨ	ɨ	ɨ	ɨ	ɨ	ɨ	ɨ	ɨ	i	i	ɨ	ɨ	ɨ	ɨ	ɨ	ɨ	ɨ	ɨ	ɨ	ɨ	ɨ	i	ə, ъ[46]
ɨ̄	ɨ	ɨ	ɨ̄	ɨ	ɨ	ɨ	ɨ	ɨ	ɨ	i	i	ɨ	ɨ	ɨ	ɨ	ɨ	ɨ	ɨ	ɨ̄	ɨ	ɨ	ɨ	ii	ə, ъ[46]
u	u	u	u	u	u	u	u	u	u	u	u	u	u	o	o	u	u	u	u	u	u	u	u	ъ[w47]
ū	u	u	ū	u	u	u	u	u	u	u	u	u	u	o	o	u	u	u	ū	u	u	u	ūu	ъ[w47]
o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	ŭ	o	o	u	u	o	o	o	o	o	O	o	o	vi-, -u-[48]

PT	OUygh	Karakh	Yak	Tuva	Tof	Khak	Shor	Oyr	Kirgh	Uygh	Uzb	Kaz, KKalp	Nog	Bashk	Tat	Kum	Balk	Karaim	Turkm	Az	Gag	Tur	Khal	Chuv
ō	o	o	uo	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	ŭ	o	o	u	u	o	o	o	ō	o	O	o	ūo	vu-, -u-[48]
ü	ü	ü	ü	ü	ü	ü	ü	ü	ü	ü	u	ü	ü	ö	ö	ü	ü	ü	ü	ü	ü	ü	ü	ü/i[49]	ə[w50]
ṻ	ü	ü	ṻ	ü	ü	ü	ü	ü	ü	ü	u	ü	ü	ö	ö	ü	ü	ü	ṻ, üj	ü	ü	ü	ṻü, ūi[49]	ə[w50]
ö	ö	ö	ö	ö	ö	ö	ö	ö	ö	ö	ŭ	ö	ö	ü	ü	ö	ö	ö	ö	ö	Ö	ö	ö, e[49]	vi-, -u-/-ü-[51]
ō̈	ö	ö	üö	ö	ö	ö	ö	ö	ö	ö	ŭ	ö	ö	ü	ü	ö	ö	ö	ö	ö	Ö	ö	īe	va, -ъ[w]va

Notes.
38. Before and after š.
39. The closed variant - in the position of the so called Uyghur Umlaut (before ä, i in the second syllable).
40. The closed variant - after j-, before back affricates and sibilants (š, č), the Common Oghuz *j (not before the secondary -j < *g) and v; otherwise - ä.
41. -a- is a rather rare, probably dialectal, variant.
42. > e in the vicinity of palatals.
43. The variant e - in the position of the so called Uyghur Umlaut (before ä, i in the second syllable).
44. Details see in Мудрак 2002.
45. In the Upper dialect o, in the Lower dialect and in literary Chuvash - u; u in all dialects adjacent to the reflexes of *g and *b.
46. ъ - before and after š; in Anlaut - jъ. Details see in Мудрак Дисс.
47. *ubC > *uvC > uC. Labialization of ъ is present in the Upper dialect (but one should mention that before and after labials this labialization is automatic).
48. vṵ- in the Malokarachin dialect.
49. Dialectal variation.
50. Labialization of ə is present in the Upper dialect (but one should mention that before and after labials this labialization is automatic).
51. In the vicinity of velars *ö merges with *u.

3.2. Mongolian [by O. Mudrak]

Unlike Turkic, all modern Mongolian languages can be sufficiently well derived from the attested Middle Mongolian language. Attempts to reconstruct for Proto-Mongolian any features absent in the written records have so far been unsuccessful. Thus, the Proto-Mongolian system reconstructed so far is practically identical with Middle Mongolian and has the following phonemes:

Consonants

	b		m	w	
t	d		n	r	l
č	ǯ	s		j	
k	g	h/ɣ	ŋ		

Of these consonants, w, r and ŋ occur only word-medially; w is distinct in Written Mongolian orthography and was probably distinct from -ɣ- in Middle Mongolian, but the actual orthographic systems of

Middle Mongolian do not make a difference between -w- and -ɣ(u)-. On the other hand, h- occurs only word-initially and is in clear complementary distribution with -ɣ-.

A general process characteristic of Southern Mongolian languages was the voicing of intervocalic stops and transfer of their original "voicelessness" to the preceding consonant: *ZVCV > CVZV. All Southern Mongolian languages reveal, to a larger or lesser extent, the working of this general rule, which was first formulated in Helimski 1984. This "voicelessness" phonetically was probably realized as aspiration, which - in cases when there was no initial consonant - resulted in the emergence of secondary h- in Southern Mongolian: *VCV > hVZV. This h- is to be carefully distinguished from the original *h- preserved in MMong. and Dagur.

Vowels

i	ü	u
e	ö	o
		a

In non-initial syllables only i, e, ü, u and a are attested; there are, however, some indications that *-ö and *-o could originally also occur in this position.

Like Turkic, Proto-Mongolian and Middle Mongolian possessed vowel harmony, which has to a large extent disintegrated in modern languages, especially in Southern Mongolian. All words were subdivided into two types: "front" (with the vowels *i, *e, *ü, *ö) and "back" (with the vowels *i, *u, *o, *a): the vowel *i, therefore, was neutral in respect to vowel harmony.

In the chart below we give only correspondences of the vowels of the first syllable: although the non-initial vowels are well enough recorded in MMong. and preserved in WMong., in all modern languages they became hopelessly reduced, and their quality may for the most part only be restored on the basis of the behaviour of the initial vowel.

Below is a chart of phonetic correspondences between Mongolian languages.

PM	WMong.	MMong.	Khalkha	Kalm.	Bur.	Ord.	Dag.	Mongor	S.-Yugh.	Dong.	Bao.	Mog.
*b[1]	b	b	b/-v(-)	b/ -w(-)	b	b/-w(-)	B/-v-/-r	b-/p-/-w-/b	b-/p-/-w-	b-(v-)/p-/-v(u)-	b-(v-)/p-/-v(0)-/-b	b/-f
*m[2]	m	m	m, -m/n	m, -m/n	m, -m/n	m, -m/n	M, -m/n	m	m	m, -n	m	m
*w[3]	-u(-)	Vu (Chin.-Mong.)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
*t[4]	t	t	t	t	t	t/d-	t	t/d	t/d	t/-d~t-/č	t	t
*d[5]	d(=t)	d, -t (Chin.-Mong.)	d	d	d	d	d,-r	d-/t-, d	d	d/ǯ	d	d
*n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n/-ŋ	n
*r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r, -0	r	r
*l[6]	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l, -r	l	l, -n	l	l
*č[7]	č	č, (ǯe Chin.-Mong.)	c/č	c/č	s/š	č/ǯ-	č	ć-/-ǵ-	č/ǯ	č/-ǯ-	č/-č- ~ -ǯ-	č
*ǯ[8]	ǯ	ǯ	ʒ/ǯ	z/ǯ	z/ž	ǯ	ǯ	ǵ(ǯ)/ć(č)	ǯ/č	ǯ	ǯ	ǯ
*j[9]	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j/0	j	j	j/0	j
*s[10]	s	s/š	s/š	s/š	h/š, -t	s/š	s/š, -r	s/ś(ṣ)/ʒ	s/š	s/š	s/š	s/š
*kA[11]	q	x (~ q-) (HY), q/-x- (SH), q (Middle Asia Mong.)	x	x, ki	x	x/G-, ki	x, k	x/G-/-G-	x/G-/-ɣ-/-G-	q/G-/-G(~ɣ)-	x/G-	q
*kE[12]	k	k (gu Chin.-Mong.)	x	k	x	k/g-	k	k/g-/-g-	k/g/-ɣ-/-g-	k/g-/-g-	k/g-	k
*gA[13]	ɣ	q, -x (Chin.-Mo.), q/-ɣ- (Middle Asia)	g	g	g	g	g	G/x-	G/x-/-ɣ-	G/q-	G/x-	ɣ

PM	WMong.	MMong.	Khalkha	Kalm.	Bur.	Ord.	Dag.	Mongor	S.-Yugh.	Dong.	Bao.	Mog.
*gE[14]	g	g	g	g	g	g	g	g/k-	g/k-/-ɣ-	g	g	g
*ŋ[15]	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ, -n	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ
*h[16]	0	x (Chinese-Mong.), h- (IM, MA, PS)	0	0	0	0	x/š (Tsitsikar, Butkhas), 0 (Khailar)	x/f/ś(š)	h	h/x/f/š	h/x/f/š	0 ~ ʔ (ZM)
*ɣ[17]	-ɣ-/-g-	-ʻ- (Chin.-Mong.), -0- (Mid.-As.)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
*a[18]	a	a	a	a/ä	a	a	a	a/0-/ā/i	a	a/ə	a/e/i	a/o/ō
*u[19]	u	u	u	u/ü	u	u	o/wa-/-(u)a-/u	u/0-/o/ə	u/0-/ə	u	u/e/a/o	u
*o[20]	o	o	o	o/ö	o	o/u	o/wa-/-(u)a-	u-/0-/o,u/ō	o/ō	o-/o~u/-uaN	o-/o~u	o/u
*i[21]	i	i	i/V	i/V	e/i/V	i/V	i/V	i/V	i/V	i/ə/V	i/V	i/V
*e[22]	e	e (~u)	e/i/ö	e/i/ö	e/ü	e/i/ö/ü	e/ü	0-/i-/e/ə/a/i/u	e,i-,0-/o-	je-/ie/e/ü	e/-iN, -aN	e/ü
*ü[23]	ü	u	ü	ü	ü	ü	ü	u-(~0-)/u/ə/i	u-(~0-)/u/ə	u	u-/u,e/-oŋ	ü
*ö[24]	ö	o (Chin.-Mong.), u (Mid.As.)	ö	ö	ü	ö/ü	ü	0-/o-/o/u/ō	ö(o)/ȫ(ō)	o-/o~u/-uaN	o-/o~u	ü, ö

Notes.

1. Voiceless variants in Southern Mongolian languages appear before a voiceless consonant of the next syllable. *-b- is not fricativized after nasals; in Khalkha, Ord. and Dag. also after -l-.

2. Northern languages and Dagur have a variation -m/-n at the end of a non-initial syllable.

3. In all modern languages and Middle Asiatic MMong. sources not distinguished from *-ɣ-. A difference may be observed, however, in WMong. and in Chinese MMong. sources, where the sequence -Vw- tends to be rendered by a single character as opposed to the sequence -Vɣu-, usually rendered by a pair of characters.

4. In Ord. d- before the following voiceless stops. In Mongor d before following fricatives (< *s, *č) and intervocalically; voicing did not occur, however, if the initial syllable started with a resonant or 0-. In S.-Yugh. *t- > d- before the following *-k-; intervocalic voicing occurred more or less in the same positions as in Mongor. Dong. also usually has voiced -d- between vowels, although dialectal variation is observed; *t- > č- before *-e-.

5. Occasional intervocalic devoicing can be observed in Dong. (*motu* ʿtree') and Baoan (*hotoŋ* ʿfeather'). Mongor usually (although not completely consistently) has a devoiced t- in cases when the next syllable started with a voiceless consonant (thus *ZVCV > *CVZV). In Dong. *d- > ǯ- before *-e-.

6. Syllable-final -l yields -r in Mongor, but is preserved in some dialects.

7. In Ord. - ǯ- before the following voiceless stops. In Northern Mongolian languages front ("hissing") reflexes are observed before all vowels except *i, and occasionally also before *i - in combinations like *čiɣa-, *čiɣe-, as well as before the syllables with labial *-u- or *-ü-. Mongor and S.-Yugh. have a voiced intervocalic reflex; in a few cases initial voicing (probably assimilative) or spirantizantion are also observed. Dong. and Bao. also have intervocalic voicing of *-č-, but here it appears to be restricted to a position after initial voiceless consonants and *h-, with some dialectal variation.

8. Devoicing is observed in Mongor and S.-Yugh. before some originally voiceless consonants (which may become voiced themselves, thus *ZVCV > *CVZV). In Northern Mongolian languages front ("hissing") reflexes are observed before all vowels except *i, and occasionally also before *i - in combinations like *ǯiɣa-, *ǯiɣe-, as well as before the syllables with labial *-u- or *-ü-.

9. In most modern languages *j is lost before a following *-i-, frequently resulting in vocalic contractions.
10. Mongor has voicing *-s- > -ʒ- in the nominal suffix -su; it occurs, with few exceptions, after initial voiceless consonants and *h-, as well as after initial nasals and *j-. Palatalization *s > š occurs in all languages before the vowel *i; in Dong. also before *e.
11. This row of correspondences describes the behaviour of *k before or after back vowels (or *i in back-row words). Ord. has a voiced reflex before the following voiceless stop. Mongor and S.-Yugh. have initial G- before the following -(r)d-, -ǯ-. Between vowels *-k- is usually voiced in these languages (in S.-Yugh. also fricativized: -ɣ-), but it can stay voiceless if the first syllable starts with a resonant (therefore in situations when the "transfer of voice" - *ZVCV > *CVZV - was impossible). In Mongor *k is palatalized (> ć) before *i. Dong. and Bao. have voicing in basically the same positions as in Mongor, but initial voicing may also occur before following resonants, and intervocalic voicing may sometimes occur even after a syllable starting with a resonant.
12. This row of correspondences describes the behaviour of *k before or after front vowels. The distribution of voiced / voiceless reflexes is similar to *kA.
13. This row of correspondences describes the behaviour of *g before or after back vowels (or *i in back-row words). In Mongor and S.-Yugh., voiceless x- appears before an original voiceless consonant in the next syllable (*ZVCV > *CVZV); in Mongor *k is palatalized (> ć) before *i. Dong. and Bao. have voiceless reflexes in monosyllabic stems before a liquid (also in a few other cases, like **gasi-ɣun*, probably due to assimilation).
14. This row of correspondences describes the behaviour of *g before or after front vowels. In Mongor and S.-Yugh., devoicing occurs according to the same rules as for *gA; other Southern Mongolian languages, however, do not have devoicing here.
15. In most cases *ŋ is just a variant of *n in combinations with velar consonants; it never occurs word-initially or between vowels. However, there is a distinction between *-n and *-ŋ in syllable-final position.
16. Initial *h- is well preserved in Dagur and Southern Mongolian languages. The distribution of reflexes in Mongor, Dong. and Bao. depends on following vowels. Generally (omitting some subtle details), the labial reflex is found before *u, *ü, sibilant reflexes before *i, laryngeal and velar reflexes elsewhere.
17. Intervocalic *-ɣ- is in complementary distribution with *h- (and may in fact be reconstructed as *-h-). It is rendered as -ɣ- (in the back row)

or -g- (in the front row) in WMong., reflected as -0- (or a laryngeal) in MMong. and is lost in all modern languages, usually causing vowel contractions.

18. In Kalm., ä before a following *i. In Mongor the basic reflex is a; after palatal affricates and j before a lengthened second vowel the reflex is i. In a number of disyllabic and trisyllabic words the initial *a- is lost; on the other hand, *a is lengthened > ā in disyllables with *-u in the second syllable. Dong. and Bao. have a reduction (*a > ə) in a number of disyllabic words, and Bao. has -i- after affricates. Mog. has -o- before liquids, and a lengthened reflex before *u, *i of the second syllable.

19. In Kalm. ü before a following *i. Dag. has a diphthong before a short -a- of the second syllable (the sequence *bu- in such case > *bua- > ba-), but -u- before a lengthened second -ā-. Bao. has -o- after G-, -a- after b-. Mongor has a frequent reduction *u > ə > 0, following a rather complicated system of rules. In S.-Yugh. the reduction occurs before liquids, in non-initial syllables the usual reflex is ə.

20. In Kalm. ö before a following *i. The distribution of reflexes in Dag. is similar to *u. Ord. has u in an open syllable before *-u- in the following syllable; a similar distribution is observed in Mog. Mongor has lengthening o > ō before the following *-u-; in Anlaut u- is preserved only before liquids, otherwise a reduction *u- > 0- occurs; in Inlaut Mongor has -o- or -u-, with a rather complicated distribution of reflexes. S.-Yugh. has long ō in the same context as in Mongor (i.e. before -u- of the second syllable); next to *m *o is sometimes reflected as ū. The rules of variation o~u in Dong. and Bao. are not quite clear.

21. *i is the least stable vowel in all Mongolian languages. It usually becomes assimilated to the vowel of the second syllable (the so called "breaking of the vowel *i"). The particular rules of "breaking" differ from language to language; see the description, e. g., in Poppe 1955.

22. In Khalkha, i before back affricates and clusters of -l-+affricates. In Kalm., i after j- and before back affricates. In Ord., i after j-, č-, ǯ-. In Mongor, a complicated distribution of reflexes (usually u after labials, and a variety of reflexes before liquids *r, *l, depending on preceding consonants). Dong. has -e- after affricates and j-, otherwise usually a diphthong -ie-. Labialized reflexes in all languages usually occur in Anlaut before an *-ü- of the next syllable. A labial u- (=ü-) is regular in Chinese MMong. transcriptions, MA and in Mogol; Ord. has ö- before labials, otherwise ü-; Dag. has e- before labials, otherwise ü-; Dong., Bao. and Mongor have 0- before labials, otherwise u-; S.-Yugh. has 0- before labials, otherwise o-.

23. The distribution of reflexes in Mongor and S.-Yugh. is similar to *u. In Southern Mongolian languages one has to assume an early merger of front and back labialized vowels in many contexts.
24. Ord. has ü in open syllables before the following *-ü-. The reflexes in Southern Mongolian languages are generally the same as those of *o.

3.3. Tungus-Manchu [by A. Dybo and S. Starostin]

While dealing with the TM protoforms, we have basically adopted the classical reconstruction of V. Tsintsius (Цинциус 1949) rather than its somewhat reduced version in Benzing 1955; some modifications were also introduced in Иллич-Свитыч 1965, in АПиПЯЯ and Дыбо 1990.

Consonants

p	b			m
t	d	s	l, r	n
č	ǯ	š	j	ń
k	g	x		ŋ

The resonants *r and *j are reconstructed only word-medially.

All TM languages distinguish velar and uvular consonants; both, however, go back to a single row of velars, split according to the position adjacent to front or back vowels. In the table below we give only velar reflexes, but one should keep in mind that they are always split (k/q, g/G, x/ɣ, χ/ʁ).

Vowels

i	ü	u
e		o
	a	

One diphthong (*ia) is also reconstructed, although it is possible that the phoneme reconstructed as *ü could have also been a diphthong (*iu or *ui). All vowels could be short or long.

All vowels except *o could occur both in the first and the following syllables. Unlike Turkic and Mongolian, Proto-Tungus-Manchu appears to have had no vowel harmony. Some restrictions on the coexistence of different vowels in adjacent syllables were, however, present: the back vowels *a, *o could not be combined with the front vowel *e; *u could not follow *o, *ü could not follow *i.

All modern languages have developped a specific variety of vowel harmony (probably under Mongolian influence): every word may be

characterized as “back” or “front”, depending on the particular combination of vowels. Words with -a- or -o- in the first or second syllable are always “back”; words with -e- in the first or second syllable are always “front”. The -i- and -u- vowels are neutral, i. e. they may occur both in “back” and “front” words (but frequently have different allophones, depending on the row of the word). The *-ü- vowel usually occurs in “front” words, but combinations *aCü and *oCü seem also to be attested. Velars shift to uvulars in “back” words, but are preserved in “front” words. It should be mentioned that the combinations of the neutral vowels -u- and -i- are usually treated as “back”, with velars shifting to uvulars in combinations *CiCi, *CuCu, *CiCu and *CuCi, although there may be occasional variation.

Basic correspondences of TM consonants:

PTM	Evk	Evn	Sol	Neg	Oroch	Ud	Ulcha	Orok	Nan	Man	Jurch
p-	h-[1]	h-[2]	0-	x-	x-[3]	x-[4]	p-	p-	p-/f-[5]	f-	f-
p[6]	p/w/0	b/w/0	b/w/g	p/w/0	p/w/0	f/w	p/b	p/b	p/f/b	f/b	f
b-	b-	b-	b-	b-	b-	b-	b-	b-	b-	b-	p-
b[7]	w/0	w/0	w/0	w/0	b/w/0	b/w/0	b/w/0	b/w/0	b/w/0	b/f/w/0	b/w
m-	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m[8]	m
t-	t	t	t	t	t[9]	t[9]	t[9]	t[9]	t[10]	t[10]	t[10]
t	t	t	t	t	t[9]	t[9]	t[9]	t[9]	t[10]	t[10]	t[10]
d-	d	d	d	d	d[11]	d[11]	d[11]	d[11]	d[12]	d[12]	d[12]
d	d	d	d	d	d[11]	d[11]	d[11]	d[11]	d[12]	d[12]	d[12]
s-	s-[13]	h-[14]	s-[15]	s-	s-	s-	s-	s-	s-	s-/š-	s-
s	s[13]	s[16]	s[15]	s	s	s, h	s	s	s	s	s
n-	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n
n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n
l-[17]	l/n	l/n	l/n	l/n	l/n	l/n	l/n	l/n	l/n	l/n	l/n
l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l
r	r	r	r	j, 0	j, 0	j, 0	r	r	r	r	r
č-	č-	č-	š-	č-	č-	c-	č-	č- > t-	č-[18]	č-	č-
č	č	č	š	č	č	s	č	č > t	č	č	č
ǯ-	ǯ-	ǯ-	ǯ-	ǯ-	ǯ-	ʒ-	ǯ-	ǯ-> d	ǯ-[19]	ǯ-	ǯ-
ǯ	ǯ	ǯ	ǯ	ǯ	ǯ	ʒ	ǯ	ǯ > d	ǯ[19]	ǯ	ǯ
š-[20]	č	č	š	č	č	c	č	č > t	č	š/s	s, c
š[20]	č	č	š	č	č	s	č	č > t	č	š/s	s, c
ń-[21]	ń	ń	n	ń	ń	ń	ń	n	ń	ń	ń
ń	ń	ń	n	ń	ń	ń	ń	n	ń	ń	ń

PTM	Evk	Evn	Sol	Neg	Oroch	Ud	Ulcha	Orok	Nan	Man	Jurch
j	j, 0[22]	j, 0[22]	j, 0[22]	j, 0[22]	j, 0[22]	j, 0[22]	j, 0[22]	j, 0[22]	j, 0[22]	j, 0[22]	j, 0[22]
k-	k-	k-	k-/x-	k-	k-	k-	k-	k-	k-	k-/x-	k-
k[23]	k	k	k/x/ɣ/0	k/x	k/x/0	k/x/ɣ/0	k/0	k/0	k/0	k/x	k/x
g-	g	g	g	g	g	g	g	g	g	g	g
g[24]	ɣ	ɣ/w/j/0	ɣ/w/j/0	ɣ/w/j/0	ɣ/w/j/0	ɣ/w/j/0	ɣ/w/j/0	ɣ/w/j/0	ɣ/w/j/0	ɣ/w/j/0	ɣ/w
x-	0	0	0	0	0	0	x/s[4]	x/s[4]	x/s[4]	0/x[25]	h
x[26]	k	k	k/x/ɣ/0	k/x	k/x/0	k/x/ɣ/0	x/0	x/0	x/0	k/x	k/x
ŋ-	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ, ni-	ŋ/ń/m[22]	ŋ/ń/m/w[22]	ŋ/ń/m/w[27]	ŋ/m/w[27]	ŋ/m/w/0[28]	g/w[29]	g/w/ŋ[29]
ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ, 0	ŋ, 0	ŋg, 0[30]	ŋg, 0[30]	ŋg, 0[30]	ŋg, m	ŋ, m

Notes

1. 0- in the North Baikal dialect.
2. 0- in the Kamchatka and Arman dialects.
3. Sporadically - s- before -i-.
4. s- before *-i- and *-ia-.
5. p- in literary Nanai and in the Naikhi dialect; f- in the Bikin dialect; in Kur-Urmi usually x-, but some examples of f- are also attested, obviously because of interdialectal borrowings (the Kur-Urmi dialect historically belongs rather not to Nanai, but to the Northern subgroup of TM).
6. Intervocalic *-p- is rather stable in Ulcha, Orok and Nanai, where it is usually preserved (but occasionally can be voiced > -b-; in Bikin Nanai the standard reflex is -f-). Evenki and Even have either a stop (Evk. -p-, Evn. -b-) or a resonant (Evk. -w-/-0-, Evn. -w-/-0-). In АПиПЯЯ we reconstructed *-p- for the former, but *-b- for the latter row of correspondences. It appears, however, that they are in complementary distribution, the Evk.-Evn. -w-reflex appearing for the most part between identical vowels (in sequences *apa, *epe, *upu, *ipi, *iapa, also *opa > *opo); in a number of exceptions, where Evenki and Even have -p- between identical vowels, we are probably dealing with later vocalic assimilations.
7. All languages except Manchu usually have -w-/-0- here; Manchu has a variation -b-/-w- (occasionally also -f-). Languages of the Southern branch can also occasionally have -b- here: for the most part we may be dealing with Manchu loanwords, but a genuine dialect variation also cannot be excluded. In Northern languages (in Even, much less frequently in Evenki dialects) the reflex -ɣ- is also sometimes observed, usually before the following -u-.

In this row of correspondences, Tsintsius 1949 and Starostin (АПиПЯЯ) reconstructed PTM *-w-; in the dictionary we have adopted Benzing's reconstruction *-b-, thus eliminating PTM *-w- from the system altogether. Note that the only reliable case where initial *w- can be reconstructed, PTM **wā-* ʿkill', should also be rather emended to **Vbā-* (probably **ebā-*, cf. *eb-* in Manchu *eb-te ǵaxun* ʿhunting bird' = *ʿkilling bird').

PTM *-b- is usually well preserved in all languages in clusters with consonants (*-rb-, *-lb- etc.).

8. > ń in the position of palatalization.
9. Sporadically > č before -i-.
10. > č before -i- and -ia-.
11. Sporadically > ǯ before -i-.
12. > ǯ before -i- and -ia-.
13. The Evenki dialects are classified into s-dialects, š-dialects, h-dialects and s/h-dialects, see details in Bac. In the s-dialects *s > s; in the š-dialects *s > š; in the h-dialects *s > h; in the s/h-dialects *s- > s-, -s- > -h-.
14. 0 in the Kamchatka dialect, s in the Arman dialect.
15. > š before -i-, -ia-; c or č in some old recordings.
16. On the development in Even dialects see details in РЭС. In the Kolyma-Omolon dialect *-s-, *-s > š; in the Indigir dialect *-s- > -h-; in the Arman dialect *s > č in consonant clusters.
17. All languages reveal (in various degrees) the tendency of shifting *l- > n-.
18. In the Bikin dialect: č before i, otherwise c.
19. In the Bikin dialect: ǯ before i, otherwise ʒ.
20. The reconstruction of *š was introduced in АПиПЯЯ, following a suggestion of O. Mudrak. We must add that a fricative reflex, besides Manchu, is also present in the Bikin dialect of Nanai; all other languages have completely merged PTM *š and *č.
21. Initial *ń- may develop into j- between front vowels and *-ia-, although exact rules are not yet quite clear, because of a great deal of confusion between *n- and *ń- (sometimes also *ŋ-) in this position.
22. Depending on the vocalic environment.
23. Intervocalic *-k- is usually preserved. It can, however, yield -0- in trisyllabic words in Ulcha, Orok and Nanai, and occasionally also gives -0-reflexes in Oroch and Udehe (very rarely - in Even). A fricative reflex (with a not quite clear distribution) is also attested in Negidal, Solon, Udehe, Manchu and Jurchen. In a few cases in disyllabic and trisyllabic

forms variants with -G- are attested in Southern languages, being probably just misrecordings for a weakened intervocalic uvular -q-.

24. Intervocalic *-g- is extremely unstable. In this position it is usually articulated as a fricative -ɣ- (in the back row alternatively recorded as -G-, -ɣ- or -ʁ-) and is best preserved in Evenki. The most frequent reflexes in other languages are -w-, -j- or -0-, depending on vocalic environment.

25. The basic reflex in Manchu is 0- (occasionally j-, sometimes nasalized to n- in front of the following nasal). The reflex x- is, however, also not unfrequent (unlike Northern languages that only have 0- here). Note that in all attested cases, Jurchen, which is actually an old Manchu dialect, still has h- (that was possibly pronounced as x-), thus a number of words with x- < *x- in Manchu may be a result of old interdialectal mixture.

26. Intervocalic *-x- is an innovation in PTM reconstruction, first proposed in Дыбо 1990. It is based on the distinction between -k- and -x- in Ulcha, Orok and Nanai. Northern languages, as well as Oroch, Udehe and Manchu have completely merged the reflexes of *-k- and *-x-. Such a reconstruction seems probable for two reasons: 1) the languages that preserve the distinction between *-k- and *-x- are exactly the same languages that preserve initial *x-; 2) the distinction between *-k- and *-x- seems to reflect the Altaic distinction *-k- : *-kʿ- (see above), thus exactly parallelling the distinction *k- : *x- in word-initial position.

27. Depending on the vocalic environment; w- before a diphthong.

28. ŋ- or m- depending on the vocalic environment; w- before a diphthong; 0- before a following nasal.

29. w- before a diphthong.

30. ŋ in *Ciŋi; 0 in trisyllabic suffixed forms and in disyllables ending in a nasal (see Цинциус 1949, 44).

The Tungus-Manchu languages have also a rich system of consonant clusters, frequently yielding rather complicated reflexes. Here is the basic system of correspondences for non-standard TM consonant clusters:

PTM	Evk	Evn	Sol	Neg	Oroch	Ud	Ulcha	Orok	Nan	Man
pk	pk	pk	kk	pk	pp	kp	pp	kp	kp	x
pt	pt	pt	kt, tt	pt	tt	pt, tt				
rp	rp	rp	rp, pp	tp	pp	kp	lp	rp	rp	p, rf
lp	lp						lp	lp	lp	lf,p
lb	lb	lb	lb	lb	bb	gb	lb	lb	lb	lb, b

PTM	Evk	Evn	Sol	Neg	Oroch	Ud	Ulcha	Orok	Nan	Man
rb	rb	rb	rb	lb, db	bb	gb	rb, lb	lb	rb, b	b
rk	rk	rk	rk,kk	jk, tk,sk	kk	k	č	tt	jk	č
rg	rg	rg	rg, gg	jg,dg, ǯg	gg	g	ǯ	d	jg, g	ǯ, nč, nǯ
gd	gd	d	dd	gd	gd	gd	gd	gd	gd	d
kt	kt	t	kt, tt	kt	kt	kt	kt	kt	kt	x
ks	ks	s	kč, čč, rč	ks, xs	ks	k-h	ks	sk	ks	x
ls	ll, lr, ld	lr, ld	ld	l	kt	l-h	lt	lt, l-s-	lt	x
ns	nn, nr, nd	nr, nd	nd	n	s	-h-	(n)t	t	(n)t	ng/x
ms	mn, mr, md	mr,md	nd	mn	ms	m-h	ms	ps	ms	ng/x
lg	lg	lg	lg	lg	gg	g	ld	lǯ	lg	lg
lk	lk	lk	lx	lk	kk	k	lč	lt	lk	
ld	ld	ld	ld	ld	gd	gd	ld	ld	ld, lǯ	nd, nǯ
lt	lt	lt	lt	lt	kt	kt	lt	lt	lt	lč
ng	ŋg, ŋn	ŋg	ŋg	ŋg	ŋg	ŋg	ŋg	ŋg	ŋg	ŋg
ńg	nŋ, ńŋ	nŋ		nŋ, ńŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋg,ńd, ńǯ	nd	ng, nǯ	ng, nǯ
ńŋ	nŋ, ńŋ	nŋ	ŋ, ń	nŋ, ńŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ń	n	jŋ, ŋ	ń
nŋ	nŋ	nŋ		nŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋg, nǯ	ŋg, nǯ	ŋg, ŋǯ	nǯ
ŋt	ŋt	ŋt		ŋt	ŋt	ŋt	ŋt		ŋt	nt
ŋd	ŋd, ŋn	n		ŋn	ŋn	ŋd	ŋd	ŋd	ŋd	ŋd, ŋn
ŋn	ŋn	ŋn	ŋ	ŋn	ŋn	ŋn	ŋn	ŋn	ŋn	
ŋń	ŋń	ń	ŋ	ŋń	ŋń	ŋń	ŋń	ŋn	ŋń	ŋǵ
ŋm	ŋm	ŋm	mm	ŋm	mm	ŋm	ŋm	mŋ	ŋm, mŋ	ŋg
ŋs	ŋn	ŋr, ŋs	ŋs	ŋn	ŋn, ŋs	ŋd	ŋd	nd	ŋs	ŋs, nn
ŋk	ŋk	ŋk		ŋk	ŋk	ŋk	ŋk	kk	ŋk	ŋk
ńk	ŋk	ŋk		ŋk	ŋk	ŋk	nd	nd	nǯ	nč

PTM	Evk	Evn	Sol	Neg	Oroch	Ud	Ulcha	Orok	Nan	Man
nt	nt	nt	nt	nt	nt	nt	nt	tt	nt	nt, nd
nd	n	n	n	n	n	n	nd	nd	nd	nd
nb	m	m	m	m	m	m	mb	mb	mb	
mg	mg, mŋ	mŋ	mm		mm	ŋm	ŋb	mg	mb	ŋgg
lm	nm	nm	nm	nm	nm	nm	lm	nm	nm	lm
rm	nm	nm	mm	nm	rm	m	lm	lm	rm	lm
lŋ	nŋ, ńŋ	nŋ	ŋ, ń	nŋ, ńŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ń	n	jŋ, ŋ	lŋ

Basic correspondences of Tungus-Manchu vowels:

PTM	Evk	Evn	Sol	Neg	Oroch	Ud	Ulcha	Orok	Nan	Man	Jurch
i	i	i/ị[1]	i	i/ị[1]	i/ị[1]	i/ị[1]	i/ị[1]	i/ị[1]	i/ị[1]	i	i
ü[2]	i	i/ị[1]	i	i/ị[1]	i/u[1]	i/u[1]	u/o[1]	u/o[1]	u/o[1]	u	u
u[3]	u	u/ụ[1]	u	u/o[1]	u/o[1]	u/o[1]	u/o[1]	u/o[1]	u/o[1]	u	u
e	e	e	e	e	e	e	e	e	e	e	e
o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
ia[4]	ê	ǟ	ʻa, ǟ	ǟ	ǟ	ǟ (eä)	ia	ia	ia, ǟ	ʻa	ʻa

Notes

1. Depending on the row of the word

2. Since *ü is very rare in "back" words, the reflexes like Evn. ị or Nan. o are only rarely found.

3. In non-initial back-row syllables in Southern languages we usually meet the notation -ụ-, not -o-; occasionally it also occurs in initial syllables. In Even, the notation ụ alternates with ö (in Cyrillic sources ө).

4. Notation for the reflexes of *-ia- varies significantly in Southern languages: we meet (probably synonymic) notations ia and ǟ, in Udehe also frequently eä. In polysyllabic forms this diphthongs sometimes tends to merge with *-i-.

5. Most languages tend to reduce vowels in non-initial, especially final syllables. Evenki and Nanai are the most conservative languages in this respect; Manchu and Even - the least conservative. Even, in fact, can have a special neutral reduced vowel replacing all vowels in non-initial syllables; in "front" words it is transcribed as ъ, in "back" words - as ъ̣.

6. All languages except Manchu and Jurchen preserve the distinction between short and long vowels (although in the case of *ia it is somewhat obscured because of the monophthongization *ia > ǟ). Long vow-

els in Manchu are secondary, going back to contractions after the loss of medial consonants.

However, in existing sources for most languages length is marked extremely irregularly, with a great deal of confusion. Our reconstruction is therefore primarily based on the evidence of two most extensively and accurately recorded languages: Evenki and Nanai, the evidence of which is in most cases mutually concordant.

7. All vowels in non-initial syllables are frequently subject to reduction and morphological adjustments. In Manchu and Jurchen initial vowels are also frequently modified under the influence of non-initial ones: the rules are too abundant and detailed to be layed out here.

3.4. Korean

Korean is one language with a set of very close dialects. The earliest attestations (the Kirim wordlist) are from around the 10th century, but the wordlist is short and Chinese transcriptions seem to be applied unsystematically, so that proper phonetic interpretation is difficult (and perhaps impossible). Accurate recordings start only from the 15th century, and the language of that period (15th-16th centuries) is usually called Middle Korean.

The phonology of Middle Korean is basically used as "Proto-Korean" in this dictionary, with some additional reconstruction based on morphophonemics: the alternations -p- / -w- and -t- / -r- in verbal stems indicate the existence of special intervocalic stops *-b- and *-d- in Proto-Korean (as opposed to *-p- and *-t- that did not result in any alternations). The system of PK consonants is thus presented as follows:

p	b	m		
t	d	n	r	
č		ń	j	s
k		ŋ	ʻ(0)	h

The voiced phonemes *b and *d, as said above, were not preserved in Middle Korean: they yielded voiceless reflexes (p, t) syllable-finally, and changed to -w-, -r- respectively intervocalically. The Middle Korean system therefore lacks a distinction in voice. This is one of the basic reasons why we interpret the Middle Korean ń (orthographic "triangle") as a nasal (based primarily on the Kor. values of Chinese loanwords), not as a voiced fricative z: voiced consonants were certainly absent in Middle Korean. This solution was already accepted in АПи-

ПЯЯ; see also Vovin 1993 and Robbeets 2000. As for the reconstruction of non-initial voiced consonants, we accept here the basic reconstruction proposed in Ramsey 1986, rather than the poorly grounded theory of intervocalic voicing *-VCV- > *-VZV- put forward in Martin 1996.

Voiced consonants and resonants except *m and *n did not occur word-initially.

Middle Korean already possessed aspirated consonants (ph, th, čh, kh), but they still were relatively rare and most probably go back to PK plain stops influenced by the *-h- of the next syllable (thus *khɨ-* ʿbig' < **kɨh-* etc.), or of the preceding syllable (thus *manh-ta* ʿmany' > *mantha,* but with both variants still attested in MKor.). The process of forming aspirates was still not completed in MKor.: besides *khɨ-* ʿbig' we have, e.g. *ko* ʿnose', with the endings added to the stem *koh-;* all modern dialects already have *kho.* It generally appears that the aspiration process operated earlier in verbs and adjectives than in nouns.

Already in MKor. texts there was a pronounced tendency of confusing syllable-final -s, -č(h) and -t, although they are still frequently distinguished. In modern Korean dialects those consonants completely merged in -t.

In modern Korean dialects this system is basically preserved, but with the following transformations:

1. Voiceless consonants have usually become voiced in intervocalic position.
2. A new series of "tense" consonants (p:, t:, k:, č:, s:) has arisen, due basically to simplification of MKor. consonant clusters (sp > p:, st, pt > t:, sk, pk > k:, pč > č:, ps > s:).
3. The nasal ń changed into j, 0 or s - with considerable variation between dialects and in different positions.
4. The laryngeals ʿ and h disappeared everywhere except word-initially. -h- disappeared completely, but left an occasional trace in the aspiration of preceding or following consonants (see above). -ʿ- also disappeared completely; the only trace of it may be seen in the development of the combination -rʿ- yielding tense l: (r:).
5. The only Korean liquid r is usually articulated as r intervocalically, but as l at the end of a syllable - although the actual reflexes may differ.

The system of MKor. vowels is the following:

i	ɨ	u
	ə	o
	ă	a

The phonetic nature of ə and ă is debatable: it is most probable that ə was originally a front *e, while ă was a mid-high vowel like ə or ʌ (it is also worth mentioning that ă is the only MKor. vowel that did not occur word-initially). Throughout the dictionary we use the traditional transcription.

Like Turkic and Mongolian, Middle Korean possesses vowel harmony. Within a polysyllabic word only the vowels a/ă/o or ə/ɨ/u could be combined with each other (with a few orthographic variations); the vowel i was neutral and could occur in any of the word types. This information can be used for trying to interpret the Proto-Korean system: one of the possible interpretations is, e.g., treating o as *u, ă as *o, ə as *e, ɨ as *ö and u as *ü. Such a treatment, however, would be only speculative: while rendering of Chinese characters gives indeed good reason to think that ə goes back to *e, there is no evidence from Sino-Korean that ă and ɨ were labialized. In many cases, ă and ɨ do indeed go back to Altaic labialized vowels (see above), but by no means always: ɨ can also go back to *i, and ă to *ia, see above. It is thus best to regard the MKor. (and PKor.) system as a result of a number of different phonetic processes and restructurings, and we preserve the above system of symbols for "Proto-Korean".

All MKor. vowels could be long or short, and it was convincingly demonstrated by Ramsey 1978 that the long vowels should have originally resulted from contractions and a reduction of the vowel of the next syllable. In many individual cases, however, this is not quite clear, so we preserve the feature of length for "Proto-Korean" - although it certainly is not of Altaic origin.

Finally MKor. (and probably Proto-Korean) possessed diphthongic combinations: ɨi, əi, ăi, ui, oi, ai, jə, ja (in loanwords also ju, jo).

All modern Korean dialects have significantly restructured the MKor. system. Thus, in literary Korean falling diphthongs are usually monophthongized (ɨi > i, əi > e, ai, ăi > ä, ui > wi, oi > we); ă disappears (> a or ɨ, with considerable variation); ə is preserved, but already as a back unrounded ʌ. Length is preserved in many dialects (e.g., literary Seoul), but is usually not rendered orthographically.

In MKor. orthography, length was marked by two dots and thus perceived as a prosodic feature of a syllable, opposed to one dot (= rising, or high tone) and to no dots (= falling, or low tone). Some of the modern dialects have completely lost all prosodic distinctions; some

have merged the two tones, but preserve length as a prosodic feature; some appear to have preserved all distinctions. However, no systematic recordings of modern dialect prosody (except for the notation of length in S. Martin's KED) is known to us, so we base ourselves almost exclusively on Middle Korean evidence.

In Proto-Korean and Middle Korean the high and low tone are certainly distinctive; however, as was shown by Ramsey 1978 and Ramsey 1991, there is a very strong tendency in Middle Korean towards low tone on verbal and adjectival stems.

3.5. Japanese.

Japanese, like Korean, is a single language. However, it is attested considerably earlier (major literary monuments already since the 8th century), and has a much larger dialectal diversity than Korean.

The phonology of all modern dialects (including the Ryukyu dialects) can be derived from the system attested in Nara texts and known as Old Japanese (a debatable question is whether some of the Ryukyu dialects - the Amami dialects - reflect the distinction of e vs. je after front (dental) consonants, the distinction that was certainly already lost in Old Japanese). However, some phonetic features of the Ryukyu dialects - such as preservation of labial *p-, *b- and dental *d- - may be actually archaic and preserve the situation preceding that of Old Japanese. Additionally, we are able to establish some pre-OJ phonological system on the basis of verbal and nominal morphophonemics.

A general outline of the Proto-Japanese (PJ) reconstruction was already put forward in the seventies (see Старостин 1975), and we still keep this system, with a few modifications (notably, a reinterpretation of the OJ i-ji distinction, see below). A very similar system can be found in the works of other authors, e. g., in the largest ever compendium of Japanese historical phonology, S. Martin's JLTT.

The periodization of Japanese adopted in the present volume is like this:

1. PJ - Proto-Japanese. A reconstructed language that must have been spoken during the first centuries of our era.
2. OJ - Old Japanese. The language of the 7th-8th centuries, as reflected in early inscriptions and in the earliest Nara texts: Kojiki, Nihon shoki and Man'yōshū.
3. MJ - Middle Japanese. A rather vague term referring to all post-Nara and Pre-Meiji attested stages of Japanese. Various stages of MJ are re-

ferred in literature as Late Old Japanese, Middle Japanese, Early Modern Japanese, with variously drawn chronological borders.
4. Modern Japanese - Japanese dialects attested in the 19th and 20th centuries.

The PJ system of consonants can be reconstructed as follows:

p	b	w	m		
t	d	j	n	r	s
k					

In the system outlined above members of the pairs b-w and d-j are actually in complementary distribution, *b and *d occurring only word-initially, and *w and *j only intervocalically. For this reason some authors, e.g., S. Martin, prefer to reconstruct only *b and *d. However, no sources or modern dialects have any reflexes of intervocalic stops here, as opposed to word-initial position, where at least some of the Ryukyu dialects have b- (Hateruma, Yonaguni) and at least one dialect (Yonaguni) appears to have preserved d-. Historically, there certainly are cases where -w- and -j- do not go back to earlier *-b- and *-d- but are rather filling a hiatus after some consonant losses (e.g. *-g- > -0- > -w-, -j-); *-j- in some cases evidently reflects PA *-j-.

In fact, although PJ *b- and *d- in very many cases reflect PA *b- and *d-, some authors (e.g. Murayama 1978) have expressed doubts in the plausibility of such reconstruction for PJ. The arguments concern mainly the reflex d- in Yonaguni: Murayama attempted to show that old records of this dialect actually reveal j-. Additionally, Old Japanese does not have a distinction of j- : 0- before the following i-vowel. In cases like *isi* ʽstone', obviously an early development **disi* (< PA **ti̯ṓĺì*) > **jisi* > *isi* had taken place. But Yonaguni has here always 0- instead of d-; it only has d- in cases where it directly corresponds to OJ j-. Still, since the only source of OJ w- and j- are PA *b-, *d- (*t-), and since the nature of Ryukyu reflexes is debatable, we keep the notation *b-, *d- for Proto-Japanese; in cases like *isi* ʽstone' we shall write **(d)isi,* because there is no evidence from within Japanese whether the form was actually **disi* or **isi.*

Besides voiceless intervocalic stops, OJ also had voiced -b-, -d-, -g-. The general consensus now is that in most cases these voiced stops reflect PJ clusters *-mp-, *-nt-, *-nk- which are the only consonant clusters possible in PJ and may have actually been pronounced as prenasalized stops. In some cases these clusters actually reflect original PA clusters; but, as we tried to show above, in many more cases they go back to plain voiceless or voiced consonants in syllables with high pitch. It is

therefore also possible to regard the OJ situation as original, or possibly as resulting from a merger of clusters *-mp-, *-nt-, *-nk- and voiced *-b-, *-d-, *-g- (from earlier plain stops).

Below we give a chart of correspondences between PJ consonants, OJ consonants and modern standard Japanese (to avoid confusion, we list the modern reflexes in standard modern romanization, where ch = /ć/, j = /ʒ́/, sh = /ś/, ts = /c/, z = /ʒ/). We do not list correspondences in other dialects, because they are basically the same (except for occasional different behaviour of vowel sequences originating from intervocalic consonant loss).

PJ	OJ	Tokyo
*p[1]	p	h-/f-, -w-/-0-
*b[2]	w	w/0
*-mp-	-b-	-b-
*-w-[3]	-w-	-w-/-0-
*m	m	m
*t[4]	t	t/ch/ts
*d[5]	j	y
*-nt-[6]	-d-	-d-/-j-/-z-
*-j-[7]	j	-j-/-0-
*n	n	n
*-r-	r	r
*s[8]	s	s/sh
*-ns-[9]	z	z/j
*k	k	k
*-nk-	-g-	g

Notes.
1. f- before -u-, h- elsewhere; -w- before -a-, -0- (with vowel contractions) elsewhere.
2. *b- is not reconstructed before *-u-; in Tokyo w- before -a-, 0- elsewhere.
3. -w- before a, -0- (with vowel contractions) elsewhere.
4. ch before i, ts before u, t elsewhere.
5. *d- is not reconstructed before i (see above).
6. j before i, z before u, d elsewhere.
7. 0 before i, e, y elsewhere.
8. sh before i, s elsewhere.
9. j before i, z elsewhere.

Vowels

The Proto-Japanese system is reconstructed as consisting of four vowels:

i		u
	ə	
	a	

and five diphthongs: ia, ua, ui, əi, ai.

There may be some indications in Ryukyu (basically Okinawa) dialects of the existence in PJ of a vocalic length distinction; the problem is, however, far from clear and requires further investigation.

The diphthongs (except *ua in some cases) themselves have evolved from earlier contractions, see above, and the discussion in Старостин 1975 and JLTT 57-64. Below we give a chart of vocalic correspondences between PJ, OJ and standard modern Japanese:

PJ	OJ	Tokyo
i[1]	(j)i	i
u	u	u
ə	o	o
a	a	a
ia[2]	(j)e	e
ua[3]	(w)o	o
ui	i	i
əi	i	i
ai	e	e

Notes.
1. OJ ji is distinguished from i after velar and labial consonants; the distinction is neutralized after dentals.
2. OJ je is distinguished from e after velar and labial consonants; the distinction is neutralized after dentals.
3. OJ wo is distinguished from o after dental and velar consonants; the distinction after labials also existed, but was already disappearing during the Nara period, and in most cases is difficult to be recovered from the writing system.

Prosody

The reconstruction of the PJ accentology is based on the accented Middle Japanese (11th century) dictionary "Ruijumyōgishō" (RJ) and on modern dialect data. RJ regularly marks high pitch (V̀) with a single upper dot, and low pitch (V̀) - with a single lower dot. The system of

OJ accents is unknown, but a good guess is that it was close to the system attested in RJ. A discussion of the phonetic interpretation of the Middle Japanese and PJ accent system see in АПиПЯЯ 64-67, 136-137. With the exception of the Kyoto "circumflex" pitch, all dialectal accent systems are well derivable from the RJ accents, with the following correspondences:

a) Monosyllabic nouns

PJ	RJ	Kyoto	Tokyo	Kagoshima	PR	Shuri	Hateruma
*V́, *V́-nká	kó, -gá 'child'	kố, -gá	kò, -ga	kó, kó-gà	*A	ké 'hair'	kì̀
*V̀, *V̀-nká	tà, -gá 'field'	tă, tà̀-gá	tá, -ga	tà, tà-gá	*B	tá̋	tà̋

The first type here corresponds to Martin's 1.1 or H(H), the second - to Martin's 1.3a or L(L). Martin (JLTT 179-182, 600-602) reconstructs two more accent types for monosyllabic nouns, namely 1.2 or H(L) and 1.3b or L(H). We should say that the number of words in the two latter classes is quite insignificant, and the correspondences far from clear. The type 1.3b is most probably just a collection of irregularities, while the type 1.2 may have some reality, since Kyoto has a distinct pitch pattern here (marked by Hirayama as 1;25). However, the number of words in this class (of which the most common one is *nâ̋* 'name') is quite small and it may well be an innovation in Kyoto-type dialects. It seems not quite probable that monosyllabic nouns had possessed more than two distinctive types of pitch.

b) Disyllabic nouns

PJ	RJ	Kyoto	Tokyo	Kagoshima	PR	Shuri	Hateruma
1.*V́V́, -nká	túmé, -gá 'claw'	tsúmé, -gá	tsùme, -ga	tsúmè, tsùmé-gà	*A	tšímì	s̱ɨm̱ì
2.*V́V̀, -nká	ísì, -gá 'stone'	íshì, -gà	ishí, -ga	íshì, ìshí-gà	*A	ʔíšì	ʔìšì
3.*V̀V̀, -nká	ìnù, -gá 'dog'	ínù, -gà	inú, -ga	ìnú, ìnù-gá	*B	ʔíń	ʔìnú
4.*V̀V́,-nká	kàtá, -gá 'shoulder'	kàtá, kàtà-gá	káta, -ga	kàtá, kàtà-gá	*B	kátá	kàtá
5.*V̀V̀,-nká	jòrú, -gá 'night'	jòrû, jòrú-ga	jóru, -ga	jòrú, jòrù-gá	*B	júrú	jùrú

Here type 1 is Martin's 2.1 or HH(H); type 2 is Martin's 2.2b or HL(L); type 3 is Martin's 2.3 or LL(L); type 4 is Martin's 2.4 or LH(H); and type 5 is Martin's 2.5 or LH(L). Martin also lists a type 2.2a or *HH(L) which differs from type 2.2b in Tokyo-type dialects (instead of VV́ - V̀V), but he himself expresses doubts about its existence (JLTT 162); most of the words of this type probably just exhibit occasional irregularities or are a result of interdialectal influence. Type 5 no doubt exists, but differs from type 4 only in Kyoto-type dialects and is not reflected in RJ - which is certainly a recording of the old Kyoto-type dialect. Therefore one also cannot exclude here a later Kyoto innovation - although its origins are not yet clear. It has been argued that nouns of this type go back to an earlier structure *CVCVN, with a word-final nasal, but the arguments in favour of such a solution are clearly insufficient.

c) Trisyllabic nouns

PJ	RJ	Kyoto	Tokyo	Kagoshima	PR	Shuri	Hateruma
1. *V́V́V́, -nká	kébúrí, -gá ˊsmoke'	kémúrí, -gá	kèmuri, -ga	kèmúrì, kèmùrí-gà	*A	kìbúšì	kḭpṵsɨ
2. *V̀V̀V́, -nká	nàmìdá, -gá ˊtear'	námìdà, -gà	námida, -ga	nàmìdá, nàmìdà-gá	*B	nádá	nàn̄dá
3. *V̀V́V́, -nká	sùzúmé, -gá ˊsparrow'	sùzùmé, -gá	sùzume, -ga	sùzùmé, sùzùmè-gá	*B	ʔúsádží ˊhare'	ʔùsàgí
4. *V̀V̀V̀, -nká	kàtànà, -gá ˊknife'	kátànà, -gà	kataná, -ga	kàtàná, kàtànà-gá	*B	kágáŋ ˊmirror'	kàtàná
5. *V̀V́V̀, -nká	kàbútò, -gá ˊhelmet'	kàbútò, -gà	kábuto, -ga	kàbùtó, kàbùtò-gá	*B	gúdžírá ˊwhale'	gùdzɨrá

Here type 1 is Martin's 3.1 or HHH(H); type 2 is Martin's 3.5b or LLH(H); type 3 is Martin's 3.6 or LHH(H); type 4 is Martin's 3.4 or LLL(L); and type 5 is Martin's 3.7b or LHL(L).

Although other accent patterns are also possible (Martin also lists: 3.1a or *HHH(L); 3.2a or HHL(L); 3.2b - also HHL(L), but with different behaviour in Tokyo type dialects; 3.3 or HLL(L); 3.5a or LLH(H), but with different behaviour in Tokyo type dialects; 3.7a or *LHH(L)).

However, the above five types represent the absolute majority (more than 90%) of all trisyllabic nouns.

d) Verbs

PJ	RJ	Kyoto	Tokyo	Kagoshima	PR	Shuri	Hateruma
*V́-	ják(ù) ʽto burn′	ják(ú)	jàk(u)	ják(ù)	A	jàtšúŋ	jàgùŋ̀
*V̀-	kàk(ú) ʽto write′	kák(ú)	kák(u)	kàk(ú)	B	kátšúŋ	hàkùŋ́
*V́V́-	kórós(ù) ʽto kill′	kórós(ú)	kòros(u)	kòrós(ù)	A	kùrúsùŋ̀	kùràsùŋ̀
*V̀V̀-	fikàr(ú) ʽto shine′	hikár(ú)	hikár(u)	hìkàr(ú)	B	fḭ̄tšájúŋ́	pḭ̀kàrùŋ́
*V̀V́-	àrík(ù) ʽto walk′	àrùk(ú)	arúk(u)	àrùk(ú)	B	ʔáttšúŋ́	ʔàrùgùŋ̀

Martin (JLTT198-204) distinguishes only two verbal accent classes: type A (corresponding to our *V́- and *V́V́-) and type B (corresponding to our *V̀- and *V̀V̀-); the type *V̀V́- is labelled as B′. It contains only a few verbal stems and Martin may be right in regarding it as secondary.

e) Adjectives

PJ	RJ	Kyoto	Tokyo	Kagoshima	PR	Shuri	Hateruma
*V́V́-	ámá(sì) ʽsweet′	ámà(i)	àma(i)	ámà(i)	A	ʔàmá(sàŋ̀)	ʔámà(háŋ́)
*V̀V̀-	tàkà(sí) ʽhigh′	tákà(i)	taká(i)	tàká(i)	B	táká(sáŋ́)	tàkà(hàŋ́)

These two types correspond to Martin's type A and type B respectively. RJ contains also a few adjectival stems with the accent V̀V́-, the origin of which (just as of the verbal *V̀V́- type) is not quite clear; their reflexes coincide with the type *V̀V̀- in all dialects.

CHAPTER FOUR

ELEMENTS OF A COMPARATIVE MORPHOLOGY OF ALTAIC LANGUAGES

4.1. Derivation in Proto-Altaic

A dictionary is not a proper place for a comprehensive comparative grammar. However, knowledge of derivational morphology is absolutely necessary for evaluating proposed etymologies: in a vast number of cases we are faced with the inevitability of comparing different suffixed word forms. Here is the list of basic suffixes, with an explanation of their functions and examples.

4.1.0. PA *-0-

Although parts of speech, at least nouns and verbs, are clearly distinguishable in all Altaic languages, 0-derivation (conversion) is also not an uncommon phenomenon. It is especially frequent in TM languages (cf. numerous cases like **idu-* 'to command': *idu* 'order', **xila-ga* 'flower, ornament' : **xila-ga-* 'to adorn' etc.), rather common in Mongolian (**kele-* 'to speak', **kele* 'tongue, speech', **čimki-* 'to pinch', **čimki* 'a pinch' etc.). The phenomenon is less common in Turkic and Korean, and is absent in Japanese (in the latter case because a derived noun always ends in *-i and is thus formally distinct from the verbal stem; this -i, however, may be a late addition, so that in pre-Proto-Japanese 0-conversion could have been quite normal).

4.1.1. PA *-b-

The basic function of this suffix, as described in EAS 2, 157-160 (cf. also Vovin 1997, 8), is passive / causative, and it is quite productive in TM (see Benzing 122-123). A *-b- (-p-/-w-) suffix is widely attested in Korean, and a *-p- suffix - in Japanese, although their function is less obvious here: in Japanese the suffix is frequentative or just stem-forming, in Korean it is basically used in politeness forms, probably reflecting the original passive semantics. In Mongolian, as Ramstedt writes, this suffix - due to its phonological weakening - can be clearly detected only

in clusters with preceding liquids, and has lost productivity. We must add that the suffix may be in many cases preserved as -ɣe- / -ɣi- > -ji-, but without external evidence it would be difficult to trace it to *-b-.

Finally, in Turkic, there are just a few cases when *-b- is preserved as -b- after liquids; in some cases it disappears without a trace, leaving only vowel labialization (*-Vb- > -u), and is generally rather poorly preserved.

PA **ărV* 'witchcraft, craft' (PT **ar-* 'to deceive, make magic'; PTM **ar-* 'to come to one's senses; appear in one's imagination'): PT **ar-ba-* 'to make magic; deceive', PTM **ar-bu-* 'shape, form'

PA **bójĺo* 'to learn, be attentive' (not attested suffixless, see under *-gV): PM **bol-ba-* 'trained, educated', PJ **bǒsí-pa-* 'to teach'

PA **čʿuli* 'to grow less, shrink' (PK **čūr-*): PM **čölüji-*, Evk. *čul-bi-*

PA **dure* 'to burn, set fire' (Bur. *düre-*, Evn. *dur-*): PM **dür-be-* 'to blaze, flame', Man. *do-bu-* 'to set fire'

PA **ḗŕa* 'to go astray, mistake' (PT **āŕ-*, Evk. *ere-* 'to be mistaken', PJ **ára-* 'to behave violently': PM **ere-ɣü* 'torture, crime', PTM **eru-* (= **eru-bu-*) 'bad, torture', PK **ȍrjȍ-b-* 'to be difficult, in distress'

PA **gi̯ùla* 'thin, short' (Nan. *Gōl-* 'rare (with intervals)', PJ **kàrú-* 'light'): PT **Kɨl-bɨ-* 'thin, short', PM **gul-bi-* 'be thin, lean'

PA **iĺa* 'to rub, smear' (PT **ɨĺi-*, PM **(h)ili-* 'to rub, stroke', PTM **ile-* 'to lick'): PM **(h)il-bi-*, PK **ər(b)u-* 'to rub'

PA **ile* 'to go away, drive away' (Mong. *ile-* 'go away'): PM **ile-ɣe-* 'to send', PTM **il-be-* 'to drive'

PA **i̯ȍpe* 'to cover, to wear' (PM **ibe-*, PJ **ȍp-*): PM **ibe-ɣe-*, PJ **ȍpə-p-*

PA **ī́ru* 'to be ashamed, shy, hostile' (PT **īr* 'shame, to be ashamed', Kor. *ɨrɨ-* 'to scare, threaten'): PM **(h)ir-ba-* 'discontent, cranky', PJ **útúa-(m)p-* 'to shun, neglect'

PA **kʿúlo* 'to roll, turn' (PT **Kula-* 'to roll down, fall', PTM **xol-* / **xul-* 'walk round, turn round', Jpn. *koro* 'round log'): PM **köl-be-* 'to lie on one side', PK **kur-b-* > **kubr-* > *kuwɨr-* (?) 'to roll', PJ **kȍrȍ-mp-* id.

PA **máro* 'to roll, bend' (PTM **mari-* 'to turn, return', PK **mȁr-* 'to roll up'): PM **mari-ja-* 'to crawl, be in ambush', PTM **mari-b-* 'to bend, curl', PJ **mátuá-p-* (*-ȍp-*) 'to roll up, wrap'

PA **nḗ* 'to lie, put' (PTM **nē-*, PJ **ná-*): PM **ni-ɣu-* 'to hide, conceal', PK **nū-b-* 'to lie'

PA **olu* 'to be startled, annoyed' (PTM **ola-* 'be afraid, startled'): PM **ulba-ji-*, **ülbe-ji-* 'be weak, dizzy', PTM **olba-n-* 'to be bored'

PA **pʿȅ̀lo* 'walk, run' (PT **ẹ́l-*, PTM **peli-*): PTM **pel-bu-* 'to lead', PK **pȁ̆rb-* 'to tread'

PA **tʿédù* 'transmit' (PTM **tedē-*): PM **težɨ-je-*, PTM **tedē-b-*, PJ **tútá-p-*

PA **t'ĕja* 'be calm, quiet' (PTM **teje-*, PJ **tàjá-*): PM **taji-bu-*, PTM **teje-ba-n-*, PJ **tàjù-* (with a regular development *-b- >-w-(-u-) after -j-)

As noted by Ramstedt, at least in some cases (Evk. *duku-* 'write', *duku-wu-n* 'smth. written, letter') the same suffix may form Nomina actionis, and indeed, it is probable for forms like PTM **ar-bu-* or PM **ere-γü*. Cf. also the following cases where -b-nouns may go back to original verbal stems:

PA **ā́li* 'to deceive; be angry' (PT **Āl* 'deceit, trick'; PTM **ali-* 'to be angry'): PM **(h)ali-γa* 'frolic, tricksy', **albi-n* 'devil, evil spirit', PK **ìrbə̀ń-* 'to steal', PJ **ira-p-* 'to play, sport'

PA **i̯ùme* 'to tie, strap, belt' (not attested suffixless, cf. PTM **(x)üme-nse* 'strap', **(x)üme-le-* 'to girdle'): PM **(h)umu-ji-* 'to tighten, shrink', PK **ùmɨ̀-i-* 'to pucker, close up', PJ **ə̀m-pí* 'belt'

PA **t'ā́k̂ì* 'to sacrifice, respect' (PM **taki-*): PT **toku* 'ceremony', PTM **taKu(b)-*, PJ **tíká-p-* 'to take oath'

PA **dŭle* 'to spend the night' (PM **düli-* 'to spend the night'): PTM **dol-ba* 'night', PJ **duà* 'night' (the development of *-lV-b- > -0 in Jpn. is similar to cases of *-RVg-, *-RVŋ- > -0, see below)

In a few cases, *-b- seems to be denominative, but this is probably due to secondary nominalization of the original verbal stem in Turkic:

PA **i̯áĺa* 'female; to seduce' (PT **eĺi* 'woman'): PK **ə̀r-bù-* 'to seduce, be flirty', PJ **ásuá-mp-* 'to play'

PA **ā́rV* 'open space' (PT **(i)āra* 'space, distance'): PM **arba-* 'to stretch (of fingers)', PTM **ar-bu-* 'space between two river branches'

However, in a small, but significant number of cases *-b- seems to be purely denominative, forming nouns from nouns, with not quite clear semantic differentiation (originally collective?):

PA **ătV* 'horse' (PT **ăt*): PM **adu-γu-* 'cattle, horse', PTM **abdu-* 'cattle, herd'

PA **gĕrè* 'word, name' (PM **gere* 'witness', PK **kɨ́r* 'poetry, letter', PJ **kə̀tə̀* 'word, speech'): PM **gere-γe* 'witness', PTM **ger-bǖ* 'name', PK **kɨ́r-bə́-r* 'poetry, letter', PJ **kə̀tə̀-pà* 'word, speech'

PA **kádù* 'a k. of harness' (not attested suffixless, cf. PTM **kada-la*, -ra): PM **kada-γa-r* 'bridle', PK **kùr-bə́i* > **kùr'ə́i* id., PJ **kútú-wá* id. (note the -w-reflex here - either reflecting a form like **kádù-j-bV*, or else a result of contamination with PJ **ba* 'ring')

PA **níre* 'a k. of foliate tree' (PJ **níra-i*): Evk. *ńirāwi* 'a k. of poplar', PK **nɨ̀rɨ́-p* 'elm'

PA **p'ḗra* 'bee' (PT **ārɨ*, PJ **pátí*): PM **her-be-kei*, Evk. *herē-p-ti-n*

4.1.2. PA *-pʹ-

Because of the similarity of reflexes, it is difficult to distinguish the PA *-b- and *-pʹ- suffixes. A deverbative instrumental suffix *-pu-n is, however, well established for PTM (see Benzing 63), and it seems to have clear external correlates at least in a number of cases:

PA *tʹi̯ùŋo 'staff, pole, lean on a pole' (PTM *tüjŋe-, both nominal and verbal): PM *tuji-ban, PTM *tüjŋe-pun, PJ *tùmìpá

PA *kóšì 'lever' (PM *kösi- 'to prop, lever'): PTM *kuši-pu-n 'pole, lever', PJ *kúsàpì 'wedge'

PA *módè 'bend, circle' (PTM *moda- 'bend'): PK *mùrV-p 'knee', PJ *mótə́-pə-r- 'to turn round'

PA *pi̯ǔbi 'to mince, saw' (PT *bij-, PTM *pubu-, PJ *piwa-): PTM *pubu-pu- 'saw', PK *pjàpǎi- 'to mince'

In the last two examples we see a secondary noun->verb conversion in Japanese and Korean. Similar verbal semantics is observed in:

PA *nìbi 'to smoke, smell' (PK *nǎi 'smoke'): PTM *nibu-p- 'to smoke', PJ *nìpə̀-p- 'to smell'

PA *ʒǔrVko 'courage, joy' (PM *ʒirga-, PTM *ʒurga-): PK *čɨrkə́-p-, PJ *dərəkə̀-p-

PA *ʒē 'to eat' (PT *jē-, PK *čā-si-): PM *ʒa-γu-g (> *ʒoγog) 'food', but PTM *ʒe-p- 'eat', PJ *da-pa- 'hungry'

PA *íru 'sing, song' (PT *ɨr, PJ *útà): PM *ira-γu 'melodious sound, harmony' [but possibly < PT *ɨragu]; PK *ɨ̀r-p- 'to chant', PJ *útá-p- 'to sing'

On verbal *-p(u)- in TM see Benzing 117, 122; this suffix has become extremely productive in Japanese.

In all of these cases it is in fact possible to suppose original verbal semantic and nominal passive/instrumental derivation ("smth. which is X-ed" or "smth. with which one X-es"), with subsequent noun/verb conversions.

4.1.3. PA *-m-

Ramstedt (EAS 2, 104-114) gives numerous examples of the usage of PA *-m- as a nomen verbi, still quite productive in Turkic and Korean (Turk. *alɨm* 'taking' etc.). Because of productive noun/verb conversion, in many cases we can observe further verbalization of such nouns; in Japanese, in fact, the suffix is predominantly verbal (while the *-m-i nouns appear already secondarily derived). Vovin (1997, 3) regards the PJ circumflex pitch as reflecting the same suffix (*kùrâ 'dark colour' <

**kúrá-m*), but there does not seem to exist enough evidence to corroborate such a development. In the same paper (p. 6) he reconstructs a "gerund" in *-mye (PJ *-mi, Kor. -mjə, Man. -me) which is in fact a combination of the deverbative *-m- with the gerund suffix *-jV (on which see below).

Consider the following cases:

PA **gǎ̏ju* 'sorrow, be sorry' (PM **gaj*): PK **kəi'ə-m* 'envy', PJ **kùjà-m-* 'to feel sorry, regret'

PA **ȉrú* 'omen, divination; to divine' (PJ **ùrá*): PT **ɨrɨ-m* 'omen', PTM **īr-me-* 'to ask'

PA **kălo* 'to change, borrow' (PM **kala-* 'to change', PK **kǎr-* id., PJ **kár-* 'to borrow'): PT **Kalɨ-m* 'ransom', PTM **kalma-gda* 'rich bride'

PA **kara* 'to look, observe' (PM **kara-*): PM **kara-mu-l* 'sight', PTM **kara-ma-* 'to guard, protect', PK **kàr-m-* 'to keep, preserve'

PA **kiuču* 'to cry, cough' (PM **kuča-* 'to bark'): MMong. *xuča-m* 'barking', PK **kìčhí-m* 'cough', PJ **kusa-ma-* 'sneeze'

PA **núra* 'to pile, stack' (Man. *nora-*): Chuv. *śorъm* 'stack', PM **norum* id.

PA **siŏk'ù* 'hollow, crack; to stick into' (PT **suk-* 'stick in, insert', PTM **sixa-* 'hollow vessel', PK **skí-* 'to insert, sheath', PJ **súk-* 'be hollow'): OT *suqɨm* 'hollow wood', PK **skɨ-m* 'crack' (cf. also Jpn. *suki-ma*)

PA **tál[u]* 'be together' (PK **tǎrí-*, PJ **túrá-*): PT **deli-m*, PM **dali-m*, PK **tăr-m-*

This *-m- should probably be distinguished from the optative *-m-, observable in several branches of Altaic (see below).

Another function of PA *-m- (see EAS 2, 218-220) is denominative adjectival, well preserved in TM (*-ma, see Benzing 66, 90 and *-mi, see Benzing 90) and Mongolian (*-maj), and observable in a large number of Common Altaic derivatives:

PA **zejĺu* 'metal' (PTM **sele*, PK **sói*, PJ **sunsu*): PT **jel-me*, PM **sele-me* 'sable' (= PTM **sele-me* 'metallic')

PA **č'ēk'V* 'a k. of cloth' (PT **čēk* 'cotton shirt', Man. *čeke* 'upper short clothes'): PT **čēk-me-n* 'a k. of upper cloth', Man. *čeke-mu* 'velvet'

PA **dărV* 'back, waist' (PT **jarɨ-n* 'shoulder, shoulder-blade', PM **dere* 'pillow'): PM **dere-m-deg* 'pillow', PTM **dara-ma* 'waist, back'

PA **kàra* 'thin stick, rod' (Evk. *kar(i)* 'rod, thin branch'): PT **Kar-ma-k* 'fishing rod, hook', PK **kár-mó* 'axle', PJ **kàri-mə̀* 'id.'

PA **kúra* 'sheath, basket' (PM **kor* 'quiver', Evk. *kor* 'dish made of birch bark'): PT **Kur-ma-n* 'wooden vessel, quiver', PM **korum-(saga)* 'quiver', PTM **kor-ma-ki* 'sheath', PJ **kátá-ma* 'basket'

PA **kúro* 'a k. of clothes' (PT **Kur* 'belt'): PM **kor-ma-j* 'lap. skirt', PTM **kuru-mV* 'a k. of upper clothes', PK **korɨ-m* 'clothes string, lace', PJ **kə́rə́-mə́* 'clothes'

PA **kʿi̯ǜge* 'palate, jaw' (PJ **k(ù)i* 'fang'): PT **Kög-me* 'gum (of tooth)', PM **köɣe-me* 'throat, pharynx', PK **kə̀hú-m* 'jaw'

PA **mi̯óńù* 'heart; breast' (PJ **múnà-*): PTM **miańa-m*, PK **mǎńǎ-m*

PA **i̯ǒtʿà* 'top of head, head' (PK **utu*): PTM **utu-mu-k* 'back of head', PJ **àtàmà* 'head'

PA **sela* 'bolt, hinge' (PTM **sele* 'arrow, cross-bow', PJ **saru* 'bolt'): PT **sal-ma* 'horse noose', PTM **selu-mi* 'cross-bow'

PA **pʿèrì* 'edge' (PM **hir*, PTM **pere*, PJ **piàrì*): PM **hir-meg*, PTM **pere-mǖ*

PA **pʿorV* 'trace' (not attested suffixless, cf. PT **oru-k* 'path, road'): PM **horu-m* 'trace', PK **pòróm* 'sign'

In TM nouns in *-m- could be verbalized, giving rise to specific derivatives like **xulukī-m-a-* 'to hunt for squirrels' etc. (see Benzing 116-117).

Note also the usage of *-m- in some animal and plant names:

PA **di̯ari* 'a small animal' (suffixless in PT **jar-Kiajnat* 'bat'): Orok *daramị(n)* 'otter', PK **tǎràmí* 'flying squirrel'

PA **kàrà* 'a k. of weed, cockle' (not attested suffixless, cf. PM **kara-ɣu* 'darnel grass, smut', Kor. *kara-ǯi* 'Setaria viridis'): PT **KAra-mu-k* 'cockle', (?) PM **kar-ba-ɣur* 'a k. of shrub or weed', PJ **kàrà-mù-sì* 'a k. of hemp'

PA **sera* 'a k. of garlic' (not attested suffixless, cf. PM **sara-na*): PT **sarɨ-m-sak*, PM **sar-mu-g*

In some of the examples above, as well as in the following, *-m- appears in a combination with further suffixes:

PA **ṓre* 'to plait, weave' (PT **ṓr-*, PM **ör-*, PK **ōr*, PJ **ə́r-*): PT **ör-mek*, PM **ör-mege* 'woven cloth'

PA **kʿáru* 'a k. of cloth' (PK **kòró* 'satin, ornamented silk'): PT **KAr-s* (probably by contraction < **KArm-s-* = PM **kor-mu-su-*) 'a k. of upper clothes', PM **kor-mu-su-* 'thin silk kerchief', PTM **xara-mu-sa* 'thigh covers, stockings'

4.1.4. PA *-d-

This suffix is found in a large number of stems, and its primary function seems to have been adjectival / adverbial when used as a denominative (sometimes, through conversion, yielding nouns or verbs again; on the denominative verbal *-dā- in TM see Benzing 116). Cf.:

PA **ămV* 'quick, timely' (PT **(i)am* 'now', PTM **am(a)* 'quick', PK **ām* 'surely, certainly'): PT **(i)am-dɨ* 'now', PM **(h)am-ʒi-* 'to be on time'

PA **ḗgó* 'big, many' (PM **aɣu-* 'large, very', PK **há-* 'to be great, many'): PM **aɣu-da-* 'large, wide', PTM **eg-di* 'big, many'

PA **gókʿì* 'high, peak' (PK **kòkái*, PJ **kúkì* 'peak'): PM **gög-de-* 'high, lofty', PTM **gug-da* 'high'

PA **i̯ámu* 'hole, pit' (PT **(i)am* 'vulva', PTM **umu-* 'hole, nest', PJ **úmá-* 'to dig'): PM **(h)uma-da-g* 'lower part of belly', PTM **um-de-k-* 'hole, nest'

PA **méŋu* 'whole' (PJ **mú-i*): PM **men-dü* 'healthy', PTM **meŋ-de-* 'whole', PJ **mui-(n)tu-*

PA **mi̯ukʿu* 'blunt, hornless' (PT **muk-*, PM **mökü*): PM **mug-ʒi-*, PTM **mug-de-ke*, PK **mìth*

PA **mùne* 'defect, lack' (PT **bün*): PM **mun-du-* 'to become insufficient', PJ **màn-tù-* 'poor'

PA **ńi̯oŋe* 'cold' (PT **jEŋ* 'frazil'): PM **ʒiŋ-de-* 'to suffer from cold', PTM **ńuŋ-de-* 'cold'

PA **ṓni* 'high' (PT **ōn-*): PM **ön-dü-*, PK **un-tu* [if *-nt- can reflect *-nd-], PJ **un-tu*

PA **sago* 'old, age' (PK **sǎ̆-n* 'grown up'): PM **seɣü-de-r* 'age', PTM **sag-da-* 'senior, old'

PA **si̯oga* 'arrow' (PJ *sa): PM **saɣa-da-g* 'quiver', PJ **sà-já* 'sheath'

PA **pʿi̯ole* 'blanket, skin (as covering)' (PJ **pərə*): PT **El-di-ri* 'skin of kid or lamb', PM **hel-de-* 'to dress (leather)'

This *-d- may originally have represented the same morpheme as the locative case marker *-dV (on which see below).

Due to adjective->noun conversion, PA *-d- has in many cases become just a nominal stem-marker without any specific meaning - especially in Mongolian where we have a rather large class of nouns ending in -du(n). Cf.:

PA **kʿǎ̆pʿà* 'bark, skin' (PJ **kapa*): PM **kaw-da-* 'bark; page', PTM **xab-da-(nsa)* 'leaf', Kor. dial. *kəp-te-gi* 'bark, skin'

PA **pʿi̯ṓlo* 'star' (PK **pjīr*, PJ **pə́sí*): PT **jul-du-ŕ*, PM **ho-du* etc.

Cases of deverbatives in *-d- are rare, but also attested:

PA **múnu* 'be wrong, mad, uneasy': (PT **bun-*, PM **muna-* 'to become mad'): OT *munduz* 'mad, foolish', PM **mun-dur* 'shame', PJ **mún-tú-ka-* 'difficult'

PA **šḗkʿi* 'urine, urinate' (PT **sīk*, PTM **šiKē-*): PT **sīg-d-* > **sīd-*, PM **siʒi-ŋ*, PTM **šikte-*, PK **stò-ŋ*, PJ **sitə*

PA **tʿi̯ukV* 'fall, drop' (PTM **tüK-*): PTM **tüg-de* 'rain', PK **tɨ̄d-*

PA **t'i̯ula* 'to intend, reason' (PM **tula-*, PTM **tul-*): PT **Tɨl-da*, PM **tul(a)-da*

Since in these cases the suffixless stem may be both verbal and nominal, it seems reasonable to assume that here we are also in fact dealing with *-d- in an original adjectival function (see above) (e.g. *'rain (n.)' -> *'rainy (adj.)' > *'rain (n.)' again).

4.1.5. PA *-t- (intransitive ~ passive)

The assumption of a suffix *-d- in Turkic monosyllabic verbal stems (**tod-*, **jod-*, **kod-* and **jüd-*) led Ramstedt (EAS 2, 162-163) to reconstruct a "continuative" verbal suffix *-d- (also reflected as Mong. *-d-, but, significantly, never within exact Turk.-Mong. lexical matches). It seems, however, that such a *-d- suffix in Turkic does not exist (all the above verbal stems have more plausible whole-root etymologies), whereas there is a number of cases where Turkic verbal *-t- corresponds to Mong. *-d-, e. g.:

PA **ăĺi* 'to know, to hear' (PT **ala-* 'to tell', PK **ār-* 'to know'): PT **ẹĺi-t-* 'to hear', PM **al-da-r* 'fame'

PA **ĕju* 'to speak, sound' (PT **aji-* 'to say', PM **aji* 'sound, voice', Evk. *ejē* 'demand'): PT **ạji-t-* 'to say, demand', PM **aji-da-* 'to cry, recite', PTM **ejē-t-* 'to ask'

This is exactly the correspondence that reflects PA *-t- (see above); we may note, however, that if preceded by resonants, PA *-t- here rather gives a voiced reflex in TM (in Turkic, where *-lt-/*-ld- and *-rt-/-rd- are very difficult to distinguish, we usually have *-ld-, but *-rt-):

PA **ā́li* 'to deceive; be angry' (PT **Āl* 'deceit, trick'; PTM **ali-* 'to be angry'): PT **āl-da-* 'to deceive', PJ **ira-t-* 'to be nervous, angry'

PA **enV* 'pain, sickness' (PTM **enū* 'illness, pain, to feel pain'): PT **eni-t-* 'to become confused, suffer', PTM **enū-t-* 'to feel pain, be sick'

PA **gṹno* 'to think' (PM **guni* 'be sad', PTM **gūn-* 'to think; to say'): Ord. *Guni-d-* 'be sad', PTM **gūn-de-* 'to say, think'.

PA **i̯ùbú* 'to be hungry, exhausted' (Man. *uba-* 'to become spoiled (of meet)', PK **īb-* 'to wither, dry up', PJ **ùwá-* 'to be hungry'): PM **öje-de-* 'to be exhausted', PTM **(x)ob-da-* 'to be exhausted, become spoiled (of meat)'

PA **uju* 'sad, ashamed' (PM **uji*, PJ **u-):* PT **uja-t-* (also with a strange variant **ujad-* in Old Turkic), PM **uji-d-*

PA **dè̩* 'to lie' (PTM **dē* 'bed'): PT **jạ-t-* 'to lie', PTM **dē-du-* (with assimilation) 'to lie', PJ **dà-ntò-r-* 'to spend the night'

PA **làku* 'dirt, dregs' (PM *lag): PM **lag-da-* 'to become sticky, dirty', PTM **lak-ti-* 'to be burnt (of food)'

PA **mi̯ore* 'to hurt, damage, wound' (PM **mer*, PJ **miar-*): PT **bEr-t-*, Evk. *mur-du-l-*

PA **pʿŏ̆re* 'fire, burn' (PTM **puri-* 'to dry over fire', PK **pɨ́r* 'fire'): PT **ör-t* 'flame', PM **(h)ör-de-* 'to burn, flame up'

PA **bāla* 'child, young' (PT **bāla*): PT **bāl-dɨ́r* 'wife's younger sister', PM **bal-či-r* 'very young, infant', PTM **bal-di-* 'to bear, be born'

We see that the verbs with the -t-suffix are usually intransitive, thus the original meaning may have been reflexive or even passive (if passive *-t- was opposed to causative *-b-, on which see above).

In a few cases, however, the same suffix is used denominatively and semantically exactly duplicates the PA adjectival *-d- (on which see above):

PA **kʿi̯ŏbe* 'touchwood, tree fungus' (PT **K(i)ab* 'tree fungus', PJ **kua* 'mushroom'): PM **köb-dü* 'moss', PTM **xub(u)-te* 'touchwood'

PA **kʿŏjli* 'limb, extremity' (PT **Kol* 'arm', PM **köl* 'foot'): PT **Kol-tuk* 'armpit', PTM **xol-da-n* 'side, thigh'

PA **pi̯úŋu* 'a k. of fish' (PJ **pùnâ*): PT **bɨŋɨ-t*, PM **boŋ-či-liki*, PTM **poŋ-dV*, PK **pì'ú-t*

PA **ʒi̯apʿe* 'bare, saddleless' (not attested suffixless, cf. PTM **ʒipu-čān* 'fur coat worn on bare body'): PT **jạpɨ-tak*, PM **ʒaji-daŋ* 'saddleless'.

4.1.6. PA *-tʿ-

Proto-Turkic *-t- is more frequently transitive (and even causative), and in this function it continues PA *-tʿ- (on Turk.-Mong. matches see Ramstedt 1912, 21-23). Cf. the following cross-language matches:

a) denominative and deverbative transitive

PA **ā́nda* 'to do wrong' (PM **(h)anda-* 'to err, mistake', PTM **(x)an(d)u-* 'to accuse'): PTM **(x)an(d)u-t-* 'to tease', PJ **ená-t-ur-* 'to despise'

PA **ā̀pi* 'to enjoy, rest' (PTM **ā(b)-* 'to sleep'): PT **(i)abɨ-t-* 'to comfort', PK **ìpà-tí* 'feast'

PA **ā́mo* 'mouth; taste' (PT **um-* 'to hope for, desire'; PM **ama(n)* 'mouth'; PJ **ámá-* 'tasty, sweet'): PM **am-ta* 'taste', PTM **am-ta-* 'to taste', PJ **ántí* 'taste'.

PA **k[ā]pʿá* 'to cover' (PT **Kāp-* 'to cover', **Kāp* 'sack', PTM **kupu-* 'to cover', **kupu* 'covering'): PM **kab-ta-ga* 'sack', PTM **kup-tu-* 'to cover', **kup-tu-* 'covering, hat', PJ **kàmpú-tua* 'helmet'

PA *mi̯àga 'glory, praise' (not attested suffixless, cf. Orch. *magui-* 'to shamanize', PK *mā-r 'speech', PJ *màwə̀-s- 'to speak'): PT *bAga-tu-r 'hero', PM *mag-ta- 'to praise, glorify', Evk. *mig-di* - 'to be noisy'

PA *pĭŋa 'to separate, emit' (PK *pɨŋɨ- > *phí-): PTM *piŋ-ta-, PJ *pànà-t-

PA *pʿăpʿa 'shaman, to shamanize' (PM *hab): PM *hab-taj, PTM *pap-ta-

PA *umuŋo 'to forget' (PTM *omŋa-): PT *umnɨ-t, PM *um-ta-

b) verbs of motion:

PA *ǯi 'to come' (PTM *ǯi-): PT *jẹ-t-, PM *ǯi-d-kü-

PA *ḗjba 'to hurry' (PT *ēb-): PM *(h)aba-d 'at once, instantly', PJ *áwá-tá- 'to hurry'

PA *ĺi̯ŏki 'to run away' (PJ *nìnká-): PM *ǯigu-tu- 'to run away', Evk. *luk-ti-n-* 'to run some distance'

PA *nŭkʿé 'to pass' (Evk. *nök-* 'to loose way'): PM *nög-či- 'to pass', Nan. *nuk-te-* 'to move to another location'

PA *tʿā́ja 'to float, slide' (PT *tāj-, PTM *tia-): PM *taji-tu-, PJ *taju-ta-p-

Just as with *-t-, there seems to be a number of suffixed denominative (less frequently deverbative) *-tʿ-cases with adjectival (~ ->nominal) meaning, and it would seem to be natural to equate this suffix with Mong. (productive) adjectival -tu and Japanese -tu id.:

PA *bi̯olo 'all, completely' (PT *bile / *bula): PM *bul-tu, PTM *bil-[t]i-

PA *bi̯ugu 'joint' (PTM *bogi-ja- 'cuff, wristband', PJ *pu 'joint, knot'): PM *bog-tu 'collar bone, shoulder bone', Ud. *bog-do-lo* 'shoulder'

PA *kʿépà 'side' (PJ *kápá): PT *Kap-ta-l 'side', PM *kab-ta-su 'side boards on saddle', Evn. *ewu-t-le* 'side'

PA *lápʿì 'flat, broad' (PK *nàp- / *nə̀p- 'level, wide', PJ *nípá 'yard'): Tuva *čɨʿpɨ-t* 'flat', PM *lab-ta- 'to be flat, level', PTM *lap-ta- id.

PA *pʿŭŕi 'to crush' (PT *üŕ-, PM *hürü-, PTM *puru-, PK *pur-): PM *(h)ür-te-sü- 'rags', PTM *pur-te- 'crumbs'

PA *s[i̯ú]ŋu 'to sink' (PT *siŋ-, PM *siŋge- ~ *siŋgu-): PTM *suŋ-ta 'deep', PJ *sín-tú-m-

PA *luko 'wild pig' (PTM *luke 'boar'): PM *nog-tu-mal 'wild male boar', PTM *luk-te 'wild boar'

However, because of lack of Mongolian data or because of a neutralized -č- reflex in Mongolian, PA *-tʿ- is in very many cases impossible to distinguish from *-t-, cf.:

PA *bi̯ŏli 'arm muscles' (PTM *bola- 'cuff', PK *pə̌rh 'arm'): PT *b(i)al-tɨ-r 'calf of leg', PM *bul-či- 'muscles of arms and legs', PJ *pín-tì 'elbow'

PA *kăpʿè 'to squeeze, press together' (PT *Kɨp- 'to press together', PTM *kap 'together'): PT *Kɨp-tu 'scissors', PM *kaji-či id.

PA *kēńa 'elbow, angle' (PM *ka(j) 'front legs', PJ *kana-i 'rule, gusset'): PT *Kiajna-t 'wing', PT *keńe-tu 'shin; stockings'

PA **tʿékù* 'become thick (of liquids)' (PK **tōi-*, PJ **túka-):* PTM **tek-ti*, PK **tùthə̀b-*

PA **zìŋke* 'light, quiet' (PM **siŋge-n*): PTM **siŋku-ti*, PJ **sìntúka-* (< **sìnkú-ta-*)

And there is further a functionally quite similar PA nominal suffix *-ktʿ-, which is clearly seen in the following examples:

PA **i̯úmu* 'a k. of fruit or berry' (PJ **úmá-* 'plum'): OT *imi-ti* (*ɨmɨ-t*) 'a k. of hawthorn', PTM **uma-kta* 'brier, cornel'

PA **kumi* 'eyebrows, hair on temples' (not attested suffixless, cf. PM **kömü-ske* 'eyebrow'): PTM **kumi-kte* 'eyelid', PK **kùmì-t* 'hair on temples'

PA **ki̯ure* 'woodcock, woodpecker' (PM **kur*) : PT **Kör-tük*, PTM **küre-kte*.

PA **kʿi̯ȁre* 'a k. of insect' (cf. PK **kȁr-kə̀mɨ́i* 'a k. of spider'): PM **küri-d* 'moth larva', PTM **xīrü-kte* 'ant'

PA **kʿi̯ȕrú* 'bark, shell' (PM **körü-sü* 'bark', PK **kúr* 'shell, oyster'): PT **Kɨr-tɨ-ĺ* 'bark, surface', PTM **xura-kta* 'bark'

Benzing 72 regards this PTM *-kta as collective; it is interesting to note that it is paralleled by verbal iterative *-kta- (see Benzing 119). The latter usage, however, seems to be absent outside Tungusic.

In many of the cases listed above it could be in fact also possible to reconstruct *-kt'-:

Ud. *bog-do-lo* may go back to PTM **bogo-kta-*, Evn. *ewu-t-le* to PTM **xebu-kte-*, PTM **luk-te* can be a crasis of **luku-kte* and **suŋ-ta,* of **suŋu-kta.* This will leave us with only **lap-ta-* and **pur-te-* as reflexes of "adjectival" *-tʿ-. No matter how we shall explain these two examples, it seems quite possible that no PA "adjectival" *tʿ existed, while all such cases should be explained as reflecting PA *-ktʿ-. We can add a number of other examples:

PA **čʿȉkʿo* 'pivot, bolt' (PTM **čiKi*): PM **čig-ta* 'lock, bolt', PK **čí-tó-ri* 'pivot, hinge'

PA **kʿȁkú* 'doll' (not attested suffixless, cf. PT **KAgu-r*, PTM **xaku-kan*): PK **koāŋ-tai*, PJ **kùnkù-tú*

PA **si̯ȁgi* 'a k. of foliate tree' (not attested suffixless, cf. PM **siɣe-r* 'nut tree'): PT **segü-t*, PTM **siak-ta* (like **lukte*, most probably a crasis < **siagV-kta*)

PA **sagu* 'a k. of vessel' (PT **sagu*): PT **sAgu-t*, PK **sòth*.

Note that in a few cases when this suffix was preceded by a consonant cluster, Korean and Mongolian reveal different reflexes (losing the second element -tʿ- instead):

PA *ńam(ń)e 'a k. of tree' (not attested suffixless, cf. PT *jɨmu-rt, PM *ǯimu-γu-): PTM *ńamńi-kta, PK *nàmò-k, PJ *mə̀mìti

PA *sirpʿa 'thick hair, bristle' (PM *serbe 'crest, bristle'): PT *sɨrt 'bristle', PM *sir-ke-g id., PTM *sirpa-kta id.

To sum up this rather difficult topic of dental suffixes in Proto-Altaic, the original situation emerges as follows:

1. adjectival/adverbial denominative *-d-, *-t- and *-ktʿ-
2. intransitive (passive?) deverbative *-t-
3. transitive and motional denominative/deverbative *-tʿ-

It should also be borne in mind that PT *-t and Mong. *-d can in some cases actually reflect the original plural suffix *-tʿV (reflected also in PTM as *-ta, in Korean as *-ti-r and in Japanese as *ta-ti). The suffix *-ktʿ- in fact may be characterized broadly as "collective" (this is how Benzing 72 qualifies the PTM *-kta) and perhaps containing this very suffix (PA plural *-tʿV).

4.1.7. PA *-n-

As noticed in EAS 2 (pp. 168-169, 220-223) this suffix occurs in two functions:

1. as a deverbative with intransitive (reflexive) usage, cf.:

PA *ǎ̀pi 'to enjoy, rest' (PTM *ā(b)- 'to sleep'): PT *(i)abɨ-n- 'to enjoy oneself', PTM *ābun- 'to entertain'

PA *m[ù]kʿè 'to suck' (PT *bök- 'be satiated', PM *meke- 'female breast, to suck', PK *mə̀k- 'to eat'): PTM *muKu-n- 'fill mouth with liquid', PJ *màkà-nà-p- 'to feed'

PA *pḗkʿò 'to contrive, think of' (PM *baka- 'to covet, wish'): PT *bḕken- 'to appreciate', Ul. *peken- 'be embarrassed'

PA *saru 'be worn out, torn' (not attested suffixless, cf. PJ *suta-r-): PT *sara-n, PM *sar-n-i-

It should be mentioned that in Japanese this suffix occurs only within the compound -na-p- (besides *maka-nap-* cf. also *soko-nap-* 'to harm' < *sȍkʿo; *ura-nap-* 'to divine' (*ura* 'divination', *ȉrú); *usi-nap-* 'lose' < *i̯ȕču; *noga-nap-* 'to pass' < *nȕkʿé etc.), and because of this -p- (originally causative, see above) has acquired rather a transitive usage.

On the usage of this suffix as (re)iterative *-na- in TM see Benzing 120.

The derivatives in *-n- in PA could also have a nominal usage (like OT *tütü-n* 'smoke', PTM *xebī-n 'play' etc., see Benzing 58, Gabain 73 etc.), but this seems to be a secondary nominalization.

2. as a denominative with a rather loose semantics, frequently in

a) body parts:

PA **bi̯ùkʹa* 'thigh' (not attested suffixless, cf. PM **boka-γur* 'behind, buttocks') : PT **bɨkɨ-n* 'thigh', PTM **bōKa-n* id.

PA **bŏ̀kà* 'rib, breast bone' (PJ **bàkì* 'side of body'): PT **boka-na* 'false ribs', PM **bogo-ni* 'first rib'

PA **čʹăǯV* 'cheek, cheekbone' (not attested suffixless, cf. PM **ǯaǯi-γur* 'part of cheek', **ǯaǯi-la-* 'to chew'): PT **čAj-na-* 'to chew; jaw, cheek', Man. *ǯaǯi-n* 'cheekbone'

PA **kòtʹe* 'hole' (PT **göt* 'anus, buttocks', PK **kút* 'hole'): PT **göte-n(e)* 'stomach', Evn. *qotańa* 'concave, cavity'

PA **seŋa* 'fringe, hair lock' (not attested suffixless, cf. PT **sAŋak*, **sAŋat*, PM **saŋ-maj*): PM **saŋ-na* 'forelock', PTM **seŋ-ne* 'gill, fringe'

PA **sȅgù* 'health, blood' (PT **sạg* 'healthy'): PM **saji-n* 'good', PK **sàʹó-ná-b-* 'strong, valid'

b) animal names:

PA **ăŋu* 'wild game' (PT **Ăŋ* 'wild game, hunt', PTM **aŋa* 'wild game'): PM **(h)oγu-na* 'male mountain antelope', PTM **aŋa-nV* 'mountain ram; enclosure for deer'

PA **gúri* 'deer, game' (not attested suffixless, cf. PM **görü-γe-*): PTM **gur-na-* 'squirrel, ermine', PK **kòrá-ní* 'deer'

PA **kʹuŕe* 'a k. of furry animal' (not attested suffixless, cf. PT **xur-ka-* / **xur-ga-* 'bear'): PT **Küŕe-n* 'ferret, weasel', PM **küre-ne* id.

PA **sĭgò* 'deer, horned animal' (PJ **sika*): PT **sɨgu-n*, PM **seγe-n-ek*

PA **ebVrV* 'worm, snake' (PTM **ūre*): PT **ebre-n*, Ul. *were-n*.

c) plant names:

PA **bi̯ukʹe* 'vessel; gourd' (Kor. *pak*): Evk. *buku-n* 'birch bark put into cradle', PK **pàkòní* 'bamboo basket'

PA **di̯ŭlgu* 'a k. of foliate tree' (not attested suffixless, cf. PTM **dulgi-kta* 'alder'): PT **jɨlgu-n* 'tamarisk', PM **doluga-na* 'hawthorn'

PA **tagù* 'root' (PTM **daga*): PT **TAg-na*, PM **deg-ne-*/**dag-na-*, PJ **tuku-nai*

d) but also not infrequent in other semantic groups:

PA **báku* 'pole, pillar' (PK **pò* 'beam'): PT **bak-na* 'rung of a ladder', PM **baga-na* 'central pole'

PA **emo* 'front' (not attested suffixless, cf. PT **öm-ge-n* 'upper part of breast'): PM **emü-ne* 'front, South', PTM **ume-n* 'one'

PA **tʹi̯udu* 'a period of time' (PM **tuǯi* 'always'): PT **Tɨdɨ-n* 'time, appointed time', PJ **tùnâ-* 'longlasting, always')

PA **lébù* 'swamp' (not attested suffixless, cf. PM **lab-ku*, PK **nɨp-h*): PTM **lebē-n-*, PJ **númà* (< **núbà-n-*)

PA **moju* 'all, whole' (not attested suffixless, cf. PTM **muja-kin*): PK **mắi-n*, PJ **múi-na*

PA **ni̯ȁlpá* 'tin, lead' (not attested suffixless): PTM **ńālba-n* 'tin', PJ **nàpá-n(r)i* > **nàmári*

PA **ńi̯àŕì* 'man, young man' (PTM **ń(i)ari*): PT **jeŕ-ne* 'son-in-law', PK **nắr-ná-* 'brave'.

PA **pʿárà* 'cross-beam, constructing piece' (PJ **párì*): PT **ara-n*, PM **(h)aran-ga*, PTM **para-n*

PA **pʿȁlà* 'field, level ground' (PJ **pàrà*): PT **ala-n*, PTM **pāla-n*

PA **pʿi̯àlkʿi* 'lightning, thunder' (PT **jAlkɨ-*, PTM **pialki-*): PT **jAlkɨ-n*, PTM **pialki-n-* (perhaps also PK **pə́nkái* < **pə́lkán-*?)

PA **sebV* 'strange, supernatural' (not attested suffixless, cf. PM **sebe-γün*, PTM **sebe-ki*): PTM **sebe-n*, PK **sòn*

PA **si̯ȍgu* 'sun; sky' (PK **hắi* 'sun'): PTM **sigū-n* 'sun', PK **hànă-r* 'sky' (also PJ **suà-rá* < **suàn-rá*)

The original function of this *-n- is not quite clear (unlike Ramstedt, we do not compare it with the TM diminutive in *-ńa, both for phonetic reasons and because of the lack of direct lexical matches). But this suffix has become extremely productive in Mongolian and TM (in the shape of final -n; on its further verbalization as -n-a- in TM see Benzing 116) and can be qualified as a general nominal determinative. It can perhaps be compared with the nominative -no, very frequent in Old Japanese. Since in Mongolian and Turkic words in -n lose it before the plural -d (-t), its original function may have been "singulative", i.e. specifically expressing the singular number of a noun.

The suffix *-n- can sometimes occur in conjunction with other suffixes, cf. cases like:

PA **kʿúrgo* 'intestine, belly' (PK **kùrə̀i* 'stomach'): PT **Kurg-sa-k* 'belly, stomach', PTM **xurke-n-se* 'belly (of fish)'

A "collective" suffix in -n- is sometimes observed in TM (see Benzing 73, based on Menges 1952), but it is basically found in complex formations like *-na-r, *-n-il or *-na-sal where the original "collective" meaning is actually expressed by other morphemes, so that the "collective" function of PA *-n- is extremely dubious.

4.1.8. PA *-l-

The suffixed *-l- is very widely spread in all Altaic languages (although in Korean and Japanese it has, for obvious phonetic reasons, merged with *-r-), both by itself and in combination with other suffixes.

Two basic functions of *-l- can be established.

a) a deverbative nominal suffix, as in:

PA *ni̯ǻŋe 'to curse, swear' (PTM *niŋī- 'to curse'): PT *jAŋɨ-l 'mistake, fault', PM *niɣü-l 'sin', Sol. niŋī-l 'curse'.

The derived noun in *-l- can be an abstract noun (as in the above example), but very frequently also an attributive (participial) noun, like in:

PA *ȍse 'to be bad, guilty' (PM *ösi 'revenge, hate', PTM *usa 'bad', *usē- 'be sick, unable'): PT *osa-l 'careless, dilatory', MMong. ösü-l 'revenge, hate', PJ *ə̀sə̀-r- 'to be scared, afraid'

The verbal meaning of -r- in PJ *ə̀sə̀-r- reflects further verbalization of the nominal stem in *-l-, which is observed in a great number of cases and was obviously present already in Common Altaic.

The precise semantic definition of PA *-l- is rather difficult. In Turkic, it is involved in forming the passive voice in -l- (as well as, of course, deverbative nouns and verbs in -la-/-le-); in TM, it participates in building inchoatives (duku-l- 'start to write', see Benzing 120); in Mongolian, it is rather transitive (qaɣa-l- 'split, divide' as opposed to qaɣa-ra- 'be split, divided'). The possible starting point here could be a transitive participle, with a secondary development into passive in Turkic (which is still to be explained, and is probably the result of completely restructuring old voice categories in Turkic). See the discussion of the *-l-suffix in Ramstedt 1912.

Cf. the following cross-language matches:

PA *čĭŋV 'to listen, consider' (not attested suffixless; with different suffixes cf. PTM *ǯiŋi-re- 'to understand', *ǯiŋ-k-si- 'attentive'): PT *dɨŋ-la- / *diŋ-le- 'to listen, hear', PM *čiŋ-la- 'to listen'

PA *čʿamo 'to suffer hardships' (PT *čAm 'fine, claim'): PT *čAm-la- 'to be insulted, angry at', PM *čima-la- 'to be dissatisfied', Neg. čamu-lị- 'to be unwilling to share', Jpn. tamar- 'to endure'.

PA *ȅka 'bad, weak' (PTM *eke- 'to decrease; evil', PJ *àk- 'to be bored, satiated'): OT egi-l 'common, ordinary', PM *(h)ege-l 'low, uneducated, not very good', Nan. exe-le 'bad, low'

PA *ēŋV 'to think, understand' (PT *āŋ 'intelligence'): PT *āŋ-la- 'to understand', Evn. eŋē-li- 'to peer, investigate'

PA *gā́(j)tʿì 'to go, come' (PT *gē(j)t- 'to go'): PM *getü-l- / *gatu-l- 'to cross over', PJ *kítá-r- 'to come, arrive'

PA *gȅnŋa 'to bend' (suffixless perhaps in Man. gen 'horse's counter'): PM *gana-l-ǯa- 'to be bent', PTM *gē(n)ŋe-l- id.

PA *čʿĭkʿa 'to rise, sprout' (PT *čɨk- 'to go out, come out', PM *čiki- 'sprout', PK *čhí- 'to rise, raise'): PM *čiki-le- 'to sprout', Evk. čiki-l-tu- id.

PA *gùri 'to slander, go mad' (PT *Kür 'trick', PM *gör 'slander, deceit', PTM *gori- 'to go mad', PK *kìrɨ- 'to be mistaken'): OT kür-lü-k 'trick', PM *gör-le- 'to slander', Ud. guleäla- 'to go mad'

PA *idV 'to follow, lead, arrange' (PM *iʒi 'set, complete set', PTM *idu 'order (n.); to command'): PM *iʒi-l 'equal, identical', Nan. idu-le- 'to arrange in order'

PA *ki̯ŏr[i] 'to roll, churn' (PT *Kiār- 'to mix'): PM *kuru-l- / *küri-l- 'to whirl', Evn. kuru-l-dāwna 'churn-staff'

PA *ki̯ŭčʿú 'to slander, swear' (PM *koči 'nickname, slander'): Kalm. xoč-l- 'to slander', Nan. qoča-lị- 'to harm (of an evil ghost)'

PA *kʿĕpʿó 'become wet, overflow' (PTM *xep-): PM *kaji-la- 'to melt', PJ *kəmpə̀-ra- 'to overflow'

PA *kʿĕpʿè 'to dry out, become fragile; to break' (PT *kEp(i)- 'to dry out, disappear', PTM *xepe- 'to break, destroy'): PM *kewü-l- 'to break, be fragile', PTM *xepe-le- 'to break, destroy', PJ *kə̀pə̀-r- 'to break'

PA *kʿi̯ȁbu 'to peel, skin' (PT *K(i)ab 'peeled skin', PTM *xū(be) 'membrane scraper', PK *kjó 'rice husks'): PM *kaɣu-l- 'to peel off, skin', PK *kì'ú-r 'bran'

PA *kʿókì 'to bind, wrap' (PM *kög 'wrapper, curtain', PTM *xuku- 'to wrap'): PTM *xuku-lī- 'to wrap', PJ *kúkú-r- 'to bind, tie'

PA *mi̯ójńi 'to become overripe, rot' (PTM *munī-): PT *bAńɨ-l, PJ *mínə́-r-

PA *òkʿè 'to grieve, be angry' (not attested suffixless, cf. PT *ökün-, PTM *(x)uk-t-): PM *(h)uki-la- 'to weep, sob', PJ *ə̀kə̀-r- 'to be angry'

PA *óru 'to cry, shout' (PT *orɨ 'cry, shout', PM *uri- 'to invite', PTM *or- 'roar, shout'): PT *or(ɨ)-la- 'to shout', PM *ori-la-, Nan. oral 'echo')

PA *pʿapʿo 'to attack' (PT *op-): PT *opla-, PM *haw-l-

PA *pʿȁtʿà 'to strike, hit' (PT *ạt-, PK *pat-): PM *(h)ata-l-ga 'adze', PTM *pāti-la- 'to strike, hew'

PA *ségì 'to litter, mat' (PTM *seg(i)-, PJ *sík-): PM *seg-l-, PK *skə̆́-r-

PA *zi̯à[kʿ]ó 'hang, droop' (PTM *suka-, Kor. suk-, PJ *sànka-): PM *seg-le-, PJ *sànka-r-

PA *soge 'breathe' (PTM *sugī, PK *sūi-): PT *sog-lɨ-, PM *süji-le-

PA *tʿȁpʿè 'go through' (PT *top, PTM *tap-): PT *topu-l-, PM *tawu-l-, PJ *tə̀pə̀-r-

PA *tʿikʿV 'to fear, hate' (PT *tik-): PM *čiku-l, PTM *tiKu-l-

PA *tʿúmu 'clever, understand' (PM *tomi-): PM *tomi-la-, PJ *túmə́-r-

PA *utʿà 'to be able, understand' (not attested suffixless, cf. PM *(h)ud-ka, PJ *ata-p-): PTM *uti-l-, PK *ə́tì-r-

b) a denominative attributive suffix (often with further nominalization, less frequently with further verbalization; on denominative verbal *-lā- in TM see Benzing 116):

PA *ăgu 'uninhabited place, wilderness' [not attested suffixless; with a different suffix PTM *agī- 'to walk without a road']: PT *ag-la-k 'wilderness'; PM *aɣu-la 'mountain'; PTM *agu-lā-n 'meadow'

PA *gódú 'down, to lower' (PT *Kodɨ): Chuv. *xər-lə* 'bowing the head', PJ *kúntá-r- 'to lower, go down'

PA *ìbè 'door, yard' (PT *eb 'house', PK *íp 'door'): Chuv. *av-la-n* 'to marry', PTM *ib-le 'yard, dwelling'

PA *i̯apʿu 'adze' (PTM *upa): PT *Apɨ-l 'hoe', PM *oɣu-li 'adze', Nan. *ofa-li* id.

PA *kĕpʿV 'belly' (PT *gĒpe 'swollen (of belly)'): PM *kewe-li 'belly, pregnancy', PTM *kepe-l- id.

PA *ki̯opu 'a k. of vessel' (not attested suffixless, cf. PT *Kob-ga 'pail, bucket'): PM *kobi-l / *kobu-l 'groove, gutter, trough', PTM *kiabi-l-de 'bobber'

PA *k[i̯a]ŋe 'a k. of board' (PT *K(i)aŋ 'vehicle, skis'): PT *K(i)aŋ-lɨ id., PTM *küŋi-le 'skis'

PA *kʿi̯omo 'a k. of fragrant and edible plant' (not attested suffixless, cf. PTM *xim-ŋe-kte 'bird-cherry'): PT *Kum-la-k 'hop', PM *köme-li 'a k. of wild onion or garlic', PJ *kami-ra 'a k. of garlic'

PA *kʿi̯ŭŕu 'red, brown' (PJ *kúrá- 'dark', PK *kùrí 'copper'): PT *Kɨŕɨ-l 'red; gold', PM *küre-l 'bronze'

PA *li̯apʿV 'spleen' (not attested suffixless, cf. Orok *lip-če*): Tof. *čaʿpʿa-l*, PM *niɣa-l-ta id.

PA *mékʿù 'meat; part of body' (PM *mika-n 'meat'): Neg. *mexi-le* 'fat under bird's skin', PJ *múkú-rua 'body, dead body'

PA *mi̯ákʿo 'frog' (PT *b(i)āka): PM *meke-lei, Evk. *moko-lo-čī* 'bat', PK *mə̀kùrí 'toad'

PA *ŋi̯aji 'lower side' (Chuv. aj, PTM *ŋia(j)-): PTM *ŋia-la 'lower', PK *nə̂rí- 'to go down'

PA *òŋi 'windpipe, part of neck' (not attested suffixless, cf. PT *öŋü-č, PTM *uŋ-se, PJ *ùnà-nsi): PM *öŋgü-le-ɣür, PTM *uŋe-le-.

PA *ŏtʿè 'old' (Chuv. *vadъ*, PTM *ute): PM *öte-l- 'to be old, old', PTM *ute-le- 'earlier, before'

PA *pi̯ŭkʿí 'a k. of insect' (Evk. *heke* 'nit'): PT *böke-le-k, PJ *pínkú-rá-sí

PA *pʿugu 'tinder, excrescence' (Chuv. *ъʷvъʷ*): PM *huɣu-la, PTM *pug(u)-la id.

PA *si̯oga 'arrow' (PJ *sa): PM *saɣa-li 'cross-bow', PK *hoar 'bow'

PA **sábó* 'service' (not attested suffixless, cf. PM **sibe-gčin* 'fem. servant', PTM **sab(u)-ka-* 'to get accustomed'): PTM **sabu-li-* 'to serve, present gifts', PJ **sámpú-rap-*

PA **sogì* 'a k. of meat dish' (PJ **suki-*): PT **sögü-l-*, Evk. *suɣu-lē-n*

PA **šiuga* 'bucket' (PT **sugu*): PM **saɣu-l-ga*, PTM **šug-le-*

PA **tʿŭge* 'storm, dust' (PTM **tuge*): PT **tüge-le-*, PM **tuji-l-*

PA **tʿukV* 'calf, lamb' (PTM **tuKu-*): PT **tok-lɨ*, PM **tugu-l*

The attributive suffix *-li- is still quite productive in TM, see Benzing 90.

This suffix is often combined with following velar suffixes, as in:

PA **kʿiórá* 'a k. of tree with red berries or red bark' (not attested suffixless, cf. PTM **(x)or-b-*, **(x)or-aŋ-*): PT **Kaŕɨ-l-gan* / **Kar-lɨ-ga-n* 'currant', PM **kar-gi-l* 'viburnum', PJ **kátú-rá* 'Cereidiphyllum japonicum'

PA **kʿiàpʿe* 'a k. of insect, butterfly' (PM *kibe 'moth'): PT **kepe-lek* 'butterfly', PJ **kəpərónkí* 'cricket'

PA **lemV* 'meat, fat (of animals)' (not attested suffixless, cf. PT **jamɨ-ŕ*, **jam-du* 'groin; pubic hair'): PM **lami-l-ka-j* 'meat on sheep's rump', PTM **lemu-k* 'fat (under the skin of animals)'

Such suffix combinations have become quite productive in Mongolian (*-lga-) and especially in Turkic (*-lɨk, *-lɨg).

It seems in fact possible to unite both usages of PA *-l-, by assigning it a general original attributive (denominative or deverbative) meaning. But we must stress that only with the latter meaning did the suffix become a part of the Common Altaic inflectional paradigm. In some daughter branches it has penetrated the nominal paradigm as well (cf. the Mong. comitative in -luɣa, generally after verbal nouns, and the TM nominal affixes as -l-un, -l-ken - see EAS 2, 40-43), but this seems to be a later development.

4.1. 9. PA *-r-

PA *-r- appears to be even more frequent than *-l-. In Turkic, it is the general aorist suffix, used both as a finite form and as a participle. In this function it is compared (in EAS 2, pp. 87-89) with the Mong. supinum in -ra and the "preparative converb" in -ru-n, as well as with the participia futuri in TM and Korean. Its quite probable Japanese match is the general attributive -ru in the verbal paradigm.

When it comes to derivation, one should note that in Mongolian, -ra-/-re- is basically an intransitive verbal suffix, as opposed to -l(a)-, see EAS 2, 194, 199 (see also above). If this is indeed the same mor-

pheme, then we might be able to reconstruct the Common Altaic verbal opposition *-l- 'transitive participle' : *-r- 'intransitive participle', subsequently passing into the domain of word-derivation. We can also note the usage of -r- as an intransitive morpheme in Old Japanese (which expanded later and led to the formation of the present-day passive in -r-), as well as the reflexive usage of -r- in Korean; since, however, these languages merged *-l- and *-r-, the origin of these inflectional morphemes cannot be firmly established. Ramstedt (1912, 32-37) characterizes PA *-r(a)- as 'verbum neutrale oder inchoativum'.

It seems, however, important to stress the modal function of -r- as an inflectional morpheme (meaning "in order to", "necessary to" in Mong., TM and Korean), which seems to be lacking in case of *-r- as a derivational suffix.

But one should be cautious while reconstructing PA *-r-. It should be borne in mind that the only group preserving the original distinction *-r- : *-ŕ- is Turkic, and Turkic has a quite different - causative - *-ŕ-suffix, also corresponding to -r- in other Altaic languages. The situation is further complicated by an alternation -ŕ- / -r- within Turkic ("Helimski's rule"), due to which *-ŕ- becomes *-r- in a postconsonantal prevocalic position (so that **CVC-ŕV-* > **CVC-rV-*). Therefore, some of the following matches with an apparently transitive usage of *-r- may in fact reflect PA *-ŕ-, on which see below.

PA **èbà* 'join, meet' (PJ **àp-*): PTM **ebu-re-* 'join, meet', PK **àbór-* 'join'

PA **ǎkʿè* 'to advance gradually, slowly' (PM **(h)aki-*): PT **aku-ru-* 'slowly'; PJ **ȁkú-rá-* 'to be, come late'

PA **àpo* 'to wear out, be spoiled' (PJ **àpà-* 'weak, faded'): PT **obu-ra-* 'to wear out, decay', PM **ebe-re-* 'to weaken'

PA **bŏdé* 'to jump, trot' (PT **büdi-* 'to dance, jib', PK **ptùi-* 'to jump'): PM **büdü-ri-* 'to stumble', Nan. *budu-ri-* 'to hurry', PJ **bȁntá-r-* 'to jump'

PA **bŭĺa* 'confusion, fright' (PT **būĺ-* 'to be bad-tempered, irritable'): PT **būĺ-ur-ga-* 'to be worried, confused', PJ **bású-rá-* 'to forget'

PA **bŭ̀ŋe* 'to howl' (PTM **būni-*): PT **böŋ-re-*, PM **büɣü-re-*

PA **čʿukV* 'to jump, trot' (PM **čogi-*; PK **čhú-* 'to dance'): Bur. *sojo-r-*, Evk. *čuke-rē-*

PA **gèmo* 'to complete, fill in' (PTM **gemu* 'all', PJ **kȁm-* 'to be filled in'): PM **gömü-r-ge* 'storage', PJ **kȁmȁ-r-* 'to be filled in'

PA **gòdè* 'to be diligent, persistent' (not attested suffixless, cf. PJ **kȁtà-pa-* 'to endure'): OT *qoδu-r-* 'to take trouble, make efforts', PM **güǯi-re-* 'to be energetic, persistent'

PA **gȕno* 'to think' (PM **guni* 'be sad', PTM **gūn-* 'to think; to say'): Dun. Guni-ra- 'be sad', PK **kɨnɨr-* 'to tak care of'

PA **íŋo* 'to neigh' (not attested suffixless, cf. PM **iŋ-ča-*, PJ **íná-nak-* etc.): PT **iŋɨ-ra-*, Nan. *iŋgiri-*

PA **idV* 'to follow, lead, arrange' (PM **iǯi* 'set, complete set', PTM **idu* 'order (n.); to command'): PT **Ede-r-* 'to follow', Man. *idu-re-* 'to arrange in order'

PA **i̯umu* 'to help, gather' (PM **öme* 'help'): PT **ime-r-* 'to gather, work collectively', PM **öme-r-* id., PK **umu-r-* 'to crowd, cluster'

PA **kăpi* 'to break, fragile' (not attested suffixless, cf. PTM **kab-Vk-*): PT **geb-re-* 'to become weak, fragile', PM **kebe-re-* 'to break down'

PA **kăt'e* 'to knock (of hooves), trot' (PTM **kete-* / **kata-* 'knocking, trotting', PK **kàthí-* 'to stumble'): PT **Kɨtɨ-r-* 'to walk, go round', PM **kata-ri-* 'to trot', PTM **kata-r* / **kete-r*

PA **kắk'i* 'to belch, choke' (PM **kaka-* id., PTM **kaxa-* 'to choke'): PT **gēki-r-*, PM **kaki-ra-* / **keki-re-* 'to belch'

PA **kijmV* 'vapour, steam; anger' (PK **kīm* 'steam, vapour', PT **Kɨjm-* 'to move'): Khak. *qɨjmɨ-ra-* 'to move', PM **kimu-ra-* 'to be in disorder, conflict', Nan. *kīmu-r* 'enmity'

PA **k'uŋgo* 'to freeze, snow' (PJ **kənkə-*): PM **kuŋga-r* 'snow-drift', PJ **kənkə-r-* 'to freeze'

PA **lép'ó* 'to rise, high' (PT **lepū-* 'to move out, jump out'): PTM **lepu-ru-* id., PJ **nómpə́-r-* 'to rise'

PA **mi̯ók'[ú]* 'to bow' (PT **bok-*): PTM **miaxu-rV-*, PJ **mánká-r-*

PA **nìt'á* 'weak, quiet' (PT **jit-* 'to get lost', PTM **nita-* 'weak, faded'): PM **nete-re-* 'to become worse, deteriorate', Man. *nita-ra-* 'to weaken, diminish', PJ **nàntà-rà-ka* 'quiet, peaceful'

PA **ȍti* 'to move, change place' (PT **öt-* 'to pass by', PM **oči-* 'walk, move, go'): PM **oči-ra* 'along', Evk. *utu-r-* 'to reel, turn round', PJ **ùtù-r-* 'to move, change place'

PA **pǎdà* 'to spread; flag' (PJ **pátà*): PT **bAd-ra-k*, PM **bada-ra-*, Evk. *hada-r-ga*.

PA **p'ó[k]u* 'to swell' (PTM **puk-* / *pok-*): PT **ok-ra* 'pimple, pustule', PTM **poko-ri-* 'to be cracked (of skin)', Kor. *pagɨ-l* 'boiling, bubbling', PJ **púkú-rà-* 'to swell'

PA **sábà* 'to be hindered, obstruct' (PT **sab-*): PT **sab-ra-*, PM **saɣa-ra-*, PJ **sápá-r-*

PA **sèjV* 'be thin, rare' (PM **seji-*, PJ **sài-*): PT **sed-re-*, PM **seji-re-*, PTM **sē-r*

PA **sēma* 'get lost, deviate' (Evk. *sēm-* 'to be lost'): PT **samu-r(a)-* 'to be in a complicated position', PM **samu-ra-* 'make disorder'

PA **sĭ̆gà* 'sigh, holding breath' (PTM **sigu-* 'stop crying, breathing'): PM **seɣü-re-* 'sigh, pant', PJ **sàkù-rì* 'hiccough'

PA **ŭ̆t'a* 'to meet' (PT **ut-*, PJ **átá-*): PT **ut(a)-r-* 'opposite', PM **uči-ra-* 'to meet', PJ **átá-r-*

PA **ʒebí* 'bad, to suffer' (not attested suffixless, cf. PT **jabɨ-ŕ*, **jab-la-* etc.): PT **jab-rɨ-*, PJ **(d)impi-r-*

PA *-r- also functions as a denominative suffix, forming adjectives (sometimes, as usual, with further nominalization or verbalization). It is probably quite different in origin from the verbal *-r- and must have had an original meaning 'pertaining to' or 'located in the region of', whence the well known usage of *-r- as a locative suffix in Turkic, Mongolian and Korean, see EAS 2, 38-39.

Examples of this Common Altaic suffix are given below (note the frequent usage of *-r- in color names, animal/plant names and body parts):

PA **bagu* 'white, grey' (PK **pùhɨ̀i-* 'grey', Evn. *bāwụ-* 'clear (of sky)'): PM **buɣu-ru-l* 'grey', Evk. *baɣu-ri-l* 'clear (of sky)'

PA **č'upa* 'green, blue' (not attested suffixless, cf. PM **čabi-dar* 'yellowish'): PT **čuba-r* 'variegated', PTM **čub-rī-* 'green, blue, yellow'

PA **i̯ăk'V* 'light, white' (PT **Āk*, PJ **áká-*): PTM **ixe-re* 'candle, light', Kor. *igɨl-* 'bright, burn', PJ **aka-r(u)-* 'bright'

PA **kádì* 'strong, oppressive' (PJ **kítú-* 'strong, brave'): PT **Kadɨ-r* 'hard, strong, cruel', PM **kede-r* 'angry, inobedient', PTM **kada-ra-ku* 'courageous, diligent'

PA **kòŋa* 'brown, black' (not attested suffixless, cf. PTM **koŋ-na-* 'black'): PT **Koŋu-r* 'dark brown', PK **kă̆nă̆r* 'shadow'

PA **mŏ̆ŋi* (~ -e) 'round' (Kor. *muŋi* 'round thing'): PM **möɣer* 'wheel, hoop', Man. *mumu-ri* 'blunt, rounded', MKor. *mūŋɨ́rí-* 'round (stone)'

PA **p'i̯àká* 'mighty, heavy' (PTM **piaKa*, PJ **pànkiá-*): PT **iagɨ-r* 'heavy', Evn. *hịqār* 'brave'

PA **si̯ăŋe* 'yellowish, greyish' (not attested suffixless, cf. Evk. *siŋa-ma*): PM **saɣa-r-*, PTM **siŋa-ri-*

PA **t'ŏk'V* 'curved' (not attested suffixless, cf. PT **Toku-j*, **Tokɨ-m*, PTM **tok-čika-*): PM **toki-r*, PTM **toKa-r-*

Cf. further:

PA **bădo* 'a k. of bird' (not attested suffixless, cf. PM **bödü-ne* 'quail'): PT **budu-r(čin)* 'quail', Evk. *bada-ra* 'dun-bird'

PA **bă̆ja* 'happiness, joy' (not attested suffixless, cf. PT **bAj-ga* 'feast', PJ **bái-m-* 'to smile'): PT **bAj-ra-m* 'feast', **bAj-ra-k* 'prize', PM **baja-r* 'joy, feast'

PA **bi̯ŭge* 'rock, hill' (PTM **buga* / **buge* 'hill, mound', PK **pàhói* 'rock', PJ *bə 'hill'): PT **bögü-r* 'mountain slope', PM **böɣe-rü-g* id.

PA **čʹaju* 'resin, juice' (PJ **tuju* 'juice'): PT **čAjɨ-r* 'resin, tar', PK **čɨ̀-r-* 'slushy, watery'

PA **dagV* 'shoulder bone, back' (not attested suffixless, cf. PTM **daga-ńa* 'hip, hip-bone'): PT **jagɨr* 'back, shoulderblade', PM **daji-ra* 'withers'

PA **debV* 'young (of birds or animals) (PM *deɣü 'younger sibling'): PT **jab-rɨ* 'young of birds and animals', PTM **debe-re-* 'young of birds'

PA **épʹá* 'breast, rib' (not attested suffixless, cf. PM **eb-či-ɣü-n* 'bosom'): PM **ebü-r* 'breast', PJ **ámpá-rá* 'rib'

PA **gi̯aŋu* 'wild onion' (not attested suffixless, cf. PJ **k(u)i* < **gi̯aŋ(u)-gV*): PT **gEmü-r-gen*, Evk. *guŋu-r*

PA **kámsa* 'wind, whirlwind' (PJ **kánsá-* 'wind'): PT **Kasɨ-r-ku* 'whirlwind', PM **kabsa-ra-* 'to blow (of a cold wind)'

PA **kábó* 'enclosure' (PTM **kaba* 'tent covered with bark', PJ **kámpiá* 'wall'): PTM **kaba-ra-* 'fence, enclosure', PK **kòʹă-r* 'district'

PA **kami* 'a k. of cloth' (Orok *qāmị* 'women's belt'): PM **keme-r-lig* 'a k. of silk', Evk. *kam-rā-* 'to hem a garment'

PA **ki̯ùtí* 'a k. of fox' (not attested suffixless, cf. PJ **kìtúnái* 'fox'): PM **küderi* 'musk-deer', PTM **kitiri* 'a k. of fox'

PA **kŏše* 'edge, protrusion' (PTM **koša* 'angle, river bend'): PT **Kös-ri* 'wind-screen, sides of the chest', PK **kìsɨrk* 'protrusion, edge of roof'

PA **kekʹV* 'palate, throat' (not attested suffixless, cf. PM **kekü-ɣe* 'throat, cavity'): PT **gekir*, **gekir-dek* 'throat, trachea', PM **kekü-re-g* (/ **kekü-deg*) 'thorax', PTM **kexe-re* 'hard palate'

PA **kekŋV* 'breast, chest, rib' (not attested suffixless, cf. PTM **keŋ-tire* 'breast, chest'): PT **gEg-re-k* 'lower soft ribs', PM **keŋgi-r-dek* 'chest'

PA **ki̯áčʹù* 'hole; mouth' (PJ **kútí*): PT **KEči-r* 'trachea', PM **kači-r* 'cheek'

PA **kōŋa* 'bell' (PJ **káná-i*): PT **Koŋ-ra-* 'to ring, toll', **Koŋ-ra-k* 'bell', PTM **kōŋV-r* 'ringing sound'

PA **kumi* 'a k. of insect' (PK **kəmɨ́i* 'spider', PJ **kùmuâ* id.): PT **Kumɨ-r-* 'ant', PM **kömö-re-ge* 'a k. of insect'

PA **kʹébá* 'corpse' (not attested suffixless, cf. PJ **kámpá-nái*): PT **gEb-re*, PM **keɣü-r*, Man. *eo-re-n*

PA **kʹíbà* 'ash tree' (not attested suffixless, cf. PTM **xiba-gda*): PT **Keb-r-üč*, PM **küji-r-sü-*, PJ **kápià-ru-(n)tai*

PA **kʹi̯ȍkʹò* 'spine, skeleton' (not attested suffixless, cf. PM **koki-ma-* 'skeleton, skull'): PTM **xīKe-ri* 'spine', PJ **kaku-rai* 'coccyx'

PA **láčà* 'a k. of plant with drooping branches' (PJ **násì* 'pear'): Man. *lasa-ri* 'drooping branches', PK **nàčhú-r* id.

PA **lako* 'a k. of foliate tree' (PT **jöke* 'lime-tree'): PM **nüge-r-* 'a k. of alder', Man. *laχa-ri* 'a k. of oak'

PA **ĺeŋgV* 'a k. of predator' (not attested suffixless, cf. Orch. *liŋga-pu* 'wolverine'): PM **ʒiŋge-r* 'bitch', PTM **leŋgu-r* 'wolf; cat'

PA **lúŋu* 'morning or evening dawn' (not attested suffixless, cf. PJ **núN-si* 'rainbow'): Evk. *luŋu-r* 'evening, dusk', PK **nò'ɨ-r* 'morning or evening dawn'

PA **mùkʿé* 'a k. of fish' (Evk. *mekē* 'crucian'): WMong. *mökü-rü* 'female carp', Orok *mokkiri* 'a k. of small fish', Jpn. *maguro* 'tuna-fish'

PA **nŭŋu* 'wool, down' (PT **juŋ* id., PJ **núnuá* 'fabric, cloth'): PM **nowu-r-(su)* 'wool, down', Man. *nuŋɣa-ri* id.

PA **ŋi̯ǎkʿu* 'dog, wolf' (PTM **ŋōKe*): PT **eke-r* 'hunting dog', Man. *nuxe-re* 'puppy', PK **nəko-ri* 'badger'

PA **píńŋe* 'scar, pimple' (PTM **pinŋa*): PT **beńir*, PM **beɣer*, PK **pɨńɨrɨm*

PA **pŏgí* 'kidneys, testicles' (PTM **pugi-n*): PT **bögü-r*, PM **böɣe-re*, PK **pɨr*, PJ **púnkúri*

PA **pŏgV* 'male deer' (PT **bugu*): PT **bugu-ra* 'camel stallion', PM **boji-r* 'male (of animals)'

PA **pʿémi* 'thread, twist a thread' (PJ **pímə́*): PM **hime-r-*, Evn. *hemъr-*

PA **pʿoktʿo* 'environs' (PT **pokta* 'way'): PT **ota-r* 'pasture, far environs', PM **hogto-r-gui* 'environs', PJ **pətə-ri* id.

PA **sakʿu* 'a k. of stinging insect' (PM **sag 'insect eggs, nits'): PT **sakɨ-r-tka* 'tick', PJ **su(n)ka-ru* 'digger wasp'

PA **sigo* 'rain, snow storm' (PTM **siga-*): PM **siɣu-r-*, **siɣu-r-ga*, PJ **sinkú-rai*

PA **sórka* 'blossom, blossoming plant' (PK **sǎrkó*, PJ **sák-*): PM **surga-r*, PJ **sákú-ra*

PA **si̯óga* 'back, back skin' (PJ **sa-*): PT **sagrɨ*, PM **saji-r* / **saɣa-ri*, PTM **sog-da-*

PA **si̯ŏpe* 'rib' (PTM **subi-n*): PT **sabar*, PM **sübe-r-gen*.

PA **si̯uga* 'a k. of bird' (PK **sāi*): PT **sɨgɨ-r-*, PM **soji-r*

PA **si̯ŭbu* 'end' (PJ **súwá-*): PT **sīb-ri*, PTM **sube-rē*

PA **sŭku* 'scoop, bucket' (PTM **soKa-*): PT **sogu-r-*, PM **sugu-ra-*

PA **tʿégè* 'edge, border' (PM *teg, PK **thə́*): PT **Teg-re*, PTM **tegē-r*, PJ **tə́ká-rə́*

PA **tʿi̯úgo* 'cover' (PK **tù'ói*, PJ **tu-i*): PT **Tugu-r*, PM **tuɣu-r-ga*

PA **tʿǎtʿu* 'rash, scabs' (PT **tāt*): PM **tači-r*, PTM **tuta-ri-l-*

PA **ùčʿe* 'reason' (not attested suffixless, cf. PT **üč-ün*, Evn. *u̯čiq*, PK **áčh*): PM **uči-r*, Man. *uču-ri*

PA **uŋe* 'hollow, pit' (PT **üŋ-* 'to dig'): PT **üŋü-r*, PM **oŋga-r-kaj*

PA **ótʿó* 'bushes, low trees' (cf. Evk. *utu-n*): PT **ot-ru-g* 'island', Orok *ute-ri-kte* 'low trees', PJ **óntɔ́-rɔ́* 'bushes'

PA **ǯipʿo* 'perfume, fumes' (not attested suffixless, cf. PJ **(d)impu-s-*): PT **jɨpa-r*, PM **ǯiɣa-r*, PJ **(d)impu-r-*

This "attributive" *-r- often appears followed by other suffixes (diminutives etc.):

PA *-r-dV-kʿV, *-r-kʿV

PA **ãjbi* 'a k. of duck' (PJ *û): PT **Ebür(d)ek*, Evn. *āwụldụqa* (reflecting *-l-dV-kʿV)

PA **čʿēkʿV* 'a k. of cloth' (PT **čēk* 'cotton shirt', Man. *čeke* 'upper short clothes'): OUygh. *čekrek* 'cotton shirt', PM **čege-deg* 'a k. of cotton shirt'

PA **úmu* 'to bear' (PTM **umu-*, PK **ūm*, PJ **úm-*): PT **(j)umur-tka* 'egg', PM **öm-dege*, PTM **umū-kta* id.

PA *-r-čʿV

PA **čʿìme* 'knuckle, cartilage' (not attested suffixless, cf. PM **čimöge* 'marrow'): PT **čEmi-rči-k* 'cartilage, gristle', Evk. *čīme-či-n* 'knee-cap, fat under knee-cap'

PA **kʿaŋa* 'hair, long hair' (PJ **kàmì*): PM **koŋgu-rča-g* 'cluster, bunch', PK **kə̀ʼú-č* 'moustache, beard'

PA **kʿàpʿà* 'a k. of vessel, box' (PJ **kàpì* 'scoop, ladle'): PT **Kapɨ-rča-k* 'box, basket', PM **kaɣu-rča-g*, **kaji-rča-g* id.

PA *-r-gV

PA **ătV* 'horse' (PT **ăt*): PT **ad-gɨr* (< **at-rɨg*) 'colt', PM **aǯirga* id.

PA**bĕdù* 'thick, large' (PT **bedü-* 'to become thicker, grow', PK **pɨrɨ̀-* (**pɨ̀dɨ̀-*) 'thick, satiated', PJ **pùtuà-* 'thick'): PM **bedi-ɣü-* 'thick', PTM **burgu-* (< **budu-r-gu-*) 'thick'

PA **kʿi̯údo* 'tail' (PK **s-kòrí*): PT **Kud-ruk* 'tail', PM **kudu-rga* 'tail strap', PTM **xü-r-gü* 'tail'

PA **ni̯údu* 'fist, strike with the fist' (PM **nidu-*): PT **jɨd-ruk* 'fist', PM **nidu-rga* 'fist', PTM **nu-rga* 'fist', PJ **ní-nkír-* 'to hold in the hand'

PA **si̯udu* 'hoof deformation' (PTM **sudu*, PJ **sia*): PT **sɨdɨ-r-ga-k*, PM **södü-r-ge*

PA *-r-kʿV

PA **bi̯ăĺmi* 'knee, ankle' (PJ **pínsá* 'knee'): PT **bAĺma-k* 'boot, shoe', PM **belbe-r-kej* 'ankle', PTM **b[i]leb-ki* 'knee, knee cap', Kor. *palma-k* 'a k. of footwear'

PA **kʿuǯV* 'part of stomach': PM **kuǯi-rkaj* 'thick part of stomach', PTM **xuǯü-k* 'urinary bladder'

PA **métʿi* 'bird's crop or navel; pudenda' (PJ **mitua* 'pudenda'): PT **böte-ke* 'bird's crop, craw; kidneys of animals; vulva'; Evk. *motoko* 'vulva'; PK **mərtəkán* 'bird's navel'

PA *-r-sV

PA **bȁkʿù* 'a sharp instrument' (PM **baki* 'tongs'): PT **boku-rsɨ* 'wooden plough', PJ **puku-si* 'digging stick'

PA *-r-tʿV

PA **ăbu* 'interior of the mouth' (not attested suffixless; cf. Neg. *aw-ǯan-* 'to gape'): PT **ăbu-rt;* PM **ow-či*

4.1.10. PA *-čʿ-

We find both nominal and verbal suffixes with *-čʿ-

a) denominative diminutive (cf. EAS 2, 215-218, Benzing 60), cf.:

PA **čʿȉpʿ[ú]* 'small bird' (PTM **čipi-*, PK **čjəpì* 'swallow'): PT **čɨp-čɨ-k* 'sparrow', PM **čuw-ča-li* 'snipe', Evk. *čipi-čā* 'small bird'

PA **káŋV* 'dog' (PK **kàŋí* > **kà(h)í*): PT **KAŋ-čɨ-k* 'bitch', PTM **ka-či-kā-* 'puppy', PK **kàŋʿá-čí* 'puppy'

PA **lā́mo* 'a k. of bag' (PTM **lam(b)a* 'bag, saddlebag'): PT **jĀm-čɨk* 'pocket, sash, bag', PK **nǎmǎ-čh* 'small bag, pocket'

Originally diminutive forms with *-čʿ- are also:

PA **bŭkrV* 'pea, nut, cone' (PTM **boKari* 'pea'): PT **bur-ča-k* 'pea', PM **buɣur-ča-g* id., PK **phǎ-s* id.

PA **dȉlo* 'year; sun, sun cycle' (PT **jɨl*, PM **ǯil* 'year'): PTM **dila-čā* 'sun', PK **tol-č* 'anniversary', PJ **tə̀sì* 'year'

PA **kʿāpʿa* 'bladder, film' (OT *qap* 'caul', PTM **xap[a]* 'fish bladder', Kor. *kapo* id.): PT **Kāp-čɨ-k* 'scrotum, bladder', PM **kabi-ča-k* 'groin'

PA **págò* 'box, vessel' (PT *bog, PTM **paga*): PT **bog-ča*, PTM **paga-ča*.

PA **sȅni* 'heel, ankle' (PK **sín* 'footwear'): PT **sin-čök* 'ankle-bone, hip-bone', Neg. *seńočhi* 'heel'

PA **sù̀na* 'crest, hairlock' (Nan. *sōno*): PM **san-čig*, PTM **sōno-ča*

This suffix is expressive and must have had an unaspirated variant *-č-: cf. the reflex in PJ **tə̀sì*, as well as the following case, where both TM and Japanese point to *-č-:

PA **òŋi* 'windpipe, part of neck' (not attested suffixless, cf. PM **öŋgü-le-ɣür*, PTM **uŋe-le-*): PT **öŋü-č*, PTM **uŋ-se*, PJ **ù̀nà-nsi*

A similar case of expressive *-č- may be:

PA **kʿi̯ȁre* 'a k. of insect' (cf. PK **kȁr-kə̀mɨ́i* 'a k. of spider'): PT **K(i)arɨ-nč-ɣa* 'ant, tick', PJ (reduplicated) **kìrí(n)-kíri-su* 'grasshopper'

b) verbal intensive, usually denominative, but also deverbative (on PTM intensive *-či-, *-ča- see Benzing 119):

PA **ȁńe* 'to be quiet, sit' (PM **eje* 'peace', PTM **āńi-* 'to enjoy, feast'): PT **En-č* 'tranquil, at peace', PK **àn-č-* 'to sit', PJ **ə̀n-tà-(ja-ka)-* 'quiet, peaceful'

PA **ȁni* 'not, negative verb' (PT **en,* PTM **ān-*, PK **an-,* PJ **nà-, -an-):* PTM **ān-či* 'not', PK **à-čhjə́-d-* 'not to like'

PA **mónŋo* 'to knead, press, stroke' (PT **boŋ* 'mallet', PM **muna* id., PTM **monŋi-* 'to squeeze', PJ **mə́m-* 'to knead, rumple'): PM **mun-ča* 'mallet', PTM **monŋi-ču-* id., PK **mȁn-čí-* 'to stroke, rub'

PA **pasi* 'run, hurry' (not attested suffixless, cf. PM **hesü-re-*, Evn. *hasu̯-l-*): PTM **pasi-č-*, PK **pàs-* / **pàč-*

PA **pʿȍba* 'to crawl, squat' (PJ **pàp-*): PM **(h)oji-či-*, Evk. *hewi-č-*

PA **pʿŏkʿi* 'to trample, kick' (PTM **peK-/poK-*): PT **ök-če* 'heel', PTM **pok-či-*.

PA **si̯ȕŕi* 'to flow, drip' (PT **süŕ-*, PTM **sir-):* PM **sür-či-*, PJ **sìtà-t-*

Ramstedt (1912, 29-32) regards the suffix -č(a)- in Mong. as 'reciprocal' and corresponding to PT *-Í(č)-, but the actual evidence does not appear to support this point of view.

In cases like PM **mun-ča* 'mallet' or PT **ök-če* 'heel', we see this suffix functioning already as a nomen instrumenti, and similar cases are:

PA **làkʿù* 'to bend, hang' (PM **naki-* 'to bend', TM **laxu-* 'to hang', PJ **nuki* 'cross-beam'): Evk. *laku-ča* 'loop', PK **nák-s* 'hook'

PA **kȕrV* 'to cut out, sharp' (PTM **kōri-* 'to delve, carve out'): PT **Kur-č* 'sharp, hard (of steel)', PM **kur-ča* 'sharp' (probably originally 'cutting instrument' > 'sharp')

In TM the suffix *-č- with this function can become further verbalized ("to treat with...", like Nan. *okto-či-* 'to treat with herbs, medicines' etc., see Benzing 116).

4.1.11. PA *-ǯ-

1. Nominal

The suffix *-ǯ- is well preserved in TM languages, basically as an adjective suffix (*-g-ǯ-: **sēg-ǯe-* 'red', **sō-g-ǯa-* 'yellow', **ĺog-ǯa-* 'green, dark', **šāk-ǯa-* 'white', **(x)ig-ǯa* 'grey, yellow', **xur(i)-gǯa* 'grey', **kuku-gǯa* 'blue'), but also in other cases (**gul-ǯa* 'hearth', **seg-ǯe-* 'wild deer', **saji-ǯa* 'sieve' etc.) . Mong. has a number of nouns in -ǯ-, mostly with preceding -l- (**bagal-ǯa-ɣur* 'throat', *gal-ǯa-ɣur* 'wild, rabid',

**haji-ǯa-ɣan* 'ship', **uga-lǯa* 'male mountain goat', **kija-ǯa* 'sedge', **kubi-lǯa* 'tick', **simi-lǯe* 'a k. of bird of prey'; **guran-ǯu* 'whetstone', **an-ǯu* 'fine' etc.). In Turkic and Japanese one would expect a *-j-, and indeed there exists an adjectival *-ja-ka (OJ *niko-ja-ka* 'mild', *suku-ja-ka* 'healthy' etc.).

In several cases this suffix can be traced to Common Altaic:

PA **sèǧù* 'health, blood' (PT **sạg* 'healthy'): PTM **sēg-ǯe-* 'red', PJ **sùkù-ja-ka-* 'healthy'.

PA **ńabĺu* 'to be born, child' (PJ **mus-*): PM **ǯul-ǯa-gan*, PTM **ńab(ul)-ǯa*

PA **kʿèĺú* 'a small wild animal' (not attested suffixless, cf. PJ **kùsá-(m)pú*, PT **Külü-l*): PM **kerel-ǯe-gene*, PTM **xelde-gǯe* (~ *-gde).*

In Turkic, however, the situation is complicated. No cases of a *-j- : *-ǯ- correspondence in suffixed morphemes have been attested; there is, however, a number of cases when Turkic has an unexpected -č-:

PA **ā́ni* 'to hold, present' (TM **anī-* 'to present a gift', PK **ān-* 'to hold in the arms'): PT **ēn-čü* 'gift, fief', PM **an-ǯu* 'fine'

PA **ìbè* 'door, yard' (PT **eb* 'house', PK **íp* 'door'): PT **eb-či* 'housewife, woman', PTM **ib-ǯe* 'relative-in-law'

The last case suggests that the very widely attested PT suffix of nomina agentis *-či may in fact go back to PA *-ǯ-; but more evidence would be needed to make it a certainty.

The original function of PA *-ǯ- remains not quite clear: it can be characterized broadly as "adjectival" (Benzing 60 qualifies PTM *-ǯ(u) as diminutive, which is not at all secure).

2. Verbal We find a similar, but quite isolated case of Turk. -č-: Mong. -ǯ- in:

PA **kìkú* 'to bite; rub, scrape' (PT **Kik-* 'to rub, grind', PTM **kik-* 'to bite'): OT *kik-čü-r-* 'to rub, grind (at each other)', PM **keg-ǯe-* 'to scrape off, incise'.

This may be a secondary (assimilative?) development in Mong. of the PA intensifying *-čʿ-, on which see above.

There is, however, evidence for a PA verbal *-ǯ- as well. In TM, the suffix -ǯ- occurs as an intransitive (or, perhaps, reflexive / medial, in the sense of doing smth. for or by oneself), cf. **deg-ǯe-* 'burn', **sine-ǯi-* 'be poor, distressed', **seb-ǯe-n-* 'to have fun', **gob-ǯa-* 'to hunt' etc. (there is also a *-ǯa-, marking imperfective or durative aspect, see Benzing 118, but it is not completely clear whether it is the same morpheme). It again has a quite probable direct match in PJ *-ja-, the standard Old Japanese passive suffix.

In Mong. we only find verbal -ǯ- in combination with a preceding -l-: **aɣu-lǯa-* 'to meet', **taji-tu-lǯa-* 'drag one's feet', **koru-lǯa-* 'whirl',

*naji-lǯa- 'shake, sway', *melme-lǯe- 'become full', *gurba-lǯa- 'move creeping', *delbe-lǯe- / *dalba-lǯa- 'shake, sway', bol-ǯa- 'agree upon time', dürbe-lǯe- 'to blaze, flame', *gana-lǯa- 'be bent' etc.

In Turkic, this -lǯ- would normally correspond to *-Í(č)-, and we indeed find Turkic *-Í(č) as an intransitive (reflexive) suffix; but it seems mainly to correspond to Mongolian *-ld- in the same function, so that the Turkic evidence remains uncertain.

To sum up: Proto-Altaic probably had an intransitive (medial?) verbal suffix *-ǯ-, preserved in PTM as *-ǯ-, in Japanese - as -j- and in Mongolian as -ǯ- (with an addition of -l-, probably on analogy with the similar -ld-suffix). The absence of direct lexical matches with this suffix suggests, however, that it could have been not a derivational, but a purely inflectional morpheme, which it has remained in Japanese: indeed, the perfectly possible OJ passive *jaka-ja-* 'to be burnt' is in fact a precise match of PTM *deg-ǯe-.

4.1.12. PA *-ń-

A diminutive in *-ńa exists in TM (see EAS 2, 220), and a possible case of *-ń- in PA could be:

PA *t'i̯ŭp'o 'nail, hoof' (PTM *tüpa): PT *tub-ńa-k (with a different suffix order = PTM *tüp-ken < *tüp-ke-ń?), PJ *túmá-i.

The evidence for this suffix is, however, extremely limited, and its existence in PA is dubious (the actual form underlying PT *tub-ńa-k could be, e.g., *tup-ni-gak or the like).

4.1.13. PA *-Í-

A verbal reciprocal suffix *-Í(č)- is widely represented in Turkic. It has its closest match in Mongolian -ld- and TM *-ld- (see Benzing 121) with the same meaning, which is historically a combination of *-Í- with the intransitive/passive *-t- (on which see above). The question remains open whether Turkic *-Í(č)- reflects just *-Í- or a similar combination *-Íd- or *-Ít-, which would phonetically yield the same result. However, available TM parallels show just -l- here, and there are also archaic cases of reciprocal -l- (without -d-) in Mongolian, so that PA reciprocal *-Í- can be safely reconstructed.

Direct lexical comparisons for forms incorporating *-Í- with Korean and Japanese are not numerous (just as in case with *-ǯ-, because the morpheme was originally not just derivational but rather inflectional), but they seem to show standard reflexes (*-r- in Korean, *-s- in Japanese). This -s- in Japanese is, however, very difficult to distinguish

from the reflex of PA *-s- (see below), with which it of course completely merged; it is probable, however, that Jpn. -s- goes back to *-Í- in the following direct lexical matches:

PA *ṓčʿé 'bad, anger' (PT *ȫč 'revenge, anger', PJ *ə́ntə́- 'to fear'): PT *ȫče-Í(č)- 'to take revenge', MMong. öče-ldü- 'id., be inimical', PJ *ə́ntə́-s- 'to intimidate'

PA *kéro 'to fight, kill' (PM *kere- 'to quarrel, fight', PK *kūr- 'to curse, deprecate', PJ *kə́r- 'to curse'): PT *gErü-Í(č)- 'to quarrel, fight', PM *kere-l-dü- id., Man. keru-le- 'to fine', PJ *kə́rə́-s- 'to kill'

PA *tʿȅbà 'to run' (PTM *tēb- with different suffixes): PT *tabɨ-Í-, PM *taw-li-, PJ *tapa-si-r-

The original meaning of *ə́ntə́s- and *kə́rə́s- in Japanese must have been "fear each other > intimidate" and "fight with each other > kill". The reciprocal meaning was lost after PA reciprocal *-Í- merged with the general causative -s- in Japanese (note, however, that *kə́rə́s- within Japanese cannot be explained as a causative from *kə́r- 'curse', so that only the Altaic etymology provides an explanation of this form's structure).

Further examples of direct lexical matches involving PA *-Í- are:

PA *ădV 'to fit, be equal' (PTM *ada-): PT *ădaĺ 'friend, companion'; PM *adali 'equal, similar'

PA *bĕŕa 'peace' (PT *bAŕ 'peace', PTM *bere 'peaceful'): PT *bar-ɨĺ(č)- 'to establish peace', PM *bere-le- 'to be shy; to do a favour'

PA *či̯ŏge 'to give, exchange' (PT *dẹg- 'to cost, be worth', PM *düji- 'to buy or sell wholesale', PK *čú- 'to give', PJ *tai 'goods for exchange'): PT *dẹgi-Í(č)- 'to change, exchange', PTM *ǯugē-l- 'to exchange'

PA *kāmV 'to be weak, oppress' (PT *KĀma- 'to become blinded, dumb; to set teeth on edge', PM *kama- 'to be mangy', PTM *kama- 'to oppress'): PT *KĀma-Í(č)- id., PTM *kama-li- 'to oppress'

PA *kʿȁno 'match, other side' (PM *kani 'friend, mate'): PT *Konu-Í(č) 'friend', MMong. qani-l-qa- 'to compare'

PA *ṓkʿè 'to put, heap; to give' (PT *ȫk-, PM *ök-, PJ *ə́k-): PT *ȫkü-Í 'many' (*'put together'), Kor. ugɨ-l - ugɨ-l -ha- 'to congregate, be numerous'

PA *ki̯àdi 'seam, to sew, lace' (PT *K(i)adɨ-, PM *kaǯi-, PK *kjə̀d-): PT *K(i)adɨ-Í 'leather belt' (*'sewn together'), Evk. kêḋelē- 'to lace, befringe'

PA *pʿi̯áru 'to spin, plait, wrap' (PT *ar-, PTM *por-): PT *arɨ-Í 'woven stuff' (*'woven together') , PTM *porV-l- 'to spin, turn round'

There also seems to have existed a nominal (diminutive? attributive?) *-Í-. It occurs in several nouns with a hardly definable semantic sphere, but also, probably significantly, in a number of words denoting plant world, cf.:

PA **ki̯uma* 'a blood-sucking insect' (PTM **küme* 'flea, gnat'): PT **Kum-Ílu-j* 'louse, tick', PK **kəmòrí* 'leech'

PA **pʿărV* 'thill' (PTM **para*): PT **ari-Í*, PM ((*h*)*ara-l*.

PA **gure* 'flour' (PK **kə̀rə̀*): PT **gürü-Í(č)*, PM **guri-l*

PA **lēmo* 'fresh, raw' (PJ **nàmâ*): PT **jẹ̄mi-Í-č* 'vegetables', PK **nə̀mə̀-rh* id.

PA **mĕlu* 'a k. of berry' (not attested suffixless, cf. PTM **m[e]li-kte*): PT **bele-Í(č)* 'rowan', PM **moji-l-(su)-* 'bird-cherry'

PA **mi̯alu* 'a k. of evergreen tree' (PJ **murua* 'juniper'): PT **bAla-Í(č)* 'fir tree', PM **maji-la-su* 'cypress'

Just as in the case with *-ŕ- (see below), however, it cannot be excluded that Turkic *-Í- in these cases actually reflects a combination *-l-s- and we are actually dealing with the reflexes of plain *-l- here: cf. the two very suspicious (in this respect) Turko-Mongolian matches: **bele-Í(č)* - **mojil-su-* and **bAla-Í(č)* : **majila-su*.

4.1.14. PA *-ŕ-

The evidence of Turkic, where *-ŕ- is a well known causative morpheme, suggests that PA *-ŕ- was a transitive (causative) marker, and identical in this function to Mong. -r-, -ri- and the transitive -r- occurring in TM and Korean (see Ramstedt 1912, 23-29, with some confusion of *-ŕ- and *-r-; EAS 2, 176-177). The situation, however, is rather complicated by the facts that only Turkic distinguishes between *-ŕ- and *-r-, that Turkic *-ŕ- sometimes also appears as *-r- (due to Helimski's rule, see above; in such cases the causative therefore may also have the shape of -r-), and that PA *-r- by itself was rather an intransitive marker (see above), so finding direct matches for PT *-ŕ- is rather difficult.

The same morpheme is used in Turkic for forming deverbative nouns (adjectives or action results), and following direct lexical comparisons may be quoted:

PA **gū́tʿù* 'to deteriorate' (PM **gutu-* 'to deteriorate', PTM **gutu-* 'to rage, disgrace', PJ **kutu-* 'to rot'): PT **Kūtu-ŕ* 'mad, enraged', **Kūtu-r(a)-* 'to become mad, enraged', PM **gutu-ra-* 'to deteriorate, become spoiled'

PA **kúbé* 'to wish, hope, like' (PM **köwü* ~ **küwü* 'wish, profit', Man. *keo*, *keb* 'friendly, lovingly', PJ **kuámpə́-* 'to flatter'): PT **gübe-ŕ* 'proud', PM **köɣe-r* (**köwe-r*) 'joy, happiness', Evk. *kuwe-r* 'bride'

PA **kàmo* 'to brew alcohol' (PJ **kàm-* 'to brew sake'): PT **Kumɨ-ŕ* 'fermented milk', PM **kimu-r(a-ɣa-*) 'fermented milk with water'

PA **keju* 'to boil' (PK **kò'ɨ̀-*): PT **Kā-ŕ-ga-n* 'kettle', PM **kaji-ra-* 'to burn, roast', **kajir-su-* > **kaji-su-* 'kettle', PTM **kej-re-* id.

PA **kṓkʿà* 'to be deficient, damaged' (PT **Kōk-* 'to decrease, diminish', PM **koki-* 'to be damaged', PJ **káká-* 'to be deficient'): PT **Kōku-ŕ* 'deficient, empty', PM **koki-r* 'deficient, humble', **koki-ra-* 'to become deficient'

PA **kʿăbo* 'to deceive, slander' (PT **Kobu* 'slander', PK **kə̄-* 'lie, deceit'): OT *qovuz* 'conjuration, exorcism', PM **kaɣur-* 'to deceive'

Note that the intransitive meaning in cases like PM **gutu-ra-* or **koki-ra-* may be either due to the secondary influence of the intransitive -ra- (see above), or in fact reflect a different PA formation with an *-r-suffix.

The following cases may in fact reflect PA *-ŕ-, although the Turkic reflex is absent or is transformed to -r- due to Helimski's rule:

PA **čʿéčʿí* 'to press, squeeze' (not attested suffixless, cf. PJ **tíntí-ma-*, **tíntí-k-*): Man. *čeče-re-*, PK **čìčɨ́r-*.

PA **dȅlpʿi* 'to burst, break' (PJ **timpə-* 'to become worn out'): PM **delbe-re-* 'to burst, break through', Evk. *delpe-r-ge-* 'to split'

PA **ȅbè* 'to carry on the back' (PTM **ebe-*, PK **ə̀p-*, PJ **ə̀p-*): PM **eɣü-re-*, Nan. *ịwa-rị-* 'to unload'

PA **ĕbà* 'to winnow, fan' (not attested suffixless, cf. PT **eb-s-* 'to winnow'): Nan. *ebi-ri-* 'to shuffle, hoard', PJ **apu-r-*, **apu-t-* 'to blow, fan'

PA **ìsú* 'to crush' (PTM **(x)ise-* 'to crush', PJ **ùsú* 'mortar'): PT **ɨsɨ-r-* 'to bite' (= **ɨs-r-* < **ɨs-ŕ-*), Kor. *ɨsɨ-r-* 'to grind, crush'

PA **i̯udi* 'to choose' (PM **ödü-* 'to conceive, instigate'): PT **üdü-r-* (= **üd-r-* < **üd-ŕ-*), PJ **iá-r-* 'to choose, select'

PA **ki̯òtʿè* 'to singe, heat' (PT **Kat-* 'to heat', PM **kete* 'fire steel', PJ **kə̀tà-i* 'soldering iron'): PT **Katɨr-* (= **Kat-r-* < **Kat-ŕ-*) 'to heat, bake', Evk. *kotoron-* 'to singe, burn'

PA **kʿet[o]* 'to tear apart, rip' (PM **kadu-* 'to mow; to sever ribs from the spine', PTM **xetü-* 'to tear apart'): PT **Kota-r-* 'to tear out, break' (= **Kot-r-* < **Kot-ŕ-*), PM **kadu-ra-* 'to rip with fangs'

PA **màltʿe* 'to bend, twist' (PTM **maltu-*): PM **möltü-r-* / **multu-r-* 'to twist, contort', PJ **mə̀ntì-r-* 'to twist, bend'

PA **ńi̯áme* 'to curse, harm' (PM **ǯime* 'guilt', PTM **ńum-* 'to weaken, be sick', PJ **mə́má-* 'to argue, conflict'): PT **jemü-r-* 'to crush, curse, re-

proach' (= **jem-r-* < **jem-ŕ-*), PTM **ńime-r-* 'shame', PK **nami-ra-* 'to curse, swear'

PA **săpʹí* 'sprinkle, scatter' (PT **sep-*): PM **sabi-r-*, **sibe-re-*, PK **spìrí-*, **spăr-*.

PA **sidu* 'to rub off, peel off' (PTM **sidu-*): PT **sidi-r-* (= **sid-r-* < **sid-ŕ-*), PM **sidu-r-*

PA **sidí* 'to suspend' (PK **sīd-* 'to load'): PT **süd-re-* (< **süd-ŕe-*) 'pull, tug', PM **sidu-r-* 'pull the reins', PJ **sinta-r-* 'to hang down'

PA **sìjpʹó* 'to press, knead' (PT **sijpa-*): PT **sijpi-r-* (= **sijp-r-* < **sijp-ŕ-*), PTM **sipe-r-*, PJ **sìmpò-r-*

PA **šĭpʹV* 'sweep' (Evk. *čipi-*): PT **sipü-r-* (< **sip-r-* < **sip-ŕ-*), PM **siɣü-r-*, PK **psí-r-*

PA **sépʹà* 'to grip' (PM **siɣü-*, PK **spă-*): PM **siɣü-re-*, Man. *sefe-re-*, PJ **sápá-r-*

PA **tʹǎkù* 'to repair' (PTM **taku-*): PT **Tag-ra-* (< **Tag-ŕa-*), PJ **tùkùr-*

PA **-ŕ-* is also used as a denominative suffix, very similar in sphere to **-r-* (see above), cf.:

PA **gébó* 'shell, husk' (PK **kòbìi* 'bamboo bark', PJ **kámpí* 'rice ear'): PT **Kạbi-ŕ* 'husk, shell', PM **gaw-r-su* 'chaff, straw'

PA **goŋV* 'a k. of insect' (PTM **guŋgu* 'big fly'): PT **Koŋu-ŕ* 'beetle', PM **guwu-r* 'larva of a gad-fly'

PA **kě̄ŋi* 'hollow, empty' (PK **kíń-* 'nest, to nest'): PT **geŋi-ŕ* 'nasal cavity', Evk. *keŋ-re* 'hole, ice-hole'

PA **kúmle* 'a k. of ungulate' (PJ **kuáma* 'foal'): PT **Külmü-ŕ* 'male chamois', Evk. *kuma-ra-n* 'Siberian stag'

PA **óŋdu* 'a k. of small wild animal' (PTM **oŋda*, PJ *uni): PT **utiŕ*, Orok *onnorị*, PK **òńǎrí*.

PA **pédá* 'spot, ornament' (not attested suffixless, cf. PTM **pede-ne-* 'to mark, dirty'): PT **bedi-ŕ*, PM **bede-r*, PJ **panta-ra*

PA **pʹátʹà* 'uncultivated land, field' (PJ **pátà*): PT **Ati-ŕ*, PM **(h)ata-r*

PA **pʹŏkʹi* 'ox, cow' (not attested suffixless, cf. Evn. *höken*): PT **ökü-ŕ*, PM **hüke-r*, Evk. *huku-r*

PA **pʹŏŋe* 'mildew, slime' (not attested suffixless, cf. PTM **puŋ-da* [or < **puŋ-ra*?]): PT **öŋe-ŕ*, PM **(h)öŋgü-r*

PA **i̯uge* 'river' (PTM **ugē*): PT **ügü-ŕ*, PM **üje-r*, Man. *we-re-n*, PK **j̊əhí-r*, PJ **ùrà*

The archaic nature of this **-ŕ-* is dubious: it is not excluded that in these cases Turkic actually reflects a combination of the plain **-r-*suffix with a subsequent -s- (cf. the match PT **Kạbi-ŕ* = PM **gaw-r-su*), which phonetically yielded **-ŕ*.

There are, however, several specific cases, where *-ŕ- occurs in words meaning 'two' or 'pair' and in some paired body parts:

PA *kǒkʹè 'breast' (PM *kökö-n, PTM *kuku-n): PT *gökü-ŕ 'breast', PJ *kàkàrà 'heart'

PA *mújŋi 'horn' (Evk. muŋi 'tendon'): PT *bujŋu-ŕ 'horn', PM *möγer- 'cartilage'

PA *pʹi̯òkʹe 'pair, couple' (PT *ẹki 'two', PJ *pàká ʹother'): PT *ẹki-ŕ, PM *(h)eki-re 'twins'

PA *ti̯ubu 'two' (PTM *ǯube, PK *tū): PT *TVbVr (~ -ŕ), PM *ǯui-ri-n, PK *tū-rh

This may in fact be an archaic dual marker; whether it corresponds to the Japanese plural in -ra is not quite clear (the latter may be rather a match for the plural reflected in PT *la-r, PM *na-r and TM *-l).

4.1.15. PA *-j-

In a number of nouns we encounter a final *-(a)j or *-e in Turkic, apparently corresponding to *-i in Mongolian and to a long final vowel (*-ī or *-ū̃) in TM (on the PTM "Koseform" -ī see Benzing 66), cf.:

PA *ǒge 'lonely' (with different suffixes cf. PT *ögü-n, PK *ói-rǎb-): PT *öge-j, PM *ügej, PTM *ugī.

PA *sǐgó 'thick growth': PM *sigu-j, PTM *sigū̃, PJ *sìnkài-

PA *ačV 'woman, elder female relative': PT *ăčaj / *ĕčej, PTM *asī

PA *tʹari 'a k. of water bird' (with a different suffix cf. PTM *tar-mī): PT *tara-ka-j, PM *čirü-ke-j

PA *tʹi̯ǎku 'a horned animal': PT *teke, PM *togij, PTM *tōKī

PA *kúńe 'moth, worm': PT *güńe, PTM *kuńī-kta, PK *kə̀ńúi

PA *mi̯ūko 'snake' (cf. PK *mək-, PJ *múká-tai): PT *böke, PM *mogaji, PTM *mū̃kū̃

PA *kʹi̯ǔge 'palate, jaw' (with different suffixes cf. PTM *xū̃k-te, PJ *k(ù)i, PK *kə̀hú-m): PT *Kög-me, PM *köγe-mej

PA *úmu 'to bear, give birth' (PTM *omu-/umu-, PK *ūm, PJ *úm-): PT *umaj 'placenta', PM *(h)umaji 'womb'

On the basis of these matches it seems possible to reconstruct a common Altaic suffix *-j-, probably diminutive or expressive. One should also note that *-kī is a very widespread suffix in TM (see Benzing 66-67), and it seems to correspond to Mongolian *-kai, Turkic *-kaj with the same function. In many cases, though, the suffix is different to recover: in Turkic it tends to disappear after all vowels except *-a (and even in those cases is rather rare), while in Mongolian it is impossible to distinguish from original *-gi.

From a few examples above it would seem that Japanese and Korean also may reflect this suffix as *-i. In fact, *-i is a very well-known suffix in the Korean-Japanese area (cf. Martin 1995, 142, Vovin 1997, 9), where it forms both deverbative nouns (Jpn. *kak-* 'write', *kak-i* 'writing', **anka-* 'raise', **anka-i* > *age* 'raising') and (in Japanese) often serves as a direct stem marker: **pə-i* > OJ *pi* 'fire', in compounds *pə-* etc. However, this *-i seems rather to be a later addition. In the case of 'fire', e.g., this suffix was obviously added after the disappearance of the medial *-r- (PJ **pə-* 'fire' < **pʿŏre+gV*). It is perhaps more appropriate to regard it as a continuation of the PA demonstrative pronoun *i, serving as a nominative suffix (and indeed attested in this function both in Korean and Old Japanese).

A verbal *-j- may have also existed, although it is difficult to find direct lexical matches, due to the very unstable phonetical nature of *-j-. Proto-Japanese has verbal stems in **CVCa-*, **CVCu-* and **CVCə-*, but no stems in **CVCi-*. One may suspect that Pre-Proto-Japanese stems in *-i- had lost their final vowel and thus gave rise to numerous verbal stems in **CVC-*. At the same time, PJ has numerous alternations like **tuk-* 'be attached' / **tuka-* 'attach' or **dak-* 'burn' / **daka-* 'be burnt'. They can thus be reconstructed for an earlier stage as **tuki-* / **tuka-*, **daki-* / **daka-*; **tuki-* here could actually go back to **tuka-ji-* (with a very early contraction > **tuki-*, because it was not affected by the regular later Old Japanese development *ai > e), the suffix *-ji- acting as what Vovin 1997 calls 'transitivity flipper'. The Altaic source of this *-ji- is, however, not quite clear. It may be related to the causative (or 'transitivity flipper') *-g- (on which see below), but the development *-g- > -j- here would require a special explanation, since normally it only occurs after diphthongs (or should one reconstruct *-jg- here?). Another possible solution would be to trace this PJ *-ji- to a PA suffix *-ji-, preserved in Mong. -ji- forming "verba status" (*qumi-* 'to bind together' : *qumi-ji-* 'to be bound'; Ramstedt 1912, 56-58 derives them as well from PA *-gi-, which seems somewhat dubious).

4.1.16. PA *-s-

1. A deverbative *-s- is attested in all branches of Altaic. In Turkic and Mongolian there is a desiderative -se- (both deverbative, like OT *kel-se-* 'want to come', and denominative, like OT *suv-sa-* 'want water' = 'become thirsty'), see EAS 2, 187-188. Although Ramstedt separates this suffix (tracing it back to **se-* 'do, say' - a rather dubious derivation) from -s- in cases like Mong. *ölü-s-* 'become hungry' or Nan. *puli-si-*

'walk', they seem to be essentially the same affix with an original desiderative or inchoative meaning ('want to...' or 'begin to...'), and as such probably identical to the optative in -s-, widely attested in Turkic, Mongolian, TM and Korean (see EAS 2, 84-85). In Korean and Japanese the same -s- is used (since the oldest written texts) as a marker of politeness (see Vovin 1997, 9), also a quite understandable semantic development from an original desiderative.

Japanese is unique in having this morpheme functioning as a transitive (in pairs like *kuda-r-* 'to be lowered' : *kuda-s-* 'to lower'). This may be a result of several morphological and phonological developments:

a) a fusion of the verbal stem with the separate verb **sV-* 'to do, make', resulting in a general transitive/causative suffix formation; similar compounds with *hă-* are widely attested in Korean. The same formation may be reflected in TM as intensive / frequentative *-su- (*-si-), on which see Benzing 119.
b) a development of *-Í- > -s- that led to the inclusion into this category of several old reciprocal formations (see above on **kórə́s-*, **ə́ntə́s-*);
c) in a few cases like PM **gudu-s* 'downward' = PJ **kúntá-s-* 'to lower' this -s- may have still another origin, going back to the PA directional suffix (see below)

The following cross-language matches can illustrate the PA deverbative (desiderative/inchoative) *-s-:

PA **ă̈mo* 'mouth; taste' (PT **um-* 'to hope for, desire'; PM **ama(n)* 'mouth'; PJ **ámá-* 'tasty, sweet'): PT **um-sa-* 'to hope for, long', PM **am-sa-* 'to taste', PK **má-s* 'taste' (PA **ă̈mo-s-* 'want to taste')

PA **bŏke* 'to lie in ambush' (PT **buk-*, Kalm. *büg-*): PM **büg-si-* id., PJ **bóká-s-* 'to attack, assault' (PA **bŏke-s-* 'start lying in ambush, position oneself in ambush')

PA **ebí* 'to be weak, to wither' (PK **ə̀bí-* 'to be exhausted, hungry'): PK **ə̄p-s-* 'to lack, be insufficient', PJ **impu-sia-* 'in bad spirits' (PA **ebí-s-* 'become exhausted, insufficient')

PA **èkʿá* 'to paw, hit with hooves' (not attested suffixless, cf. PTM **ek-te-*, PJ **ànkà-k-*): PT **ag-sa-* 'to hobble, limp', PM **(h)ag-sa-* 'to have fits, convulsions' (PA **èkʿá-s-* 'start pawing')

PA **i̯òpe* 'to cover, to wear' (PM **ibe-*, PJ **ə̀p-*): PTM **up-si* 'clothes, belt', PK **p-sí-* 'to put on (hat)' (PA **i̯òpe-s-* 'get clothed')

PA **tĕpʿé* 'wave, flap, fly' (PM **debi-*, PJ **tə́mp-*): PM **debi-s-*, PTM **dep-si-* / **dap-si-* (PA **tĕpʿé-s-* 'start flying, soar up')

PA **tʿă̄ja* 'to float, slide' (PT **tāj-*, PTM **tia-*): PM **te-si-*, PTM **ti-sa-* (PA **tʿă̄ja-s-* 'start sliding')

PA **tʿā́ŋe* 'admiration; condolence' (PT **tāŋ*): PT **taŋ-su-*, PM **taŋ-si-* (PA **tʿā́ŋe-s-* 'become admiring')

PA **tʿukì* 'to come to an end' (PT **tüke-*): Yak. *tüksü*, PM **tögü-s-*, PJ **tuku-s-* (PA **tʿukì-s-* 'become exhausted')

Note that the Japanese forms here (**bə́ká-s-* 'attack', **tuku-s-* 'exhaust') synchronically contain the transitive marker -s-; historically, however, they match well PM **büg-si-* and **tögü-s-* and thus reflect PA **bə̋ke-s-* 'start lying in ambush' and **tʿuki-s-* 'start being exhausted'.

2. An adverbial directive suffix -s(i) is attested in Mongolian and Tungus (see EAS 2, 48-49), and this may have left a trace in some derived verbs, cf.:

PA **gódú* 'down, to lower' (PT **Kodɨ*): PM **gudu-s* 'downward', PJ **kúntá-s-* 'to lower'

PA **i̯úgu* 'up, above' (PT **jüg-*, PM **öγe-*, PTM **ug-*, PK **ù(h)*): PT **jüg-se-* 'to rise', PM **ög-se-* id., PTM **ugV-si* 'above, up'; one is also tempted to add PJ **əkə̀-s-* 'to rise', which may reflect a merger of this root with PA **ŋi̯ə̀kʿə̀* 'top, above'.

3. A "general-purpose" nominal suffix -s- is widely attested in Mongolian (usually as -su(n)) and TM (usually as -su- or -sa, often in a compound -k-sa), see EAS 2, 225-227, 239 (although separating the Mong. -su- and attempting, strangely enough, to derive the TM -su from Chinese *shou* 'hand'; on the TM -su-/-sa- see Benzing 89). This suffix became quite obsolete in Turkic (although some traces of it after *-l- and *-r- may still be observable as *-Í- and *-ŕ-, see above), while in Japanese it may have been preserved as the finite form of adjectives (-si), frequently incorporated into the adjective stem as a derivational morpheme (*utuku-si-* 'beautiful' etc.).

This suffix may in fact be nothing else than the pronominal *sV of the 3d person, preserved in Turkic as *-sɨ-, the pronominal suffix of the 3d person, and in Japanese as the demonstrative *sə / *si. This would explain its apparent disappearance in Turkic: the suffix has not disappeared at all, but preserved its original function, while in Mongolian and TM it was desemanticized. Benzing (69-70) regards PTM *-sa as a collective suffix, so in fact we may be dealing here both with a PA pronominal *-sV and collective *-sa, which are rather difficult to keep apart in individual cases.

Some examples of this *-s- in cross-language matches:

PA **čʿi̯ə̀kʿe* 'grass, weed' (PTM **čūKa*): PK **sok-sǎi*, PJ **tùkúsi* 'horse-tail'

PA **kʿàpʿà* 'a k. of vessel, box' (PJ **kàpì* 'scoop, ladle'): PT **KAp-sa-k* 'basket', PTM **xap-sa* 'box'

PA *sı̯ūli 'gall' (PTM *sī): PM *söl-sü, PTM *sīl-se

PA *šı̯ȍgV 'juice' (not attested suffixless, cf. PK *skú-r 'honey'): PM *sıγü-sü, PTM *šūk-se

PA *šı̯uba 'water' (PT *sıb, Man. so- 'sprinkle'): PM *u-su, PTM *šobī-ksa; cf. also PT *sıb-sı-, *sıb-sa-, containing the verbal *-s-suffix (see above).

In combinations with velar suffixes:

PA *pʿȅtá 'meat; skin' (PT *et, PJ *pàntá, PTM *pētē): PM *(h)ada-ska, PTM *pētē-ske

PA *tʿı̯ŭ́ŕe 'leg, knee' (PT *dīŕ, PK *tàrí): PT *tir-sge-k 'elbow', PTM *türē-kse 'boot-top'

4.1.17. PA *-g-

The suffix *-g- is known as a causative marker in TM (see Benzing 122), Mongolian and Korean (where it is reflected as -0-), see EAS 2, 170-175. It is, however, not attested at all in Turkic and Japanese. On the other hand, there is a number of Common Altaic verbal stems in *-g- which can rather be classified as intensive or factitive and are not necessarily causative ("do or undergo smth. repeatedly"), see Ramstedt 1912, 10-20. Cf.:

PA *bójĺo 'to learn, be attentive' (also attested with the causative/passive *-b-, see above): PT *boĺ-gu- 'to learn', PM *bol-gu-(γa)- 'to be cautious', PK *pǎi-hó- 'to learn'

PA *èmi 'to avoid, taboo' (PJ *ìm-): PT *em-ge- 'to suffer, be tortured', PM *emi-γe- 'to be timid, shy away'

PA *gȍŕV 'to move, be irritated' (Evk. gori- 'to move, stir'): PT *Kōŕ-ga- 'to be irritated, agitated', PTM *gur-ge- 'to move, stir'

PA *kʿēro 'to shout, speak' (PTM *xērī- 'to shout, call'): PT *Kạr-ga- 'to swear, curse', PM *karija- / *karaγa- id.

PA *pʿĭ̆ru 'pray, bless' (PK *pīr-): Yak. ırā (< *ıra-ga), PM *hiru-γe-, PTM *piru-gē-

PA *šı̯ŭŕu 'leak, ooze' (PT *sıŕ-): PM *sir-gü-, PTM *šur-gī-

PA *tʿȅ́lù 'string, spreader' (PT *tēl, PM *tele-, PJ *túrù): PM *tel(i)-ge-, PTM *tel-ge-

PA *čʿamo 'to suffer hardships' (PT *čAm 'fine, claim'): OT čam-γ-uq 'slanderer', PM *čima-γa- 'queasy', PK *čhǎm- 'to endure, bear'.

Vovin (1997, 3-4) characterizes this morpheme as "transitivity flipper" (thus analogous to PA *-b-, see above) and, besides Kor. -0- and TM *-g-, relates here also the PJ verbal suffix *-i- (*tuk- 'be attached' / *tuka-i- 'attach', *dak- 'to burn', *daka-i- 'to burn (intr.)'). There are prob-

lems with this solution, however: we would correct those pairs to **tuk-* / **tuka-* and **dak-* / **daka-*, while the -i in OJ forms like *tuke* < **tukai*, *jake* < **dakai* should rather be regarded as a gerund suffix, just like the -i in the respective matches *tuk-i* and *jak-i*. But the forms of the type **tuk-* themselves may go back to earlier **tuki-* < **tuka-ji-*, where *-ji- might reflect an earlier PA *-jV-, but hardly *-gV- (see above)

One can also note a rather common TM suffix *-gā-n denoting the result of an action (see Benzing 58), having probably the same source.

It thus seems that the causative meaning of *-g- in TM, Mong. and Kor. is secondary, being derived from an original factitive / intensive meaning.

However, the main function of PA *-g-, attested in all branches (although in Korean it is somewhat difficult to find its traces - due to loss of intervocalic *-g-), is the formation of derived nouns and adjectives (both from verbal and nominal stems). The number of cross-language parallels here is huge, and vowels after *-g- may differ due to secondary affixation, but essentially this is a single derivational type:

PA **ȁŋo* 'right' (PT *oŋ): PM **eŋ-ge* 'south; front', PTM **āŋ-gi-* 'right'

PA **àŕì* 'thorn, fang' (PJ **ìrà* 'thorn', cf. also Manchu *ar-sun* id.): PT **aŕɨ-g* 'fang', PM **ari-ɣa-* 'fang, molar tooth'

PA **ā́rV* 'open space' (PT **(i)āra* 'space, distance'): PM **ara-ɣu* 'spaced, thin', PTM **ara-gan* 'open space'

PA **bȁt'í* 'dirt' (PTM **batu-* 'frozen soil', PJ **pìntì* 'dirt'): PT **batɨ-g* 'swamp, marsh', PM **bat-ga* 'dirt' (perhaps also PK **ptȁi* 'dirt')

PA **bi̯ujri* 'well, spring' (PTM **bira* 'river', PK **ù-* 'well, spring'): PTM **bira-ga-* 'spring', PJ **bì* 'well'

PA **bi̯ure* 'flea' (not attested suffixless, cf. PT **bür-če*): PT **bür-ge*, PM **bür-ge*, PK **pjòró-k*

PA **bȕka* 'chain, rim' (PJ **bàkù*): PT **buka-gu* 'fetters, chain', PM **bugu-ji* (< -ɣi) 'bracelet, noose'

PA **bū́la* 'confusion, fright' (PT **būĺ-* 'to be bad-tempered, irritable'): PT **būĺV-gu* 'sadness', PM **bala-g* 'guilt', PTM **bol-ga-* 'to be afraid, worry' (secondary verbalization)

PA **čȅlV* 'to split, hole, crack' (PT **dil-* 'to split'): PM **čilü-ɣe* 'space between', PTM **šēl-ge* 'crack, narrow passage'

PA **číńo* 'power, ability' (PK **čɨ́ń* 'shape, appearance; to make, produce'): PT **dɨŋ* 'very, strongly', PM **čine-ɣe* 'force, ability', PTM **šiŋ* 'very, extremely'

PA **č'ə́p'u* 'ulcer, furuncle' (Evk. *čepe* 'ulcer, pustle'): PT **čɨ̄p-ga-n* 'furuncle', PM **čiji-ga-n* 'tumour, albugo', PK **čjūpó-k* 'ulcer, furuncle' [*-kV?]

PA **di̯ǜlu* 'warm' (PTM **dūl-* 'to warm (of sun)', PT **jɨlɨ-* 'to be warm'): PT **jɨlɨ-g* 'warm', PM **dula-ɣa-n* 'warm', PJ **dù* 'warm water'

PA **ḗra* 'rough' (PJ **árá-* 'rough', Kor. *al-* 'bare, simple'): PT **Ēri-g* 'rough', PM **ar-gu-* 'dry, hard, rough'

PA **ḗro* 'clean' (PT **ạrɨ* - 'to be clean'): PT **ạrɨ-g* 'clean', PM **ari-ɣu-n* 'clean'

PA **gi̯òjńu* 'dawn, daylight' (PT **gün* 'sun', PK **kúi* 'dawn'): PM **gege-ɣe* 'dawn, daylight', Man. *geŋ-ǵe* 'light', PJ **ka(i)* 'day'

PA **guša* 'bitter, sour' (PTM **goši*): PM **gasi-ɣu-n*, PTM **goši-g-di*

PA **i̯unu* 'cow' (with a different suffix cf. PT **in-ken* 'female camel'): PT **in-ge-k*, PM **üni-ɣe-n*

PA **kàma* 'to unite, gather' (PM **kamu-*): PT **KAmu-g* 'all, together', PM **kamu-g* id.

PA **kāmV* 'to be weak, oppress' (PT **KĀma-* 'to become blinded, dumb; to set teeth on edge', PM **kama-* 'to be mangy', PTM **kama-* 'to oppress'): PM **kama-ɣu* 'scab, herpes', PTM **kama-ga* 'loss, trouble'

PA **ki̯àpì* 'depth, edge' (PT **kiabu-* 'bottom of boat', PJ **kìpà* 'edge, side', PM **köb* 'depth'): PM **köbe-ɣe* 'edge, side', PK **kìp-hí-* 'deep'

PA **ki̯ăro* 'crow, raven' (PTM **kori* 'a mythical bird'): PT **KAr-ga* 'crow', PM **keri-je* id.

PA **kŭŋi* 'child' (PT **güŋ* 'female slave', PTM **kuŋa* 'child, childhood', PM **köw* 'child'): PM **köw-ɣü-n* 'child, son', PJ **kúa* 'child'

PA **ki̯oči* 'nasty' (Oyr. *kača-*; Man. *kušu-n* 'hate, uneasyness'): PM **keče-ɣü* 'difficult, unpleasant', PK **kùčh(ɨ)-* 'nasty'

PA **kuri* 'wattle, fence, enclosure' (PT **Kur-* 'to erect, build', PTM **kori* 'blockhouse, cage'): PT **Kur-ga-n*, PM **küri-je-n* 'enclosure'

PA **ki̯udu* 'shore, border' (PTM **kudē* 'shore, land', PJ **kui* 'fortress'): PT **Kɨdɨ-g* 'edge, border', PM **kiǯi-ɣa-r* 'border'.

PA **kʿádí(-rV)* 'to scrape off, scraper' (PT **KEdir-* 'to skin (a sheep)', PJ **káintúr-* 'to scrape off'): PM **kedir-ge* 'scraper', PTM **xar-ga-n* 'chock (for processing fish skins)'

PA **kʿăpra* 'to scrape, plane' (PT **K(i)arba-* 'to grope; rake up'): PM **kawra-ji* 'file', PTM **xarpu-gda* 'plane, knife'

PA **kʿeńo* 'edge' (PT **Kạj ~ -ń*, PK **kǟń*): PT **Kạjɨ-g* (~ *-ń-*), PM **kaja-ɣa* id.

PA **kʿȅŕo* 'to remunerate, repay' (PTM **xeri-* 'price, payment'): PT **Kaŕ-ga-n-* 'to acquire, win', PM **keri-g* 'miserly', Nan. *xer-gẽ* 'wake, ritual celebration'

PA **kʿéma* 'a k. of reed or leek' (PJ **kámá* 'reed'): PM **kam-ga-r* 'wild leek', PTM **xeŋ-gu-kte* 'wild onion'

PA **kʿíla* 'hair' (PT **Kɨl*): PM **kil-ga-su* 'horse's hair, tail hair', PK **kār(h)-*, PJ **kái* 'hair'

PA **kʿílo* 'stalk, stem' (PTM **xila-* 'to blossom'): PT **Kɨl-ga* 'beard (of grain, awn', PM **kil-ga-na* 'meadowgrass', PTM **xila-ga* 'flower', PK **kɨ̀rɨ̀(h)* 'stubble; stump'

PA **kʿĩrma* 'snow, hoar-frost' (not attested suffixless, cf. PTM **xima-ŋsa* 'snow': PT **Kɨra-gu* 'hoar-frost', PM **kirma-g* 'first snow'

PA **kʿópʿìra* 'rift (in a river), bridge' (PT **köpür* 'bridge', PTM **xupuru* 'rift (in river); bridge', PJ **kápárá* 'shallow place'): PT **köpürü-g* 'bridge', PM **köɣür-ge* id.

PA **kʿ[ú]ŕa* 'pole; finger' (PTM **xurū* 'hoof; handful'): PT **K[a]ŕ-gu-k* 'pole, peg', PM **kuru-ɣu* 'finger, toe', PK **kàrà-k* 'finger; pole'

PA **lằŋi* 'dirt, slime' (PM **laji*): PTM **laŋ-ga* 'cloggy, slimy substance', PJ **nìn-kə̀-r-* 'be dreggy, muddy'

PA **ĺábó* 'a k. of plant' (PT **jaba*, PJ **náimpú*): PM **debe-ɣe* 'meadow, pasture', PTM **labi-k-ta* 'a k. of moss'

PA **lúŋa* 'a k. of furry animal' (not attested suffixless, cf. PTM **loŋ-sa* 'lynx, sable'): PM **naga-j* 'female tarbagan', PJ **ná-i* 'rat'

PA **ĺi̯ul[o]* 'to ransom, ask' (PT **jul-* 'to ransom', PM **doli-* 'to barter, ransom'): PT **julu-g* 'ransom', PJ **na-i* 'price'

PA **ni̯uru* 'song and dance' (PT **jɨr* 'song', PK *nor- 'to amuse oneself'): PM **nür-gi-* 'noisy discussion', Evn. *nörgъ-* 'to dance and sing'

PA **ńaŋo* 'nut' (PJ **mama-i* 'bean'): PT **jAŋ-ga-k* 'walnut', PM **ǯiɣa-g* 'walnut', PTM **ńaŋu-kta* 'cone, nut'

PA **ńíkrV* 'a k. of thorny tree' (PJ **míkúri*): PM **ǯeɣer-ge-ne*, PTM **ńikri-k-ta*

PA **óče* 'late, evening' (PJ **ə́sə́-*): PT **očɨ-g* 'youngest, latest', PM **öčü-ge* 'yesterday', PK **ə̀čə́i* id.

PA **ŏŕe* 'other, one of two' (PTM **urē-* 'to be similar'): PT **öŕ-ge* 'other', PM **örü-ge-l* 'one of two'

PA **pala* 'tooth' (PK **par*): Nan. *paloa*, PJ **pa*

PA **puli* 'red' (PTM **pula-* with different suffixes): PM **hula-ɣan*, PTM **pula-gi-* (PK **pɨ̀rk-* reflects rather **puli-kʿV*)

PA **púre* 'leaf, bud' (PT **bür*): PM **bor-gu-*, PJ **pá*.

PA **pʿadV* 'be sober, attentive' (PM **haǯi-*): PT **adɨ-g*, PM **hada-ɣu* / **haǯi-g* 'sober, attentive'

PA **pʿèrì* 'edge' (PM **hir*, PTM **pere*, PJ **piàrì*): PM **hiru-ɣa*, PTM **pere-g-*, **per-gī*)

PA **pʿŭ̀ri* 'seed' (PM **hüre* 'seed', PTM **puri* 'family, children', PK **pòrì* 'wheat'): PT **uru-g* 'seed; kin', PJ **pú* 'growth'

PA **pʿŭ́li* 'root, foundation' (PT **ul*): Man. *fulexe*, PK **pɨ̀rhằi*, PJ **pú-*.

PA **p´ŭsa* 'plan, reason' (PT **us*, Evn. *huse*, PJ **pánsú*): PT **usu-g*, PM **hasa-γu-* (secondary verbalization).

PA **si̯ăŕi* 'earth, sand, marsh' (PT **siaŕ*, PJ **situ*): PM **sira-γu*, PTM **siru-gi*

PA **ši̯ùjò* 'thorn, needle' (PTM **šūje*, PK **sāi*, PJ **sə̀jà*): PT **soja-gu*, PM **soju-γa*.

PA **tíri* 'thick, plenty' (PT **dīr-*, PTM **dir-*, PJ **(d)ita-*): PM **čir-ga-γu-*, PTM **dir-ga-*

PA **ti̯ŏle* 'spleen' (PTM **ǯō(l)*): PM **deli-γü-n*, PJ **(d)i*

PA **t´i̯òra* 'to cultivate (earth)' (PT **TAri-*): PM **tari-ja-n* 'crops', PJ **tà* 'field'

PA **ǯăło* 'fasten, hang' (PT **jala-*, PTM **ǯala-n*, PK **čărā̆-*): PT **jala-gu*, PM **ǯal-ga-* (secondary verbalization), PJ **dá-i*

PA **ǯebí* 'bad, to suffer' (not attested suffixless, cf. PT **jabi-ŕ*, **jab-la-* etc.): PT **jab-ga-n*, PM **ǯibe-γü-*

The precise meaning of this PA *-g-, next to being a general noun marker, is not quite clear; Benzing (68-69) regards PTM *-g as collective, which seems possible but not ultimately proved.

4.1.18. PA *-k-

Unlike *-g-, the PA voiceless unaspirated *-k- was in the vast majority of cases only building denominative nouns, cf.:

PA **ămV* 'quick, timely' (PT **(i)am* 'now', PTM **am(a)* 'quick', PK **ām* 'surely, certainly'): PT **(i)am-ki* 'recent', PM **(h)ama-gaj* 'sudden, quick', PTM **ama-kā-* 'quick'

PA **ánta* 'oath; comrade' (PT **Ānt*; PM, PTM **anda* 'friend', PJ **ánta* 'enemy'): PM **anda-g(a)* 'oath, to take an oath', PTM **anda-ka-* 'friend, follower'; here the derivative is also secondarily used as a verb in PTM and PT **Ānt-ik-* 'to take an oath'

PA **bi̯óro* 'bank, rift' (PK **pìrə́* 'bank'): PM **bor-gi-ja* 'river rift', PTM **bir[u]-ka-* 'precipice, mountain'

PA **bi̯udu* 'down, feather; curly' (with a different suffix cf. PM **buǯi-ji-* 'to be curly'): PT **bidik* 'moustache', PM **buǯi-gir* 'curly', **boǯi-gu* '(bird) down'

PA **bŏru* 'dust; smoke, whirlwind' (PT *bur): PT **buru-k* 'whirlwind, puff of smoke', PM **bur-gi-* / **bür-gi-* 'to rise (of dust, smoke)' (secondary verbalization), PTM **bure-ki* 'dust; fresh snow'

PA **č´i̯ŏli* 'grey, light' (PT **čĀl* 'grey, light', PM **čil* 'clear, cloudless'): PM **čil-ge-* 'clear, cloudless', PTM **čol-ka* 'grey, white'

PA **épʿV* 'grandfather' (PTM **epu* 'grandfather, elder relative', PK **ə̀pí* 'father'): PM **ebü-ge-* 'grandfather, ancestor', Orok *epe-ke* 'grandfather'

PA **ə̌tʿè* 'elder relative' (PT **Ata* / **Ete* 'father', PK **àtə̌* 'man', PJ **tətə*, *ti 'uncle'): PT **Ata-ka-* / **Ete-ke-* 'uncle', PM **eči-ge* 'father', PTM **eti-(r)kē-* 'old man'

PA **ə̌na* 'middle, width' (PT **ēn*): PM *eŋ 'breadth, width', PTM **(x)ene-kū̆* 'sheath, scabbard', PK **án-h* 'middle', PJ **nà-ká* id.

PA **gŭri* 'wide, broad, thick' (PT **gür* 'thick, broad', PTM **gora* 'far', PM **gür* 'wide, broad'): PM **gür-ge-r* 'thick', PK **kūr-k-* id.

PA **ə̀̌tʿá* 'to rely, trust' (PTM **(x)iti* 'custom, order, occasion'):

PTM **(x)iti-ka-* 'custom, order'; a secondary verbalization is observed in PM **ite-ge-* 'to hope, believe, trust, reason', PJ **àntù-kà-* 'to take upon oneself; to trust smb. with'

PA **i̯aru* 'deer, antelope' (PTM **ora-n*): PT **Ar-ku-n* 'a cross-bred horse', PM **(h)oro-ŋgo* 'a k. of antelope'

PA **i̯òre* 'male' (PTM **ur*, PJ **ə̀tə*): PT **ẹr-ke-k* 'male', PTM **uri-k-čān* 'elk (2 y. old)'

PA **i̯ŭdu* 'wonder, supernatural' (PM **ide* 'sacred energy', Evk. *odu* 'wonder', PJ *i / *ju 'sacred'): PT **ɨdu-k* 'sacred', PM **idu-gan* 'female shaman'

PA **i̯ùlò* 'hollow, hole, intestine' (PT **ülV* 'fistula', PJ **ùruà* 'hollow, hollow tree-trunk'): PT **olu-k* 'hollow tree-trunk', PM **(h)olu-gaj* 'thick intestine'

PA **i̯ŭ́tʿe* 'thick liquid' (PT **ȫt* 'gall'): PM **öte-ge-* 'thick (of liquids)'; secondarily verbalized in Evk. *it-ke-* 'to ferment bread'

PA **kàra* 'opposite, enemy' (PT **Karu* 'opposite', PM **kari* 'foreign, alien')": PT **Kara-k* 'bandit', PJ **kàtà-ki* 'enemy, adversary'; secondarily verbalized (or else reflecting the factitive in *-g-) is PM **kar-gu/a-* 'to meet'

PA **kòtʿe* 'hole' (PT **göt* 'anus, buttocks', PK **kút* 'hole'): PT **götü-k* > **gütü-k* 'tailless', PM **kota-ga-r* 'hollow', Evk. *koto-ko-n* 'concave, cavity'

PA **kòŋa* 'brown, black' (not attested suffixless, cf. PTM **koŋ-na-* 'black'): PM **koŋ-gu-r* 'light brown', PJ **kàn-kâ-* 'shadow'.

PA **kušu* 'nut' (PJ **kusi*): PT **Kusɨ-k*, PM **kusi-ga*, PTM **koši-k-ta*

PA **k[i̯a]ŋe* 'a k. of board' (PT **K(i)aŋ* 'vehicle, skis'): PT **K(i)aŋa-k* id., PM **kaŋ-ga* 'a k. of board, cross-bar'

PA **kʿə̌́pri* 'fan, bellows' (probably secondary verbal usage in PT **kȫrü-* 'to use bellows', PTM **xarpu-* 'to sweep'): PT **kȫrü-k* 'bellows', PM **keɣür-ge* id., PTM **xarpu-kī* 'fan, broom'

PA **kʿăra* 'tide, flood' (PJ **kátà*): Turk. *qarɨq* 'ditch', PM **kar-gi* 'rapids, overfall'

PA **kʿi̯ōtʿe* 'a k. of knife or arrow' (Evk. *utu* 'a k. of arrow'): PM **kitu-ga* 'knife', PTM **(x)utu-ke* 'knife on a shaft'

PA **kʿɛ̀ńó* 'light, thin' (suffixless cf. perhaps Turkm. Gaj 'стать стельной (о верблюдице)'): PM **köŋ-ge-n* 'light (not heavy)', PJ **kə̀má-ka-* 'small, thin'

PA **kʿɔ̀rV* 'dung, excrements' (not attested suffixless, cf. Kor. *kərɨm*): PM **kor-gu-l* , PTM **xōri-k-ta*.

PA **ĺā́pʿV* 'bifurcated pole' (PT **jāpa* 'wooden fork, shovel', PTM **lapa-* 'bifurcated pole'): Turkm. *jāba-q* 'wooden fork', PM **daɣa-ga-n* 'horizontal bar in a yurt', Evk. *lapki* 'branch inserted between branches'

PA **ni̯ála* 'shallow' (Nan. *nịala* 'overflowed place', PK **nằrằ* 'ford'): PT **jAl-kɨ-* 'shallow', PM **nala-gar* 'declivity, overflowed plain', Evn. *ńala-kụ* 'shallow')

PA **ṓtʿè* 'old' (Chuv. *vadъ*, PTM **ute*): PM **öte-gü* 'old man', Evk. *uta-kān* 'old age'

PA **pi̯ósò* 'stairway, step' (PJ **pásì*): PT **bAs-kɨ-č*, PM **bosu-ga*, PTM **pise-ku*

PA **pʿi̯ā́r[e]* 'bank' (PT **jạ̄r*): PM **her-gi*, Evk. *hirki*

PA **sańV* 'bird dung' (PTM **sańa*): PT **saŋ-k*, PM **saŋ-ga-*.

PA **sápa* 'brace, vice' (not attested suffixless, cf. PM **sab-salga*): PT **saba-k*, PTM **sab-ga*, PK **sàpó-k*

PA **sáŕo* 'fence, village' (PTM **saru* 'tent in a boat', PJ **sátuá* 'village'): PT **soŕa-k* 'village', PM **sirö-ge* 'fence', Orok *sarụ-qa* id.

PA **sằpʿí* 'long hair, offshoot' (PJ **sìmpá-i* 'pistils, stamens'): PT **sapa-k* 'branch, bunch', PM **saba-ga* 'yak wool'.

PA **si̯ŏpʿu* 'oval-shaped' (PT **supɨ*): PT **supɨ-k*, PM **sibo-ga-r*

PA **si̯ṓru* 'pole' (not attested suffixless, cf. PTM **siara-ŋ*): PT **sɨ̄ru-k*, PM **sur-ga-ɣag*

PA **sīĺa* 'sharp stick, tooth' (PT **sīĺ*, PTM **sila-*, PK **sár*, PJ **sàs-*): PT **sīĺe-k*, PM **sile-gü* 'toothed animal'

PA **ǯeŕV* 'edge, row, front' (PT **jeŕe-*, probably secondary as a verb in OT; PTM **ǯeri-n*): PT **jeŕe-k*, PM **ǯer-ge*

A very consistent group among those derivatives is represented by names of small animals (PT *-k, *-kaj, PM *-gan(a), -ga-li, PTM *-kī , *-ke-n, *-ku (see Benzing 66-67), PJ *-ki):

PA **balu* 'sable' (not attested suffixless, cf. Evk. *balini*): PM **bula-gan* 'sable, game', PJ **puru-ki* 'sable'

PA **ènŋù* 'young of an ungulate' (PJ **ùmà* 'horse'): PT **ạn-kaj*, PM **una-ga-n*, PTM **(x)enŋe-kēn*

PA **kʿi̯ŏŕo* 'lamb, deer' (PT **Koŕɨ* 'lamb'): PM **kuri-ga-n* id., PTM **xir-ki* 'wild deer'

PA **kʿi̯ū́ĺa* 'sable, squirrel' (PT **kīĺ* 'sable'): PM **kul-ga-na* 'mouse', PTM **xulu-kī* 'squirrel'

PA **ĺepʿa* 'feather, down, wool' (PT *jAp 'a mass of hair or wool'): PT **japa-k*, PM **daɣa-ga-n* 'foal' ('hair fading')

PA **pà̀tʿe* 'louse, biting insect' (PT **bɨt*): PM **bata-ga-na*, Evk. *hānte-ku*

PA **pʿi̯ani* 'hen, chicken' (PJ **pina*): PM **jaŋ-ga-li* 'a k. of small bird', PTM **pinu-kī*

PA **pʿi̯un[e]* 'a small wild animal' (not attested suffixless, cf. PTM **pün-čül-* 'hedgehog'): PT **enü-k* 'young of a wild animal, puppy', PM **hüne-gen* 'fox', PTM **püńe-kī* 'jerboa, weasel'

Only in a very small number of cases do we encounter PA *-k- as a deverbative verbal suffix, cf.:

PA **i̯úrù* 'to gather, crowd' (PM **ir-* id., Kor. ul 'clan', PJ **ú(n)tì* id.): PT **ir-k-* 'to gather', PM **ir-ge-n* 'people'

PA **kāšu* 'to tickle' (PT **gīči-*): PT **Kɨ̄čɨ-k*, PM **giǯi-ge*, PTM **kaša-ka-*, PJ **kúsú-nkú-r-*

PA **kʿi̯úŋu* 'to bend, bow' (not attested suffixless, cf. PT **Kɨjŋɨ-r-*, PM **keji-ǯaŋ*, **keje-de-*): PT **Kɨjŋɨ-k* 'curved', PM **keji-ge* 'oblique, slanting', PTM **xuŋ-ke-* 'to bow', PJ **kún-kú-m-* 'to be curved, bent'

PA **ńò̀lo* 'to pluck, pick out' (PT **jol-*; PTM **ń[u]li-* 'to exuviate, fade', PJ **mə̀r-* 'to pluck, tear off'): PM **ǯul-ga-* 'to pick, pluck', PTM **ń[u]li-ki-* 'naked'

It may well be so that in all these cases Mongolian (the only language actually pointing to *-k-) has an innovation: the original verbal stem developed a nominal usage through conversion, and the derivative in *-k- was built already from this secondary noun; and in the case of *ǯul-ga-* we may actually be dealing with PA factitive *-g-, and not with *-k-.

4.1.19. PA *-kʿ-

Unlike PA *-k-, the aspirated *-kʿ- is quite well attested in building derived verbs from verbal stems, cf.:

PA **bè̀ló* 'pale' (PM **bala-ji* 'blind', PTM **beli* 'pale', PJ **pàrá-* 'to clear up'): Neg. *bel-ki-* 'to whiten', PK **pà̀r-k-* 'bright'

PA **bi̯ù̀lò* 'to soak, gush forth' (Kor. *pul-li-* 'to wet', PJ **pùrə̀* 'bath'): PT **bula-k* 'spring, well', PM **bul-ka-* 'to soak', PTM **b[ü]l-kü-* id.

PA **čʿí̆mu* 'to pinch, pluck' (PM **čim* 'a pinch', PJ **túm-* 'to pluck'): PM **čim-ki-* 'to pinch', PK **čùmə̀-kúi* 'fist, handful'

PA **enu* 'to beware, attention' (PM **(h)ana-* 'to beware, PT *anu- 'to get ready'): PT **anu-k* 'ready', PM **(h)aŋ-ka-* 'to pay attention'

PA **i̯ăpV* 'to bend, turn' (not attested suffixless; cf. PT **ebi-r-* 'to turn'): PM **eb-ke-* 'to bend, fold', PTM **obo-ka* 'hook', PJ **àpù-kuà* 'stick with a hook'

PA **kupʶe* 'light, floating' (PM **köbü-* 'drift on the surface'): Bur. *xübxe-lze-* 'drift on the surface', PTM **kep(u)ke-* id.

PA **kʶópʶi* 'foam' (PT **köp-* 'to swell', PM **köɣe-* 'to foam, swell up', PTM **x[o]pu-* 'foam'): PT **köpü-k* 'foam', PM **köb-ke-ji-* 'to swell'

PA **kʶúlo* 'to roll, turn' (PT **Kula-* 'to roll down, fall', PTM **xol-* / **xul-* 'walk round, turn round', Jpn. *koro* 'round log'): PM **kol-ki-da-* 'to be restless, go round and round', Jpn. *koro-g-* 'to roll, rotate'

PA **lalV* 'weak, exasperated'(PM *nala-ji- 'be slow, sluggish', PTM **lali-* 'be hungry, weak, exasperated'): PT **jal-k-* 'to suffer pain, be nauseated', PM **nal-ka-ji-* 'be faint, drowsy, weak'

PA **pʶísi* 'break, cleave, peck' (PTM **pis-*, PK **psɨ́-*, PJ **písí* 'fish-fork'): PM **hes-ke-*, PTM **pis-k-*, PK **ps-kɨ́-r*, PJ **pisi(n)k-*

PA **tʶi̯ăru* 'to curse' (PTM **turē-*) : PT **tẹr-k-*, PM **tar-ki-*

As we see, in many of the above cases nominalization of the derived form in *-kʶ- also occurs (cf. PT **bula-k*, **anu-k*, **köpü-k*, PTM **obo-ka*, PK **čùmə̀-kúi*, **ps-kɨ́-r*, PJ **àpù-kuà*), and in some of the cases all available derivatives are only nominal, cf.:

PA **kopV* 'to plane, whet' (PTM **kuba-*): PM **kobi-ki* 'a k. of chisel', Orok *qụwaqụ* 'plough'

PA **ŏri* 'to cover' (PTM **ora-* 'become covered', PK **òrái* 'door'): PM **örü-ke* 'cover of roof window', PTM **ur-ke* 'door'

PA **pʶi̯áru* 'to spin, plait, wrap' (PTM **por-*): PT **ar-ka-g* 'weft, woof', PK **pòrò-kí* 'swaddlingclothes')

The deverbative instrumental suffix *-ku is rather widely attested in TM (see Benzing 1011), and it is this suffix that corresponds to PM *-ki in Orok *qụwa-qụ* = PM **kobi-ki* (see above); one can thus suspect that this usage was already present in PA. The same form seems also to be reflected in PJ *-ku 'adjective and verb nominalizer' and MKor. -ko 'subordinative gerund marker' (see Vovin 1997, 9).

But the largest group of derivatives here, just as in the cases with PA *-g- and *-k-, are denominative nouns, cf. the following cross-language parallels:

PA **ăni* 'very' (PTM **ana-* 'very', PK **àńí* 'first, beginning'): PT **eŋ(k)* 'very', PM **aŋ-ka* 'very, extremely; original'

PA **ằra* 'back, behind' (PM **aru*): PT **ăr-ka* 'back', PM **aru-ki* 'back, behind', PTM **ar-ka-* 'back'

PA **čʿi̯álV* ‘a k. of thorny plant’ (PT **č(i)alɨ* ‘bush’, PJ **tára* ‘Aralia’): PT **č(i)alɨ-kan* ‘nettle’, PM **čulu-ki-r* ‘кумарчик гобийский’, PTM **čil[u]-k-te* ‘wild pear; a k. of tree with red bark’

PA **čʿòrV* ‘pike’ (not attested suffixless, cf. PT **čor-tan*): PM **čuru-kaj*, Man. *čur-χu* ‘young fish’

PA **gĕbo* ‘light, empty’ (PTM **gebu-*): Chag. *keve-k* ‘empty’, PM **güji-ke-* ‘shallow, light’

PA **ki̯ujilV* ‘a k. of bird’ (PJ **kiari* ‘plover’): PM **qojilu-g* ‘wild turkey’, PTM **kilu-k-* ‘goose, swan’, PK **kɨirjə́-kí* ‘goose’

PA **kàbro* ‘a k. of ferment’ (PT **Kor* ‘ferment, yeast, bitter’, PM **kowr* ‘poison, harm’, PJ **kàrà-* ‘bitter’): PM **ko(w)r-ka-g* ‘pus (in a wound)’, PTM **kabu-k-ta* (< **kabur-k-ta*) ‘salmon fat, salmon stomach’

PA **kōŋa* ‘bell’ (PJ **káná-i*): PM **koŋ-ku* ‘bell’, PTM **kōŋā-k-ta* id.

PA **kŭŋi* ‘child’ (PT **güŋ* ‘female slave’, PTM **kuŋa* ‘child, childhood’, PM **köw* ‘child’): PM **kew-ke-n* ‘daughter, girl’, PTM **kuŋā-kā-n* ‘child’

PA **kʿŭ̀jlu* ‘ear, to hear’ (PK **kúi* ‘ear’): PT **Kul-ka-k* ‘ear’, PM **kul-ki* ‘ear wax’, PJ **kí-k-* ‘to hear’

PA **ĺepʿa* ‘feather, down, wool’ (PT **jAp* ‘a mass of hair or wool’): PT **jApa-k(u)* id., PM **daɣa-ki* ‘tangled hair’

PA **ĺi̯ŏm(o)ŋa* ‘name, spell’ (PT **jom* ‘luck, omen; medicine’; PM **dom* ‘magic, legend’, PTM **nimŋā-* ‘to shamanize’, PJ **ná(N)* ‘name’, **nəm-* ‘to pray’): PT **jom(ŋ)a-k* ‘tale, legend, riddle’, PM **doma-g* ‘legend’, PTM **nimŋā-kā-* ‘fairy-tale’, PK **nì'jà-kì* ‘tale, story’

PA **máĺe* ‘wild cat’ (OT *müš*): PT **bɨńĺɨ-k* ‘cat’, (WMong. *malu-qai*), Man. *mala-xi*

PA **ŋŏjčʿu* ‘thin, small’ (PTM **ŋujši*, PJ **úsú-*, Kor. *nač-*): PM **öčü-ken*, PTM **ŋujši-ku-*, PK **nǎč-ka-*

PA **ŋŭje* ‘long hair’ (PJ **bə̀* ‘tail’): PT **öje-k* ‘part of animal’s skin under the neck or between legs’, PM **öje-keji* ‘lower part of animal’s belly’

PA **págò* ‘box, vessel’ (PT **bog*, PTM **paga*): PTM **paga-kī*, PK **phǎ́kái*

PA **pʿǎ́tʿà* ‘bottom, lower side’ (PTM **pata*, PJ **pátá):* PT **ạt-kɨ-*, PM **hat-ku*, PTM **pata-ka*, PK **pàtó-k*

PA **si̯ǎ́ri* ‘earth, sand, marsh’ (PT **siaŕ*, PJ **situ*): PM **sir-ke*, PK **hǎ̀rk*

PA **tʿi̯oŋe* ‘space’ (not attested suffixless, cf. PTM **tuŋe-r* ‘lake’): PT **Teŋe-k* ‘air space’, PM **töŋ-ki-* ‘hollow’, Evk. *tuŋu-ke* ‘backwater’, PK **taŋh* ‘hollow’

PA **tʿopʿu* ‘knee, knee cap’ (PJ **tu(m)pu-*): PT **topɨ-k*, PM **tuw-kai*

PA **ʒòpʿè* ‘hollow under knee or neck, corner’ (not attested suffixless, cf. PJ **dəpə̀-rə́*): PM **ʒob-ki*, PTM **ʒup(u)-ku*

Although the semantics of most of these derivatives is quite neutral, we should note cases like **ŋōjčʿu* 'small' > Mong. **öčü-ken*, **kŭŋi* 'child' > Mong. **kew-ken*, PTM **kuŋā-kān*, and the well-known fact that these suffixes (Mong. -ken / -qan, PTM *-kān) are productive diminutives. It seems thus quite probable that PA *-kʿ- in its denominative function had a diminutive meaning (which remained productive in TM, see Benzing 58-59, and Mongolian, but can also be observed in many cases in Turkic, Korean and Japanese).

Another source of this morpheme may be the adjectival marker *-kʿ(i)-, reflected in Mong. (-ki), Turkic (-kɨ /-ki), see EAS 2, 234; cf. also the PJ attributive adjectival suffix *-ki.

4.1.20. PA *-ŋ-

The suffix *-ŋ- is not frequent, but firmly established for Altaic (see EAS 2, 229). It only forms nouns from verbs or nouns (cases of verbal usage of the -ŋ-derivatives are clearly secondary), and in this respect is fully synonymous with PA *-g-. Cf. the following cross-language lexical matches:

PA **ǎja* 'to go, walk' (PTM **āja-* 'to run quickly'): PM **aja-ŋ* 'journey, travel', PTM **āj[a]-ŋ* 'swift', PJ **àjùm-* 'to walk'

PA **dǎ́lo* 'wing, shoulderblade' (PT **jāl* 'counter, mane', PM **dalu* 'shoulderblade', **dali* 'wing'): PM **dala-ŋ* 'counter, scruff', PK **tǎ̀rŋái* > **tǎ̀r'ái* 'wing (of a saddle)'

PA **ǐ́na* 'dawn, dusk' (PTM **ine-* 'to dawn'): PT **ɨŋ-ɨr* 'dusk', PTM **ine-ŋī* 'day'

PA **ìri* 'to rot, pus, be sick' (PT **iri-* 'to rot'): PT **iri-ŋ* 'pus', PJ **ìtà-m-* 'to be sick'

PA **ī́ru* 'trace, furrow' (PT **īŕ* / **ɨ̄ŕ*): PM **(h)ira-γa-* 'ripple, riffle', PK **ìráŋ* 'furrow'

PA **k̯iolá* 'to steal, deceive' (PTM **kola* 'cunning, deceit'): PT **K(i)aĺaŋ* 'lazy, vile', PM **kula-ga-j* 'robber, thief', PJ **kasu-m-* 'to steal, rob'

PA **kʿalo* 'girth, tug' (PT **xala* 'tug, belt'): PT **Kola-ŋ* 'saddlegirth', PK **kora-ŋ* 'fetters'

PA **kʿi̯ū́čʿi* 'a k. of cereal' (PT **kō̄če* 'barley'): PM **küči-ŋ-gi* 'a leguminous plant', PK **kìčàŋ* 'millet'

PA **mólu* 'ridge, corner' (PTM **mulu*, PK **mǎ̀rǎ̀*): PT **buluŋ*, PJ **múná-*

It is not quite clear whether this suffix can be related to the productive PTM *-ŋ(u)- denoting "nicht entfremdbares Eigentum" (see Benzing 61-62 for a discussion of this morpheme), which otherwise has no known Altaic parallels. On the other hand, *-ŋ- in deverbatives like

**āja-ŋV*, **ìri-ŋV* etc. may be compared with the productive attested TM suffix *-ŋa- forming "past durative actions" ("vorübergehend andauernde Handlung"), see Benzing 120.

4.1.21. Summary of PA derivational suffixes

*-b-	a) deverbative verbal passive/causative
	b) denominative nominal (collective?)
*-pʿ-	deverbative passive/instrumental
*-m-	a) deverbative nominal
	b) denominative nominal (adjectival)
*-d-	denominative/deverbal adjectival
*-t-	a) deverbative verbal intransitive/passive
	b) denominative/deverbal adjectival
*-tʿ-	deverbative verbal transitive/motional
*-ktʿ-	denominative/deverbal adjectival
*-n-	a) deverbative verbal intransitive (reflexive)
	b) denominative nominal
*-l-	a) deverbative nominal
	b) denominative nominal (attributive)
*-r-	a) deverbative nominal (intransitive)
	b) denominative nominal (attributive)
*-čʿ-	a) denominative diminutive
	b) deverbative verbal intensive
*-ǯ-	a) adjectival
	b) intransitive (medial?)
*-Í-	verbal reciprocal
*-ŕ-	a) deverbative transitive
	b) suffix of paired body parts
*-j-	denominative expressive
*-s-	a) denominative nominal (=pronominal)
	b) deverbative / denominative desiderative/inchoative
*-g-	a) denominative/deverbative nominal
	b) factitive/intensive deverbative verbal
*-k-	denominative nominal; suffix of small animals
*-kʿ-	a) attributive (-> denominative nominal)
	b) diminutive
	c) deverbative verbal
*-ŋ- -	deverbative/denominative nominal

4.2. Proto-Altaic inflection

4.2.1. Noun

4.2.1.1. Case suffixes

Nominative 0: TM *0 (Benzing 79); Jap 0; Kor. 0; Mong 0; OT 0

Accusative *be: TM *ba / *be (Benzing 80-81); OJ wo

Partitive *ga: TM *ga (Benzing 82); OJ possessive ga; ?Kor. accusative -ɨ-r (*-g- is lost regularly, but the source of -r is not quite clear); ?Mong. accusative *-ɣ; OT -(ɨ)ɣ/-(i)g

Genitive *-ńV: PTM *ŋi; OJ no; Kor. -ń; Mong *n; OT ŋ (forms like -ŋi presuppose *-ń-ki)

Dative / locative *du / *da: TM dative *du (Benzing 83), locative suffix -dā- (Benzing 61); OJ attributive/locative -tu (although this suffix can also be compared with Mong. adjectival -tu, see below); Mong. dative/locative -da / -du-r, attributive -du; OT locative/ablative -ta/-da/-te/-de

Dative / instrumental *-nV: OJ dative/locative ni.OT instrumental -(ɨ)n/-(i)n

Dative / directive *-kʿV: TM Directive *kī (Benzing 84); OT dative -qa/-ke

Comitative / locative *lV: TM locative *lā (Benzing 84), prolative *lī (Benzing 84); Mong. comitative *-luɣa; ?Turk. -li, -lɨ-ɣ (EAS 2, 46-47); Kor. instrumental / lative -ro

Comitative / equative *-čʿa: OJ comitative to; Mong. ablative ča; terminative ča(ɣa); OT equative -ča/-če

Allative *-gV: TM allative *gī (also loc. suffix -gī-, Benzing 60-61); Mong. *-(ɣ)a (arch., EAS 2, 39-40); OT directive -ɣa-ru / -ge-rü; Kor. -ʻəi

Directive *-rV: Mong. directive -ru; OT directive -ɣa-ru / -ge-rü (also *-ra, *-rü); Kor. lative -ro (a merger of the comitative and directive cases)

Instrumental / ablative *ǯV: TM instrumental *ǯi (Benzing 87), elative *gī-ǯi; OJ ablative ju / jṵo ; (?) PT terminal dative *(j)a.

4.2.1.2 Plural suffixes

PA *-tʿ-: PTM *-ta(n) / *-te(n) (basically in Manchu, in other languages used as the 3d plur. pronom. suffix), Mong. -d, Turk. *-t, PJ *ta-ti, PK *-tɨ-r

This is the most common and probably original PA plural suffix.

PA *-s-: PTM *-sa-l (Benzing 76-78), Mong. *-s

This suffix is restricted to the TM-Mong. area, and may in fact reflect the PA collective *-sa (see above).

PA *-l-: PTM *-l, PT *-lar, PM *-nar, PJ *-ra

In Turkic, Mongolian and Japanese this suffix seems to have been originally restricted to forming plurals of animate nouns, and in Japanese it basically reflects associativity ("brothers and those together with them, associated with them"). Ramstedt (EAS 2) suggests that it was originally a separate noun **larV* which accounts for the specific reflex n- in Mongolian (otherwise typical for *l- in word-initial position, see above). Turkic and Japanese already treat it as a suffix (word-initial *l- is absent in Turkic, just as word-initial *r- is absent in Japanese). Loss of *-rV in TM and Japanese, however, is difficult to account for - perhaps one should think of an early assimilative process in a suffixed morpheme (something like *-larV > *-lrV > *-llV).

Above we have already dealt with the suffix *-ŕV which may have had an original dual meaning. Outside Turkic the reflexes of *-ŕ- cannot be distinguished from those of *-r-, and it seems interesting to note the peculiar plural in *-r in TM, which occurs in nouns whose singular ends in *-n (like Evk. *beju-n - beju-r* 'wild deer', *oro-n - oro-r* 'tame deer' etc., see Benzing 1025). We have suggested above that this *-n may have had a special "singulative" meaning, and we may note that words with the *-ŕV suffix often have counterparts with *-n in other languages (cf. PT **kökü-ŕ* 'breast', PJ **kəkə-rə* 'heart' vs. PM **kökö-n*, PTM **kuku-n* 'breast' etc.). It is therefore tempting to reconstruct "singular" *-nV opposed to "dual" *-ŕV, "plural" *-tʿV and "associative plural" **larV*. It should be stressed that in PA, as in most modern Altaic languages, all these suffixes need not have been obligatory, probably only used in situations when the number of a noun had to be explicitly expressed, and thus implementing something similar to the category of determination (note that Korean may reflect this *-n as its 'thematic case', see Холодович 11):

kǒkʿè* 'breast, two breasts, breasts' (indeterm.) **kǒkʿè-nV* 'one breast' : **kǒkʿè-ŕV* 'two breasts' : (kǒkʿè-tʿV* 'many breasts') (determ.)

**ìna* 'brother, two brothers, brothers' (indeterm.) **ìna-nV* 'one brother' : **ìna-ŕV* 'two brothers' : **ìna-tʿV* 'many brothers' : **ìna-larV* 'brothers and those with them' (determ.)

Such a situation would account quite well for the various plural patterns that we observe in modern Altaic languages.

4.2.2. Numerals

Common Altaic numerals are treated as lexemes in the body of the dictionary, so here we shall just list the forms with a few additional comments:

1 **bi̯uri*: PT **bir*, PJ **pitə* (cf. also PM **büri* 'all, each', PK **pìrɨ́-* 'at first').

This seems to be the original PA numeral for 'one'. Other languages have innovations: PM **nige* 'one' < PA **ni̯ŏŋe* 'single' (PT **jaŋɨ́* 'single', PJ **nəmi* 'only', PTM **noŋ-* / **non-* 'be the first, begin'); PTM **emu-* (/**ume-*) 'one' < PA **emo* 'front' (PT **öm-gen* 'upper part of breast', PM **emü-* 'front'; PK **hǎ̀nàh* 'one' < PA **si̯óna* 'single, one of a pair' (PT **sɨŋar* 'one of a pair', PM **son-du-* 'odd', Man. *soni-* 'single, odd', PJ **sa-* 'together, reciprocally').

2 **ti̯ubu*: Old Bulg. *tvi-rem* 'second'; PM **ǯiw-rin* ~ **ǯui-rin* 'two (fem.)'; PTM **ǯube-* 'two'; PK **tū*, **tū-rh* (= **tubu*, **tubu-rh*) 'two'.

Some languages have introduced innovations: PT **ẹk(k)i* 'two' < PA **pʿi̯òkʿe* 'pair, couple' (cf. also PT **ẹkiɨ́* 'twins' = PM **(h)ekire* id.); PM **gojar* 'two' (changed to **qojar* in North. Mong. under the influence of **qo-rin* '20' or **qoji* 'follow, behind') < PA **gojV* 'different, other' (PTM **goj* / **gia*, PJ **kía*); PJ **puta-* 'two' < **pučʿu* 'pair, half' (PT **buč-uk*, PK **pča-k*).

3 **ŋi̯u*: PM **gu-rban* 'three', **gu-čin* 'thirty', PT **o-tuɨ́* 'thirty' (= PM **gu-čin*), PJ **mi-*. PT **ü-* in **üč* 'three' may also reflect the same root, although the suffixation is not clear.

TM and Korean have interesting innovations. PTM **ila-n* 'three' goes back to a PA root **ìlù* meaning 'third (or next after three = fourth)', consisting of three objects', reflected in PT as **ölöŋ* 'song with three out of four verses rhyming (first, second and fourth)' and in PJ as **ùrù-pu* 'bissextile (year or month)'; PK **sāi(h)* 'three' appears to go back to PA **séjra* meaning 'an object consisting of three parts', cf. PM **sere-γe* 'trident, pitchfork' = PJ **sárápi* 'rake, pitchfork'.

Numerals after 'three' are well reconstructable because of precise TM - Japanese matches, although other languages have in some cases introduced their own innovations.

4 **tōjV*: PTM **dü-gin* = PJ **də-*. This is one of the most stable PA numerals and it is also preserved in PT **dɔ̄-rt*, PM **dö-rben* 'four', **dö-čin* 'forty'. The etymology of MKor. *nəi* 'four' remains unclear.

5 **tʿu*: PTM **tu-ńga*, PJ **i-tu-* (the prefixed i- is somewhat unclear: it is also used as a separate word meaning 'fifty', but the historical root here is no doubt **tu-*). This numeral is also preserved in PM **ta-bun*

'five', **ta-bin* 'fifty' and PK **tà-* 'five'. PT, however, has replaced this common numeral by an etymologically obscure **bẹĺ(k)*.

6 **ńu*: PTM **ńu-ŋu-*, PJ **mu-*. Also reflected in Mong. as **ǯi-rgu-* 'six', **ǯi-ran* 'sixty', perhaps also in MKor. as *jə-(sɨs)* - although loss of initial **ń-* is not quite regular. An innovation of obscure origin has been introduced in PT (**altɨ*).

7 **nadi*: PTM **nada-n*, PJ **nana-*. The same numeral is reflected in PT **jẹt(t)i* and PK **nìr-(kúp)*. The relationship of Mong. **dolu-ɣan* 'seven', **dala-n* 'seventy' is somewhat unclear: it may suggest an original protoform **ĺadi-* or **ladi-* with dissimilation (or metathesis) in Mongolian.

8 **ǯa*: PTM **ǯa-pkun*, PJ **da-*. Problematic is the relationship of PK **jə̀-t-* 'eight' (possible if we assume a dialectal development **ǯ-* > *j-, like in **jór(h)* 'ten' < **ǯi̯ōŕo*, see below). The origin of PM **naji-man* and PT **sekiŕ* 'eight' remains obscure.

9 **kʿegVnV*: PTM **xegün*, PJ **kəkənə-*. Other languages have introduced innovations: PT **tokuŕ*, PM **je-sün* 'nine', **ji-ren* '90', PK **a-hop*).

10 **či̯obe* (or **ti̯obe*): PTM **ǯuba-n*, PJ **təwə*. Being a direct TM-Jpn. isogloss, this root is the most probable candidate for '10' in PA. Other languages have introduced innovations going back to roots with a general meaning 'many, big number': cf. **ǯi̯ōŕo* > PK **jór(h)* 'ten', but PT **jū̄ŕ* 'hundred', Man. *ǯiri*, *ǯirun* 'a very big number', PJ **dòrə̀-* '10000'; **pʿVbV* > PT **ō-n* '10', PM **ha-rban* '10', **ha-na* 'all', Orok *pōwo* 'a bundle of 10 squirrels', Nan. *poã* 'collection, gathering', PJ **-pə (-pua)* 'hundred' (in names of hundreds).

20 **kʿi̯ura*: PTM **xori-n*, PM **kori-n*. This is the only numeral after '3' which does not reveal a direct TM-Jpn. correspondence. Therefore we suspect that the PJ word for '20', viz. **pata-ti*, may have originally sounded like **kata-ti* (which is the regular reflex of **kʿi̯ura*), but was influenced by '2' (**puta-tu*, see above) and consequently changed to **pata-ti*. The same root is evidently present in PT **Kɨrk* 'forty' - perhaps an original reduplication < **Kɨr-kɨr* ('20'+'20'); the simple **Kɨr* must have been replaced by **(j)egir-mi*, a form probably derived from **ẹk(k)i* 'two'.

100 **ńa̋mò*: PTM **ńamā*, PJ **muàmuà*, PM **ǯaɣu-n* (< **ńam-ŋu-*). Cf. also PT **jom-* 'big number, all' (in the meaning 'hundred' replaced by **jū̄ŕ*, see above). Korean has introduced an innovation, **ón*, of obscure origin.

1000 **či̯ùmi*: PTM has no word for thousand (all languages reveal a later mongolism *miŋgan* < PM **miŋgan* = PT **bɨŋ* 'thousand'). However, PJ **ti* 'thousand' has a plausible parallel in PK **čímín* id. and PT **Tümen* '10000'. PA **miŋa* is a local Mong.-Turk. isogloss (resembling Middle

Chinese *mwàn* '10000') and possibly not common Altaic, so the original root seems to be **či̯ùmi* reflected in Kor., Jpn. and Turkic.

We see thus that - despite a rather widespread misconception of numerals being not reconstructable for PA - PA had a complete set of numerals from 1 to 1000, and most of them are recoverable because of significant archaisms preserved in the TM and Japanese areas. Some individual systems were considerably modified (thus, Turkic introduced innovations for most numerals except 'one', 'three' (?), 'four' and 'seven'; Mongolian introduced innovations for 'one', 'eight', 'nine', 'ten' and 'thousand' etc.), but the original system is nevertheless clear.

4.2.3. Pronouns

4.2.3.1. Personal pronouns

1 p. **bǐ*, pl. **ba* ~ **bu* (*obl*. **mi-n-*, **ma-n-* ~ **mu-n-*)

For PA we can also reconstruct a stem **ŋa*, reflected in some cases as Mong. **na-d-*, **na-m-*, and preserved in Korean as **nà* and in Jpn. as **a-*.

2 p. **si*, pl. **su* (*obl*. **si-n-*, **su-n-*)

It seems also possible to reconstruct a second stem **na*, preserved in Kor. **nə̀* and Jpn. **ná*, and possibly reflected in the PT 2d p. ending *-ŋ (although velarization here is not quite clear).

The relationship within the suppletive pairs **bi* - **ŋa* and **si* - **na* is not quite clear; the forms **ŋa* and **na* may have originally been restricted to some oblique cases (cf. the situation in Mongolian).

We must also mention the isolated Mong. 2d p. pronoun: sing. *či*, pl. *ta*, presupposing original **tʿi*, pl. **tʿa*. Although Altaic parallels are lacking, the pronoun is no doubt archaic (having certain Nostratic parallels: PIE **tŭ*, PU **ti-*). The stems **tʿi* and **na* are thus both candidates for the stem of PA oblique cases of the 2d p. pronoun. **na* may be a Kor.-Jpn. innovation (the Turkic parallel here is not quite secure), but one can also not exclude a possibility that **tʿi* and **na* were opposed in some other way (e.g., in number).

4.2.3.2. Interrogative pronouns

**kʿa(j)* 'who'

**ŋi̯V* 'what, who'

4.2.3.3. Demonstrative pronouns

**sV*, **kō*, **la*, **o* (near deixis)

**čʿa, *e, *i, *tʿa (*tʿe)* (far deixis)

4.2.3.4. Reflexive pronouns

It can be suggested that a function similar to that of a reflexive pronoun was fulfilled by the stem **mēno* 'self; body' (possibly related, and partially confused, with **méŋu* 'whole').

4.2.4. Adjectives

In Proto-Altaic, adjectives were hardly distinct from nouns or participial verbal forms. There is, however, one specific morpheme that was probably regularly used for deriving attributes (= adjectives) from nouns and nominal forms, viz. PA *-kʿi, well detectable in Mong. -ki, PT *-k, PTM *-ki and Jpn. (attributive adjectival) -ki. This suffix evidently could also be joined to the genitive marker *-ńV, resulting in a contraction *-ń-kʿi > *-ŋi, *-ŋ in TM and Turkic.

Another suffix that could form attributes (=adjectives) from nouns was probably *-tʿu > Mong. -tu, Jpn. -tu (the latter has probably merged *-tʿu and the dative/locative *du, see above).

4.2.5. Verbs

In all Altaic languages verbal stems may be simple or derived - either from nouns or from verbs. In the latter case productive suffixes usually form what is called voices or diatheses. The following verbal forms can be reconstructed for PA:
*-b- passive / causative
*-t- intransitive / passive
*-tʿ- transitive
*-n- intransitive / reflexive
*-čʿ- intensive
*-ǯ- intransitive (medial?)
*-Í- reciprocal
*-ŕ- transitive / causative
*-s- desiderative / inchoative
*-g- factitive / intensive

All these suffixes have been described above in the section concerning derivation. Their productivity varies in subbranches of Altaic, and it is not quite clear which of them actually formed part of the verbal paradigm, and which were less productive and purely derivational in Proto-Altaic.

Some of these suffixes do not actually change the voice or diathesis, but rather modify the character of action, and should be perhaps characterized as moods. Among the suffixes above such are the desiderative / inchoative *-s- (see EAS 2, 83) and the intensive *-čʿ-. Another common Altaic mood suffix is *-m-, originally probably optative and reflected as optative *-ma-, *-mu- in PTM (see Benzing 121), MKor. intention marker -ma and assumptive (hypothetical) *-m- in OJ (see Vovin 1997, 7). An imperative (non-2d person) in *-nV seems to be reflected in OT *-(jɨ)n and OJ *-na. Lack of a suffix (a pure verbal stem) was probably used for the 2d person imperative mood (see EAS 2, 81-82).

4.2.5.1 Participial and tense / aspect suffixes

Verbal stems - simple and derived - in Altaic languages are usually followed by participial suffixes, and such forms can function either as attributive (= participles) or finite. The following participial suffixes can be reconstructed for Proto-Altaic:

PA *-jV 'a gerund suffix': PT *-(j)a, PM *-ɣa, PKor. -a / -ə, PJ *-i (see EAS 2, 108-111, Vovin 1997, 5, calling the morpheme "infinitive");

PA *-pʿV 'a gerund suffix (probably perfective, see EAS 2, 122-124): PT *-p, PM *-ba(j), PTM *-pī (Benzing 143), PJ *-(m)pa;

PA *-rV 'aorist or indefinite present' (perhaps originally intransitive, see above): PT *-r; PM *-ra / -re (supinum); PTM *-ra 'aorist of the 1st class of verbs'; Kor. -r indefinite present or future suffix; PJ *-r-u (after consonantal stems *-u) 'general attributive verbal form' (cf. Vovin 1997, 4, reconstructing this morpheme as attributive);

PA *-tʿV 'past tense': PT *-t- 'past (or perfect) suffix', Kor. -t- 'past (or regressive) suffix', PJ *-t- 'past suffix' (see EAS 2, 115-117, Vovin 1997, 7);

PA *-lV transitive (?) participle, with somewhat unclear function, see above;

PA *-kʿV 'preterite': PJ *-ki, PK *-kə- (Vovin 1997, 6). The suffix is lost in Turkic, while Mong. and TM seem to preserve it within the compound suffix *-kʿsV- (PTM *-ksa-, see Benzing 140; not *-kV-, as stated by Vovin), Mong. past gerund -g-sa-n. It is interesting to mention that, whereas PJ *-ki is a finite morpheme (used in a sentence-final predicate), the same preterite paradigm in Japanese includes the attributive *-si (possibly related to PTM *-s-aorist, see above); the Mong.-Tung. compound *-kʿ-sV- may in fact be a combination of these two morphemes.

TM languages reflect also participles (= aorist suffixes) in *-s- and *-d-, see Benzing 123-128, which seem to be opposed to *-r- as intransitive (medial) vs. transitive (active), but it is so far unclear whether it is a TM innovation or an archaic feature. *-s- seems to have a parallel in Japanese (see above), and *-d- in Mongolian (praeteritum imperfecti *-ǯi, see Poppe 1965, 265). There may also be traces of past (or perfect) participles in *-čʿV and *-šV (on *-šV within the dubitative *-ma-šV see below).

It appears that the *-tʿV- and *-kʿV-, perhaps also *-sV- and *-dV- (tense or aspect) morphemes directly followed the verbal stem (consisting of the root + voice / diathesis modifiers), while the *-jV, *-pʿV, *-rV and *-lV markers acted as converbs and occupied the next position in the verbal wordform. Many details, however, are still to be worked out.

4.2.5.2 Personal endings

Conjugation with personal suffixes is attested in Turkic, Mongolian and TM, but is completely absent from Korean and Japanese. In most cases the personal suffixes coincide with personal pronouns, so the morphemes could be secondarily added to the verbal wordform in individual subbranches. An opposition of the 2d - non-2d personal endings may be, however, reconstructed for the imperative mood (see above on the Turkic-Japanese matching *-nV marker).

4.2.5.3 Negation

There are two common Altaic negative particles: **āni* (probably general negation) and **ma* (probably a prohibitive particle). The existing evidence suggests strongly that they were independent words in Proto-Altaic (for **ma* cf. Man. *u-me* and MKor. *mō-t*, functioning as separate words; for **āni* cf. Chuv. *an*, TM **ān-*, MKor. *an-*, Jpn. *na-* functioning as separate words). In some branches, however, they tend to become incorporated into the structure of a verbal wordform: thus PT has generalized the negative particle *-m- (which has thus superseded the original optative *-m-, on which see above), and Japanese, the negative particle *-an-.

The negative (prohibitive) particle **ma* can perhaps be also discovered within the OJ dubitative (or irreal optative) marker -ma-si, which A. Vovin (1997, 8) has compared with the PTM subjunctive marker *-mča- (~ *-mša-), thus presupposing PA **ma-šV*.

A third archaic negative particle (verb) is **e*, attested in TM and Mongolian. It seems worth mentioning that in TM it is combined with

the aorist marker -s-, and in Mongolian it is attested as **e-se*. It may thus have been differentiated from **āni* by some additional tense/aspect feature (being, e.g., originally a past negative).

CHAPTER FIVE

CLASSIFICATION OF ALTAIC LANGUAGES AND DATING OF PROTO-ALTAIC

To demonstrate the genetic subclassification of Altaic we shall take the list of matches between Altaic subgroups in the realm of the basic vocabulary:

Item	Turkic	Mongolian	Tungus-Manchu	Korean	Japanese	PA
all	*büt-			*mòt-		*mŭtʿì
all	*Kop	*kow	*kupukte			*kŏpʿV
ashes		*hüne-sü	*pulńe-			*pʿolńe
bark	*Kāpuk			*kàph-	*kapa	*kʿápʿà
bark	*Kaŕ	*kajir(a)-				*kʿéŕà
bark	*Kirtɨĺ	*körü-sü	*xura-kta			*kʿi̯ŭrú
belly		*keweli	*kepel-			*képʿV
belly				*pǎi	*pàrá	*pʿèjló
bite		*kem-			*kàm-	*kèma
black	*Kara	*kara			*kùruà-	*kàru
blood		*či-su			*tí	*či̯únu
bone		*ja-su		*s-pjə́	*pòniá	*pʿèjńé
breast		*čeɣeʒi	*ča(i)ʒan	*čjə́č	*tì(tí)	*čʿăjʒV
breast		*kökön	*kuku-n			*kŏkʿè
burn	*jak-		*deg-ʒe-gi-	*thǎ-	*dák-	*dĕkà
f.-nail		*kimul-su		*kom(h)		*kʿi̯uml[e]
f.-nail				*tòph	*túmá-i	*tʿi̯ŭpʿo
cloud				*kúrùm	*kùmua	*kʿòlmV
cold		*köji-ten	*xiŋ̈-			*kʿi̯ójŋo
cold	*sogɨ-k		*šig-			*ši̯ogo
come	*ge̯l-				*kə̀-	*gĕle
die		*bür-il-	*bu(r)-			*bŭri
dog	*ɨt		*ŋinda		*ìnú	*ŋĭndó
drink			*um(i)-	*mà-		*umV
dry	*Kūri-	*kawra-			*káwá(ra)-k-	*kʿi̯óbarV
ear	*Kul-kak			*kúi		*kʿùjlu
earth		*siraɣu		*hǎrk		*si̯ǎŕi

Item	Turkic	Mongolian	Tungus-Manchu	Korean	Japanese	PA
eat	*jē-		*ʒe-p-	*čā-		*ʒē
egg	*jumurtka	*ömdege	*umūkta			*úmu-tki
eye		*ni-dü	*ńia-sa	*nú-n	*mà-	*ni̯ā̀
fat	*jāg	*eɣü-kü				*i̯ā́gi
fat			*ximū-	*kìrím		*kʿi̯ǎŕme
feather	*jüg		*dekte-			*d[é]gì
feather		*hö-dün			*pánái	*pʿúńe
fire				*pɨr	*pò-i	*pʿŏ̀re
fish		*ʒiɣa-			*(d)íwuá	*di̯ági
fly		*degde-	*deg-			*tēga
foot			*palga-n	*pár	*pànkì	*pǎ̀lgà
full	*dōl-		*ʒalu-			*čā́lo
full			(*čak)	*čhǎ-		*čʿáko
full			*milte-		*mìt-	*mìltʿe
give	*bēr-		*bū-			*bi̯ŏ́r[é]
give				*tā-	*átá-pá-	*i̯ā́tá
go			*ŋene-	*nàń-	*ín-	*ŋ̄éni
good				*tjōh-	*dò-	*di̯ò̀ge
green	*gȫk	*köke				
green		*nogo-ɣan	*Ĺog-			*li̯ŏga
hair	*Kɨl(k)		*xińŋa-		*ká-i	*kʿíla
hair		*hü-sü	*puńe-			*pʿúńe
hand	*el		*ŋāla			*ŋ̀ali
head	*baĺč			*mòrí		*mĕ́ĺʒu
hear			*dōldī-	*tɨ̀d-		*tù̀ĺdi
heart			*miańam	*mǎńǎm		*mi̯óńù
heart	*jürek	*ʒirüke				*ʒŭ̀r(V)kʿe
horn		*eber		*s-pɨr		*i̯opʿérV
I	*bę-	*bi	*bi		*bà-	*bǐ
I				*nà	*a-	*ŋa
know			*sā-		*sir-	*sā́ŕi
leaf	*japur-gak	*labči		*níph		*li̯àpʿ[à]
lie	*ja̧-t-		*dē			*dè̄
lie		*keb-			*kəjə-	*kejbe
lie				*nū-b-	*ná-	*nḗ
liver	*biagɨr		*pākin			*pi̯ā̀ki
long			*ŋōli-		*nàn-kà-	*ŋ̀ola
long	*uŕɨ-n	*ur-tu				*i̯uŕo

Item	Turkic	Mongolian	Tungus-Manchu	Korean	Japanese	PA
louse		*sirke			*sìrám(u)i	*si̯ǎjrí
man	*ēr	*ere				*ā́ri
many				*mān(h)	*manai-	*mana
meat				*sǎrh	*sìsì	*ši̯ǎĺì
moon				*tǎr	*tùkùi	*tʿi̯òlgu
mouth		*ama-n	*am-ŋa			*ǎmo
name		*nere		*(n)ìrh-		*nĕ́re
neck	*bōjn		*moŋa-n	*mjə-k	*nəmpV	*mŏ́jno
new			*nebi		*nípí-	*nébì
new	*jaŋɨ	*sine		*sái		*zèjńa
night			*dolba		*duà	*dŭle
nose		*ka[m]ar	*xoŋa-	*kóh		*kʿi̯ŏŋa
not			*ā(n)-	*àn-	*nà-	*ȁni
not		*e-se	*e-			*e
one	*bir				*pitə	*bi̯uri
rain	*jag-			*pí		*pʿi̯ǎge
red		*hula-ɣan	*pula-	*pɨrk-		*puli
road		*mör-			*mítí	*mi̯óri
root		*ündü-sü	*ŋū̃ŋte		*mətə̀	*ŋi̯ùŋtʿè
root		*hiʒa-ɣur	(*puʒuri)			*pi̯oʒi
root			*pule-	*pɨrhǎi		*pʿŭli
round			*murV		*márə́	*múra
round			*toŋal-	*toŋkor-		*tʿòŋké
round		*tob-			*tùmpú-ra	*tʿòpʿú
round	*deg-	*tögörig				*tegá
sand				*mòr'aʿi	*mana-n-kua	*mā́ro
say		*kele-		*kǎró-		*kʿi̯ǎli
seed	*urug	*hüre				*pʿŭri
sit		*saɣu-			*súwá-	*ši̯ábu
skin				*kàph-	*kapa	*kʿǎpʿà
skin	*jɨn		*nansa			*nā́ne
sleep	*ū-		*ŋuja		*úi-	*ŋū́ju
small		*öčü-	*ŋüši-			*ŋŏ́jču
small		*ʒiʒig	*nisi			*ńĭŋči
stand	*dur-				*tàt-	*čŭra
star	*jul-duŕ	*ho-dun		*pjɨr	*pə́sí	*pʿi̯ŏ́ĺo
stone	*diāĺ	*čila-ɣu	*ʒola	*tōrh	*(d)ísì	*ti̯ŏ́ĺì
sun			*sigū-n	*hǎi		*si̯ŏ̀gu

Item	Turkic	Mongolian	Tungus-Manchu	Korean	Japanese	PA
swim		*oji-mu-			*ə̀jə̀nk-	*òje
tail	*Kudruk		*xürgü	*s-kòrí		*kʿi̯údo
that	*Ti-	*te-re	*ta-	*tjə́		*tʿa
that		*ča-	*čā-			*čʿa
this		*e-ne	*e-			*é
this	*gō̋			*kɨ	*kə́-	*kō
thou	*sẹ-		*si		*si	*si
thou				*nə̀	*ná	*ná
tongue		*kele	*xilŋü			*kʿi̯ăli
tongue				*hjə́	*sìtá	*si̯ṓjri
tooth				*par	*pa	*pala
tooth	*sīĺ	*si-dü				*sīĺa
tree		*mo-du	*mō			*mū́ro
two		*ǯiw-rin	*ǯube	*tubu		*ti̯ubu
warm	*jɨlɨ-g	*dula-ɣan				*di̯ȕlu
warm				*tȁ-	*àtà-	*ōtʿa
water			*mū	*mɨ́r	*mí-	*mi̯ȕri
water	*sɨb	*u-su				*ši̯uba
we	*bi-ŕ	*ba	*bue	*ú-rí	*bà-	*bȉ-
what	*nV	*ja-ɣu-			*nV̀	*ŋi̯V
white	*siarɨg			*hắi-	*sìruà-	*si̯ȁjri
white		*čaga-ɣan	*šāk-			*šȁkʿa
who	*kem	*ken	*xia			*kʿa(j)
who			*ŋū̋	*nú-		*ŋi̯V
woman		*eme		*ámh	*mía	*ȅme
far	*ɨra-				*pàrú-ka	*pʿìrá
heavy				*mɨ̀-	*ə́m(p)ə́-	*ámbe
near	*jạgu-		*daga			*dắgá
near	*jAkɨ-				*tìkà-	*dȁkʿì
salt	*dūŕ	*dabu-su				*či̯oberV
short		*hokar	*poKa-			*pi̯ȕkʿì
snake		*mogaji	*mū̋kū̋			*mi̯ūko
snake				*pắjàm	*pàim(p)V̀	*pʿ[ò]jamV
thin				*kắnắr-	*kə̀má-	*kʿȅńó
thin		*nari-n	*ner-	*jɨ̄r-p-		*nèra
thin		*nim-gen	*niambu-			*ni̯ombu
wind	*jẹl	*sal-ki				*zăli
worm	*Kūrt	*koro-kai				*kʿi̯ṓro

Item	Turkic	Mongolian	Tungus-Manchu	Korean	Japanese	PA
year		*oj	*ańŋa			*ā́ńu
year	*jɨl	*ǯil			*tə̀sì	*dǐlo
year			*sē	*sɨr		*zēra

This list is basically the same as given in Starostin 1991 (pp. 25-63, 85-104), but with some additions and corrections added during the years of work on the Altaic dictionary, which have consequently resulted in some calculational changes, albeit statistically insignificant. The average percent of matches revolves around 20, which gives us the date of split of Proto-Altaic at around the end of 6th millennium B.C. We see an increase up to about 25% between Turkic, Mongolian and TM, and an increase to 33% between Korean and Japanese, which would speak in favour of two basic subbranches of Altaic.

However, if we look at the figures in more detail and take into account the division between 35 more stable items and 65 less stable items, proposed by S. Y. Yakhontov, the picture appears to be somewhat more complicated.

Language pairs	Matches in the standard 100 w.-list	Matches in Yakhontov's modified 100 w.-list	Matches in Yakhontov's 35-wordlist	35/65 w.list ratio
TuMo	25	24	11	31 / 20 : 1.55
TuTM	25	22	10	29 / 18 : 1.61
TuKo	17	13	5	14 / 12 : 1.17
TuJap	19	19	7	20 /18 : 1.11
MoTM	29	30	11	31 / 29 : 1.07
MoKo	18	17	8	23 / 14 : 1.64
MoJap	22	17	9	26 /12 : 2.17
TMKor	23	23	9	26 / 22 : 1.18
TMJap	22	20	8	23 /18 : 1.28
KorJap	33	30	11	31 /29 : 1.07

This chart shows us that while the overall 35 / 65 wordlist ratio is > 1 in all cases (the situation which indicates genetic relationship, meaning that the rate of matches within the most stable 35 word range is higher than the rate of matches within the less stable 65 word range), in two cases - Mongolian-TM and Kor.-Jpn. - it is dangerously close to 1. Lexicostatistically this may indicate the borders of ancient dialect zones within Proto-Altaic, suggesting that Tungus-Manchu does not really

constitute a unity with Turkic-Mongolian, and throwing some doubts on the genetic unity of Korean-Japanese.

Additionally it provides an explanation why the genetic situation within Altaic looks somewhat different from that within, e.g., Indo-European - which was the main reason for the whole anti-Altaic criticism. Altaic appears to be different from Indo-European in two main respects:

a) it is somewhat older than Indo-European: while the split of Proto-Indo-European (or Proto-Indo-Hittite) can be dated to the 4th millennium B.C., the split of Proto-Altaic must have occurred at least a thousand years earlier;
b) whereas the subbranches of Indo-European are rather old (e.g., Balto-Slavic may be dated around the beginning of the 1st millennium B.C, and Indo-Iranian - by the verge of the 2d and 3d millennia B.C.), the subbranches of Altaic are considerably younger: Turkic - beginning of our era, Mongolian - around the 10th century A.D., Tungus-Manchu - around the 4th century B.C., Japanese - around the 5th century A.D., Korean - around the 11th century A.D. Furthermore, whereas the oldest texts in ancient Indo-European languages are attested quite early, the written monuments of Altaic languages date back not earlier than to the 8th century A.D. This all creates an impression of a much more distant genetic relationship between Altaic languages than that between Indo-European languages. Consequently - basically due to the absence of archaic attestation - Proto-Altaic is somewhat more difficult to reconstruct than Proto-Indo-European. It is also quite possible that some other branches of Altaic might have existed, but they could have been wiped out by later waves of migrations of Altaic (and non-Altaic) languages.

The overall distribution of lexical isoglosses confirms the above classification, but yields some additional information on the dialect distribution within Proto-Altaic.

The core of the common Altaic vocabulary is constituted by etyma reflected in Turko-Mongolian (at least in Turkic or Mongolian) and in Korean-Japanese (at least in Korean or Japanese) - with or without Tungus-Manchu parallels. The number of such roots within the present volume is 1841; most of them (1553) are also reflected in Tungus-Manchu.

There are, however, two other lexical groups:

a) Turkic-Mongolian roots with Tungus-Manchu parallels (615); without Tungus-Manchu parallels (57)

b) Korean-Japanese roots with Tungus-Manchu parallels (195); without Tungus-Manchu parallels (23)

We see thus that Tungus-Manchu occupies a specific position within the Altaic family, sharing a large number of isoglosses both with the Turkic-Mongolian and the Korean-Japanese branches. In the dictionary we call the former "Western isoglosses" and the latter, "Eastern isoglosses". Historically such a situation may be explained by a "central" position of Tungus-Manchu among the Proto-Altaic dialects. At the same time, one can also not exclude a scenario of later prehistorical borrowings (already after the split of Proto-Altaic, but before a wide geographical separation of Turko-Mongolian and Tungus-Manchu, on one hand, and Tungus-Manchu and Korean-Japanese, on the other).

The position of Tungus-Manchu within Altaic thus resembles the position of Greek within Indo-European: due to its original "central" geographic location, Greek shares a large number of isoglosses both with European languages (primarily Italo-Celtic) and with Indo-Iranian languages.

The Proto-Altaic nature of almost a thousand "Western" or "Eastern" isoglosses mentioned above is questionable; nevertheless we decided to include them into the dictionary because potentially any of them may turn out to be common Altaic - there is always a chance that, e.g., a Korean match for a Western isogloss exists but has not yet been recovered, or a chance that an archaic etymon reflected in Korean-Japanese has been lost in Turko-Mongolian. We must stress that phonetically and morphologically these isoglosses behave just like all other common Altaic roots.

To sum up: Proto-Altaic split into three branches, viz. Turco-Mongolian, Tungus-Manchu and Korean-Japanese, around the 6th millennium B.C. Tungus-Manchu must have occupied a central dialectal position, which explains its shared isoglosses both with Turko-Mongolian and Korean-Japanese.

Two subbranches - Turko-Mongolian and Korean-Japanese - in their turn, had split rather early, around the 4th millennium B.C. However, reconstructing Proto-Turko-Mongolian or Proto-Korean-Japanese would in fact be almost equivalent to reconstructing Proto-Altaic, because of small time span separating those units from the original proto-language. There is still some doubt about the existence of common Korean-Japanese: the specific similarities between these two subbranches might be due to secondary dialectal interaction.

The next splits occurred already closer to our era: first the split of Tungus-Manchu, next the split of Turkic, Japanese and Korean dialects.

STRUCTURE OF THE DICTIONARY AND ADOPTED CONVENTIONS

The dictionary is presented in the alphabetical order of PA reconstructions. Each dictionary item consists of:

1. The proposed PA reconstruction. Variants are supplied in brackets: e.g. the notation *ágà (~ e-) means that for PA both *ágà and *égà can be reconstructed. Capital V denotes a vowel of unknown quality. Vowel quantity is explicitly specified; if there is neither a breve nor a macron sign above the vowel, it means that quantity is unknown in this case.
2. The reconstructed meaning.
3. A short enumeration of subgroup reflexes
4. Detailed reflexes in subgroups (in the order: Tungus-Manchu, Mongolian, Turkic, Japanese, Korean). For each of the subgroups we give a reconstruction and reflexes in ancient and modern languages. The meanings are not reconstructed: rather, we enumerate attested meanings and refer to these numbers while listing individual reflexes.

For most languages the basic sources (see below) were Russian dictionaries, which means that most meanings had to be translated into English from Russian. To preserve semantic accuracy, we decided to keep the original Russian meanings which are always given in brackets after the English ones.

Each section may be completed by more or less detailed comments and references (given in small type).

5. General comments and references (if any).

The following conventions are used in individual reconstructions:

1. In Turkic and Tungus-Manchu, only long vowels are explicitly marked, and short vowels are left unmarked.
2. The placement of any symbol within brackets means that the presence of the denoted phoneme (sound) cannot be ascertained: this is usual, e.g., in PT for (i)a, i.e. *ia or *a when there is no Chuvash reflex; in PTM for (x), i.e. *x- or *0- when there are no Southern Tungus-Manchu reflexes; in PM for (h), i.e. *h- or *0- when there is no Middle Mongolian attestation or Southern Mongolian reflex; in PJ for (d), i.e. *d- or *0- in a position before *i (in the latter case, how-

ever, we prefer writing just *i- when external evidence explicitly shows that there was no *d-).

3. Capital letters (except capital G, traditionally used for denoting a voiced uvular) are used in the following way:
   A (in Turkic): *a or *ạ
   E (in Turkic): *e or *ẹ
   K (in Turkic): *k or *g; (in Tungus-Manchu): *k or *x
   T (in Turkic): *t or *d
   V: a vowel of unknown quality

Adopted transcription

Throughout the dictionary we have attempted to use a unified system of transcription, generally accepted in the German and Moscow schools of Altaic studies (its basic features are: using the symbols c, ʒ, č, ǯ, š, ž for affricates and sibilants; j for the palatal resonant; ɨ for the high back unrounded vowel). We have, however, preserved traditional orthography for romanized Modern Japanese. For Jurchen we use the phonetic transcription proposed in Мудрак 1985, 1988a; this transcription, as well as the transcription of Middle Mongolian works taken from HY is based on Early Mandarin as reconstructed in Tōdō 1970 and Dragunov 1929, 1930.

Notation of length: all long vowels are marked with the diacritic ¯; short vowels (if specifically marked) with the diacritic ˘; long (tense) consonants - by a colon :.

Palatalization: all palatalized consonants are marked with the diacritic ´.

Nasalization: all nasalized vowels and consonants are marked with the diacritic ˜.

Closed vowels: closed e, a (in Tungus-Manchu languages also u, i, ə, ъ) are marked with the diacritic ̣.

Special vocalic symbols: in Chuvash, we use ъʷ, əʷ to denote specific labialized mid-high and mid-low vowels; in Kalmuck, ɛ̄ is used to denote the mid-low long front vowel; in Even, ъ̣ is used to denote the mid-high reduced vowel.

Prosodic symbols: ʻ after a vowel is used to denote pharyngealization in Tuva and Tofalar; high tone (pitch) in Korean and Japanese is marked with the diacritic ´; low tone (pitch) in Korean and Japanese, with the diacritic ̀. In the Tokyo system, ´ is used rather for marking the place of accent (the pitch summit of a word); words without such a summit (the so called "zenhei" words, articulated with a gradual rising of pitch towards the end of the word) are marked by the diacritic ̀ on

the first syllable. In the Kagoshima system, where a word can also contain only one high-pitch syllable, this syllable is marked by ´; the words without high pitch are, however, marked with ` on each syllable. The "rising-falling" pitch at the end of the word in Kyoto is marked by the diacritic ˆ.

Sources

For each language, the most authoritative source was chosen. If the form is quoted from that source and if it is an alphabetically ordered dictionary, no references are usually given. In all other cases references are given in brackets (without a page number if the referenced work is an alphabetically ordered dictionary, with a page number otherwise).

Here is the list of sources utilized for each individual language:

Tungus-Manchu

For all languages except spoken Manchu, the basic source is TMC; for spoken Manchu we used Yamamoto 1969 (with references to the numbers of lexical items, since this is not an alphabetical dictionary). Numbered references are also given to Grube 1896 for Jurchen.

Mongolian

Written Mongolian: KW; in most cases reference is also given to L
Middle Mongolian: SH
Khalkha: MPC
Kalmuck: KW
Ordos: DO
Mogol: Ligeti 1954; references are also given to ZM and Weiers
Dagur: MGCD
Dongxiang: MGCD
Baoan: MGCD
Shira-Yughur: MGCD
Mongor: SM

Turkic

Old Turkic: EDT
Karakhanide Turkic: EDT
Turkish: TPC
Gagauz: ГРМС
Azerbaidzhan: APC
Turkmen: ТуркмРС
Salar: ССЯ
Khalaj: D-T

Uzbek: УРС
Uyghur: УйРС
Karaim: КРПС
Tatar: ТатРС
Bashkir: БРС
Kirghiz: КиРС
Kazakh: КазРС
Balkar (Karachay-Balkar): КБРС
Kara-Kalpak: ККРС
Kumyk: КумРС
Noghai: НРС
Sarı-Yughur: ССЮЯ
Khakas: ХРС
Shor: ШРРШС
Oyrot (Mountain Altai): ОРС
Tuva: ТувРС
Tofalar: Рассадин 1995
Chuvash: ЧувРС
Yakut: ЯРС
Dolgan: Stachowski 1993

Japanese

Old Japanese: JB
Middle Japanese: accented forms are given according to RJ (XIth c.); all other post-Nara and pre-Meiji forms are given according to KKJ and IKJ
Modern Japanese:
Tokyo: БЯРС (accents are given according to Hirayama 1960)
Kyoto, Kagoshima: Hirayama 1960. Data from these dialects are given according to the Japanese accentological tradition, i.e. only with accent differences from Tokyo explicitly noted.

Korean

Middle Korean: Nam, Liu
Modern Korean: KED

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ЯРС - Якутско-русский словарь / Под ред. П. А. Слепцова. М., 1972.

ABBREVIATIONS OF PERIODICAL EDITIONS

AASF - Annales academiae Scientiarum Fennicae. Suomalaisen Tiedeakatemian toimituksia. Helsinki.

ArO - Archiv orientální. Journal of the Chechoslovak Oriental Institute. Prague.

AO - Acta Orientalia (Copenhagen)

AO (Budapest) or AOH - Acta Orientalia Hungarica. Budapest.
BSOAS - Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies. London.
CAJ - Central Asiatic Journal (International periodical for the language, literature, history and archeology of Central Asia). The Hague-Wiesbaden.
FUF - Finnisch-ugrische Forschungen. Helsinki.
HJAS - Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies. Harvard-Yenching Institute.
JA - Journal asiatique. Paris.
JAOS - Journal of the American Oriental Society. Baltimore, Maryland.
JRAS - The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. London.
JSFOu - Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne. Helsinki.
KCsA - Kõrõsi Csoma Archivum. Budapest.
KSz - Keleti Szemle. Budapest.
MSFOu - Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne. Helsinki.
NyK - Nyelvtudománi Közlemények. Budapest.
OS - Orientalia Suecana. Stockholm.
RO - Rocznik orientalistyczny. Lwów, Kraków, Warszawa.
SPAW - Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Berlin.
StO - Studia Orientalia (or: Studia orientalia fennica). Helsinki.
T'oung Pao - T'oung Pao. Archives concernant l'histoire, les langues, la géographie, l'ethnographie et les arts de l'Asie Orientale. Leiden.
UAJb. - Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher. Wiesbaden.
UJb. - Ungarische Jahrbücher. Berlin-Leipzig.
ZDMG - Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Leipzig-Wiesbaden.

ВЯ - Вопросы языкознания. М. (Институт языкознания АН СССР).
ДАН - Доклады Академии Наук СССР.
ДАН-В - Доклады Академии Наук СССР. Серия В. М.-Л., 1922-1933.
ЗКВ - Записки коллегии востоковедов при азиатском Музее Академии Наук СССР. Л.
ИАН - Известия императорской Академии наук. СПб.
ИАН СССР - Известия Академии Наук СССР. Л.-М.
ИРАН - Известия Российской Академии Наук. М.
СТ - Советская тюркология. Баку (Академия наук СССР, Академия наук АзССР).

ABBREVIATIONS OF LANGUAGE NAMES

Alb. - Albanian
All. - Allaikhi dialect of Even
An. - Aniui dialect of Udehe
Anat. - Anatolian Turkish
Arab. - Arabic
Arm. - Arman dialect of Even
Armen. - Armenian
Av. - Avestan
Az. - Azerbaidzhan (Azeri)
Balk. - Balkar
Bao. - Baoan
Bar. - Barab dialect of Tatar
Barg. - Barguzin dialect of Evenki
Bashk. - Bashkir
Bel. - Beluj
Bik. - Bikin dialect of Nanai
Bulg. - (Old) Bulgar
Bur. - Buryat
Chag. - Chaghatay
Chin. - Chinese
Chmk. - Chumikan dialect of Evenki
Chul. - Chulym dialect of Shor
Chuv. - Chuvash
Crim.-Goth. - Crimea Gothic
Dag. - Dagur
Darkh. - Darkhat dialect of Buryat
Dolg. - Dolgan
Dong. - Dongxian
Drav. - Dravidian
Evk. - Evenki
Evn. - Even
Finn. - Finnish
FU - Finno-Ugric
Gag. - Gagauz
Gr. - Greek
H - Halitsk dialect of Karaim
Hung. - Hungarian
IE - Indo-European
Il . - Ilimpi dialect of Evenki
Iran. - Iranian
Ital. - Italian
Jpn. - Japanese
Jurch. - Jurchen
K - Krym (Crimea) dialect of Karaim
Kach. - Kachinsk dialect of Khakas
Kag. - Kagoshima
Kalm. - Kalmuck
Kam. - Kamas
Kamn. - Kamen-Tungus dialect of Evenki
Karag. - Karagas
Karakh. - Karakhanide Turkic
Kas. - Kasan Tatar
Kashg. - Kashgar dialect of Uyghur
Kaz. - Kazakh
KBalk. - Karachay-Balkar
Kirgh. - Kirghiz (Qyrghyz)
Khad. - Khadi dialect of Oroch
Khak. - Khakas
Khal. - Khalaj
Khant. - Khanty-Mansi
Khor. - Khorezm (= Oghuz) dialect of Uzbek
Khorch. - Khorchin dialect of Ordos
Khwar. - Khwarezmian
KKalp. - Kara-Kalpak
Koib. - Koibal dialect of Khakas
Kond. - Kondom dialect of Shor
Kor. - Korean
Kott. - Kottish

Krg. - Karagas dialect of Tuva (according to Castr.)
Krm. - Karaim
Kum. - Kumyk
Kumd. - Kumanda dialect of Oyrot
Kurd - Kurdish
Kur-Urm. - Kur-Urmi dialect of Nanai
Küär. - Küärik dialect of Khakas
Kypch. - Kypchak
Kyz. - Kyzyl dialect of Khakas
Kyo. - Kyoto
Lat. - Latin
Leb. - Lebedi dialect of Oyrot
L.-Amg. - Lower Amgun dialect of Negidal
Lobn. - Lobnor dialect of Uyghur
MMong. - Middle Mongolian
Man. - Manchu
May. - Maysk dialect of Evenki
MC, MChin - Middle Chinese
MJ, MJpn. - Middle Japanese
MKor. - Middle Korean
MKypch. - Middle Kypchak
Mod. - modern (used for various languages)
Mog. - Mogol
Mong. - Mongolian
Mord. - Mordovian
MPers. - Middle Persian
Mras. - Mrassa dialect of Shor
MTurk. - Middle Turkic
Nakhich. - Nakhichevan dialect of Azerbaidzhan
Nan. - Nanai
Naikh. - Naikhinsk dialect of Nanai
Neg. - Negidal
Nep. - Nepsk dialect of Evenki
Nerch. - Nerchinsk dialect of Evenki
NKor. - North Korean
Nogh. - Noghay
Nostr. - Nostratic
OC - Old Chinese
Ogh. - Oghuz
Oir. - Oirat (= Kalmuck)
OJ, OJpn. - Old Japanese
Okin. - Okinsk dialect of Buryat
Okh. - Okhotka dialect of Even
OKypch. - Old Kypchak
Ol. - Olsk dialect of Even
Olk. - Olekma dialect of Evenki
Olkh. - Olkhon dialect of Buryat
ORuss. - Old Russian
Ord. - Ordos
Ork. - Orok
Orch. - Oroch
Orkh. - Orkhon Old Turkic
Osm. - (Old) Osmanian
Osset. - Ossetic
OT, OTurk. - Old Turkic
Oyr. - Oyrot (Mountain Altai)
PA, PAlt. - Proto-Altaic
Pekhl. - Pekhlevi
Pers. - Persian
PIE - Proto-Indo-European
PJ, PJpn. - Proto-Japanese
PK, PKor. - Proto-Korean
PKartv. - Proto-Kartvelian
PM, PMong. - Proto-Mongolian
PNC - Proto-North-Caucasian
Prakr. - Prakrit
PS - Proto-Samoyedic
PT, PTurk. - Proto-Turkic
PTM, PTung. - Proto-Tungus-Manchu

PU - Proto-Uralic
Qyz. - Qyzyl dialect of Khakas
Rum. - Rumanian
Russ. - Russian
Sag. - Sagai dialect of Khakas
Sak. - Khotan-Saka
Sakh. - Sakhalin dialect of Evenki
Sakk. - Sakkyryr dialect of Even
Sal. - Salar
Sam., Samoyed. - Samoyedic
Sanskr. - Sanskrit
Selk. - Selkup
Sib., Seb., Sib.-Tat. - Siberian Tatar
Siber. - Siberian Russian
Sino-Kor. - Sino-Korean
Slav. - Slavic
SMan. - spoken Manchu (Sibo)
Sogd. - Sogdian
Sol. - Solon
SUygh. - Sary-Uyghur
S.-Yugh. - Shira-Yughur
Sym. - Symsk dialect of Evenki
Syr. - Syrian
T - Trakai dialect of Karaim
Tadzh. - Tadzhik
Tar. - Taranchi
Tashk. - Tashkent dialect of Uzbek
Tat. - Tatar
Tek. - Teke dialect of Turkmen
Tel. - Teleut dialect of Oyrot
Tib. - Tibetan
TM, Tung. - Tungus-Manchu
Tng. - Tungir dialect of Evenki
Tob. - Tobolsk dialect of Tatar
Todzh. - Todzha dialect of Tuva
Tof. - Tofalar
Tok. - Tokyo
Tokh. - Tokharian
Tokk. - Tokki dialect of Evenki
Tott. - Totti dialect of Evenki
Tomm. - Tommot dialect of Evenki
Tunk. - Tunkin dial. of Buryat
Tur. - Turkish
Turk. - Turkic
Turkm. - Turkmenian
Ud. - Udehe
Udm. - Udmurt
Ul. - Ulcha
Upper-Kond. - Upper Kondom dialect of Shor
Ural. - Uralic
Urm. - Urmi dialect of Evenki
Uygh. - Uyghur
Uzb. - Uzbek
Vit. - Vitim dialect of Evenki
Vog. - Vogul (Mansi)
WMong. - Written Mongolian
Yak. - Yakut
Yen. - Yenissei Old Turkic
Yerb. - Yerbogochen dialect of Evenki
Yon. - Yonaguni dialect of Japanese (Ryukyu)
Yukagh. - Yukaghir
Zabajk. - Zabajkal dialect of Russian

A

✸**ăbu** interior of the mouth: Tung. ***(x)abu-ǯan-**; Mong. ***owči**; Turk. ***Ăburt**.

PTung. ***(x)abu-ǯan-** to gape, open mouth (разинуть, раскрыть (пасть)): Neg. *awǯan-*.

◊ TMC 1, 9. Cf. perhaps also Nan. Naikh. *aoǯan* 'a talisman against the throat disease' (contaminated with *aoǯan* 'ruff'; with a carved picture of a ruff), see Он. 44.

PMong. ***owči** interior side of the cheek; mouthful (внутренняя сторона щеки; глоток, количество жидкости, которое можно набрать в рот): WMong. *ouči*, *oɣuči* L 602, 625; Kh. *ōč*; Bur. *ōšo(n)*; Kalm. *ōčə*; Ord. *ōčʿi* 'gorgée'; Mog. *ɔči-* 'to drink' (Weiers); Dag. *ūčə*; Dong. *oču-* (*očɨ-*); S.-Yugh. *ūčə*; Mongr. *ōč̌i-* 'to drink' (SM 299), *ūčiɣu* 'a drink' (Тод. Мгр. 369).

◊ KW 292, MGCD 523. The Mongor forms could be derived from *ū-* 'drink' (v. sub **ṓpʿà*), but the affixation in that case would be unclear.

PTurk. ***Ăburt** 1 cheek-pouch, inside of the mouth 2 gum 3 mouthful, gulp 4 cheek 5 molar 6 to take a mouthful, swallow (1 внутренняя полость рта 2 десна 3 глоток 4 щека 5 коренной зуб 6 глотать): OTurk. *a[vurt]* (*?adurt*) (OUygh., late med. texts TT II); Tur. *avurt* 1; Gag. *aurt* 1, 4; Turkm. *howurt* (dial.) 1, 3; MTurk. *awurt* (Sangl.) 3, (MKypch.) *oɣurt*, *owurt* 1, 3 (Houts., Ettuhf.); Uzb. *urt* (dial.) 1; Tat. *urt* 2; Bashk. *urt* 1; Kirgh. *ūrt*; Kaz. *urt* 1; KBalk. *uwurt* 4; KKalp. *urt* 1; Kum. *uvurt* 1, 4; Nogh. *uwɨrt* 1; Khak. *ōrt-a-* 6; Shr. *ōrt-a-* 6; Oyr. *ūrt* 'throat', *ūrt-a-* 6; Tv. *ārt-a-* 6; Chuv. *urъlъ*, dial. *vъʷrlъʷ* 5 (Ашм. V 320); Yak. *omurt* 1, 3.

◊ EDT 65, ЭСТЯ 1, 407-409, Лексика 225-226, Мудрак 115. The Old Uyghur form is poorly readable, so -δ- is dubious. Yak. -m- is irregular: could it be a trace of PA **umV* 'drink', otherwise lost in Turkic?

‖ KW 292, Лексика 226. A Western isogloss.

✸**ăčV** elder relative, ancestor: Tung. ***asī**; Turk. ***ăčaj / *ěčej**; Kor. ***àčă-**.

PTung. ***asī** 1 wife of elder brother 2 woman 3 wife (1 жена старшего брата 2 женщина 3 жена): Evk. *asī* 2; Evn. *asị* 2; Neg. *asī* 2; Man. *aša* 1; SMan. *ašə*, *asə* 3 (908); Ul. *asị* 3; Ork. *asị* 2; Nan. *aśa* 2; Orch. *asa* 2; Ud. *ahanta* 2; Sol. *aš̌ē*, *aš̌ī* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 55. TM > Dag. *aškā* (Тод. Даг. 123).

PTurk. ***ǎčaj / *ěčej** 1 old man or woman 2 mother 3 grandmother 4 sister (of woman) 5 mother (if the grandmother is still alive) 5 mother (addr. to an elder woman) 6 aunt, sister of father 7 elder brother 8 uncle 9 ancestor 10 Father! (to the God) 11 old man, elder man 12 husband 13 younger brother of father's father 14 grandfather 15 father (1 старый мужчина или женщина 2 мать 3 бабушка 4 сестра (женщины) 5 мать (при живой бабушке) 5 мать (обр. к пожилой женщине) 6 тетя, сестра отца 7 старший брат 8 дядя 9 предок 10 Отче! (обр. к Богу) 11 старик, пожилой человек 12 муж 13 младший брат деда 14 дед 15 отец): OTurk. *eči* 7, 8 (Orkh.), *ečü* 9 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *eči* 1 (MK), *ečü* 10 (KB); Tur. *aʒı* (dial.), *eʒe* 11; Uzb. *эča*, *ača* 2, 3; Uygh. *ača* 6; Tat. *aʒa*, *aʒi*, *εʒi* 5 (dial., ТТДС 22, 551), *azɨj*, *εzi* 11, 15 (dial., ТТДС 23, 540); Bashk. *äsä* 2; Kirgh. *ačaj* 5, *aʒa* 11; Kum. *aʒaj* 5, *ečiw* 6; SUygh. *ačɨ* 4, *ača* 12, 15; Khak. *aʒa* 7, 8; Shr. *ača* 7, 8; Oyr. Leb. *aʒɨ*, *aʒa* 7, *ača* 13; Tv. *ača* 15; Tof. *aš´a*, *aʒa* 7, 15; Chuv. *aźa* 15; Yak. *ehe* 14; Dolg. *ehe* 14.

◊ VEWT 35, ЭСТЯ 1, 231-235, TMN 2, 15, Егоров 35, Лексика 299, Clark 1977, 128, Stachowski 43. Shortness is suggested by pharyngealization in Tofalar, so the variants with -ʒ- are probably due to expressive gemination (**aččV / *eččV).*

PKor. ***àčă-** 1 aunt 2 uncle (1 тетя 2 дядя): MKor. *àčă̆mì* 1, *àčàpí* 2; Mod. *aʒä* 1, 2, *aʒuməni* 1, *aʒäbi* 2.

◊ Nam 341, KED 1076, 1077.

‖ An expressive kinship "nursery" word with the typical structure *VCV; the root must have denoted some elder relative, both male and female. Deriving TM *asī from a Chinese (TMC 1,55) or Sino-Korean (SKE 15) source is quite impossible. The Mongolian reflexes are problematic: Mong. *eʒei* 'mother, elder sister' (whence Yak. *eʒīj*, Dolg. *eʒij*, see Кал. V 27, Stachowski 43) is probably < Turkic.; Mong. *ečige* 'father' reflects rather PA **ĕt´è* (q.v.). One should, however, note an isolated Dagur form *ačā* 'father' (Тод. Даг. 122), whence certainly Solon *ača* id. and possibly Evk. (Vit.) *ači* 'ancestor' (TMC 1, 59).

✱**áč´u** to doubt: Tung. ***aču-**; Jpn. ***útákáp-**; Kor. ***əču-b-**.

PTung. ***aču-** 1 to slander, slander 2 to answer (клеветать, клевета): Man. *ačuχa-da-*, *ačuχan* 1; Nan. (On.) *ačōgo-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 60.

PJpn. ***útákáp-** to doubt (сомневаться): OJpn. *utakap-*; MJpn. *útákáf-*; Tok. *ùtaga-*; Kyo. *útágá-*; Kag. *utagá-*.

◊ JLTT 780.

PKor. ***əču-b-** to be indecisive, irresolute (быть нерешительным, колебаться): Mod. *əʒup-* (-w-).

◊ KED 1135.

‖ An Eastern isogloss; not quite certain because of sparse attestation in TM and Korean.

✱**ădV** to fit, equal, similar: Tung. ***ada-**; Mong. ***adali**; Turk. ***ădaĺ**.

PTung. ***ada-** 1 twins 2 to unite, attach 3 close, neighbour (1 близнецы 2 соединять, присоединять 3 близкий, соседний): Neg. *adaxu̯* 1; Man. *ada-* 2, *adaki* 3; Ul. *adau̯* 1; Ork. *adāw* 1; Nan. *ada-* 2, *adō* 1; Orch. *adawu* 1; Ud. *adaʿu* 1 (Корм. 204).

◊ TMC 1, 14.

PMong. ***adali** equal, similar (равный, похожий): MMong. *adali* (HY 51, SH), *adali* (MA 95); WMong. *adali* (L 9); Kh. *adil*; Bur. *adli*; Kalm. *ädĺ*; Ord. *adil*, *adila*, *adili*, *adali*; Mog. *adōli* (Ramstedt 1906); Dag. *adiĺ*, *adili* (Тод. Даг. 118), *adəĺ* (MGCD), *adili* (MD 111); Dong. *adali* (Тод. Дн. 110); Bao. *adəli* (Тод. Бн. 133), *adali* (Tungren); Mongr. *dali* (SM 42), *adali* (Minghe).

◊ KW 21, MGCD 94. Mong. > Yak. *atɨlī*, Dolg. *atalɨ* (Kał. MEJ 38, Stachowski 38), Evk. *adalī* (cf. Doerfer MT 98, Rozycki 11), Russ. Siber. *adalí* (Аникин 74).

PTurk. ***ădaĺ** friend, companion (друг, товарищ): OTurk. *adaš* (OUygh. - Buddh., Man.); Karakh. *aδaš* (MK, KB), *ajaš* (IM); Kirgh. *ajaš*; Yak. *atas*.

◊ VEWT 5, EDT 72. A hypothesis about **adaĺ* < (compound) *at-daĺ* with 'name' as the first component is impossible (in that case we would expect **ataĺ* and 'namesake' as the earliest meaning). The form *attaš* is attested since MTurk.: *attaš* 'namesake' (Tefs.), *adaš* 'namesake' (Chag. Sangl.), *ataš* 'namesake' (CCum.) - and contaminates with **adaĺ*. Modern languages for the most part reflect the compound, see ЭСТЯ I 203-204. Cf. Tuva *a'dašqɨ-lar* 'a father with his children' ("namesakes"; NB: pharyngealization as a reflex of *-t-). A possible reflex of **adaĺ* is Chuv. *ural-a-š-* 'to agree about acquiring smth. collectively, together' and *ural-a-n-* 'to form a light circle (of astronomical bodies)': both are semantically quite far from *ura-la-n-* 'to recover'.

‖ A Western isogloss. Cf. several similar roots: **idV* 'to follow, lead'; **i̯ude* 'to imitate, simulate', with a natural tendency towards contamination.

✱**agà** rain; air: Tung. ***aga**; Mong. ***agaɣar**; Jpn. ***àkî**; Kor. ***ak-su**.

PTung. ***aga** rain (дождь): Man. *aGa*; SMan. *ahā* (2015); Jurch. *ah-ga* (8).

◊ TMC 1, 11. Cf. also **agdī* 'thunder'.

PMong. ***agaɣar** air, atmosphere (воздух, атмосфера): WMong. *aɣar* (L 13); Kh. *agār*; Bur. *agār*; Kalm. *aɣṛ*, *aɣār*; Ord. *aGāri* 'espace celeste, l'aspect du ciel', *aGār* métaph. 'bonne entente entre les voisins'; Mog. ZM *ɔ̄ur* (15-8b) 'cloud'.

◊ KW 3.

PJpn. ***àkî** autumn (осень): OJpn. *akji*; MJpn. *àkí*; Tok. *áki*; Kyo. *àkî*; Kag. *akí*.

◊ JLTT 379.

PKor. ***ak-su** heavy rain (*ливень*): Mod. *aksu*, *əksu*.

◊ KED 1080.

‖ Lee 1958, 119 (Kor.-TM), АПиПЯЯ 291, TMC 1, 11. The TM form is not borrow < Mong., pace Rozycki 11. **agaɣar* (cf. the length in all dialects) < **aɣa-ɣar*, with regular dissimilation. The Jpn. form may be attributed here if it originally meant "rainy season" (cf. "rain, thunder" in TM); autumn is not so rainy in present-day Japan, but it must have been different in the original homeland.

✱**ágà (~ e-)** mouth, to open mouth: Mong. ***ag-**; Turk. ***Agɨŕ**; Jpn. ***ákúp-**; Kor. ***hà-**.

PMong. ***ag, *aguj** 1 cave, grotte, pit 2 crack (1 пещера, грот, яма 2 промежуток, пространство между): WMong. *aɣui* 1 (L 16), aɣ 2; Kh. *aguj* 1; Bur. *agɨ* 1; Kalm. *aɣū* 1, aG, *āG* 2; Ord. *aG^{w}ī* 1; Dag. *agui*.

◊ KW 3, MGCD 664.

PTurk. ***Agɨŕ** 1 mouth 2 lip, lips 3 mouth of a river, of a cleft (1 рот 2 губа, губы 3 устье реки, ущелья): OTurk. *aɣɨz* (Orkh.) 3, *aɣɨz*, *aɣaz* (OUygh.) 1, 3; Karakh. *aɣɨz* 1, 3; Tur. *aɣɨz* 1, 3; Gag. *ās* 1, 3; Az. *aɣɨz* 1, 3; Turkm. *aɣɨz* 1, 3; Sal. *aɣɨz* 1; Khal. *aɣɨz* 1, 3; MTurk. *aɣɨz* 1; Uzb. *ɔɣiz* 1, 3; Uygh. *eɣiz* 1, 3; Krm. *aɣɨz* 1, 3; Tat. *awɨz* 1, 3; Bashk. *awɨδ* 1, 3; Kirgh. *ooz* 1, 3; Kaz. *awɨz* 1, 3; KBalk. *awuδ* 1, 3; KKalp. *awɨz* 1, 3; Kum. *awuz* 1, 3; Nogh. *awɨz* 1, 3; SUygh. *aɣɨs* 1; Khak. *ās*, *axsɨ* (3 P.) 1, 3; Shr. *aqsɨ* 1, 3; Oyr. *ōs* 1, 3; Tv. *ās*, *aqsɨ* (3 P.) 1, 3; Tof. *ās*, *aqsɨ* (3 P.) 1, 3; Chuv. *vъ^{w}rъ^{w}*, *urъ-lъ* 3; Yak. *uos* 2; Dolg. *uos* 2.

◊ VEWT 8, EDT 98, ЭСТЯ 1, 81-83, Мудрак Дисс. 115, Лексика 224-225, Stachowski 245.

PJpn. ***ákúp-** 1 to yawn 2 yawn (1 зевать 2 зевок): MJpn. *ákúf-* 1; Tok. *ákubi*, *akúbi* 2; Kyo. *ákùbì* 2; Kag. *akubí* 2.

◊ JLTT 379. RJ registers high tone, but modern reflexes are tonally all quite irregular.

PKor. ***hà-** yawn (зевок): MKor. *ha-phɨi'om*, *hà'óijòm*, *hahoi'om*; Mod. *haphum*.

◊ Nam 469, KED 1788.

‖ SKE 5, Martin 234, Колесникова 1972a, 77-78, АПиПЯЯ 80, 283 (confused with **ák'a*), Лексика 225. Despite Poppe 95 Mong. *aɣur* 'steam, anger' hardly belongs here (see under **ap`i*). The root should be distinguished from **ák'a*, although they tend to be confused: thus, Mong. **ag* 'crack' could quite possibly reflect **ák'a*. Some phonetic comments: Mong. **aguji* regularly < **aɣuji* with velar fricative dissimilation; Korean has lost the first vowel in a long derivative (a rather frequent phenomenon).

✱**ā́gi** acid: Tung. ***(x)aK-**; Mong. ***eɣe-de-**; Turk. ***ạ̄gu**.

PTung. ***(x)aK-** to become rotten, bitter (протухнуть, прогоркнуть): Man. *aqša-*.

◊ TMC 1, 26.

PMong. ***eɣe-de-** 1 to become sour 2 curd (1 киснуть 2 творог): WMong. *egede-* 1, *egeǯegei* 2; Kh. *ēde-* 1, *ēʒgij* 2; Bur. *ēde-* 1, *ēzgej* 'cream'; Kalm. *ēde-* 1, *ēzgē* 2; Ord. *ēde-* 1, *ēǯigī*, *ēdem* 2; Dag. *ēde-* (Тод. Даг. 138) 1.

◊ KW 130, 131, MGCD 246.

PTurk. ***ạ̄gu** 1 poison 2 musk (1 яд 2 мускус, кабарговая струя): OTurk. *aɣu* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *aɣu* 1 (MK); Tur. *au* 1; Az. *aɣɨ* 1; Turkm. *āvɨ* 1; MTurk. *aɣu* 1; Uzb. *эɣu* 1; Uygh. *aɣi*, *oɣa* 1; Krm. *aɣu*; Tat. *aɣu* 1; Bashk. *aɣɨw*; Kirgh. *aɣū* 2; Kaz. *aɣu* dial.; KBalk. *aɣu*; Kum. *aɣuw*, *aɣu*; Nogh. *aɣuw*; SUygh. *aɣa* 1; Khak. *ō* 1; Tof. *ā* 1 (Рас. ФиЛ 9); Yak. *ī* 2.

◊ VEWT 9, 13, ЭСТЯ 1, 67. The Kypch. forms with -ɣ- (not shifted to -w-) and *-uɣ may be borrowed from Chag.

‖ Poppe 57 (Turk.-Mong.). A Western isogloss. The Manchu form is isolated in TM, but seems to be reliable.

✱**àgŋa** net; to spin, plait: Tung. ***aŋ(g)a**; Mong. ***aɣoga**; Turk. ***āg**; Jpn. ***àm-, *àmì**.

PTung. ***aŋ(g)a** net (for catching fish under ice) (сеть (для подледного лова рыбы)): Neg. *aŋa*; Ul. *aŋGa*; Ork. *aŋGa*; Nan. *aŋga*; Orch. *aŋga*.

◊ TMC 1, 45.

PMong. ***aɣoga** leading string in net (ведущая веревка в сети): MMong. *a'oga* (SH).

PTurk. ***āg** net (сеть): Karakh. *aɣ* (KB, IM); Tur. *aɣ*; *aɣ*, *av* (Osmanli); Az. *aɣ*; Turkm. *āq* (dial.); MTurk. *aɣ* (Sangl.); Uzb. *āɣ* (dial.); Krm. *av*, *uv*; Tat. *aw*; Bashk. *aw*; Kirgh. *ū*; Kaz. *aw*; KBalk. *aw*; KKalp. *aw*; Kum. *aw*; Nogh. *aw*; Khak. *aɣ* (Sag.); Shr. *aɣ*; Oyr. *aɣ* (dial.).

◊ VEWT 7, 20, ЭСТЯ 1, 117-118, 152-153, Лексика 418-419. On *aŋnɨɣ* (Shor), *aɣnɨχ* (Khak.) v. sub **ǎŋu*.

PJpn. ***àm-, *àmì** 1 to knit, weave 2 net (1 вязать, ткать 2 сеть): OJpn. *amji* 2; MJpn. *àm-* 1, *àmì* 2; Tok. *ám-* 1, *amí* 2; Kyo. *àm-* 1, *ámì* 2; Kag. *àm-* 1, *amí* 2.

◊ Cf. also OJ *ama* 'fisherman'. JLTT 381, 676.

‖ Лексика 419. The root has some irregularities (Jpn. tone does not correspond to Turkic length): there may have been some interaction with **ǎŋu* q.v.

✱**ǎgò** trade: Mong. ***(h)ag-su-, *(h)aɣu-ra-**; Turk. ***Agɨ**; Jpn. ***àkì**.

PMong. ***(h)ag-su-, *(h)aɣu-ra-** 1 borrowing or lending money at interest, loan 2 belongings, possessions (1 заем 2 собственность, пожитки): WMong. *aɣsun* (L 15) 1, *aɣura*, *aɣura-su(n)* 2 (L 18); *aɣsu-* 'troquer une chose contre une autre'; Kh. *agsan* 1, *ūrs(an)* 2; Bur. *agsa-* 'to barter'; Mongr. *asGu-* 'donner ou recevoir en prêt, louer' (SM 15).

◊ Mong. *aɣura* > Man. *aGura*, Nan. *aχura* 'household objects', see Poppe 1966, 189.

PTurk. ***Agɨ** 1 treasure 2 silk brocade (1 сокровище 2 парча): OTurk. *aɣɨ* (Orkh., OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *aɣɨ* (MK, KB) 2; Tur. Osm. *aɣɨ*, dial. *aɣɨ* 2; MTurk. *aɣɨ* 2.

◊ EDT 78. Clauson points out that the oldest attested meaning is 'treasure', later concretized to 'silk brocade'.

PJpn. ***àkì** 1 trade 2 to trade (1 торговля 2 торговать): OJpn. *akji* 1, *akjinap-* 2; MJpn. *àkìnaf-* 2; Tok. *akiná-* 2; Kyo. *ákíná-* 2; Kag. *akiná-* 2.

◊ JLTT 675. The accent in Kagoshima is irregular. Cf. also OJ *akap-*, MJ *àgàf-* (*aka-f-*), *aganaf-* 'to buy, pay for' (JLTT 674, 675).

‖ Владимирцов 319 (Turk.-Mong.). An interesting common Altaic economic term, denoting the barter process or barter objects.

✱**agu-la** uninhabited place, wilderness: Tung. ***agulān**; Mong. ***aɣula**; Turk. ***aglak**.

PTung. ***agulān** meadow, plain (поляна, равнина): Evk. *awlān*, *aɣlān*; Evn. *awlъn*; Neg. *awlan*; Ul. *awda(n)*; Ork. *awla(n)*; Nan. *aodã*; Orch. *auda*, *aula*.

◊ TMC 1, 9. Despite Doerfer MT 73, cannot be borrowed from Mong. *aɣlaɣ* (< Turk., see below).

PMong. ***aɣula** mountain (гора): MMong. *a'ula* (HY 2, SH 10), *awla* (IM 433), (*a*)*ula*, *ūla* (MA 372, 189); WMong. *aɣula(n)* (L 17); Kh. *ūl*; Bur. *ūla*; Kalm. *ūlə*; Ord. *ūla*; Mog. *aula*; ZM *āwla* (17-8b); Dag. *aul(a)* (Тод. Даг. 122), *aule* (MD 116); Dong. *ula* (Тод. Дн. 137); Bao. *ōle* (Тод. Бн. 145), *ulə*; S.-Yugh. *ūla*; Mongr. *ula* (SM 469), *ulā*.

◊ KW 454, MGCD 662. Mong. > Sol. *aula* id.

PTurk. ***aglak** 1 lonely, uninhabited (place) 2 unemployed, out of work 3 field (1 незаселенное место 2 безработный, лишенный службы 3 поле, степь): OTurk. *aɣlaq* 1 (OUygh. - Buddh.); Karakh. *aɣlaq* 1 (MK), *aɣla-ju* 1 (MK; deverb. from **aɣla-* 'to be deserted' (unattested)), *aɣla-t-* (MK) 'to send away (people)'; Tur. *aylak* 2; *aɣlak* (dial.) 1; Gag. *ajlaq*, *hajlaq* 2; Krm. *awlaq* 1; Tat. *awlaq* 1; Bashk. *awlaq* 1; Kirgh. *ōlaq* 1; Kaz. *awlaq* 1; KBalk. *awlaq* 1; KKalp. *awlaq* 1; Kum. *awlaq* 3; Nogh. *awlaq* 1; Khak. *aɣlax* 1; Chuv. *ulax* 1.

◊ EDT 84, 85, VEWT 8, ЭСТЯ 1, 64. Turk. > WMong. *aɣlaq*, *aɣlaɣa* id. (KW 3, Щербак 1997, 95). Tends to contaminate with **āb-lag* 'hunting lands'.

‖ Poppe 58. A Western isogloss. May be derived from the root reflected in TM as **agī-* 'to walk without a road', 'wilderness' (TMC 1, 13; its borrowing from Mong. *aɣui* 'wide', suggested by Poppe 1972, 101, Doerfer MT 123, is highly dubious). Note that vowel length in PT **aglak* is unknown; if the original meaning of the root was 'to nomadize', one is tempted to compare also PT **āgɨl* 'settlement' (originally perhaps 'nomadic settlement'; see Лексика 492-493, 522-523, ЭСТЯ 1, 65-66, 83-85, TMN 2, 82-84, Stachowski 257), whence probably MMong.,

WMong. *ajil* id. (> Evk. *ail* etc., see Doerfer MT 125). Not borrowed from Turkic, but rather genuine may also be WMong. *ajimak* 'a group of ajil's' (TMN 1, 184-185: Mong. > Khak., Tuva *ajmaq* (see also ЭСТЯ 1, 110), Man. *ajman* etc.).

✱**aguŕV** colostrum: Mong. ***uɣurag**; Turk. ***ạguŕ**.

PMong. ***uɣurag** colostrum (молозиво): WMong. *uɣuraɣ*, *uɣuruɣ* (L 865); Kh. *ūrag*; Bur. *ūrag*; Kalm. *ūrəg* (KPC); Ord. *ūraG*; Mongr. *uraG* (SM 473).

◊ Mong. > Evk. *ūrak*, see Doerfer MT 126.

PTurk. ***ạguŕ** colostrum (молозиво): Karakh. *aɣuz* (MK), *oɣuz* (Tefs.); Tur. *aɨz sütü*, dial. *āz*, *aɣuz*; Turkm. *ovuz*; MTurk. *aɣuz* (Sangl., Pav. C., IM); Uzb. *ɔɣiz*; Uygh. *oɣuz*; Tat. *uɣɨz*; Bashk. *ɨwɨð*; Kirgh. *ūz*; Kaz. *uwɨz*; KBalk. *uwuz*; KKalp. *uwɨz*; Kum. *uwuz*; Nogh. *uwɨz*; Khak. *ōs*; Tv. *ā-zɨ* (contamination with 3d p. poss.); Chuv. *ɨrri* (3Sg.); Yak. *uosax*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 1, 405-407, EDT 98, Егоров 344.

‖ KW 454, Владимирцов 196, Мудрак Дисс. 186. A Turk.-Mong. isogloss, but, despite TMN 2, 80-81, Щербак 1997, 95 hardly borrowed in Mong. < Turk.

✱**ȁgV** sharp, whet: Tung. ***āga-**; Mong. ***(h)ag**.

PTung. ***āga-** 1 arrow point, notch 2 whetstone (1 острие, зазубрина (у стрелы) 2 оселок, точильный камень): Evk. *āɣen* 2; Evn. *āɣъn* 2; Neg. *aɣat* 1, *aɣan* 2; Man. *atan* 1; Nan. *aŋã* 2; Orch. *āta* 1, *awa* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 12, 13. TM > Yak. *aɣān*.

PMong. ***(h)ag** 1 part of blade (close to handle) 2 notch on fish-fork (1 часть острия (ближе к рукоятке) 2 зазубрина остроги): WMong. *aɣ*, (L 19: *aɣšam* 'blunt wooden arrow tip'); Kh. *āg* 1; Bur. *āg* 2; Kalm. *aG* 2.

◊ KW 2. Length in Khalkha and Buryat may also indicate a possibility of reconstructing **(h)aɣag*.

‖ TMC 1, 13. A Mong.-Tung. isogloss, but borrowing is impossible to suppose. Cf. also notes to **ǒkʹa*.

✱**ȁja** to go, walk: Tung. ***āj-**; Mong. ***aja-**; Turk. ***Aj-**; Jpn. ***àjùm-**.

PTung. ***āj-** 1 swift 2 to run quickly 3 to step (on sand, snow) (1 быстрый 2 быстро бежать 3 ступать (по песку, снегу)): Evn. *ajiŋ* 1; Man. *aja-* 2; Ork. *aja-mụnžị* 1; Nan. *āi-* 3 (Он. 30).

◊ TMC 1, 21.

PMong. ***aja-** journey, travel (поход, путешествие): MMong. *ajan* (SH); WMong. *ajaŋ*, *ajan* (L 23); Kh. *ajan*; Bur. *ajan*; Kalm. *ajan*; Ord. *ajan*; Dag. *ajan* (Тод. Даг. 118), (MGCD *ajin*).

◊ KW 4, MGCD 99. Mong. > Kirgh. *ajaŋ* etc. (ЭСТЯ 1, 106-107).

PTurk. ***Aj-** 1 to revolve, rotate, go round 2 to tarry 3 to lead, lead round 4 to speed up 5 to drive (1 вращаться, вертеться, обходить 2

мешкать 3 кружить, водить 4 ускорять 5 гнать): Tur. *ajla-(n)-* 1, *ajlak* 'шатающийся без дела'; Gag. *ajla-*, *ajlan-* 1, *(h)ajda-* 5; Az. *ajlan-* (dial.) 1; Turkm. *ajla-* 3; Uzb. *ajlan-* 1, 2; Uygh. *ajlan-* 1, 2; Krm. *ajlan-* 1; Tat. *əjlən-* 1; Kirgh. *ajlan-* 1, *ajda-* 5; Kaz. *ajda-* 5, *ajnal-* 1; KBalk. *ajlan-* 1; KKalp. *ajlan-* 1, 2; Kum. *ajlan-* 'to move, visit'; Nogh. *ajlan-* 1; Khak. *ajn-ɨt-* 4, *ajla-*, *əjlə-* 1; Shr. *ajlan-* 1; Oyr. *ajla-* 1, *ajda-* 5; Yak. *ajgɨ-s-ɨn-* 'to tarry; to go, visit frequently' (**ajɨg-iš-ɨn-*).

◊ ЭСТЯ 1, 106-107, 109-110. The forms meaning 'rotate, go round, walk in circles' are hardly connected with aj 'moon'.

PJpn. ***àjùm-** to walk (ходить, гулять): OJpn. *ajum-*; MJpn. *àjùm-*; Tok. *ayúm-*; Kyo. *áyúm-*; Kag. *àyùm-*.

◊ JLTT 679.

‖ ОСНЯ 1, 243.

✱**ǎjbi** a k. of duck: Tung. ***ābu-**; Turk. ***Ebür(d)ek**; Jpn. ***û**.

PTung. ***ābu-** a k. of duck (утка-морянка) (вид утки (утка-морянка)): Evn. *āwụldụqa*; Ork. *awụŋGa*; Orch. *auŋa*; Ud. *auŋga*.

◊ TMC 1, 10.

PTurk. ***Ebür(d)ek** duck (утка): OTurk. *ödirek* (OUygh.); Karakh. (MK) *ördek*; Tur. *ördek*; Gag. *jördek*; Az. *ördäk*; Turkm. *ȫrdek*; Khal. *irdäk*; MTurk. *evrek*, *evek* (Qutb); Uzb. *ọrdak*; Uygh. *ö(r)däk*; Krm. *ördek*, *erdek*; Tat. *ürdɛk*; Bashk. *üjräk*; Kirgh. *ördök*; Kaz. *üjrek*; KKalp. *üjrek*, *ördek*; Kum. *ördek* dial.; SUygh. *jürdek*; Khak. *örtek*; Shr. *örtek*; Oyr. *örtök*; Tv. *ödürek*, *edirek*.

◊ EDT 205, ЭСТЯ 1, 547-548, TMN 2, 31, Лексика 172.

PJpn. ***û** cormorant (баклан): OJpn. *u*; MJpn. *ú*; Tok. *ú*; Kyo. *û*; Kag. *ú*.

◊ JLTT 559.

‖ Лексика 172. Jpn. **û* must be a later contraction < **iw(V)*; medial *-j- must be reconstructed to explain the spirantization *-b- > -w-.

✱**ǎjbo** grass: Tung. ***(x)abü-**; Mong. ***ebe-sü**; Jpn. ***àwə̀-**.

PTung. ***(x)abü-** stem, stalk (стебель): Evk. *aγi(n)*; Evn. *aγ*; Neg. *aγị(n)*; Man. *afá*.

◊ TMC 1, 13.

PMong. ***ebe-sü** grass (трава): MMong. *ebesun* (HY 9, SH), *äwäsun* (IM), *ibäsun* (MA); WMong. *ebesü(n)* (L 287); Kh. *öws(ön)*; Bur. *übhe(n)*; Kalm. *öwsṇ*; Ord. *öwösü*; Mog. *ebäsun*; ZM *ebäsun* (20-8); Dag. *eus* (Тод. Дar. 141), *euse* (MD 147); Dong. *osun*; Bao. *vəsoŋ*; S.-Yugh. *wēsən*; Mongr. *usə*, *wesə*, *jesə* (SM 483).

◊ KW 303, MGCD 538.

PJpn. ***àwə̀-** green, blue (зеленый, синий): OJpn. *awo-*; MJpn. *àwò-*; Tok. *aó-*; Kyo. *áo-*; Kag. *aó-*.

◊ JLTT 825.

‖ *-j- should be reconstructed to account for Mong. e- and for Jpn. -w-. The semantic derivation *'grass' > 'green' is quite common.

✱**aje (~ *ejo)** to reach, come close: Mong. ***aji-su-**; Jpn. ***ə́jə́mp-**.

PMong. ***aji-su-** to come close to, come up to (приближаться, подходить): MMong. *ajisu-* (SH); WMong. *ajisu-*, *ajisi-*, *ajis-* (L 22); Kh. *ajs-*; Kalm. *āš-* 1.

◊ KW 21.

PJpn. ***ə́jə́mp-** to reach (достигать): OJpn. *ojob-*; MJpn. *ójób-*; Tok. *òyob-*; Kyo. *óyób-*; Kag. *oyób-*.

◊ JLTT 744.

‖ A Mong.-Jpn. isogloss.

✱**ăjV** good, fitting: Tung. ***aja, *aju-**; Mong. ***(h)aja**; Turk. ***ăja-**.

PTung. ***aja, *aju-** 1 good 2 handsome, beautiful 3 to save, help (1 хороший 2 красивый 3 спасать, помогать): Evk. *aja* 1, *aj(ū)-* 3; Evn. *aj* 1, *aj(i)-* 3; Neg. *aja* 1; Man. *aj-luŋGa* 2, *aj-sila-* 3; Jurch. *aju-bulu* (419) 3; Ul. *aja* 1; Ork. *aja* 1, *aju-* 3; Nan. *ai, ajā* 1; Orch. *aja* 1, *ai-či-* 3; Ud. *aja* 1, *ai-sigi-* 3; Sol. *ai, aja* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 18-20. Man. > Dag. *ajšilā-* 'help' (Тод. Даг. 119).

PMong. ***(h)aja** favourable circumstances (благоприятные обстоятельства): WMong. *aja* (L 22), *aji*; Kh. *aja*; Bur. *aj-dar*, *aja*; Kalm. *ajə*; Ord. *aja*.

◊ KW 4.

PTurk. ***ăja-** 1 to esteem 2 to pity, look after 3 very (1 почитать 2 беречь, жалеть 3 очень, сильно): OTurk. *aja-* 1, *aji* 3 (OUygh.); Karakh. *aja-* (MK) 1, 2, *aji* 3 (KB); Tur. *aj-* 2, *aja-* dial. 1; Az. *ajin* 'cult, ceremony'; Turkm. *aja-* 2; MTurk. *aja-* 1 (Ettuhf.); Uzb. *aja-* 2; Uygh. *aji-* 2; Krm. *aja-* 2; Tat. *aja-* 2; Bashk. *aja-* 2; Kirgh. *aja-* 2; Kaz. *aja-* 2; KBalk. *aja-* 2; KKalp. *aja-* 2; Kum. *aja-* 2; Nogh. *aja-* 2; Khak. *aja-* 2, aj 3; Shr. *aja-* 2 (in *ajabān* 'remorseless'); Tv. *aj* 'well'; Chuv. *oja-* 'to care'.

◊ VEWT 10-11, EDT 267-8, ЭСТЯ 1, 101-102, Федотов 2, 298. Deriving **aja-* 'to respect, esteem' from *aj 'fear' (VEWT 11) is hardly plausible. Clauson (EDT 182) thinks that OUygh. *aji* 'very' is an unusually early example of the elision of -g in *aṅiγ* 'evil', which means 'very' in many OUygh. texts, but this is hardly plausible phonetically; so it may belong here, together with Khak. *aj* 'very' (although the final narrow *i* is a problem). Sevortyan relates here also SUygh. *ajiγ* 'good omen, good luck', but this may be a reflex of OUygh., Karakh. *ajiq* 'vow, promise' (EDT 270).

‖ KW 3, Владимирцов 282 (Turk.-Mong.), EAS 97, 139, Poppe 66 (with an unreliable Korean parallel), АПиПЯЯ 290, Дыбо 12. A Western isogloss. Because of a semantic difference, TM forms are hardly borrowed from Mong., despite Doerfer MT 46.

✸**ăjVrV** sour milk, melted fat: Tung. ***ajara-**; Mong. ***ajirag**; Turk. ***ajran**.

PTung. ***ajara-** 1 to take off fat (while melting) 2 spoon for taking fat off (1 снимать жир (в процессе растапливания) 2 ложка для снимания жира): Ul. *ajara-* 1, *ajaraqu̯* 2; Nan. *ajaraχo* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 21.

PMong. ***ajirag** kumys (кумыс): MMong. *aijirax* (HY 25); WMong. *ajiraɣ* (L 21); Kh. *ajrag*; Bur. *ajrag*; Kalm. *ā̆rəg*; Ord. *ā̆raq*; Dag. *airag*.

◊ KW 26. Mong. > Man. *ajara*, see Doerfer MT 236, Rozycki 21, Russ. Siber. *ajrák* (Аникин 78).

PTurk. ***ajran** kumys (кумыс): Karakh. *ajran* (MK); Tur. *ajran*; Az. *ajran*; Turkm. *ajran*; Uzb. *эjrэn*; Uygh. *ajran*; Krm. *ajran*; Tat. *ɛjrɛn*; Bashk. *ajran*; Kirgh. *ajran*; Kaz. *ajran*; KBalk. *ajran*; KKalp. *ajran*; Kum. *ajran*; Nogh. *ajran*; Khak. *ajran*; Oyr. *ajran*; Chuv. *ujran*, dial. *uŕan*, *oren* (Anatri).

◊ ЭСТЯ 1, 111, EDT 276, Лексика 449, Федотов 2, 272. Chuv. > ORuss. *урень* (Фасмер 4, 167, Шипова 350). Turk. > Russ. dial. *ajrán* Аникин 78.

‖ Владимирцов 283. Despite Doerfer TMN 2, 180, Щербак 1997, 96, hardly borrowed in Mong. < Turk. A Western isogloss; but cf. perhaps Kor. *ari-* 'bitter', Middle Jpn. *era-* 'rank, offensive'.

✸**aktʿV** a castrated animal: Mong. ***akta**; Turk. ***atan**.

PMong. ***akta** castrated (кастрированный): MMong. *axta* (HY 9), *aqtas* (SH Козин) 'gelding'; WMong. *aɣta* (L 15); Kh. *agt*; Bur. *agta*; Kalm. *aktə*; Ord. *aGta*; Dag. *arete* (MD).

◊ KW 5. Mong. > Man., Nan. *aqta*, Sol. *akta* (TMC 1, 26, Rozycki 14); MKor. *àktái* (Lee 1958, 119).

PTurk. ***atan** a castrated camel (кастрированный верблюд): Karakh. *atan* (MK); Turkm. *atan* (dial.); MTurk. *atan* (IM); Kirgh. *atan*; Kaz. *atan*; KKalp. *atan*; Nogh. *atan*; Tv. *adan*.

◊ EDT 60, ЭСТЯ 1, 202-203. Turk. > WMong. *atan* 'castrated camel'. Cf. also Yak. *at* 'castrated', *attā-* 'to castrate' - homonymous with *at* 'horse', which is probably a secondary merger (the two roots obviously are to be kept separate).

‖ A Turk.-Mong. isogloss.

✸**ákʿà** to open, opening: Jpn. ***áká-**; Kor. ***àk-**.

PJpn. ***áká-** to open (открывать): OJpn. *aka-*; MJpn. *áká-*; Tok. *àke-*.

◊ JLTT 675 (in OJ the root is usually confused with **áká-* 'get bright').

PKor. ***àk-** 1 mouth 2 a little open, apart 3 opening, slit (1 рот 2 приоткрытый 3 отверстие): MKor. *akui*, *ìp-àkói* 1; Mod. *aguri* 1, *agu* 2, *agɨt* [*akɨs*] 3.

◊ Nam 333, 407, KED 1067.

‖ Martin 238. A Kor.-Jpn. isogloss: in other languages (Turkic, Mongolian) the root has probably merged with **ága* 'mouth, open mouth' q. v.

✱**akʿa-** a k. of aquatic bird: Tung. ***aKa**; Mong. ***(h)akawna**; Turk. ***Akańa**.

PTung. ***aKa** loon, diver (гагара): Neg. *axanī*; Man. *aqa ńexe*; Ul. *ańi*; Nan. *āńi*.

◊ TMC 1, 24.

PMong. ***(h)akawna** loon, diver, gull (гагара, чайка): WMong. *aqaupa*, *aquupa* (L 60), *ayа(y)upa*; Kh. *axūn*, *axūna*; Bur. *axūna*; Kalm. *axūnə*, *ayūnə*.

◊ KW 3. Mong. > Oyr. *ayūna* etc., Sib.-Tat. *ayun*, *ayuin* 'partridge, black-cock' (Тумашева КСТТ 97), Bar. *ayawin* 'partridge' (ЯБТ 123).

PTurk. ***Akańa** 1 gull 2 white partridge (1 чайка 2 куропатка): Khak. *ayaja*, *ayajaŋ* (Sag., Kach.) 'a k. of bird'; Shr. *ayij* 1; Tv. *ayanaq* 2.

◊ VEWT 9.

‖ TMC 1, 24. A Western isogloss. The TM languages reflect a compound **aKa-nīkü* (with **nīkü* 'duck' < PA **nīkV* q.v.); the same compound in a somewhat distorted shape may be also present in the PT and PM forms.

✱**ā́kʿa** elder brother: Tung. ***akā / *kakā**; Mong. ***aka**; Turk. ***(i)āka**.

PTung. ***ak- / *kaka** 1 man 2 elder brother (1 мужчина 2 старший брат): Evk. *akā*, akin 2; Evn. *aqa*, *aqṭn* 2; Neg. *aga* / *axa* 2; Man. *xaxa* 1, *axun* 2; SMan. *hahə* 1 (829); Jurch. *xaxa-aj* (298) 1, *axun* (*axun-un*) (286) 2; Ul. *aGa* 2; Ork. *aGa* / *aqa* 2; Nan. *ā* 2; Orch. *aka*, *akin* 2; Ud. *agaʿ* 2 (Корм. 203); Sol. *axā*, *axin* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 23-24, 459. Forms like Evk. *akā* can be < Mong. (see TMN 1, 139, Poppe 1972, 100), but this is impossible for *akin and **kaka.*

PMong. ***aka** elder brother (старший брат): MMong. *aqa* (HY 28, SH), *axai ekeči* 'elder aunt' (HY 28), *ayā* (IM 432), *āya* (MA 266, 185, 256); WMong. *aqa* (L 59); Kh. *ax; axaj* 'aunt' (resp. address); Bur. *axa*; Kalm. *axə*; Ord. *axa*; Dag. *akā*, *aga* (Тод. Даг. 118, 119, MD 112), ag (MGCD); Dong. *aya*; S.-Yugh. *ava* (MGCD: *aGa*); Mongr. *aGa* 'frère aîné', *āGa* 'frère puînté du père' (SM 2).

◊ KW 3, MGCD 126. Cf. also WMong. *aki*, Kalm. *ākə* 'elder brother's wife' (KW 20).

PTurk. ***(i)āka** 1 elder brother; elder uncle; father; grandfather 2 respectful address 3 elder (1 старший брат; старший дядя; отец; дедушка 2 почтительное обращение 3 старший): OTurk. *aqa* 1 (OUygh., from I-t half of XIII century, see ДТС); Tur. *aya* 1, 2; Gag. *aya* 1, 2; Az. *aya* 2; Turkm. *āGa* 1; Khal. *aya* 2; MTurk. *aqa* 1 (Oghuz-nama), *aya* 1 (Abush.), *aqa* (Pav. C.) 1; Uzb. *эya* 1; Uygh. *aya* 1; Krm. *aqa* 2 (K), *aya* 2, 3 (K, T); Tat. *aya* 1, 2; Bashk. *ayaj* 1, 2; Kirgh. *aya* 1; Kaz. *aya* 1, 3; KKalp. *aya* 1, 2; Kum. *aya* 1, 2; Nogh. *aya* 1, 2; SUygh. *aqa* 1,2, *qiz aya* 'тесть' (ЯЖУ 11, 13); Khak. *aya* 1 ('father's father'); Shr. *aqqa* 'father's father'; Oyr. *aqa* 1, 2; Tv. *aqi* 1; Yak. *aya* 1 ('father'), 3; Dolg. *aga* 'father'.

◊ VEWT 13, ЭСТЯ 1, 70-71, 121-122, Лексика 291, Stachowski 28. Note the expressive gemination of the medial -k- in Tuva and elsewhere.

‖ EAS 91, KW 3, Владимирцов 324, Poppe 55, Цинциус 1972a, 40-45. АПиПЯЯ 290. A Western isogloss. The Turkic forms are relatively late attested and could be < Mong., see TMN 1, 137, Щербак 1997, 199, but the Mong.-Tung. parallel still holds.

✱**ák'à (~ -k-,-o)** dirt, filth: Tung. ***(x)aK-**; Mong. ***(h)ag**; Jpn. ***ákà**.

PTung. ***(x)aK-** 1 to menstruate 2 dirt 3 rust, mould 4 to rust, mould (1 менструировать 2 грязь 3 ржавчина, плесень 4 ржаветь, плесневеть): Evk. *akapču-* 1; Evn. *oqụ*, *aqụ̄sa* 3, *oqụ̄-*, *aqụ̄-* 4; Sol. *akụ* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 24, 2, 11.

PMong. ***(h)ag** 1 pock-mark 2 dirt, taint (1 оспина 2 грязь, налет): WMong. *aγ* 1 (MXTTT); Kh. *ag* (MXTTT) 1; Bur. *ag* 2; Kalm. *ag* 2 (KPC).

PJpn. ***ákà** liquid dirt, filth (жидкая грязь): OJpn. *aka*; MJpn. *ákà*; Tok. *aká*; Kyo. *ákà*; Kag. *aká*.

◊ JLTT 378. The Kagoshima accent is irregular; otherwise all data points to **ákà*.

‖ The root is not very widely represented, but seems reliable.

✱**ǎk'è** to advance gradually, slowly: Mong. ***(h)aki-**; Turk. ***(i)akuru-**; Jpn. ***ə́kúr(á)-**.

PMong. ***(h)aki-, *(h)akuj** 1 to advance gradually, 2 work, earnings, mode of life (1 продвигаться постепенно 2 работа, образ жизни): WMong. *aki-* (L 25); Kh. *axi-* 1, *axui* 2; Bur. *axi-* 1; Kalm. *axū* 2; Ord. *ax^{w}ī* 2.

◊ KW 4.

PTurk. ***(i)akuru-** slowly, quietly, gradually (медленно, постепенно): OTurk. *aquru* (OUygh.); Karakh. *aqru*, *aqrun* (MK), *aqru* (KB); Tur. *arqun* (Osmanli); MTurk. *aqrɨn* (Sangl.), *aγrɨn* (Бор. Бад.); Krm. *arqɨtɨn*; Tat. *εkren*, *εkerten*; *εkert* (dial.); Bashk. *aqrɨn*; Kirgh. *aqɨrɨn*; Kaz. *aqɨrɨn*; KBalk. *aqɨrɨn*, *aqrɨn*, *aqɨrtɨn*; KKalp. *aqɨrɨn*; Khak. *āγɨrɨn*, *aγrɨn*, *aγɨrtɨn*; Shr. *aγɨrɨn*; Oyr. *aqqɨrɨn*, *aqqɨr-aqqɨr*; Yak. *arγī*, *orγūj*.

◊ VEWT 14, ЭСТЯ 1, 123-124, EDT 89-90. The forms with -ɨn and -tɨn are old forms of Instr. and Abl. cases, so the PT word is a noun. Yak. reflects the -u of the second syllable.

PJpn. ***ə́kúr(á)-** 1 to be, come late 2 to send, advance (1 опаздывать 2 посылать, отправлять): OJpn. *okura-* 1, *okur-* 2; MJpn. *ókúrá-* 1, *ókúr-* 2; Tok. *òkure-* 1, *òkur-* 2; Kyo. *ókúré-* 1, *ókúr-* 2; Kag. *okuré-* 1, *okúr-* 2.

◊ JLTT 741.

‖ The Turk. and Jpn. forms reflect a derivative **ak'e-ru-*.

✱**ǎk'ú** to dig, delve: Tung. ***axiri-**; Mong. ***uku-**; Jpn. ***ùnkàt-**.

PTung. ***axiri-** to sweep, rake up snow (подметать, разгребать снег): Ul. *aχịrị-*; Ork. *aχịrị-*; Nan. *aχịrị-*.

◊ TMC 1, 25.

PMong. ***uku-** 1 to dig, delve 2 adze 3 notch (on animal's ears) 4 axe (1 копать 2 долото 3 зарубка, метка (на ушах животных) 4 топор): MMong. *uqu-* 1, *uqali* 4 (SH); WMong. *uqu-* 1, *uqumi* 2 (L 892); Kh. *uxu-* 1, *uxmi* 2, 3; Bur. *uxami* 2; Kalm. *uxə-* 1; Ord. *uxa-*.

◊ KW 447. Mong. > Manchu *uxu-* 'to gouge' (see Rozycki 216).

PJpn. ***ùnkàt-** to delve, dig (долбить, копать): OJpn. *ukat-*; MJpn. *ùgàt-*; Tok. *ugát-*; Kyo. *úgát-*; Kag. *ugát-*.

◊ JLTT 777. Kagoshima has an irregular tone.

‖ PJ **ùnkàt-* and PTM **akiri-* may reflect a PA derivative **ǎkʿú-rV-*.

✱**ǎ́la** take, receive: Tung. ***al(i)-**; Mong. ***ali-**; Turk. ***ạl-**; Jpn. ***á-**.

PTung. ***al(i)-** 1 take, receive 2 give, hand over (1 брать, получать 2 давать, передавать): Evk. *al-* 1; Evn. *al-* 1; Neg. *al-* 1; Man. *ali-* 1; SMan. *iali-* (1404); Jurch. *ali-* (242) 2; Ul. *alṻ-* 2; Ork. *alị-* 1; Nan. *alị-* 1; Orch. *alō-* 2; Ud. *ali-* 1, *alu-* 2; Sol. *ali-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 26-27.

PMong. ***ali-** 1 to take, receive 2 give! (1 брать, получать 2 дай!): WMong. *ali* 2 (L 31); Kh. *aĺ*, *aliv* 2; Bur. *aĺē* 2; Kalm. *aĺ*, *aĺə* 2; Ord. *ali* 2; Dag. *ali-* 1 (Тод. Даг. 120); Dong. *ali*; Bao. *an*; Mongr. *ali* 2.

◊ KW 6, MGCD 103. Dagur is the only language reflecting the complete verbal paradigm of **ali-*; it may well be that Dag. *ali-* is in fact a TM loanword.

PTurk. ***ạl-** to take (брать): OTurk. *al-* (Orkh., Yen., OUygh.); Karakh. *al-* (MK, KB); Tur. *al-*; Gag. *al-*; Az. *al-*; Turkm. *al-*; Sal. *al-*; Khal. *al-*; MTurk. *al-* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *ɔl-*; Uygh. *al-*; Krm. *al-*; Tat. *al-*; Bashk. *al-*; Kirgh. *al-*; Kaz. *al-*; KBalk. *al-*; KKalp. *al-*; Kum. *al-*; Nogh. *al-*; SUygh. *al-*; Khak. *al-*; Shr. *al-*; Oyr. *al-*; Tv. *al-*; Chuv. *il-*; Yak. *ɨl-*; Dolg. *ɨl-*.

◊ EDT 124-125, VEWT 14-15, ЭСТЯ 1, 127-128, Егоров 68, Лексика 336, 337, Stachowski 259.

PJpn. ***á-** to get, receive (получать): OJpn. *u* (stem *a-*); MJpn. *ú* (stem *a-*); Tok. *é-*; Kyo. *é-*; Kag. *é-*.

◊ JLTT 681. The Tokyo accent is irregular.

‖ KW 6, EAS 140, Poppe 75, Doerfer MT 239 (attempts to disprove the etymology in TMN 2, 122 are futile). The reason for close *ạ in PT is unclear (**al-* would be normally expected). Note, however, that the Jpn. reflex represents loss of *-l- in a verbal stem, thus strongly suggesting an original monosyllabic form **ál* (cf. **gèle*, **sélo*).

✱**ála** hail, ice: Tung. ***(x)al-dan**; Jpn. ***árárái (~-ría)**; Kor. ***ər-**.

PTung. ***(x)al-dan** frazil (in spring, close to the shore) (наледь (весной у берега)): Neg. *aldan*.

◊ TMC 1, 31.

PJpn. ***árárái (~-ría)** hail (град): OJpn. *arare*; MJpn. *áráré*; Tok. *araré*; Kyo. *àràré*; Kag. *araré*.

◊ JLTT 383. Modern tones are quite irregular.

PKor. ***ər-** 1 to freeze 2 ice (1 замерзать 2 лед): MKor. *ər-* 1, *ərím* 2; Mod. *əl-* 1, *ərɨm* 2.

◊ Nam 361, 367, KED 1143, 1146.

‖ Martin 232. Basically a Kor.-Jpn. isogloss; the TM evidence is very scanty and thus dubious.

✱**ā́la (~ -ē-)** front side: Turk. ***āl**; Kor. ***àr-p**.

PTurk. ***āl** 1 front 2 forehead 3 in front of 4 towards the front of (1 перед 2 лоб 3 впереди, спереди 4 вперед): OTurk. *alɨn* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *alɨn* 2 (MK, KB); Tur. *al* 1 (dial.), *alɨn* 1, 2; 'face'; Gag. *annɨ* 2; Az. *alɨn* 2; Turkm. *ālɨn* 1, 2; Sal. *aldɨ-* 1; Khal. *hānl(ɨ)*, *hāll* 2; MTurk. *alɨ* 1 (Abush.), *alnɨ-da* 'in the presence of' (Abush.), *aldɨ* (Babur) 3; Uzb. *ɔl-d-i* 1; Uygh. *ajl*, *aldi* 1, *al-dɨn* 3, *al-γa* 4; Krm. *al-d-ɨ* 1 (K), *alɨn* 1 (T, H); Tat. *al* 1, *al-d-ɨ* 1, *alɨn* 1; Bashk. *al*, *aldɨ* 1; Kirgh. *al* 1, *al-d-ɨ* 1; Kaz. *al-da* 3, *al-d-ɨ* 1; KBalk. *al*, *allɨ* 1, *al-da* 3, *al-γa* 4; KKalp. *al-d-ɨ* 1; Kum. *al* 1, *al-dan* 3; Nogh. *al-d-ɨ* 1; SUygh. *al* 1, *alɨm*, *alɨn* 1, 2; Khak. *alnɨ* 1; Shr. *alnɨ* 1, *alɨn-da* 3; Oyr. *aldɨ*, *alɨn* 1; Tv. *alɨn* 'face'; Chuv. *om* 1.

◊ EDT 121, 147; VEWT 14 (should be distinguished from **al-* 'below'), TMN 2, 120, ЭСТЯ 1, 124-125, 146, Федотов 2, 280, Лексика 198-199. See EDT 121 commenting on the absence of early attestation of the suffixless form.

PKor. ***àr-p** front (перед): MKor. *àrp*; Mod. *ap* [*aph*].

◊ Nam 348, KED 1098.

‖ A Turk.-Kor. isogloss. Cf. also Evk. *alga* 'Southern mountain slope', *algaja* 'right river bank', *algakačan* 'mountain' - in TMC 1, 30 united with *alga* 'blessing' which is somewhat dubious.

✱**àlakʿu** to walk, step: Mong. ***alku-**; Jpn. ***àrùk-**.

PMong. ***alku-** to step (шагать): MMong. *alqu-* (MA 99); WMong. *alqu-* (L 34); Kh. *alxa-*; Bur. *alxa-*; Kalm. *alxə-*; Ord. *alxu-*; Dag. *alku-*, *alxu-* (Тод. Даг. 120), *aleku-* (MD 112); Dong. *hanku*; Bao. *xalGə-*, (MGCD) *halGolə-*; S.-Yugh. *alGə-*; Mongr. (*x)arGu-* (SM 13), (MGCD) *xalGula-*.

◊ KW 7, MGCD 105.

PJpn. ***àrùk-** to walk (ходить, гулять): OJpn. *aruk-*; MJpn. *àrík-*; Tok. *arúk-*; Kyo. *àrùk-*; Kag. *àruk-*.

◊ JLTT 677.

‖ A Mong.-Jpn. isogloss. See АПиПЯЯ 278. Man. *alxun* 'step', *alkūn* 'the gait of a horse or other livestock' is no doubt borrowed from Mongolian (see Rozycki 16-17). The Jpn.-Mong. comparison seems to us preferable to other etymologies of the Mongolian form (see ОСНЯ 3,66-70; Poppe 96, KW 7 - Mong. *alqu-*: Turk. **āĺ-*). The stem can be possibly derived from a root reflected in Mong. **ala* 'inner side of thigh' (L 26; Poppe 75; pl. *alas*, whence Evk. *alas*, see Doerfer MT 94; hence also WMong. *alčaji-*, Khalkha *alcaj-* 'to spread the legs', Dag. *alčī-* id.,

WMong. *alčaγar*, *alčaŋ*, Khalkha *alcan* 'bowlegged'; but to be distinguished is **ale* 'below' q. v.).

✱**alda** fathom: Tung. ***alda-n**; Mong. ***alda**; Jpn. ***ata**; Kor. ***ară-m**.

PTung. ***alda-n** distance between (расстояние между): Man. *andan*, *alda-*; Jurch. *an-dan-do* (816) 'to follow'; Ul. *alda(n)*; Ork. *alda(n)*; Nan. *aldã*; Orch. *agda(n)*; Ud. *agda(n)*.

◊ TMC 1, 31.

PMong. ***alda** fathom (сажень): MMong. *alda* (SH), *ālda* (MA 98); WMong. *alda* (L 29); Kh. *ald*; Bur. *alda*; Kalm. *aldə*; Ord. *alda*; Dag. *alda* (Тод. Даг. 119), *alede* (MD 112); Dong. *anda* (MGCD); *anda-la-* (Тод. Дн. 110) 'to measure by fathoms'; Bao. *aldə*; S.-Yugh. *alda*; Mongr. *arda* 'brasse, 5 pieds chinois' (SM 12), *alda* (MGCD)3.

◊ KW 6, MGCD 102. Mong. > Evk. *alda* 'fathom', Russ. Siber. *aldán* (Аникин 82).

PJpn. ***ata** a measure of length (мера длины): OJpn. *ata*.

PKor. ***ară-m** fathom, the span of both arms (сажень): MKor. *arăm*; Mod. *arɨm*.

◊ Nam 335, KED 1071.

‖ Ozawa 38-40, АПиПЯЯ 16, 71, Rozycki 18-19. Despite Doerfer MT 111, TM forms are hardly < Mong. (because of a semantic difference). A possible parallel in Turkic could be **adɨ[ĺ]* > OT *adɨt* 'handful', Kirgh. *adɨš*, Yak. *ɨtɨs* 'palm' (VEWT 7, ЭСТЯ 1, 100-101, 410, Лексика 252, Stachowski 263), but there are some phonetic and semantic problems. Note, however, that OJ *ata* also denotes a small measure of length (8 sun, or about 12 centimetres) - rather a span than a fathom. Such a semantic development may presuppose an earlier usage of **alda* in constructions like 'big fathom' - 'small fathom' (= 'span') both in Turkic and Japanese.

✱**ale** below, lower: Turk. ***ăl**; Jpn. ***ərə́-**; Kor. ***àrái**.

PTurk. ***ăl** 1 lower side, below 2 (as adj.) being below , lower (1 низ, нижняя сторона 2 нижний): OTurk. *altɨn* 2 (Yen. ПМК 90, OUygh.); Karakh. *altɨn* 2 (MK, IM), *alt* 1 (Tefs); Tur. *alt* 1; Gag. *alt* 1; Az. *alt* 1; Khal. *a[:]lt* 1; Krm. *alt* 1 (K); Tat. *alt* 1 (dial., Дмитриева Бараб.126); Kirgh. *ald(ɨ)* 1; SUygh. *altɨ* 1 (ЯЖУ 14); Khak. *altɨ* 1; Shr. *altɨ* 1; Oyr. *ald* 1, *altɨγɨ* 2; *altɨ* 1 Tuba; Tv. *a'ldɨ* 1; Tof. *aldɨn* 'в низовье реки' (Рас. ФиЛ 153); Chuv. *old(ъ)* 'gusset'; Yak. *alɨn* 1; Dolg. *alɨn* 1.

◊ VEWT 14, ЭСТЯ 1, 140-141, Stachowski 32. VEWT confuses (after Bang and Brockelmann) the roots **al-* 'below' and **āl* 'front'. They are indeed mixed in Kirgh. and Oyr. lit., where we have *ald* 'front, below', but are distinguished in dialects (Tuba: *ald* 'front', with a voicing in the consonant cluster after an old long vowel, but *altɨ* 'below'). The Chuv. form probably goes back to the compound **koltuk altɨ* 'axillary concavity, gusset' (attested in Tur., Gag., Az., see Дыбо 154). Most languages reflect **al-tɨ-* (the simple form al is not attested, see the discussion in EDT 121), but the reality of the root **ăl* is proved

by a different derivative in Yakut. Cf. also Sib.-Tat. *alaša* 'low, low place' (KCTT 100). Another possible old derivative in -čak may be PT **alí(č)ak* (Karakh. *ašaq*, Turkm. *ašāq* etc., see ЭСТЯ 1, 214-215) 'below, bottom part; low, humble': its traditional derivation from **ālí-* 'to cross (a mountain)' is unsatisfactory both phonetically and semantically. A certain problem is the attribution of the adjective **al-čak* (see ЭСТЯ 1, 143-144, EDT 129). Older occurrences of *alčaq* (MK, KB, Tefs., Rabg. etc.) present the meaning 'modest, humble'; cf. also Sib.-Tat. *alcaq* 'valetudinarian' (KCTT 101), Turkm. *alčak* 'affable' and perhaps Tur. *alčak* 'mean, vile', *alča-* 'to offend, humiliate'. This group of forms may in fact reflect a different root, otherwise represented by PT **Alig*, see under **àle* 'weak, tired'. Another group of forms - Chag. *alčaq* 'bas' (Pav. C.), Tur., Az., Crim.-Tat. (and Oghuz texts like Korkut) *alčaq* 'low, low place' probably represents an Oghuz innovative derivation in -čak from the root *al-* (which is why -lč- did not yield -š- here), perhaps influenced by Mong. *alča-gar*, *alča-n* 'stunted, undersized', derived from Mong. *alčaji-* 'to spread legs apart'.

PJpn. ***ərə́-** to lower, go down (опускаться): OJpn. *oru-*; MJpn. *òru-*; Tok. *orí-*; Kyo. *òrì-*; Kag. *òrì-*.

◊ JLTT 742. For final *-ə- cf. the causative PJ **ərə́-s-*, OJ *oros-* 'to lower, drop'.

PKor. ***àrái** below, lower side (низ, нижняя сторона): MKor. *àrái*; Mod. *arä*.

◊ Nam 336, KED 1069.

‖ SKE 6, EAS 106, Martin 230. The tone correspondence between Kor. and Jpn. is irregular.

✱**àle** weak, tired, confused: Tung. ***āli-**; Mong. ***al-**; Turk. ***ăl-**; Jpn. ***ərə-ka**; Kor. ***ərí-**.

PTung. ***āli-** to get tired (уставать): Neg. *ālī-*; Ul. *āl(ị)-*; Ork. *ālị-*; Nan. *ālị-*.

◊ TMC 1, 32.

PMong. ***al-da-, -ʒi-, -ga-** 1 get tired 2 disturbed, absent-minded, lazy 3 to lose, miss (1 уставать 2 рассеянный, ленивый 3 лишаться, делать промах): MMong. *alǯa-* 'behindert, in Not, Schwierigkeit sein', *alǯi'as* 'Abweichung, Fehler ', *alda-* 'verlieren, verfehlen, straffällig werden', *aldal* 'Strafe' (SH), *aldara-* 'to become loose', *alγūr* 'slow' (MA 98), *aldāng* 'sin' (IM); WMong. *alǯija-* 1 (L 34), *al-mai* 2 (L 32); Kh. *alda-* 3, *alǯā-* 1, *algū*, *almai* 2; Bur. *alžā-* 1, *almaj* 2; Kalm. *aldə-* 3, *almǟ* 2; Ord. *alda-* 3; Dag. *alšē-* 1 (Тод. Даг. 120), *alede-* 3 (MD 112); Bao. *andaGa-* 'to let loose, to make free'; Mongr. *xarʒā-* (SM 161) 1, (*a*)*rda-* (SM 12, 309) 3.

◊ KW 7. Mong. > Tuva *aldag* 'misdoing, inadvertence', KBalk. *alǯar-*, Kirgh. *alǯi-* 'to err, become mad', Kum. *alǯa-* 'to suffer', Yak. *alār-* (< **ala-γa-r-*), KKalp. *alaγa-da-la-n-* 'to digress, be absentminded' etc.

PTurk. ***ăl-** 1 to become weak 2 bad 3 to be vile (of a man), to turn septic (of a wound) 4 weak, inferior 5 upset 6 old, worn-out 7 crazy 8 lazy man 9 to hurry 10 fool 11 to go mad 12 to deceive 13 perplexed 14 dumb, foolish 15 doubt, surprise 16 error 17 be in doubt, perplexed 18 absent-minded, unattentive 19 weakness (1 слабеть 2 дурной 3 быть

подлым (о человеке), воспаляться (о ране) 4 слабый, худший 5 расстроенный 6 старый, изношенный 7 безумный, ошалелый 8 лентяй 9 торопиться 10 дурак 11 сходить с ума 12 обманывать 13 растерянный 14 глупый, простоватый 15 сомнение, удивление 16 ошибка 17 сомневаться, сбиваться, путаться 18 рассеянный, невнимательный 19 чахлость, немощь): OTurk. *alaŋ-a-d-* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *alɨɣ* 2 (MK), *alɨq-* 3 (MK, KB); Tur. *alɨk*, (Osm.) *alu* 4, *alaz*, *alɨz* 4 (dial.), *alkɨn* 5 (dial.); Gag. *alɨq* 7, 10; Turkm. *al-ŋ-a-sa-* 9; MTurk. *aluq* 7 (Abush. 27); Uygh. *alaq*, *alaŋ* 7; Krm. *alas* 19; Tat. *ala-ma* 2, 6; Bashk. *alama* 2, 6, *al-jawu* 11; Kirgh. *alaŋ*, *alaɣ-dɨ* 18; Kaz. *alaŋ* 18; KBalk. *alɨn-* 11; KKalp. *alaŋ* 18; Nogh. *ala-ŋ-ɣa-s-ar* 18; SUygh. *alɣač* 8 (ЯЖУ 14); Khak. *alɨɣ* 10, alas 5, *al-ɨn-*, *al-ax-* 11, (caus.) 12; Shr. *al-aq-tɨr-* (caus. from **al-aq-*) 12, *al-aq-qan* 13, *alɨɣ* 10, *al-ɨn-* 11; Oyr. *alā* (< *alaɣ*) 14, *alu* (< *alɨɣ*) 10, *alaŋ* 15, *alɣas* 5, *al-ɨn-* 11; Tv. *alāq-* 17, *alaŋ* 15; Yak. *alɣas* 16.

◊ VEWT 16-17, TMN 2, 116, EDT 129, 138, 149, ЭСТЯ 1, 132, 145-146, Clark 1977, 128. See also Oghuz **al-čak* sub **al-* 'below'. Tends to contaminate with **āl* 'red' and **āla* 'variegated', cf. Uygh. *al-gädän* 'naïve' ('red nape'), Turkm. *āla-samsɨk* 'foolish' ('variegated fool'), Bashk. *al-jot* 'fool' ('red fellow'). KW 7. Turk. **algaŕ* > *algaz* > MMong. *alɣasa-* 'faul, nachlassig sein' (SH), then Mong. > Kirgh., KBalk. , Kum. *alɣasa(r)-*, Nogh. *alas-la-r-* 'to become embarrassed', (Karaim) 'to be scared' etc. Despite Sevortyan, Tokharian A *ālās* 'iners, ignavus' (Poucha 27), B *alās-* 'be sick' (Sieg-Siegling 91) not < Turk., but < Sanskr. *alasa.*

PJpn. ***ərə-ka** foolish (глупый): OJpn. *oro-ka*; MJpn. *óró-ka*; Tok. *óroka*; Kyo. *óròkà*; Kag. *oroká*.

◊ JLTT 511. All modern forms point to a low tone (either **ərȍká* or **ərȍkà*), but the accent attested in RJ contradicts it.

PKor. ***ərí-** to be foolish, mistaken (быть глупым, ошибаться): MKor. *ərí-*; Mod. *əri-sək-*.

◊ Nam 361, KED 1129.

‖ Martin 243, Whitman 1985, 129, 194, 246. The most probable accent reconstruction is **ȁle*, with regular correspondences between Turk., TM and most Japanese dialects; Kor. has a frequent "verbal" low tone.

✱**ălgi** net, sieve: Tung. ***alga**; Turk. ***ĕlge-**; Kor. ***ərkəmi**.

PTung. ***alga** net (сеть): Evk. *alga*; Man. *alGan*; Ul. *arGa*; Nan. *alGa*; Orch. *agga*; Sol. *alga*.

◊ TMC 1, 30. TM > Dag. *algan*, *alxan* (Тод. Даг. 119). Nan. > Russ. Siber. *algá* (Аникин 82).

PTurk. ***ĕlge-** 1 to sift; 2 sieve (сито, просеивать): OTurk. *elge-* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *elge-* 1 (MK), *ele-* 1 (IM), *elek* 2 (IM); Tur. *ele-* 1, *elek* 2; Gag. *iele-* 1, *ielek* 2; Az. *älä-* 1, *äläk* 2; Turkm. *ele-* 1, *elek* 2; Sal. *elex* 2 (ССЯ 324); Khal. *häjlä-* 1, *häjläk* 2; MTurk. *ele-* 1, *elek* 2 (Sangl.); Uzb. *ela-* 1, *elak* 2; Uygh. *ägli-* 1, *älgäk* 2; Krm. *ele-*, *öle-* 1, *elek*, *ölek* 2; Tat. *ilɛ-* 1, *ilɛk* 2;

Bashk. *ile-* 1, *ilek* 2; Kirgh. *ele-*, *elge-* 1, *elek*, *elgek* 2; Kaz. *ele-* 1, *elek* 2; KBalk. *ele-* 1, *elek* 2; KKalp. *ele-* 1, *elek* 2; Kum. *ele-* 1, *elek* 2; Nogh. *ele-* 1, *elek* 2; Khak. *ilge-* 1, *ilgek* 2; Shr. *ele-* 1, *elek* 2; Oyr. *elge-* 1, *elgek* 2; Tv. *egle-* / *elge-* 1; Tof. *elge-* 1, *elgek* 2; Chuv. *alla-* 1, *alla* 2.

◊ EDT 143, VEWT 40, ЭСТЯ 1, 261-263, Егоров 24. The behaviour of the internal cluster is phonetically normal (not on a morphemic boundary). Turk. **elgek* > WMong. *elgeg*, Kalm. *elgəg* (KW 119, TMN 2, 118, Щербак 1997, 114).

PKor. ***ərkəmi** a coarse sieve (грубое сито): Mod. *əlgəmi*.

◊ SKE 53.

‖ EAS 145, SKE 53 (Kor. is somewhat doubtful: KED 1142 has only *əlgɨm čhe* 'rough sieve' - lit. 'pock-marked sieve').

✱**ǽli** to deceive, trick: Tung. ***ali-, *alak-**; Mong. ***aliɣa**; Turk. ***Āl**; Jpn. ***ira-p-**; Kor. ***ìrbə̀ń-**.

PTung. ***ali-, *alak-** 1 to be angry 2 to endure 3 to regret 4 to envy (1 сердиться 2 терпеть 3 сожалеть, каяться 4 завидовать): Evk. *ali-* 1; Evn. *alêl-* 1; Neg. *alị-* 1, *alaxị-* 4; Man. *aĺa-* 3; Ul. *alị-* 2; Nan. *alị-* 2, *alaqị* 4; Orch. *ali-* 2; Sol. *aĺê-*, *alī-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 29, 32.

PMong. ***aliɣa** 1 frolic, tricksy 2 to deceive (1 игривый, шаловливый 2 обманывать): MMong. *alija* (SH, Козин) 1; WMong. *alija* 1 (L 32), *alašira-* 2 (Ko 74); Kh. *alia* 1; Bur. *aĺā* 1; Kalm. *aĺā*, *äĺän* 1; Ord. *aĺā*; Dag. *əlē* 1.

◊ KW 6, 22. Cf. also *albin* 'devil, evil spirit' (> Yak., Dolg. *albɨn* 'deception, liar' (Kał. MEJ 56, Stachowski 31).

PTurk. ***Āl** 1 device, trick, deceit 2 to deceive (1 обман, хитрость 2 обманывать): OTurk. *al* 1 (Orkh., Yen., OUygh.), *al-ta-* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *āl* 1 (MK, KB), *alda-* (MK); Tur. *al* 1, *aldat-* 2; Az. *al* 1 (dial.), *al-da-n-* 'to be deceived, to err'; Turkm. *āl* 1, *ālda-* 2; MTurk. *al* 1, *alda-* 2; Uzb. *alda-* 2; Uygh. *aldi-* 2; Tat. *alda-* 2; Bashk. *alda-* 2; Kirgh. *alda-* 2; Kaz. *alda-* 2; KBalk. *alda-* 2; KKalp. *alda-* 2; Kum. *al* 1, *alda-* 2; Nogh. *alda-* 2; Khak. *alda-* 2; Shr. *alda-* 2.

◊ EDT 120-121, TMN 2, 93, ЭСТЯ 1, 126-127. A discussion of *albastɨ* (= Mong. *albin*) see in TMN 2, 109-110. Turk. **āl-da-* > Mong. *alda-* 'to deceive' (MA, cf. also TMN 2, 116, Щербак 1997, 97) > Evk. *alda-* etc. (Doerfer MT 109). On Mong. *alda-* 'to lose' see **ȁle* 'weak, tired'.

PJpn. ***ira-** to play, tamper with; concern oneself with (играть, возиться, совать куда-л. нос): MJpn. *iraf-*.

◊ JLTT 698. .

PKor. ***ìrbə̀ń-** to steal (воровать): MKor. *ìrpə̀ń-*, *ìrwə̀s-*.

◊ Nam 405.

‖ PKE 21. Ramstedt cites Kor. *ari-* 'angry', but all dictionaries available to us only have *ari-* 'bitter, pungent'. A suffixed form **ǽli-bV* may

be probably recovered in Mong. *albin*, Kor. **ìrbə́ń-* (and perhaps also PT **alba-stɨ*) and PJ **ira-p-*.

✱**álikV** a k. of small animal: Tung. ***(x)algi-n**; Mong. ***(h)alag-**; Turk. ***Ălaŋɨr**; Jpn. ***írúká**.

PTung. ***(x)algi-n** otter (male) (выдра (самец)): Neg. *algī*; Man. *algin*.

◊ TMC 1, 30.

PMong. ***(h)alag-** jerboa (тушканчик): WMong. *alaγdaγa*, *alaγdaqai* (БАМРС); Kh. *alagdāx*, *algadāx*; Bur. *alagdāgan*.

◊ Formally - a compound meaning "variegated colt" (although one should note that the standard spelling for "colt" is WMong. *daγaγan*, Khalkha *dāga*). Mong. > Tuva *alaq-tāγɨ* 'jerboa' (reinterpreted as 'variegated lump'), Russ. Siber. *alagdá*, *alagdáj* (Аникин 79), Man. *alaqdaχan* (Rozycki 15).

PTurk. ***Ălaŋɨr** a k. of rat, jerboa (вид крысы, тушканчик): Karakh. *alaŋɨr* (MK); Turkm. *alaqa* 'gopher', *alaŋŋɨrt* 'field mouse'; MTurk. *alaŋγarat* 'gros rat' (Pav. C. 30).

◊ EDT 149.

PJpn. ***írúká** dolphin (дельфин): OJpn. *iruka*; MJpn. *iruka*; Tok. *ìruka*; Kyo. *írúká*; Kag. *irúka*.

◊ JLTT 426.

‖ In Turk. and Mong. the stem is associated with the reflexes of **ālV* 'variegated' (q. v.), which is most probably a folk etymology. In Japanese the meaning 'dolphin' must be a secondary transformation of 'otter-like animal' (cf. the meaning 'otter' in TM).

✱**ălpa** unable, sick; being at service, man-at-arms: Tung. ***alba-**; Mong. ***alba-n**; Turk. ***ălp**; Jpn. ***apar-**; Kor. ***àrphə̀-**.

PTung. ***alba-** 1 to be unable 2 lazy (1 не мочь 2 ленивый): Evk. *alba-* 1; Evn. *albъ-* 1; Neg. *alba-* 1; Ork. *alba-* 1; Nan. *albaqto* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 30.

PMong. ***alba-n** 1 compulsion, forcing 2 to force 3 service, duty (1 насилие, принуждение 2 принуждать 3 служба, обязанность): MMong. *alban* 3 (HYt); WMong. *alba(n)* 1, 3 (L 27); Kh. *alba* 3, *alba-da-* 2; Bur. *alba(n)* 3, *alba-da-* 2; Kalm. *alwə*, *alwṇ* 1, 3; Ord. *alba* 3, *alba-da-* 2, to take a tribute; Dag. *alba* 3 (Тод. Даг. 119), *alebe* 3 (MD 112); Mongr. *arwan* 3 (SM 15), *alwan* (MGCD).

◊ KW 9, MGCD 101. Mong. > Shor *alban* etc. (VEWT 16, Щербак 1997, 199); > Man. *alban* etc. (Doerfer MT 116, Rozycki 15), Russ. dial. *albán*, Oyr. *alman* > Russ. Siber. *almán* (Аникин 81, 83).

PTurk. ***ălp** 1 difficult, hard 2 warrior 3 hero 4 brave 5 giant 6 landlord (1 трудный 2 воин 3 герой 4 храбрый 5 великан 6 помещик, землевладелец): OTurk. *alp* 1, 2, 4 (Orkh., Yen., OUygh.); *alp-a-γut* 2 (OUygh.).; Karakh. *alp* 2, 4 (MK, KB, Tefs., IM); *alpaγut* 2 (MK); Tur. *alp*

3, 4; MTurk. *alp* 2, 3 (Sngl).; Uzb. *alp* 3; Uygh. *alpawut* 2; Krm. *alp* 'chief', *alpawut* 'gentry man'; Tat. *alıp* 3, 5, *alpawıt* 2; Bashk. *alpawıt* 2, *alpamıša* 5 (from Alp Amıša, a folklore name, = Tat.); Kirgh. *alp* 3, 4, 5, *albūt* 'hot-tempered'; Kaz. *alıp* 5, *albıt*, *albırt* 'hot-tempered'; KKalp. *alp* 3, 5, *albıra-* 'be exhausted, embarassed'; Khak. *alıp* 4, *albıx-* 'to act as a meddler'; Shr. *alıp* 4; Oyr. *alıp* 4; Tv. *albıq-* 'to pant, stifle', *albā-* 'to lapse into oblivion'; Chuv. *olъp* 5, *olbut* 2; Yak. *alıp* 'witchcraft; part of some names of spirits'.

◊ EDT 127-128, VEWT 18, ЭСТЯ I 139, Федотов 2 276. Clauson's hypothesis that the reflexes of **alpawut* in recent languages are the result of a re-borrowing from Mong. (cf. Lit. Mong. *albaγut* (Kow. 84) < Turk.), partly contaminated with Mong. *alban* 'tax', is unnecessary: a semantic shift 'warrior' > 'gentry' > 'landlord' seems to be natural. Cf. a borrowing from Mong. *alba-tu* in Tuva, Oyr. *albatu*, *albatı*, Kirgh. *albatı* 'tax-payers, people'.

PJpn. ***apar-** to pity (жалеть, сострадать): OJpn. *apare-m-*; MJpn. *áfáre-b-*, *afare-m-*; Tok. *awaré-m-*; Kyo. *áwáré-m-*; Kag. *àwàrè-m-*.

◊ JLTT 388, 679. The accent situation is not quite clear: modern dialects rather uniformly point to low tone (also in the noun **apara-i* 'sympathy, pity' > Tokyo *áware*, Kyoto *áwàrè*, Kagoshima *awaré*); but the only accentuation attested in RJ is *ápáre-b-*.

PKor. ***àrphǎ̀-** to be ill (болеть): MKor. *àrphǎ̀-*; Mod. *aphı-*.

◊ Nam 347, KED 1078.

‖ Poppe 85, 121 (Turk-Mong.); TMN 2, 110-111.

✱**àlu** good, beautiful: Tung. ***(x)ala**; Mong. ***(h)olig**; Jpn. ***ùrùpà-**; Kor. ***àr-**.

PTung. ***(x)ala** tasty, sweet (вкусный, сладкий): Evk. *ala*; Evn. *alъqê*; Neg. *alagdị*.

◊ TMC 1, 27.

PMong. ***(h)olig** good quality (хорошее качество): WMong. *oliγ* (MXTTT); Kh. *olig*; Bur. *olig*; Kalm. *oliG* 'Brauchbarkeit'.

◊ KW 284.

PJpn. ***ùrùpà-** beautiful, excellent (красивый, прекрасный): OJpn. *urupa-si*; MJpn. *ùrùfà-si*; Tok. *uruwashí-*; Kyo. *úrùwàshì-*; Kag. *uruwáshi-*.

◊ JLTT 843. The Kagoshima accent is irregular.

PKor. ***àr-** pretty, beautiful (красивый): MKor. *àrǎm-táp-*; Mod. *arım-tap-*.

◊ Nam 336, KED 1071.

‖ SKE 14. Kor. has a usual "verbal" low tone.

✱**ȁlV** to destroy, kill: Tung. ***āli-**; Mong. ***ala-**; Turk. ***Alk-**.

PTung. ***āli-** 1 to crumble (of earth, snow) 2 to kill an animal (after a long hunt) (1 обваливаться (о почве, снеге) 2 убивать зверя (при облаве)): Neg. *ālị-w-* 1; Ud. *ali-* 2, *alip-* 'to become spoiled (of meat)' (Корм. 205, 206).

◊ TMC 1, 32.

PMong. ***ala-** to kill (убивать): MMong. *ala-* (SH 4), *ala-* (HYt), *ala-* (IM 432), *alā-* (MA 97).; WMong. *ala-* (L 26); Kh. *ala-*; Bur. *ala-*; Kalm. *al-*; Ord. *ala-*; Mog. *olā-*, *āla-*; ZM *ɔ̄la-* (24-10b); Dag. *ala-* (Тод. Даг. 119), *ale* (MD 112); Dong. *ala-* (Тод. Дн. 109); Bao. *ale-* (Тод. Бн. 133), *alə-* (MGCD); S.-Yugh. *ala-*; Mongr. *ala-* (SM 3).

◊ KW 7, MGCD 102.

PTurk. ***Alk-** to finish; destroy; (refl.) perish, be exhausted, come to an end (заканчивать, выполнять; уничтожать): OTurk. *alq-* (Orkh., OUygh.), *alq-ɨn-* (refl.) (OUygh.); Karakh. *alq-* (MK, IM), *alq-ɨn-* refl. (MK, IM), *alqɨš-* 'to destroy each other' (MK); Tur. *alk-* (dial.); *alk-ɨš-* (Old Osm.) 'to destroy (many)'; Kirgh. *alq-ɨn-* 'to weaken' (P I 390), 'to rage' (Юд. 51) (?); Kaz. *alq-ɨn-* 'to get short of breath, chafe' (?); KKalp. *alq-ɨn-* 'to get short of breath'.

◊ EDT 135, 137, 138-139; VEWT 17. Reflexes in modern languages are not quite secure. The reflexive form *alkɨn-* 'weaken' (but note the difference in meanings in Radlov and in modern dictionaries) may be derived both from **alk-* and from **alɨk-* 'to deteriorate, disintegrate' (EDT 138), which belongs rather to **Al* 'silly, weak', *alɨɣ* 'bad, weak, wicked' (in any case, cannot be morphologically identified with **alk-*), thus modern languages may exhibit a contamination.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**ǽlV (~ *ē-)** variegated: Mong. ***ala-g**; Turk. ***āla**; Kor. ***ər-**.

PMong. ***ala-g** variegated (пестрый): MMong. *alax-* (HY 13), *alax* (SH), *alā* (IM 432), *ala* (MA 97, 99); WMong. *alaɣ* (L 26); Kh. *alag*; Bur. *alag*; Kalm. *aləg*; Ord. *alaq*; Mog. *alō*; Dag. *alag* (Тод. Даг. 119), *alahe* (MD 112); Bao. *alə̄G*; S.-Yugh. *alag*; Mongr. *alaG* (SM 3).

◊ KW 6. Mong. > Man. *alxa* etc. (TMC 1, 27; Doerfer MT 75; Rozycki 15).

PTurk. ***āla** variegated (пестрый): OTurk. *ala* (OUygh.); Karakh. *ala* (MK); Tur. *ala*; Gag. *ala-ʒa*; Az. *ala*; Turkm. *āla*; Sal. *ala*; Khal. *hala-bula*; MTurk. *ala*; Uzb. *ɔla*; Uygh. *ala*; Krm. *ala*; Tat. *ala*; Bashk. *ala*; Kirgh. *ala*; Kaz. *ala*; KBalk. *ala*; KKalp. *ala*; Kum. *ala*; Nogh. *ala*; SUygh. *ala*; Khak. *ala*; Shr. *ala*; Oyr. *ala*; Tv. *ala*; Chuv. *ola*; Yak. *ala*.

◊ EDT 126, VEWT 15, ЭСТЯ 1, 129-130, TMN 2, 95-97, Федотов 2, 274, Лексика 607.

PKor. ***ə̀rɨ̀-nùk-** to be spotted, ornamented (быть пятнистым, украшенным): MKor. *ə̀rɨ̀-núk-*; Mod. *əlluk*, *əlləŋ*.

◊ Nam 360, KED 1143, 144.

‖ SKE 7, KW 6-7, Лексика 607. Despite Doerfer TMN 2, 96, Щербак 1997, 97, there is no reason for assuming Turk. > Mong., and even less - Mong. > Turk. (despite Rozycki 16). Cf. also Evn. (Okh.) *iler* 'variegated' (< **elir* ?; see TMC 1, 312).

✱**ǎĺa** to cross (a mountain): Tung. ***ala-**; Mong. ***alu-s**; Turk. ***(i)āĺ-**; Jpn. ***asu**.

PTung. ***ala-** 1 to cross (a mountain) 2 mountain 3 mountain pass 4 ravine (1 переваливать (гору) 2 гора 3 горный перевал 4 лощина): Evk. *ala-* 1, *alakīt*, *alan* 3; Evn. *alъn-* 1, *alъn* 3; Neg. *alan-* 1, *alaxīt* 3; Man. *alin* 2; SMan. *alin* 2 (2067); Jurch. *ali-in* (39) 2; Nan. *ala* 3 (Bik.); Ud. *ala* 4.

◊ TMC 1, 27-28.

PMong. ***alu-s** on the other side; far away (на другой стороне): MMong. *alus* (SH), *udur ālus* 'через день' (MA 273); WMong. *alus* (L 33); Kh. *als*; Bur. *alas*; Kalm. *als*; Ord. *alus*; Mongr. *alāŋ* 'contrée, pays' (SM 4).

◊ KW 8. Mong. > Kirgh. *alɨs* 'far, far away' etc. (ЭСТЯ 1, 147), Yak., Dolg. *olus* 'very' (Kał. MEJ 16, Stachowski 193).

PTurk. ***(i)āĺ-** 1 to cross (a mountain) 2 to surpass (1 переходить (через гору) 2 превосходить): OTurk. *aš-* 1 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *aš-* 1 (MK); Tur. *aš-* 1; Gag. *aš-* 'to go beyond the range of vision'; Az. *aš-* 1; Turkm. *āš-* 1, 2; Khal. *āš-* 1; MTurk. *aš-* 1, 2; Uzb. *эš-* 1, 2; Uygh. *aš-* 1, 2; Krm. *aš-* 1, 2; Tat. *aš-* 2; Bashk. *aš-* 2; Kirgh. *aš-* 1, 2; Kaz. *as-* 1, 2; KKalp. *as-* 1; SUygh. *as-* 1; Khak. as- 1, 2; Shr. *as-* 1, 2; Oyr. *aš-* 1, 2; Tv. *aš-* 1, 2; Yak. *ās-* 1, 2; Dolg. *ās-* 'to go by'.

◊ VEWT 30, ЭСТЯ 1, 212-214, EDT 255, Stachowski 41. The OT gerund *ašru* 'having crossed over, exceeded > very' > Mong. *asuru* (Clark 1980, 42, Щербак 1997, 102-103).

PJpn. ***asu** steep bank, precipice (крутой берег, обрыв): OJpn. *asu* (*azu*).

‖ EAS 108, 139, TMC 1, 28, ЭСТЯ 1, 214, Poppe 96, KW 7, 8, VEWT 30, ОСНЯ 1, 274, АПиПЯЯ 291. Despite Doerfer MT 91, TM cannot be explained as borrowed < Mong.

✱**ǎĺčà** knucklebone; foot: Tung. ***(x)ajū**; Mong. ***(h)alču**; Turk. ***(i)aĺ(č)uk**; Jpn. ***àsì**.

PTung. ***(x)ajū** knucklebone (лодыжка, бабка): Evk. *ajū*, *ajūkān*; Sol. *ajū̃xã̄*.

◊ TMC 1, 23.

PMong. ***(h)alču-** 1 knucklebone 2 depression on the side of an anklebone (1 лодыжка, щиколотка 2 выемка, впадина в лодыжке): WMong. *alču*, *alčuŋγai* 2 (L 29); Kh. *alc* 'вогнутая сторона бабки, верблюд (название положения игральное кости' (БАМРС); Kalm. *alcə* 1; Ord. *alčaG* 'голень'.

◊ KW 8. See also Дыбо 1993. Mong. > Tat. *alču* etc. (ЭСТЯ 1, 144-145); Manchu *alču*, Neg. *alčuxān* etc. (TMC 1, 34; see Doerfer MT 115, Rozycki 15).

PTurk. ***(i)aĺ(č)uk** 1 ankle joint, knucklebone 2 die (1 лодыжка, бабка 2 альчик): Karakh. *ašuq* 1 (MK); Tur. *ašuq* 2 (Osmanli), *ašɨk* 1, 2; Az. *ašɨG* 2; Turkm. *ašɨq* 2; Khal. *ušaq* 2; MTurk. *ašuq* 1, 'bone of the elbow'

(Abush.); Uzb. *əšiq* 2; Uygh. *ošuq* 1, 2; Krm. *ašɨq* 2; Tat. *ašɨq* 2; Bashk. *ašɨq* 2; Kirgh. *ašɨq* 2; Kaz. *asɨq* 1, 2; KBalk. *ašɨq* 1, 2; KKalp. *asɨq* 2; Kum. *ašɨq* 2; Nogh. *asɨq* 1, 2; Oyr. *ažɨq* 2.

◊ EDT 259, VEWT 30, ЭСТЯ 1, 216-217, TMN 2, 64-65, Лексика 288.

PJpn. ***àsì** foot (нога): OJpn. *asi*; MJpn. *àsì*, *àsí*; Tok. *ashí*; Kyo. *áshì*; Kag. *áshí*.

◊ JLTT 385. OJ also has a variant *a-* in compounds (obviously a contraction).

‖ Poppe 86, 95, TMN 2, 115, АПиПЯЯ 275, Дыбо 15, Лексика 288.

✱**ăĺi** to know; to listen, hear: Tung. ***ala-**; Mong. ***al-dar**; Turk. ***ẹĺit-**; Kor. ***ār-**.

PTung. ***ala-** 1 to tell 2 (caus.) to teach, explain 3 to offer as sacrifice 4 to be responsible 5 royal decree (1 учить, объяснять 2 рассказывать 3 приносить в жертву 4 нести ответственность 5 высочайшее повеление): Evk. *alawū-* 2; Neg. *ala-čị-* 3; Man. *ala-* 1; SMan. *alə-* 'to tell, to inform' (1346); Jurch. *alawa-gi* (576) 5; Ul. *alaụ-* 2, 4; Ork. *alaụ-* 2; Nan. *alō-sị-* 2; Orch. *alụ-* 1, *alaw-* 2; Ud. *alau-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 28. Cf. also Man. *algi-* 'to be glorified', *algin* 'fame' - probably belonging here and not (despite Doerfer MT 239) borrowed from Turk. **ạlki-* (a quite different root, see **p'ị̈ölge*); TM **al-du* 'news, rumours, information' (TMC 1, 31).

PMong. ***al-dar** fame, honour (слава, почет): MMong. *aldar* (SH); WMong. *aldar* (L 30); Kh. *aldar*; Bur. *aldar*; Kalm. *aldṛ*; Ord. *aldar*; Dag. *aldar,aldūr* (Тод. Даг. 120); *aldartī*, *aligiən* (MGCD), *aledere* 'news' (MD).

◊ KW 6, MGCD 102.

PTurk. ***ẹĺit-** to hear (слышать): OTurk. *ešid-* (Orkh.), *ešit-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *ešit-* (MK, KB); Tur. *išit-*; Gag. *išit-*; Az. *ešit-*, pass. *ešidil-*; Turkm. *ešit-*, pass. *ešidil-*; Sal. *išti-*; Khal. *išüt-*; MTurk. *ešit-* (Abush. 63); Uzb. *ešit-*; Uygh. *ešet-* (Kashg., УНС 109); Krm. *šit-*; Tat. *išet-*; dial. (Mishar) *iš-* 'hear' (ТТДС 156), (Bar.) *išɛn-* 'listen' (ЯБТ 140); Bashk. *išet-*; Kirgh. *ešit-*; Kaz. *est-*; KBalk. *ešt-*; KKalp. *esit-*; Kum. *ešit-*; Nogh. *esit-*; Khak. *is-* / *ist-*; Chuv. *ilt-*; Yak. *ihit-*, pass. *ihilin-*; Dolg. *ihit-*, pass. *ihilin-*.

◊ VEWT 51, EDT 257-8, ЭСТЯ 1, 318-319, Егоров 69, Stachowski 123. Note -d- in Runic and the voicing of -t before a vowel in Az. and Turkm. Khak. has two forms of stem (*is-* and *iste-*, morphonologically distributed, so that *is-* < *iste-*; the same historical process could have occurred with. Küär. *äš-*, Kach. *eš-* (R 1, 905); so the only clear evidence for the stem **eĺ-* are Tatar dialectal reflexes (in which case -t may be a causative suffix, see Bang 1925, Zajączkowski 1932). Shor *este-* 'to hear', *estel-* 'to be heard' do not belong here, being derived from **es* > *is* 'mind, memory', like Mod. Uygh. *aŋla-* 'to hear' < *aŋ* 'mind'.

PKor. ***ār-** to know (знать): MKor. *ār-*; Mod. *āl-*.

◊ Nam 346, KED 1089.

‖ EAS 140, 154, SKE 7 (Mong.-Kor.-Tung.), АПиПЯЯ 282; closed **ẹ* in PT may be explained by a secondary narrowing in a disyllable **eĺ-it-* > **ẹĺ-it-* (cf. **er-kek* > **ẹr-kek* etc.).

✱**áĺi** sand: Tung. ***al-**; Mong. ***ele-sü**; Turk. ***Aĺu**; Jpn. ***ísá-, *ísuá**.

PTung. ***al-** 1 dirt 2 to poach (in dirt) 3 bay, shore inlet (1 грязь 2 вязнуть 3 бухта в береге реки): Evk. *aldi-* 2; Nan. *alian* 3 (On.); Ork. *alāq* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 29, 31.

PMong. ***ele-sü** sand (песок): MMong. *elesun* (HY 'pebble' 3, SH); WMong. *elesü(n)* (L 308); Kh. *els(en)*; Bur. *elhe(n)*; Kalm. *elsṇ*; Ord. *eles*, *elüsü*, *elesü*; Dag. *eler* (Тод. Даг. 139).

◊ KW 120. Mong. > Evk. *ellun*, *eldun* 'stony place, Icelandic spar' (TMC 2, 448).

PTurk. ***Aĺu** red clay, ochre (красная глина): Karakh. *ašu* (MK); Tur. *aši*, dial. *ašu*, *ašur*, Osmanli *ašu*; MTurk. *aši* (AH 6).

◊ VEWT 30, EDT 256, Лексика 376.

PJpn. ***ísá-, *ísuá** 1 sand 2 sea shore, beach (морской берег, побережье): OJpn. *isa-gwo* 1, *iswo* 2; MJpn. *ísá-gó* 1, *ísó* 2; Tok. *isago* 1, *ìso* 2; Kyo. *ísó*; Kag. *íso*.

◊ JLTT 427.

‖ PJ **ísuá* < **ísá-gV*; the root's similarity to **(d)isi* 'stone' is accidental (no -i/-a alternation exists in Japanese).

✱**aĺV** fresh crops, germinated seeds: Tung. ***alu-**; Mong. ***(h)alir-su**; Turk. ***(i)ăĺ-**.

PTung. ***alu-** 1 currants 2 a k. of berry (моховка) (1 смородина 2 моховка (ягода)): Evk. *aluɣ* 1; Neg. *aloj* 1; Ul. *ālụ* 1; Ork. *allụ* 1; Orch. *ālã̄* ~ *āli* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 33.

PMong. ***(h)alir-su** 1 chaff 2 fresh grass 3 blue-berry 4 bilberry, cranberry (1 кожура плодов, мякина 2 свежая трава, отава 3 черника, брусника 4 черника, клюква): WMong. *alisu* 1 (KW 22), *alir-su(n)* 4 (L 32); Kh. *alirs* 3; Bur. *alirhan* 2, 3; Kalm. *älsn*. 1.

◊ KW 22. Mong. > Evk. *alersun*, Man. *alisun* (Poppe 1966, 197, TMC 1, 32, Rozycki 16).

PTurk. ***(i)ăĺ-** 1 seed, cereals, crops; 2 graft, 3 vaccine, 4 pus (primarily - as a material for vaccinacion?) 5 tanning matter, 6 starch (1 семя, злаки, зерновые 2 привой 3 вакцина 4 гной (первоначально - как прививка?) 5 дубильное вещество 6 крахмал): Karakh. *aš-lɨq* 1 (*ašlɨq tarɨɣ önar* 'crops spring') (MK; IM); Tur. *aši* 2, 3; Gag. *haš-la-* 'to plant out seedlings; to graft; to vaccinate'; Az. *aš*, *aši* 3, 5; Turkm. *aš-Gar* 5; Sal. *aš-lɨq* 1 (ССЯ 296); MTurk. *aši* 2 (Pav. C.), 'pollen' (Zenker I 56); Uzb. *ɔš* 5, *ɔš-liq* 1; Uygh. *aš-lɨq* 1, *aš-la-* 'to tan'; Krm. *aš-lɨq* 1, *aš-la-* 'to graft'; Tat. *aš-lɨq* 1, *aš* 1, 4 dial. (Sib., КСТТ 107), *aš-la-* 'to starch'; Bashk. *ašlɨq* 1, *ašla-* 'to graft', dial. *aš* 'pus' (Бhh III 26); Kirgh. *aš* 'fruit of some wild plants, berry', *aštɨq* 1, *aša-* 'to tan'; Kaz. *astɨq* 1; KBalk. *aš-lɨq* 1, *aš-ügü* 'one of cereal cultures'; Kum. *aš* 1 (Сатыб. 73), *aš-la-* 'to pollinate; to tan'; Nogh. *as* 'a grain, a seed', *aslɨq* 1; Khak. *as* 1, *as-ta-n-* 'to beware

of a disease' ('to vaccinate oneself'?); Shr. *aš* 1; Oyr. *aš* 1; Yak. *as* 4, *as, ahɨlɨk* 'fruit of some wild plants, berry'; Dolg. *ahɨlɨk* 'berry'.

◊ VEWT 30, ЭСТЯ 1, 211-212, 216, Stachowski 29. A lot of etymological confusion here. Forms meaning 'to tan, tanning matter; starch' may be either borrowed from Persian or, rather, derived from **(i)aĺ* 'meal' (v. sub **i̯oĺe*), see Лексика 378. The latter root, due to its phonetic similarity (or even identity) has in general influenced the present one: 'cereals' are influenced by 'porridge' and **(i)aĺ-la-* 'to graft, to pollinate' by **(i)aĺ-la-* 'to fertilize' (= 'to feed'). It seems nevertheless impossible to unite them completely.

‖ A Western isogloss: outside the Western area cf. perhaps OJ *azami* 'sow-thistle'.

✱**ámbe** heavy, big: Tung. ***amba-**; Mong. ***amban**; Jpn. ***ə́m(p)ə́-**; Kor. ***mɨ̀-**.

PTung. ***amba-** 1 big 2 many 3 very (1 большой 2 много 3 очень): Man. *amba* 1; SMan. *amə* 'big, large'(2398); Jurch. *amban* (*amban-an*) (668) 1, *amban-lar* (724) 2; Ul. *amba(n)* 1, 3; Ork. *ambaramʒi̯* 3; Nan. *amba(n)* 1; Orch. *amba* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 36-37. The relation of Neg. *amban*, Oroch, Ud. *amba*, Ul., Orok *amba(n)*, Nan. *ambã* 'evil spirit' is not quite clear.

PMong. ***amban** big, large, heavy; minister, official (большой, тяжелый): WMong. *amban* (L 36); Kh. *amban*; Bur. *amba*; Kalm. *ambn̥*; Mongr. *amba* 'dignitaire, légat, ambassadeur' (SM 6).

PJpn. ***ə́m(p)ə́-** heavy (тяжелый): OJpn. *om(w)o-*; MJpn. *ómó-*; Tok. *òmo-*; Kyo. *ómó-*; Kag. *ómo-*.

◊ JLTT 838.

PKor. ***mɨ̀-** heavy (тяжелый): MKor. *mɨ̀-kə́p-* (*mɨ̀-kə́w-*); Mod. *mugəp-* (*mugəw-*).

◊ Nam 225, KED 652.

‖ Martin 233, АПиПЯЯ 103, 277. Kor. has lost the initial vowel, as in many other cases (**mɨ-* < **ə̀mɨ̀-*). Rozycki 17 supposes Man. > Mong. which is not excluded.

✱**amča** plough: Tung. ***anʒa**; Mong. ***anʒi-sun**; Turk. ***amač**; Jpn. ***anti**.

PTung. ***anʒa** plough (плуг, соха): Man. *anʒa*; Ul. *anʒa*; Nan. *anʒa*.

◊ TMC 1, 43.

PMong. ***anʒi-sun** plough (плуг): MMong. *anʒasun* (HY 19); WMong. *anʒisu(n)* (L 47); Kh. *anʒis*; Bur. *anzaha(n)*; Kalm. *ändəsn̥*, *äntəsn̥*, *änʒəsn̥*, *andəsxə*, *ancəsn̥*, *ancn̥*; Ord. *andus*, *anʒasu*, *anʒusu*, *anʒus*; Dong. *anʒasun* (Тод. Дн.), *nʒasə*; Bao. *anʒisoŋ* (Тод. Бн.), *anʒasun*.

◊ KW 10, 11, 23, MGCD 113. Forms with -d- in some dialects are probably due to dissimilation with -su(n). Mong. > Sol. *anʒasũ*.

PTurk. ***amač** plough (плуг): Karakh. *amač* (MK); Tur. Osm. *amač*; Turkm. *omač*; MTurk. *amač* (Sangl.); Uzb. *əmɔč*; Uygh. *amač*; Kirgh. *amač*.

◊ EDT 156, TMN 2, 124. Turk. > Pers. *āmāʒ* (see Horn 11 on the lack of Iranian etymology of the Persian word; the derivation in Bailey 326: *āmāʒ* < **mātač* is hardly credi-

ble), despite Molnár 2001 (suggesting a different direction); but Chag. (Sangl.) *amaǯ* is certainly a backloan < Persian. The word is also present in Armen. *mač* 'plough handle', where it is most probably < Iranian.

PJpn. ***anti** a good plough (хороший плуг): OJpn. *adi-sukji*.

‖ Ozawa 312-313, TMC 1, 43. An interesting common Altaic cultural term. The TM forms could be < Mong. (see Rozycki 19), but the absence of -su(n) (universally present in the Mong. form) suggests rather their genuine nature.

✱**ǎmo** mouth; taste (**amo-tʿa, *amo-sa*): Tung. ***amŋa, *amta-**; Mong. ***ama-, *amsa-, *amta**; Turk. ***um-, *um-sa-**; Jpn. ***ámá-, *ántí**; Kor. ***más**.

PTung. ***amŋa, *amta-** 1 mouth 2 to taste (1 рот 2 пробовать на вкус): Evk. *amŋa* 1, *amta-* 2; Evn. *amŋъ* 1, *amtъ-* 2; Neg. *amŋa* 1, *amta-* 2; Man. *aŋga* 1; SMan. *aŋə* 1 (27), *aŋa* 1; Jurch. *am-ŋa* (494) 1; Ul. *aŋma* 1; Ork. *amŋa* / *aŋma* 1; Nan. *amGa* 1; Orch. *amma* 1; Ud. *aŋma* 1; Sol. *amma*, *angai* 1.

◊ See TMC 1, 38-39. PTM **amta-* 'to taste' is hardly borrowed from Mong., since Mong. *amta(n)* is used only as a noun; however, forms like Evk. *amta* etc. 'taste', as well as -la-derivatives (Evn. *amtъl-*, Nan. *amtala-* etc.) are most probably < Mong., see Doerfer MT 19. For PTM **amŋa* 'mouth' borrowing is excluded. The stem **amŋa* within TM tends to contaminate with **aŋa* 'hole' (v. sub **àŋa*), which is obviously a secondary development.

PMong. ***ama-, *amsa-, *amta** 1 mouth 2 to taste 3 taste (1 рот 2 пробовать на вкус 3 вкус): MMong. *aman* (HY 45, SH), *aman* (IM 432), *aman* (MA 99) 1, *amsa-* (HY 25), *amsa-* (MA 101) 2, *amtan* (HY 25) 3, *amtata'i* (SH), *omṭaṭā* (IM 432) 'sweet', *amta* (MA 101) 3; WMong. *ama(n)* 1 (L 35), *amsa-* 2 (L 39), *amta(n)* 3 (L 39); Kh. *am* 1, *amsa-* 2, *amt(an)* 3; Bur. *aman* 1, *amha-* 2, *amta(n)* 3; Kalm. *amṇ* 1, *amsa-* 2, *amtṇ* 3, *am-la-* 'to spell, to speak'; Ord. *ama* 1, *amsa-* 2, *amta* 3; Mog. *aman*, *amun* 1, *amsa* 2, *amta* 3 (Ramstedt 1906); ZM *ōmōn* (1-7a) 1; Dag. *ama* 1 (MGCD am), *anta-* 2, *anta* 3 (Тод. Даг. 120, 121) (MGCD: ant), *ame* 1, *amete* 'tasty' (MD 114); Dong. *amaŋ* 1 (MGCD: *aman*), *amusa-* 2, *anda-tu* 'tasty' (Тод. Дн. 110); Bao. *amaŋ* (Тод. Бн. 133) 1, *amtəg* 3 (MGCD); S.-Yugh. *aman* 1, *amsa-* 2, *amtan* 3; Mongr. *ama* 1 (SM 5), *amusa-* 2 (SM 7), MGCD *amsa-*), *amata-*, *amuta* 3 (SM 6, 7), *amta* 3 (MGCD).

◊ Cf. also Mong. **amasar* 'cavity, hole'. Тод. Мгр. 314, Тод. ЯМВМ 112, KW 9, 10, MGCD 105, 109; TMN 1, 148, 149., Bur. *amhagar* 'разверстый'. Mong. *amtan* > Yak., Dolg. *amtan* (Kał. MEJ 41, Stachowski 33).

PTurk. ***um-, *um-sa-** 1 to hope for 2 to envy 3 an object of hope, desire; hope (1 надеяться 2 завидовать 3 объект надежды, желания; надежда): OTurk. *umuγ* 3 (OUygh.); Karakh. *um-* 1, *umdu* 3 (MK, KB), *umdu-či* 'beggar' (MK); Tur. *um-* 1, *umsan-* 1, *umu* 3; Gag. *um-* 1,; Az. *um-* 1, *umsun-* 'to be disappointed', *umažaG* 3; Turkm. *ïmtïl-* 'to wait for food'; MTurk. *um-unč* 3 (Pav C.); Uzb. *um-* 1 (dial. Khorazm.), *umsun-* 'to experience a flow of milk in one's breast and a desire to feed a

baby'; Krm. *um-* 1, *umsun-* 1; Tat. *omtɨ-l-* 1; Kirgh. *umu-* 1, *umsun-* 1, *um-tul-* 'to strive'; Kaz. *umtɨ-* 'to dart, lunge'; KKalp. *umɨt-*, *ɨmtɨl-* 'to strive'; Nogh. *ɨmtɨ-* 'to dart, lunge'; Khak. *umzan-* 1 (Верб.); Oyr. *umzan-* 'to go in a direction', *umza-* 'to make smb. to go in a direction'; Chuv. *ъ^{w}mza-* 2; Yak. *umsu-gu-j-* 'to become keen on, addicted', *umnahɨt* (**umdačɨt*) 'beggar'.

◊ EDT 155-156, 157, 158; VEWT 513, ЭСТЯ 1, 595-596. Some derivatives tend to merge with Pers. *umīd* 'hope' (whence certainly Turkm. *umīt*, Gag., Karaim, Kum. *umut* id.) Not quite clear is the relation of this root to the verb *ɨntɨ-* 'to yearn', Chuv. *ъnDъ-* (ЭСТЯ I 653-654).

PJpn. ***ámá-, *ántí** 1 taste 2 tasty, sweet (1 вкус 2 вкусный, сладкий): OJpn. *adi* 1, *ama-* 2; MJpn. *ádí* 1, *ámá-* 2; Tok. *àji* 1, *àma-* 2; Kyo. *ájí* 1, *ámà-* 2; Kag. *áji* 1, *áma-* 2.

◊ JLTT 389, 825.

PKor. ***más** taste (вкус): MKor. *más*; Mod. *mat [mas], mət* [*mə*s].

◊ Nam 203, KED 588, 614.

‖ EAS 116, 140, Poppe 68, Колесникова 1972a, 73-77, Martin 248, АПиПЯЯ 46-47, 70, 291, Rozycki 18. A common Altaic root with old derivatives meaning 'taste': **ámo-sa-* > Turk. **umsa-*, Mong. **amsa-*, Kor. **más*; **ámo-tʹa* > Mong. **amta*, TM **amta-*, Jpn. **ántí*. The deriving root itself, with its basic meaning 'mouth', could probably also designate 'to taste' in predicative function (cf. the suffixless Jpn. **ámá-* 'tasty, sweet' and PT **um-* (*'to taste, have a taste for' > 'to hope'). Despite Doerfer MT 19, TM **amŋa* 'mouth' cannot have anything in common with Mong. **haŋga* 'crack, hole' (on this form see sub **àŋa* and **pʹeŋi*).

✱**ȁmú** river, valley: Tung. ***āmu-**; Mong. ***ama-n**; Jpn. ***ùmí**; Kor. ***omi**.

PTung. ***āmu-** 1 lake 2 river (1 озеро 2 река): Evk. *āmut* 1; Evn. *amar*, *āmār* 2; Neg. *amụt* 1; Man. *omo* 1; SMan. *omə* 1 (2082); Jurch. *omo* (45) 1; Nan. *amoã* 1; Orch. *amu* 1; Ud. *amuli* 'name of a river' (Корм. 207); Sol. *amụši* 1, *amur* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 40. Man. > Oroch, Ul. *omo*, Orok *omō* id.

PMong. ***ama-n** valley (падь, долина): MMong. *ama-sar* 'mountain fold' (SH); WMong. *ama(n)*; Kh. *am(an)*; Kalm. *amn*; Ord. *ama(n)*.

◊ KW 9. Should be distinguished from **ama-n* 'mouth'.

PJpn. ***ùmí** sea (море): OJpn. *umji*; MJpn. *ùmí*; Tok. *úmi*; Kyo. *ùmí*; Kag. *umí*.

◊ JLTT 562.

PKor. ***omi** land sink, pool (впадина (заполненная водой), лужа): Mod. *omi*.

◊ KED 1200.

‖ Cf. Amu-Darya in Turk.; Oyr. Umar 'big river (Ob').?

✱**ămV** quick, timely: Tung. ***am-**; Mong. ***(h)am-**; Turk. ***(i)am-**; Kor. ***ām**.

PTung. ***am-** 1 quick, quickly 2 to be in time, to catch up 3 to reach, touch (1 быстрый, быстро 2 успеть, застать вовремя 3 достать, дотянуться): Evk. *ama*, *ama-kān* 1, *amin-*, *ami-ltän-*; Evn. *āmrъq* 1, *āmъltъn-* 2; Man. *am-bu-*, *am-ča-* 3; SMan. *aməčə-* 2; Nan. *am-qa-čị-* 3 Bik.; Sol. *amarī* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 34, 37, 38. TM > Dag. *amilta-* 'to be in time, catch' (Тод. Даг. 120).

PMong. ***(h)am-** 1 sudden, quick 2 to be on time (1 внезапный, быстрый 2 быть вовремя): WMong. *ama-γai* 1, *am-ǯi-* 2 (L 41); Kh. *amǯi-* 2; Bur. *amža-* 2, *amžalta* 3; Kalm. *amγā̄* 1,; Ord. *amǯi-* 2.

◊ KW 9.

PTurk. ***(i)am-** 1 now 2 recent (1 сейчас 2 недавний): OTurk. *am-tɨ* 1 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *am-dɨ* 1 (MK, KB); SUygh. *am-γo*, *am-dö-ko* 2 (ЯЖУ 15); Khak. *am* 1, *am-dɨ-γɨ*, *am-γɨ* 2; Shr. *am, amdɨ* 1, *amdɨγɨ* 2, *am-oq* 'at once'; Tv. *am* 1, *amγɨ* 2, *amdī* (< *amdɨγɨ*) 'the same'; Tof. *am, amdɨ´*, *amγī* 2; Yak. *anɨ* (< **am-dɨ*) 1; Dolg. *anɨ* 1.

◊ VEWT 18, 41, EDT 156-157, ЭСТЯ I 357, Stachowski 34, Лексика 83 (with some confusion of **am-* and **em-* q.v. sub **ìmé)*.

PKor. ***ām** surely, certainly (точно, конечно): Mod. *ām*.

◊ KED 1093.

‖ AKE 6, EAS 117.

✱**àmV** to be quiet; sleep: Tung. ***ām-**; Mong. ***amu-**, ***ami-**; Turk. ***ăm-**.

PTung. ***ām-** 1 to sleep 2 to be sleepy (1 спать 2 хотеть спать): Evk. *āme-* 2; Evn. *āmol-* 2; Neg. *āma-* 2; Man. *amga-* / *amxa-* 1; SMan. *aməhə-* 1 (528); Ul. *amasị-* 2; Ork. *āma-* 2; Nan. *āmalo-*, *āmasị-* 2; Orch. *āma-si-* 2; Ud. *amahi* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 1-2.

PMong. ***amu-**, ***ami-** 1 to rest 2 peace, rest 3 to be / become quiet 4 life, soul (1 покоиться, отдыхать 2 покой, мир 3 успокаиваться 4 жизнь, душа): MMong. *amin* (HY 49) 4, *amuxulaŋ* 'peace' (HY 55), *amu-* 1, *amura-* 3, *ami-du* 'alive', *amor* (IM 432), *amu-* 1, *amur* 2, *amin* 4, *ami-du* 'alive', *hamisqu* 'breath' (MA 100, 102), *amur* 1, *ami(n)* 4, *amu-* 1, *amur-li-* 3 (SH); WMong. *amu-*, *amura-*, *amara-* 1, *amur* 2 (L 36, 40); Kh. *amar*, *amgal* (<**amu-gal*) 2; 'easy', *aḿ* (*amin*) 4, *amra-* 1, *aḿsga-* 'to breathe'; Bur. *amar* 2, *amar-* 1, *amgalan(g)* 'peaceful', *ami(n)* 4, 'breath', *amisxa-* 'to breathe'; Kalm. *amṛ*, *amγūləŋ* 2, *amṛ-* 1, *ämṇ* 4, *äṃsχə-* 'to breathe'; Ord. *am, amur, amūlaŋ, amuγūlaŋ* 2, *amara-* 1, *ami* 4, *amus ge-* 3, *amisχa-* 'to breathe'; Mog. *amdun* 'lebendig' (Ramstedt 1906); ZM *amūdu'i* 'alive'; Dag. *amar(a)-* 1, 3, *amal*, *amūl* 2, *ami* 4, *amisa-* 'запыхаться' (MD 6, Тод. Даг. 120); Dong. *hamura-* 1, *amin* 4 (Тод. Дн. 110, 139); Bao. *hamera-* 1 (Тод. Бн. 150) (MGCD: *hamər-*); S.-Yugh. *amura-* 1 (MGCD *amərа-*), *amar* 2; Mongr. *xamurā-* (SM 154), *xamburā-* 1, *ami* (SM 6) 4, *amuraG* 'ami, qui s'accorde bien' (SM 6).

◊ KW 9, 22, Тод. Мгр. 314, 373, MGCD 106, 109, 110. Mong. > Tuva *ami* 'life' etc., Sol. *ami*, Man. *ami-la-*, see Doerfer MT 136; > Shor etc. *abɨr* (R), Tuba, Nogh. *awɨr* 'peace, quietness' - see ЭСТЯ I 59; > Evk. *amurā-*, Man. *amuran*, see Doerfer MT 99.

PTurk. ***ăm-** 1 gentle, quiet 2 to love, desire, rejoice 3 politeness 4 beloved 5 to be quiet (1 тихий, спокойный 2 любить, радоваться 3 вежливость 4 милый, любимый 5 быть спокойным): OTurk. *amul*, *amɨl* 1, *amraq* 4, *amɨr-*, *amran-* 2, *amrɨl-* 5 (OUygh.); Karakh. *amul* 1, *amraq* 4, *amɨrt-* 'to calm', *amrɨl-* 5 (MK, KB); Tur. *ɨmɨl*, *umul* 1 (dial.); Khal. *havul* 'good' (?); MTurk. *ɨmraɣ* 4; Uygh. *amraq* 4; Kirgh. *amɨz* 'honour'; KBalk. *amɨr* 'desire'; Kum. *amraq* 'disposition, aptitude'; SUygh. *amɨr* 1, *amɨra-* 5; Khak. *amɨr* 1, *amɨra-* 5; Oyr. *amɨr* 1, *amɨra-* 5; Tv. *amɨr* 1, *amɨra-* 2, *amɨraq* 3; Chuv. *ъ^{w}mъ^{w}r* 'quiet and grey (weather)'; Yak. *amarax*, *amɨrax* 'compassionate'; Dolg. *amarak* 'compassionate'.

◊ EDT 160-161, 162-163, 164, VEWT 19, ЭСТЯ 1, 59-60 (confused with *abra-* 'to save' < Mong.), Stachowski 33, TMN 2, 125, Федотов 1, 82. Turk. > MMong. *amraχ* 'sweetheart', *amuraɣ* 'friend' (IM), *amraq bol-* 'to fall in love' (MA), *amara-* 'sich lieben', *amarah* 'Liebe' (SH), Mongr. *amuraɣ* 'friend' (Тод. Мнгр. 314) etc.; but modern Kypchak and Siberian forms may be reborrowed < Mong.

‖ KW 9, VEWT 19, TMC 1,2-3, АПиПЯЯ 292, Дыбо 13, Rozycki 17. A Western isogloss. The root presents considerable difficulties because of widespread later interlingual borrowings (see TMN 2, 125, Щербак 1997, 97-98). A specific problem is raised by initial h- in some Southern Mongolian forms (Dong. *hamura-*, Bao. *hamera-*, Mongor *xamurā-* 'to rest'). The aspiration here is evidently secondary, because it is absent both in Dagur and in most attested Middle Mongolian sources (but cf. MA *hamisqu*). It is, therefore, probable that these forms are in fact borrowed from modern Turkic dialects with secondary aspiration (cf. h- in Khalaj). This would be indeed an argument in favour of the whole **amura-* group of words in Mong. to be regarded as borrowed from Turkic (although later reborrowings into modern Turkic languages were, of course, also possible). However, significant semantic and formal differences do not allow us to regard as borrowed, on the one hand, the Turkic forms going back to attested Old Uyghur (e.g. *amɨr-* 'to love), on the other hand, Mong. *ami-n* 'life, soul' and *amu-* 'to rest'.

✱**ǽnda** to do wrong; to accuse, tease: Tung. ***(x)an(d)u-**; Mong. ***anda-**; Turk. ***āt-aĺč-**; Jpn. ***áná-**.

PTung. ***(x)an(d)u-** 1 to accuse 2 to tease (1 обвинять 2 дразнить, надоедать): Evk. *anū-* 1; Neg. *anut-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 44.

PMong. ***anda-** to err, mistake (ошибаться): MMong. *anduri-* (SH) 'to be upset, alarmed'; WMong. *anda-*, *andu-* (L 42, 43), *andaɣu-*; Kh. *anda-*; Bur. *anda-*; Kalm. *and-*; Ord. *andū-*.

◊ KW 10, Тод. ЯМВМ 113.

PTurk. ***āt-aĺč-** to be mistaken, to err (ошибаться, заблуждаться): Turkm. *ādaš-* (А-Б); MTurk. *adaš-*; Uygh. *adaš-*; Krm. *adaš-*; Tat. *adaš-*; Bashk. *aδaš-*; Kirgh. *adaš-*; Kaz. *adas-*; KKalp. *adas-*; Kum. *adaš-*; Nogh. *adas-*.

◊ VEWT 5. Strange reflexes of the medial consonant (voicing in Kypchak, δ in Bashk.) may somehow reflect the original cluster "resonant + stop".

PJpn. ***áná-** to despise, tease (презирать, насмехаться): OJpn. *ana-tur-*; MJpn. *áná-tur-*; Tok. *anador-*.

◊ JLTT 676.

‖ A different etymology of the Jpn. form (see АПиПЯЯ 18, 81 and **ŋenu*) seems less probable because of an obvious parallelism between the Jpn. and TM forms.

✱**ǎni** very: Tung. ***ana-**; Mong. ***aŋ-ka**; Turk. ***eŋ**; Kor. ***ȁńí**.

PTung. ***ana-** very (очень): Nan. *anam*; Orch. *ana, anī, anu*.

◊ TMC 1, 41.

PMong. ***aŋ-ka** 1 original 2 very, extremely (1 первоначально, -ый; 2 очень, чрезвычайно): MMong. *aŋqa* (SH) 2, *anqani quina* 'quite behind'(MA 103); WMong. *aŋqa(n)* (L 45); Kh. *anx(an)* 1; Bur. *anxa(n)* 1; Kalm. *aŋxən* 1; Ord. *aŋxan* 1; Dag. *aŋke* 1 (MD 115); Mongr. *aŋ* 1 (SM 9).

◊ KW 11-12. Mong. > Kirgh. *aŋqi-* 'be first'.

PTurk. ***eŋ** very (очень): OTurk. *eŋ* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *eŋ* (KB); Tur. *en*; Gag. *heŋ*; Az. *än*; Turkm. *iŋ*; Uzb. *eŋ*; Uygh. *äŋ*; Krm. *eŋk*; Tat. *iŋ*; Bashk. *iŋ*; Kirgh. *eŋ*; Kaz. *eŋ*; KBalk. *eŋ*; KKalp. *eŋ*; Nogh. *eŋ*; SUygh. *jeŋ*; Khak. *iŋ*, dial. *niŋ*; Shr. *eŋ*; Oyr. *eŋ*; Tv. *eŋ*; Yak. *eŋin* 'diverse, various'; Dolg. *eŋin-eŋin* 'diverse'.

◊ VEWT 45, EDT 166, ЭСТЯ 1, 365-366, Stachowski 43. Turk. > Mong. *eŋ*, see TMN 2, 130.

PKor. ***ȁńí** beginning, first, preliminary (сначала, прежде всего, начерно): MKor. *ȁńí*; Mod. *ä-bəl*.

◊ Nam 339, KED 1102.

‖ SKE 5, EAS 119. Turkic and Mongolian reflect a suffixed form **ǎni-kV*, with assimilation *-n- > *-ŋ- (and further reduction in Turkic).

✱**ȁni** not, negative verb: Tung. ***ā(n)-**; Turk. ***en**; Jpn. ***nà-, *-(a)n-, *ìná**; Kor. ***àn-**.

PTung. ***ā(n)-** not (не, нет): Evk. *āčin*; Evn. *ān*, *āč*; Neg. *āčin*; Man. *aqu*; SMan. *aqu* (3017); Jurch. *a-ĉwi* (705); Ul. *ana*; Ork. *ana*; Nan. *anā*; Orch. *ana*; Ud. *anči*; Sol. *aš̃ī*.

◊ All forms listed must go back to a common negative stem **ān-*. See TMC 1, 41, 60.

PTurk. ***en** not (prohibitive particle) (не (запретительная частица)): Chuv. *an*.

◊ Егоров 26-27, Федотов 1, 43-45. An isolated Chuv. form, but probably archaic (cf. the external evidence). Cf. also Karakh. (MK Oghuz) *aŋ* 'an exclamation meaning "no"'

(see EDT 165) - but it is a hapax, occurs only within a reduplication *aŋ aŋ,* does not regularly correspond to Chuv. an and may be just onomatopoeic.

PJpn. ***nà-, *-(a)n-,* *ìná** 1 not (verbal negation) 2 lacking, non-existent 3 not, negation 4 to negate, dismiss (1 не (глагольное отрицание) 2 нет, отсутствующий, несуществующий 3 не, несогласие 4 отрицать, не допускать): OJpn. *-(a)n-* 1, *na-* 2, *ina* 3, *ina-b-* 4; MJpn. *-(a)n-* 1, *na-* 2, *ìná* 3, *ìnà-b-* 4; Tok. *ná-* 2, *-na-* 1, *ína* 3, *inam-* 4; Kyo. *nà-*; Kag. *nà-*.

◊ JLTT 424, 697, 835. *-(a)n- is a verbal negation, probably reflecting the original first vowel of the root *an- (preserved because of the loss of final -i in an auxiliary verbal morpheme). *ìná is a regular reflex of *ǎ̀ni, while the adjective *nà- 'lacking, non-existent' reveals a secondary loss of initial vowel.

PKor. ***àn-** not (не): MKor. *àn(í)-*; Mod. *an(i)-*.

◊ Nam 334, KED 1068.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 95-96, 277, Vovin 1997, 3. Basically an Eastern isogloss, with a Western remnant in Chuvash. Cf. also MKor. *àčhjə́t-* (-r-) 'not to like' (cf. TM **ān-či-*). Korean has a usual verbal low tone.

✱**ǽni** to hold, present: Tung. ***anī-**; Mong. ***anʒu**; Turk. ***ēnčü**; Kor. ***ān-**.

PTung. ***anī-** to present a gift (дарить, награждать): Evk. *anī-*; Evn. *aniː-*; Ulch. *ajban* (< **ani-pan*) 'gift'.

◊ TMC 1, 21, 43.

PMong. ***anʒu** fine (штраф): MMong. *anʒu*, *amʒu* (SH); WMong. *anʒu* (L 47); Kh. *anʒ*; Bur. *anza* 'dowry'; Kalm. *anz*; Mongr. *nʒar* 'cadeaux qu'on donne à l'occasion des funerailles à tous ceux qui y assistent' (SM 267).

◊ KW 11.

PTurk. ***ēnčü** 1 fief, land and vassals presented by the ruler 2 gift, dowry (1 владение, земля и челядь, пожалованные начальником 2 подарок, приданое): OTurk. *inčü* (/*anču*) 1 (OUygh.); Turkm. *īnʒi* 2; MTurk. *enčü* 1 (Abush. 82); Uzb. *inʒu* 1; Uygh. *änči* 1 (dial.); Tat. *inče* 2; Bashk. *inse* 2; Kirgh. *enči* 1, 2; Kaz. *enši* 2; KBalk. *enči* 'own'; KKalp. *enši* 2; Kum. *enči-li* 'own'; Khak. *inʒi* 2; Oyr. *enči* 1, 2; Yak. *enńie* 2.

◊ VEWT 44, EDT 173, ЭСТЯ 1, 361-362, Лексика 347-348, Дыбо 1997. Turk. > MMong. *enčü*, WMong. *inʒe*, Kalm. *inʒə* (KW 208, 296). Mong. *inʒe* 'dowry' may be in fact a word of different (Chinese) origin, see Haenisch 82, TMN 2, 224, EDT ibid., and modern Turkic forms may reflect a confusion of the original form and the later mongolism.

PKor. ***ān-** to hold in the arms (держать в руках): MKor. *ān-*; Mod. *ān-*.

◊ Nam 345, KED 1083.

‖ SKE 11, Дыбо 15.

✱**ā́nta** oath; comrade, match: Tung. ***anda**; Mong. ***anda**; Turk. ***Ānt**; Jpn. ***ánta**.

PTung. ***anda** friend (друг): Evk. *anda*; Neg. *anda*; Man. *anda*; Jurch. *al-da-xaj* (330) cf. **alda* (1-31), *an-dan-do* (816) 'to follow'; Ul. *anda*; Ork. *anda*; Nan. *anda*; Orch. *anda*; Ud. *anda*.

◊ TMC 1, 42-43. TM (Nan. *andaχa* etc.) > Dag. *antaka* (Тод. Даг. 121).

PMong. ***anda** 1 friend 2 oath (1 друг 2 клятва): MMong. *anda* 1 , *andaqar* 2 (SH), *andoγ-* (IM 432) 'to make an oath', *andă* 1, *andaγar* 2 (MA 102); WMong. *anda* 1, *andaɣar*, *andaɣai* 2 (L 42); Kh. *and* 1, *andgaj* 2; Bur. *anda* 1; Kalm. *andə*, *andṇ* 1, *andəγər* 2; Ord. *anda* 1; Mog. ZM *andaγ* (24-9b) 2; Dag. *ande* 1 (MD 115); Dong. *andaɣa(n)* 2; Bao. *andərəG* 2; S.-Yugh. *andaGar* 2; Mongr. *ndaGa* (SM 261) 2, (MGCD *amdaGa*).

◊ KW 10, MGCD 106, 624, TMN 1, 151-152.

PTurk. ***Ānt** oath (клятва): OTurk. *ant* (OUygh.); Karakh. *and* (MK); Tur. *ant* (*andɨ*); Az. *and*; Turkm. *ant*; Khal. *a:nd*; MTurk. *ant*; Uzb. *ɔnt*; Uygh. *ant*; Krm. *ant*; Tat. *ant*; Bashk. *ant*; Kirgh. *ant*; Kaz. *ant*; KBalk. *ant*; KKalp. *ant*; Kum. *ant*; Nogh. *ant*; Oyr. *ant-ɨq-* 'to take an oath'.

◊ EDT 176, VEWT 20, TMN 2, 128, ЭСТЯ 1, 151. Original vowel length is proved by Turk., Az. -d.

PJpn. ***ánta** 1 enemy 2 other (1 враг 2 другой): OJpn. *ata* 1, *ata-si* 2; MJpn. *átá* 1, *átà-sì*, *ada-si* 2; Tok. *adá* 1; Kyo. *ádà* 1; Kag. *ádà* 1.

◊ Modern dialects point to **ántà*; RJ has *átá*. See JLTT 376-377.

‖ EAS 153, KW 10, Владимирцов 318, Poppe 83, VEWT, TMC. Despite TMN 2, 128, Щербак 1997, 98, there is no reason to suppose Turk. > Mong.; for TM, however, a borrowing from Mong. cannot be excluded (see Poppe 1972, 100, TMN 1, 152, Doerfer MT 37, Rozycki 18).

✱**antʹa** hill, slope: Tung. ***antaga**; Jpn. ***antuma**; Kor. ***əntək(h)**.

PTung. ***antaga** slope of a mountain (склон горы): Evk. *antaγa*; Evn. *antъγ*; Neg. *antaɣa*; Man. *antu*; Nan. *antaǯia*; Ud. *anta*.

◊ TMC 1,44.

PJpn. ***antuma** East (восток): OJpn. *aduma*.

◊ JLTT 389.

PKor. ***əntək(h)** hill (холм): MKor. *ənthək*; Mod. *əndək*.

◊ Nam 366, KED 1139.

‖ An Eastern isogloss: in Turk. cf. perhaps, Turkm. *aŋŋat* 'sandhill, mound'.

✱**ȁńe(-čʹV)** to be quiet, sit: Tung. ***āńi-**; Mong. ***eje, *en-**; Turk. ***Enč**; Jpn. ***ə̀ntà-**; Kor. ***ànč-**.

PTung. ***āńi-** 1 to enjoy 2 feast (1 радоваться 2 праздник): Evn. *āńi-* 1; Nan. *ańā* 2 (Он.).

◊ TMC 1, 45.

PMong. ***eje, *eŋ-ke*** peace, quietness (мир, покой): MMong. *eje*, *eŋke* (SH, HYt); WMong. *eje* (L 304); Kh. *eje*, *enx*; Bur. *eje*, *enxe*; Kalm. *ejə*, *eŋkə*; Ord. *ẹje*, *eŋχe*.

◊ KW 118, 123. Mong. > Yak. *eje*, Dolg. *eje-* (see Kał. MEJ 50, Stachowski 44).

PTurk. ***Enč*** tranquil, at peace (спокойный, мирный): OTurk. *enč*; *enčsire-* 'to be uneasy' (OUygh.); Karakh. *enč* (MK, KB), *enčrü-n-* 'to live in peace' (KB); Tat. *inčü* 'peace' (dial., Bar., ЯБТ 139) dial.; SUygh. *inžek-tɨγ* 'quiet' (ЯЖУ 32); Oyr. *enčü* 1, *enčik-* 'to get accustomed', *enčik* 'habit', *enči-le-* 'to soothe'.

◊ EDT 171-172, 173, 174, VEWT 172, 43.

PJpn. ***ǒntà-*** quiet, peaceful (мирный, тихий, спокойный): OJpn. *oda-pji-si*; MJpn. *òdàfíkà*, *oda-si*; Tok. *odáya-ka*; Kyo. *ódáyákà*; Kag. *odayaká*.

◊ JLTT 504, 838.

PKor. ***ànč-*** to sit (сидеть): MKor. *ànč-*; Mod. *anč-*.

◊ Nam 346, KED 1088.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 297. Korean has a "verbal" low tone. Deriving Kor. *anč-* from Sino-Korean an (SKE 11) should of course be rejected. The Turk., Kor. and Jpn. forms reflect a derivative with *-čʹV; Mong. *eŋke* < **ǎńe-kV*.

✱**ā́ńu** moon; (moon cycle), year: Tung. ***ańŋa***; Mong. ***oj***; Turk. ***āń***.

PTung. ***ańŋa*** year (год): Evk. *anŋanī*; Evn. *anŋ̣n*; Neg. *ańŋanị̄*; Man. *ańa*; SMan. *ani* (2723); Jurch. *ania* (79); Ul. *ańa(n)*; Ork. *anańi̯*; Nan. *ajŋańa*, *ajŋani̯*; Orch. *anŋańi*; Ud. *aŋa(n)*; Sol. *ańê*, *aŋa*.

◊ TMC 1, 43-44. TM > Dag. *ańē* (*sar*) 'January' (Тод. Даг. 121).

PMong. ***oj*** 1 anniversary 2 year (1 годовщина 2 год): MMong. *oin* 'time' (IM = MA 443); WMong. *oi* 1 (L 603); Kh. *oj* 1; Bur. *oj* 1; Kalm. *ȫ* 2; Ord. *oö̆n* 1, 2.

◊ KW 303.

PTurk. ***āń(k)*** moon, month (луна, месяц): OTurk. *aj* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *aj* (MK, KB); Tur. *aj*; Gag. *aj*; Az. *aj*; Turkm. *āj*; Sal. *aj*; Khal. *hāj*; MTurk. *aj; ań* (CCum.); Uzb. *ɔj*; Uygh. *aj*; Krm. *aj*; Tat. *aj*; Bashk. *aj*; Kirgh. *aj*; Kaz. *aj*; KBalk. *aj*; KKalp. *aj*; Kum. *aj*; Nogh. *aj*; SUygh. *aj*; Khak. *aj*; Shr. *aj*; Oyr. *aj*; Tv. *aj*; Tof. *ajʒ̄*; Chuv. *ojъx*; Yak. *ɨj*; Dolg. *ɨj* 'month'.

◊ VEWT 10, TMN 2, 169, EDT 265, ЭСТЯ 1, 98-99 (see there on the reasons of reconstructing *-ń), Мудрак Дисс. 178, Федотов 2, 271, Лексика 55, 76-77, Stachowski 258.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 283, Дыбо 11, Мудрак Дисс. 70, Лексика 77. A Western isogloss.

✱**àŋa** hole, crack, gape: Tung. ***aŋa-***; Mong. ***aŋ, *aŋga-***; Turk. ***aŋ-***; Jpn. ***àná***.

PTung. ***aŋa-*** 1 dig 2 crack, hole 3 open (1 копать 2 щель, дыра 3 открывать): Evk. *aŋa-* 1, *aŋa-/ āŋā-* 3, *aŋa* 2; Evn. *aŋ-* 1, *āŋa-* 3; Neg. *aŋa-* 1, 3, *aŋa* 2; Ul. *aŋGala* 2; Ork. *āŋGa-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 45-46.

PMong. ***aŋ, *aŋga-*** 1 crack, hole, gape 2 to open one's mouth; to gape (щель, расщелина, дыра 2 раскрывать рот; открываться, зиять): WMong. *aŋga-* 2, (L 43) *aŋ* 1, *aŋɣai-* 'be wide open'; Kh. *aŋ* 1, *aŋgai-* 2; Bur. *aŋg(an)* 1; Kalm. *aŋ, aŋgə* 1; Ord. *aŋ* 1; Dag. *xangai-* 2 (Тод. Даг. 173) (but Тод. Даг. 121, MGCD: *aŋgī, angai*); Dong. *anGəi-* 2; Bao. *aŋGi-* 2; S.-Yugh. *aŋɣī-* 2; Mongr. *ŋGai* (SM 9, *aŋGə̄-*) 2.

◊ KW 11, MGCD 111, 528. Mong. > Yak. *aŋa-*, Kirgh. *aŋqaj-* etc. (KW 21). The isolated Dag. *xangai-* with x- is strange; it may reflect a trace of another root (cf. PA **p'éŋi*) that disappeared in most dialects.

PTurk. ***aŋ-*** 1 to be wide open 2 to be perplexed, astonished 3 wide open 4 fool, simpleton 5 obtuse, stupid 6 astonished 7 to have one's mouth opened 8 to be drowsy, faint 9 to look at with surprise 10 to gape (1 быть широко открытым 2 быть удивленным, опешить 3 широко открытый 4 дурак, простак 5 бестолковый 6 удивленный 7 разинуть рот 8 быть сонным, вялым 9 смотреть с удивлением 10 зиять): Karakh. *aŋɨl ačuq* 3 (MK); Tur. (dial.) *anuk*, *aŋɨz* 4; Turkm. *aŋal-* 2, *aŋqar-* 2, 7; MTurk. (MKypch.) *anɣɨ* 6 (AH); Uzb. *aŋraj-* 2, 7; Tat. *aŋɣɨ-miŋge bul-* 3; (dial.) *aŋɣɨl* 5; Kirgh. *aŋqaj-*, *aŋɣar-* 1, 9 (< Mong.?), *aŋqō* 4, *aŋɨr-* 2, *aŋɨraj-* 10; Kaz. *aŋtar-*, *aŋɨr-* 2, *aŋqaw* 4; KKalp. *aŋqaw* 4; Nogh. *aŋqɨ-tiŋke* 'daffy', *aŋra* 4, *aŋšaj-* 7; Khak. *aŋaj-* 'to miss', *aŋmaj-* 2, 7, *aŋmax* 'standing with one's mouth open'; Tv. *aŋɣada-* 2; Yak. *aŋar-* 8.

◊ EDT 184, ЭСТЯ 1, 155, 156-157.

PJpn. ***àná*** hole (дыра): OJpn. ana; MJpn. *àná*; Tok. *aná*; Kyo. *àná*; Kag. *aná*.

◊ The Kyoto accent is irregular (*ánà* would be expected. JLTT 381.

‖ Poppe 72, АПиПЯЯ 81. Mong. **aŋga-* < **aŋa-ga-*.

✱**ăŋatV** a k. of duck: Tung. ***andi***; Mong. ***aŋgir***; Turk. ***Ăŋ(k)ɨt***; Jpn. ***anti***.

PTung. ***andi*** scoter, a k. of duck (турпан, утка-чернеть): Evk. *anni*, *andi*, *ende*; Neg. *anị*; Nan. *āni*, *āŋgi* (On.) 'diver'.

◊ TMC 1, 43; 2, 453.

PMong. ***aŋgir*** scoter (турпан): MMong. *aŋgir* (SH); WMong. *aŋɣir* (L 44-45: "a k. of yellow duck"); Kh. *angir*; Bur. *angir*; Kalm. *äŋgr̥*; Ord. *?aŋgir* 'yellow'.

◊ KW 23. Mong. > Evk. *aŋir* etc., see Doerfer MT 68; > Yak. *aŋɨr* 'выпь', Oyr. *aŋɨr* 'варнавка', Tuva *aŋgɨr*, Kirgh. *aŋɣar* etc. (despite TMN 2, 129 those forms cannot go back to **aŋgɨrt* and must be recognized as borrowings). It is also interesting to note WMong.

ažir, Khalkha *ažir* 'teal, Anas crecca' (L 62), possibly < **adir* < **aŋdir*, with a different (old dialectal?) development of the medial cluster.

PTurk. ***Ăŋ(k)ɨt** wild duck (дикая утка): OTurk. *aŋɨt* (OUygh.); Karakh. *aŋɨt* (MK); Tur. *angut* 'огарь', *ankɨt* (dial.); Az. *anGut-boGaz* 'длинношеий'; Turkm. *aŋk* 'red duck'; MTurk. *anqud* (Sngl); Uzb. *anɣirt* 'red duck'; Krm. *anqɨt*, *ankit* 'ostrich, vulture, dragon'; Kum. *haŋqut*; SUygh. *aŋɨt*; Khak. *āt*.

◊ VEWT 21, Лексика 172. Doerfer's (TMN 2, 129) PT **aŋgɨrt* is a quite artificial construct: it is based on occasional modern forms (like Uzb. *aŋɣirt*) which reflect a contamination of **aŋɨt* and the borrowed Mong. *aŋɣɨr* (with the influence of *aŋgɨrt* 'careless'). All old sources (see EDT 176) reflect only **aŋɨt*. (Yak. *ńɨntāla* 'горбоносый турпан' (Пек.), despite VEWT, < Evk. *niltalbuki* 'a black duck with white head, from *nilta-* 'to loose hair', lit. 'bald bird' TMC I 593; *annɨ*, *andɨ* < TM **andi*; *anńa*, *anńarɨjar* dial. 'a k. of sea bird, морянка' (ДСЯЯ 48) < Mong. *aŋgir).*

PJpn. ***anti** a k. of duck (вид утки): OJpn. *adi*.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 71, Лексика 172. Cf. also Mong. *aŋgat* 'аркалик (птица)' (< Turk.); but for **aŋgir* borrowing is hardly possible, despite TMN 2, 130, Щербак 1997, 192. Mong. -r here requires an explanation: it is most probably a result of reinterpreting the original **aŋgid* as a plural form and rebuilding a new singular **aŋgir* (cf. **nökör* - **nököd* etc.). The word is widely spread in Siberian languages, see Аникин 70.

✸**ȁŋo** right: Tung. ***āŋ(gi)-**; Mong. ***eŋge-**; Turk. ***oŋ**.

PTung. ***āŋ(gi)-** right (правый): Evk. *anŋū*, *āńŋū*; Evn. *āngъ̣ɣ*; Neg. *ańŋi̥-dā*; Ul. *anǯi̥*; Ork. *āńǯē*; Nan. *āŋgi̥a*; Orch. *āńǯä*; Ud. *ajaŋaǯa*; Sol. *angida*. ◊ TMC 1, 40-41.

PMong. ***eŋge-** 1 South 2 front (of cloth) (1 юг 2 перед (одежды)): WMong. *eŋger* 1, 2 (L 318); Kh. *enger* 1, 2; Bur. *enger* 2; Kalm. *eŋgə*, *eŋgṛ* 'shore'; Ord. *enger* 2; Dag. *enge* 2; *eŋge-le-* 'выступать, выдаваться'; Dong. *engie* 2; Bao. *əŋgər* 2; Mongr. *ŋge* (SM 293) 2.

◊ MGCD 263, KW 122.

PTurk. ***oŋ** 1 right 2 good, lucky 3 West (1 правый 2 благоприятный, счастливый 3 запад): OTurk. *oŋ* 1, 2, 3 (OUygh.); Karakh. *oŋ* 1, 2 (MK, KB); Tur. *on* 1, 2 (dial.); Turkm. *oŋ* 2; MTurk. *oŋ* 1 (Abush.); Uzb. *o̥ŋ* 1, 2; Uygh. *oŋ* 1; Krm. *oŋ* 1, 2; Tat. *uŋ* 1, 2; Bashk. *uŋ* 1, 2; Kirgh. *oŋ* 1, 2; Kaz. *oŋ* 1; KBalk. *oŋ* 1, 2; KKalp. *oŋ* 1, 2; Kum. *oŋ* 1, 2; Nogh. *oŋ* 1, 2; SUygh. *oŋ* 1; Khak. *oŋ* 1, 2; Shr. *oŋ* 1, 2; Oyr. *oŋ* 1, 2; Tv. *oŋ* 1; Chuv. *ъʷn-* 4; Yak. *uŋa* 1, 'southern'; *uŋuor* 'on the other bank'; *oŋor-* 'to do, make'; Dolg. *oŋuor* 'on the other bank'; *oŋor-* 'to do, make'.

◊ EDT 166-167, 168-169, VEWT 352, ЭСТЯ 1, 456-460, TMN 2, 165-166, Stachowski 195, 243. ЭСТЯ also adds the verb *oŋ-* 'to prosper'; but, according to EDT, in OT this verb has the shape on-, while the form *oŋ-* appears later (in Middle Kypchak and Old Osman texts, as well as in a number of modern languages), probably as a result of contamination.

‖ ЭСТЯ 1, 459. A Western isogloss.

✱**aŋtʿà** a k. of fragrant plant: Tung. ***(x)an(d)ikta**; Mong. ***(h)aʒVrgana**; Turk. ***Aŋduŕ**; Jpn. ***àntùsà**.

PTung. ***(x)an(d)ikta** mint; name of a geranium-like plant (мята; назв. растения (из семейства гераниевых)): Evk. *anī*, *anikta*; Neg. *aṇīkta* 'willow-herb'; Orch. *anikta*.

◊ TMC 1, 43.

PMong. ***(h)aʒVrgana** geranium (герань): WMong. *aʒarγana* (L 61); Kh. *aʒargan*; Bur. *azargana*; Kalm. *aʒərhn* (KPC).

PTurk. ***Aŋduŕ** 1 a medicinal shrub, elecampane 2 cypress, juniper 3 shrub, bush (1 род лекарственного растения, девясил 2 кипарис, можжевельник 3 кустарник): Karakh. *aŋduz* 1 (MK); Tur. *andɨz* 3; Gag. *andɨz* 3; Turkm. *andɨz* 'переступень двудомный'; *aŋŋɨza* 'a k. of mountain plant'; MTurk. *anduz* 1 (Sngl); Tat. *andɨz* 2; Bashk. *andɨδ* 2; Kirgh. *qar-andɨz*, *qarɨndɨz*, *antɨz* (South dial.) 2; Kaz. *andɨz*, *andʒɨ* 'аир'; KBalk. *andɨz* 2; Nogh. *andɨz* 2.

◊ VEWT 21, EDT 178, ЭСТЯ 1, 150-151.

PJpn. ***àntùsà** Catalpa ovata (катальпа): OJpn. *adusa*; MJpn. *àdùsà*; Tok. *azusa*.

◊ JLTT 389.

‖ Name of a fragrant grass, probably geranium-like. One should also note Mong. *inaγda* (Khalkha *janagd*) 'willow-herb' - looking suspiciously close to some TM forms (a loan from TM?).

✱**ăŋu** wild game: Tung. ***aŋa-**; Mong. ***(h)oγuna**; Turk. ***Ăŋ**.

PTung. ***aŋa-** 1 wild game 2 mountain ram 3 to graze (of deer) 4 enclosure for deer (1 дикий зверь, дичь 2 горный баран 3 пастись (об оленях) 4 загон для оленей): Evk. *aŋa* 1, *anaŋ* (dial.) 2, *aŋa-* 3, *aŋan* 4; Evn. *anṇŋ* 2, *aŋ-* 3; Neg. *aŋa-* 3; Ork. *āŋa-* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 42, 45-46.

PMong. ***(h)oγunu** male mountain antelope (самец горной антилопы): WMong. *oγunu*, *onu* (L 603); Kh. *ōno*; Bur. *ōno*; Kalm. *ōn*; Ord. *ōŋo*.

◊ KW 292. Mong. > Manchu *onon* 'the male zeren' (see Rozycki 168).

PTurk. ***Ăŋ** wild game (дикий зверь): OTurk. *aŋ* (OUygh.); Karakh. *aŋ-dɨ-* 'to hunt', *aŋčɨ* 'hunter' (MK); Turkm. *aŋta-* 'to chase'; MTurk. *aŋ*; Uzb. *aŋ* 'hunting' (dial.); Uygh. *aŋ*; Krm. *aŋ*; Tat. aŋ 'elk, dear' (dial.); Bashk. *aŋdɨ-* 'to track, waylay'; Kirgh. *aŋ*; Kaz. *aŋ*; KKalp. *aŋ*; Nogh. *aŋ*; Khak. *aŋ*; Shr. *aŋ* 'sable'; Oyr. *aŋ*; Tv. *aŋ*; Yak. *ɨŋ* 'fence for wild reindeer'.

◊ Лексика 152, 417, EDT 166. Shor *aŋnɨγ*, Khak. *aγnɨχ* 'net for catching sables' is a contamination of this root and **ag* 'net'. Turk. > Mong. *aŋ* id., see Clark 1977, 128-129.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**aŋV** separate, different: Tung. ***aŋa-**; Mong. ***aŋgi-**.

PTung. ***aŋa-** 1 foreigner 2 orphan (1 чужеродец 2 сирота): Evk. *aŋnakī* 1, *aŋažakān* 2; Evn. *aŋъža* 2; Neg. *aŋnaxī* 1, *aŋažaxān* 2; Man. *anaqu* (*žuj*) 2; Ul. *aŋaža*, *aŋańị* 2; Ork. *aŋada* 2; Nan. *aŋžịnị* 1, *aŋGažã* 2; Orch. *aŋnaińi* 1, *aŋaža* 2; Ud. *aŋnaxi* 1, *aŋaža* 2; Sol. *aŋažī* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 46. TM > Dag. *anikē* (Тод. Даг. 121).

PMong. ***aŋgi-** 1 apart, separately 2 class, group (1 отдельно, порознь 2 класс, группа): MMong. *aŋgida* 1 (SH), *aŋgida* 'outer' (HYt), *angəda* 1 (LH); WMong. *aŋgida* 1, *aŋgi* 2 (L 44); Kh. *angid* 1, *angi* 2; Bur. *angil-* 'to be separated', *aŋgi* 2; Kalm. *äŋgi* 2; Ord. *aŋgi* 'piece, part' 2; Dag. *aŋg(i)* 2.

◊ KW 23.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**ȁpi** to enjoy, rest: Tung. ***ā(b)-**; Mong. ***abu-ra-**; Turk. ***(i)abɨ-**; Jpn. ***ìpà-p-**; Kor. ***ìpàt-**.

PTung. ***ā(b)-** 1 to sleep 2 to lie 3 to entertain (1 спать 2 лежать 3 заинтересовать, развлекать): Evk. *ā-* 1; Evn. *awụn-* 3; Neg. *ā-* 1; Ul. *aụ-* ~ *aw-* 1, 2; Ork. *ā(wụ)-* 1, 2; Nan. *ao-* 1, 2; Orch. *ā-* 1; Sol. *ā-šĭn-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 2, 10 (should be distinguished from **ām-* q. v. sub **ȁmV*). Loss of *-b- in some forms is in this case probably secondary (analogical, based on the reanalysis of the root element *-b- as a verbal suffix).

PMong. ***abu-ra** to save (спасать): MMong. *abura-* (HY 39, SH); WMong. *abura-* (L 6); Kh. *avra-*; Bur. *abar-*; Kalm. *awṛ-*; Ord. *awura-*; Dag. *avra-* (Тод. Даг. 118).

◊ KW 20. Mong. > Yak. *abrā-*, Dolg. *abɨrā-*, Koman *abra-* etc. (VEWT 2, Щербак 1997, 199, Kał. MEJ 41, Stachowski 27); > Chuv. *upra-* 'to preserve' (Róna-Tas 1971-1972).

PTurk. ***(i)abɨ-** 1 to enjoy oneself, be happy (refl.) 2 to comfort (caus.) (1 радоваться, быть счастливым 2 утешать, успокаивать): OTurk. *abɨnɨq* 'consolation' (USp. 43), *avɨn-ču* 'concubine' (YB 1); Karakh. *avɨn-* 1 (MK), *avɨt-* 2 (KB); Tur. *avun-* 1, *avut-* 2, 'to deceive'; Gag. *aut-* 'to deceive'; Az. *ovun-* 1, *ovut-* 2; Khal. *avun-* 1, *avut-* 2; MTurk. *awut-* 2, *awun-* 'to find comfort' (Sangl.); Uzb. *ɔvun-* 1, *ɔvut-* 2; Krm. *avun-*, *uvun-* 'to be consoled', *uvut-* 2; Khak. *abɨt-* 'to lull'; Shr. *abɨt-* 'to lull'; Tv. *aat-* 'to lull'; Tof. *aat-* 'to lull'; Yak. *ɨa-hax* 'play'; Dolg. *ɨa-hak* 'play'.

◊ EDT 7, 12; VEWT 2, ЭСТЯ 1, 66, Stachowski 257. The meaning 'to lull' may belong to the homonymic **(i)abu-* 'to bend, swing', on which see under **ịȁp[ò]*.

PJpn. ***ìpà-p-** to enjoy, feast, celebrate (праздновать): OJpn. *ipa-p-*; MJpn. *ìfà-f-*; Tok. *iwá-*; Kyo. *íwá-*; Kag. *ìwà-*.

◊ JLTT 700.

PKor. ***ìpàt-** 1 feast 2 to provide, entertain, help (1 праздник 2 снабжать, предоставлять, помогать): MKor. *ìpàtí* 1, *ìpàt-* 2; Mod. *ibažɨ* ha- 2.

◊ Nam 400, KED 1329.

‖ Low tone in Kor. is due to the root's verbal nature. Semantic development is modified by changes in diathesis (e.g. in Mongolian 'save' < 'comfort' < 'cause to enjoy' etc.).

✱**àpo** to wear out, be spoiled: Tung. ***abu-**; Mong. ***ebe-**; Turk. ***obu-ra- / *obu-n-**; Jpn. ***àpà-**.

PTung. ***abu-** 1 to lack, be insufficient 2 to become exhausted, lean 3 to be tired 4 to bleed (1 недоставать, не хватать 2 худеть, чахнуть 3 уставать, обессилевать 4 истекать кровью): Evk. *abul-* 1, *abu-* 4; Evn. *abъ̣l-* 1; Neg. *abụl-* 1; Man. *absa-* 2, *abuliqabi* 3; Ul. *abụlị-* 1; Ork. *abụlị-* 1; Nan. *abolị-* 1; Orch. *abuli-* 1; Ud. *abuli-* 1; Sol. *abụl-* 1.

◊ TMC 1,6-7. It is interesting to compare the Evk. form *abu-* with OT (8th cent.) ab- 'to bleed' (EDT 4) - perhaps a separate root? Note the irregular preservation of *-b- in all languages, possibly suggesting an early loan from Manchu. TM > Dag. *abila-* (Тод. Даг. 118).

PMong. ***ebe-** 1 to be ill 2 to weaken 3 illness (1 болеть 2 изнемогать, обессилеть 3 болезнь): MMong. *ebet-* (SH), *ebečin* 3 (HYt), *äbdä-* (IM), *ibăd-* (MA) 1; WMong. *ebed-* 1 (L 286), *ebere-* 2; Kh. *övd-* 1, *övrö-* 2; Bur. *übde-* 1, *übešen* 3; Kalm. *öwdə-* 1; Ord. *öwöd-* 1, *öwöčin* 3; Mog. *ebätu-*; ZM *ebätun* 'pain' (4-7a); Dag. *eude-* 1, *eur* 3 (Тод. Даг. 141, MD 146); Dong. *otu-* 1 (Тод. Дн. 132); Bao. *vete-* 1 (Тод. Бн. 136), (MGCD) *ɛtə-* 1; S.-Yugh. *wēd-* 1; Mongr. (*w*)*idi-*, *udi-* 1 (SM 188, 464), (Тод. Мгр. 368).

◊ KW 302, MGCD 536.

PTurk. ***obu-ra- / *obu-n-** 1 to wear out (intr.), decay 2 to cease, stop 3 to tire 4 to be destroyed (1 изнашиваться, стареть 2 прекращаться 3 уставать 4 развалиться, разрушиться): Tat. *uwa-l-*, *wa-l-* 1, 3, 4 (dial., ТТДТС 112, 451); Kirgh. *ura-* 4; Khak. *ūra-* 1; Oyr. *ūra-* 1; Chuv. *ĭvъn-* 3; Yak. *ūraj-* 2.

◊ VEWT 356, 515. Kalm. *ōr-* 'to fall apart, become spoiled' may be < Turkic, but the immediate source is unclear (Tat.?). The Chuv. form may be a dialectal variant of *ĭlъn-*, see Егоров 342, Федотов 2, 468.

PJpn. ***àpà-** bleak, weak, faded (бледный, слабый): MJpn. *àfà-*; Tok. *awá-*; Kyo. *áwa-*; Kag. *awá-*.

◊ JLTT 826.

‖ Cf. **ebi*.

✱**apuči** elder in-law: Tung. ***abusi**; Mong. ***(h)abisu-n**; Turk. ***Abuč-ka**.

PTung. ***abusi** 1 husband of elder sister 2 husband of father's or mother's younger sister 3 brother-in-law, son-in-law (1 муж старшей сестры 2 муж младшей сестры отца или матери 3 зять): Evk. *awus* 1; Evn. *āwụs* 1, 2; Neg. *awụs* 1, 2; Ul. *aụsị* 3; Nan. *aosị* 3; Orch. *auśä* 3; Ud. *auhi* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 11. TM > Dag. *auš'ē* 'elder sister's husband' (Тод. Даг. 122).

PMong. ***(h)abisu-n** wife of elder brother (in relation to the wife of younger brother) (жена старшего брата (по отношению к жене младшего брата)): WMong. *abisun* (L 4); Kh. *aʊ́san*; Bur. *ab'han*; Kalm. *awsṇ*, *äwsṇ*; Ord. *awisun*.

◊ KW 20. Mong. > Kaz. *abisin*, Khak. *abzin* etc. (VEWT 2, Poppe 1974, 126).

PTurk. ***Abuč-ka** 1 husband, old man 2 foster-mother 3 elder sister 4 uncle (1 муж, старик 2 кормилица 3 старшая сестра 4 дядя): OTurk. *avičγa*, *abučγa* 1, *abučqa* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *avičγa* 1 (MK, KB); Tur. *abuš* 3 dial.; MTurk. *abušqa*, *avušqa* 4 (Abush., Sangl.); Tat. *abušqa*, *awucqa* 1 dial. (Sib.); Bashk. *abišqa* 1; Kirgh. *abišqa* 1; Kaz. *abišqa* 1 dial.; Khak. *apsax*, *apčax*, Koib. *abisqa* 1; Shr. *apšij* 1, *apšaq* 'bear'; Oyr. *apšijaq* 1; 'bear'; Tv. *ašaq* 1; Tof. *ašińaq* 1; Chuv. *obaška*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 1, 60-61, EDT 6, Егоров 274-275, Федотов II 282, Аникин 72. Chuv. is not quite regular and may be an early loanword from Tat. Formally the Turk. word may be derived from **aba* 'elder in the mother's line' (+ dimin. -č).

‖ A Western isogloss. Mong. has -s- (instead of the expected *-č-) probably because of a fusion with the productive suffix -su(n).

✱**apV** to take: Tung. ***abgu-**; Mong. ***abi-**; Turk. ***ạbuč**.

PTung. ***abgu-** 1 to pull out, take from 2 (refl.) to appear (1 вытаскивать, вынимать 2 (возвр.) появляться): Evn. *abgịn-* 2; Neg. *abgụ-* 1; Ul. *aGbụmbụ-* 1, *aGbụn-* 2; Ork. *aGbụn-*; Nan. *aGbị-mboGo-* 1, *aGbịačị-* 2; Orch. *ābu-* 1; Ud. *agbu-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 3-4.

PMong. ***ab-** to take (брать): MMong. *abu* (HY 39), *ab-* (SH), *oba-*, *aba-* (IM 432), *abu-* (MA 94, 97); WMong. *abi-*, *ab-* (L 1,2), *abu-*; Kh. *av-*; Bur. *aba-*, *ab-*; Kalm. *aw-*; Ord. *ab-*, *aw-*; Mog. *afu-*, *ab-;* ZM *ōb-* (24-6a, 41-1); Dag. *aw-* (Тод. Даг. 118); Dong. *agi-* (Тод. Дн. 110), *uγu-* (MGCD) (?); Bao. *ab-* (Тод. Бн. 132), *apə-* (MGCD); S.-Yugh. *ab-*; Mongr. *awu-*, *abu-* (SM 16).

◊ KW 19, MGCD 91. Cf. also *abuča* 'taking, handful' (KW 20).

PTurk. ***ạbuč** handful (пригоршня): Karakh. *avut* (MK), *avut-ča*, *avuč-ča* (KB), *avuč* (Tefs).; Tur. *avuč*; Gag. *auč*; Az. *ovuč*; Turkm. *ovuč*, *jan-avuč*; Sal. *uǯ*; MTurk. *avuč* (MA, Sangl., Бор. Бад.); Uzb. *xɔwuč*; Uygh. *oč*; Krm. *avuč*, *uvuč*, *uvuc*; Tat. *uč*; Bashk. *us*; Kirgh. *ūč*; Kaz. *uwis*; KBalk. *uwuč*; KKalp. *uwis*; Kum. *uvuč*; Nogh. *uvis*; SUygh. *oš*; Khak. *ōs*; Shr. *oš*; Oyr. *ūš*; Chuv. *ĭvъś*.

◊ EDT 44, VEWT 3, ЭСТЯ 1, 409-410, Егоров 342, Дыбо 179-181, Лексика 25-253. Turk. > MMong. *a'uč* id. (Щербак 1997, 103).

‖ A Western isogloss. KW 19, Poppe 44. Despite TMN 4, 307-310, PT **ạbuč* (**ạbut*) cannot be regarded as a variant of **adi[í]* (on which see sub **alda*) - although the two roots could have influenced each other. The

closed vowel in PT is not quite clear (under the influence of the two following labial phonemes?).

✱**áp'a** father: Tung. ***apa**; Mong. ***ab[u]**; Turk. ***apa**; Kor. ***àpí**.

PTung. ***apa** grandfather; uncle (elder brother of father, mother) (дедушка; дядя (старший брат отца, матери)): Neg. *apa*; Nan. *papa* (Naikh.), *fafa* (Bik.) (redupl.).

◊ TMC 1, 47, 2, 34.

PMong. ***ab[u]** 1 father 2 paternal uncle (1 отец 2 дядя со стороны отца): MMong. *abaqa* (HY 28, SH) 2, *abaɣa* (MA 402) 2; WMong. *abu*, *aba* 1, *abaɣa* 2 (L 2, 5); Kh. *av* 1; *avga* 2; Bur. *aba* 1; *abgaj* 2; Kalm. *āwə* 1; *awɣə* 2; Ord. *awaGa*, *aGā̃* 2; Mog. ZM *ōɣōj* (12-16) 2; Dong. *aba*, *apa*, *avi*; Bao. *ābe*, *abo*; S.-Yugh. *awi*, *aba*; Mongr. *āba*, *āwa* (SM 1); *āGa* 2.

◊ KW 19, 21. Mong. **abaga* > Chag. *abaqa* etc. (see TMN 1, 108, Щербак 1997, 199); > Evk. *awaga* etc., see Doerfer MT 89.

PTurk. ***apa (*appa)** father (отец): OTurk. *apa* (Orkh., OUygh.) 'ancestors'; Karakh. *apa* (MK) 'father, bear' ("Kypch."), (KB) 'ancestor'; Tur. *aba*; Az. *aba* (dial.); Turkm. *aba* (dial.); Sal. *aba* (Kakuk), *aba*, *apa* (ССЯ); Tat. *aba* (dial.); Bashk. *apa* (dial.); Kirgh. *aba*; KBalk. *appa*, *aba*; SUygh. *awa*; Khak. *aba*; Oyr. *aba* 'father, bear'; Tv. *ava*; Chuv. *oba* 'bear'.

◊ EDT 5, VEWT 1, ЭСТЯ 1, 54-58, Лексика 305, Федотов 2, 281, Аникин 71. Cf. also **bāpa* 'grandfather, mother's father' (Turkm. *bāba* etc., see ЭСТЯ 2, 10-13, Лексика 294, 305). Voicing of -p- in many languages is probably due to expressive gemination.

PKor. ***àpí** father (отец): MKor. *àpí*; Mod. *abəǯi*, (*vulg*.) *abi*.

◊ Nam 338, KED 1074.

‖ EAS 140, Цинциус 1972a, 32-37. A common Altaic "nursery" word. Cf. *ep'V.

✱**àp'akV (~ -k'-)** a k. of foliage tree: Tung. ***(x)apkā-**; Turk. ***apaka**; Jpn. ***àpàkì**.

PTung. ***(x)apkā-** oak tree (дуб): Neg. *apkā-kta*.

◊ TMC 1, 47.

PTurk. ***apaka** 1 Alnus fruticosa; Labrador tea 2 a k. of fern (1 вид ольхи; багульник 2 вид папоротника): Karakh. *apa bašɨ* 'Cannabis sativa, it is a plant which grows like Cucumis sativus and has a thorny stern, it is eaten in the mountains' (MK Qypch.); Tat. *abaɣa* 2; Bashk. *abaɣa* 2; Chuv. *uba-zarri* 2; Yak. *abaɣa* 1.

◊ VEWT 1, Попов 1986, 92. OT and Chuv. reflect a folk etymology (confusion with *apa* 'bear').

PJpn. ***àpàkì** a k. of oak (сизый дуб): OJpn. *apakji*; MJpn. *àpàkì*.

◊ JLTT 388.

‖ The root is sparsely attested, but seems reliable.

✱**apʿi** wind, vapour: Tung. ***apka**; Mong. ***aɣur**; Turk. ***Ep-**.

PTung. ***apka** sky (небо): Man. *abqa*; SMan. *abka*, *apka*; Jurch. *a-pu-ha*; Nan. *apqa* (Kur.-Urm.), *afqa* (Bik.).

◊ TMC 1, 8.

PMong. ***aɣur** steam, vapour; anger (пар; гнев): MMong. *a'ur* (HY 42, SH), *āwur*, *awur*, *hawur* (MA 108, 270 'anger'); WMong. *aγur* (L 17); Kh. *ūr*; Bur. *ūr*; Kalm. *ūr*, ur; Ord. *ūr*; Mog. ZM *āwur* (15-8b) 'cloud'; Dag. *aur* (Тод. Даг. 122), *aure* (MD 116); Dong. *ūr*; S.-Yugh. *ūr*; Mongr. *u̯r* (SM 473).

◊ KW 450, 454, MGCD 108, 347, 663.

PTurk. ***Ep-** 1 to blow 2 movement of air, breeze 3 energy, tempo 4 gusty (wind) (1 дуть, веять 2 движение воздуха, ветерок 3 порыв, темп, энергия 4 порывистый (о ветре)): Uzb. *äpkin* (dial.) 2; Tat. *ip-* 1 (Seb.); Kirgh. *epkin* 3; Kaz. *epkin* 2; KKalp. *epkin* 3; Nogh. *epkinli* 4; Oyr. *epkin* 2.

◊ Лексика 42.

‖ A Western isogloss; however, in Jpn. the root probably merged with **ěbà* 'winnow, blow' q.v. (cf. especially the PJ form with a velar suffix **apu-(n)k-*, OJ *apug-*).

✱**ə̌ra** back, behind: Tung. ***arka-**; Mong. ***aru**; Turk. ***ərka**; Jpn. ***àtuà**.

PTung. ***arka-n** back (спина): Evk. *arkan*; Evn. *arqъn*; Neg. *ajkan*; Ork. *atta(n)*; Orch. *akka(n)*; Ud. *aka(n)*; Sol. *arkã*.

◊ TMC 1, 51.

PMong. ***aru** back, behind, North (спина, задняя сторона, север): MMong. *aru* (HY 11, SH 9), *aradan* 'behind', *ārudur* 'to the back' (MA 104, 106); WMong. *aru* (L 54), *aru-ki*; Kh. *ar*; Bur. *ara*; Kalm. *arə*, *ārə*, *arkə*; Ord. *aru* 'back, east'; Dag. *ar* (Тод. Даг. 121), *arkən* (MGCD); S.-Yugh. *ār*.

◊ KW 12, 14, 21, MGCD 114.

PTurk. ***ərka** back (спина, задняя сторона): OTurk. *arqa* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *arqa* (MK, KB); Tur. *arka*; Gag. *arqa*; Az. *arxa*; Turkm. *arqa*; Sal. *arχa*, *arGa* (ССЯ 292, 293); Khal. *arqa* (*arxa* < Az.); MTurk. *arqa* (Sangl.); Uzb. *ɔrqa*; Uygh. *a(r)qa*; Krm. *arqa*, *arxa*; Tat. *arqa*; Bashk. *arqa*; Kirgh. *arqa*; Kaz. *arqa*; KBalk. *arqa*; KKalp. *arqa*; Kum. *arqa* 1; Nogh. *arqa*; SUygh. *arqa*, *harqa*; Khak. *aryа*; Shr. *aryа*; Oyr. *arqa*; Tv. *a'ryа* 'mountain forest'; Chuv. *oryа-lъx* 'saddle strips'; Yak. *aryā*, *aryа-s*; Dolg. *arga-lā-* 'to turn one's back towards smb.'.

◊ EDT 200-201, 215, VEWT 26-27, ЭСТЯ 1, 174-175, 179-180, Лексика 267-268, Федотов 2, 288, Stachowski 36.

PJpn. ***àtuà** behind, trace (задняя сторона, след): OJpn. *atwo*; MJpn. *àtó*; Tok. *áto*; Kyo. *àtó*; Kag. *ató*.

◊ JLTT 387.

‖ EAS 139, KW 12, Poppe 78, Колесникова 1972a, 84-87, Дыбо 305, Лексика 268, TMN 2, 29-30, Doerfer MT 46. PT **arka* and PTM **arka* go back to a dative-locative formation **ara-kʿa*.

✸**ara** a k. of insect: Tung. ***(x)arabgī**; Mong. ***araɣalǯin**; Jpn. ***ari**.

PTung. ***(x)arabgī** larva of a gad-fly (личинка носоглоточного овода): Evk. *arawgī*; Evn. *arъ̣bgъ̣n*; Neg. *ajịbgịn*.

◊ TMC 1, 52.

PMong. ***araɣalǯin** spider (паук): WMong. *araɣalǯin*, *aɣalǯin*; Kh. *ālʒ*; Kalm. *arālǯn*; Dag. *āleǯi*, *agaleǯi*.

◊ KW 12. There is some confusion between this form and **haba-kai* id. (v. sub **pʿépʿa*) - which resulted in a mixed form **haɣalǯin*, reflected in MMong. (HY 12) *xaʿalǯin* - however, the Dagur form definitely points to a 0-Anlaut in PM.

PJpn. ***ari** ant (муравей): OJpn. *ari*; MJpn. *ari*; Tok. *àri*; Kyo. *árí*; Kag. *arí*.

◊ JLTT 384. Kyoto and Tokyo point to **árí*, but Kagoshima reflects an aberrant variant with initial low tone.

‖ The root denotes some small biting insect.

✸**ā́ri (~ *ḗra)** man: Mong. ***ere**; Turk. ***ēr**.

PMong. ***ere** male, man (мужчина): MMong. *ere* (HY 29, SH), *ärä* (IM), *irǟ* (MA); WMong. *ere* (L 321); Kh. *er*; Bur. *ere*; Kalm. *erə*; Ord. *ere*; Mog. ZM *errä* (9-6a); Dag. *er, ergun* (Тод. Даг. 140) *ere* (MD, 145); Dong. ere; Bao. ere; S.-Yugh. *ere*; Mongr. *rē* 'mâle non châtré de certains animaux, masculin' (SM 313).

◊ KW 123, MGCD 264.

PTurk. ***ēr** man (мужчина): OTurk. *er* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *er* (MK, KB); Tur. *er*; Az. *är* 'husband'; Turkm. *ǟr*; Sal. *er*; Khal. *här*; MTurk. *er* (Pav. C.); Uygh. *är*; Krm. *er*; Tat. *ir*; Bashk. *ir*; KBalk. *er*; KKalp. *er adam*; Kum. *er*; SUygh. *jer*; Khak. *ir*; Shr. *er*; Oyr. *er*; Tv. *er*; Chuv. *ar*; Yak. *er*; Dolg. *er*.

◊ VEWT 46, TMN 2, 178-9, EDT 192, ЭСТЯ 1, 290-291, Лексика 303, 561, Егоров 30, Stachowski 46, 128.

‖ KW 123, Владимирцов 324, Poppe 79, 106, Цинциус 1972a, 45-49, ОСНЯ 1, 247, АПиПЯЯ 54, 283. A well known Turk.-Mong. isogloss. Borrowing in Mong. from Turk. (see TMN 2, 179, Щербак 1997, 115) is quite improbable because of the final vowel. Cf. **i̯òre*.

✸**àrpʿá** barley, millet: Tung. ***arpa**; Mong. ***arbaj**; Turk. ***arpa**; Jpn. ***àpá**.

PTung. ***arpa** barley; oats (ячмень; овес): Man. *arfa*.

◊ TMC 1, 52. Despite its isolated nature, the Manchu word is certainly archaic and can hardly be explained as a borrowing < Mong. *arbai*, despite Rozycki 20.

PMong. ***arbaj** barley (ячмень): MMong. *arbəi* (HY 8), *arbăi*, *ārbăi* (MA 104, 253); WMong. *arbai* (L 49); Kh. *arvaj*; Bur. *arbaj*; Kalm. *arwǟ*,

arwā; Ord. *arwā̃*; Mog. *arfɛi*, *arfā* (Ramstedt 1906); Dong. *apa*; Mongr. *šbə̄* 'spelt' (SM 370).

◊ KW 15, TMN 2, 24. Mongor may reflect a trace of the originally unvoiced stop in the intervocalic cluster. Mong. > Tuva *arvaj.*

PTurk. ***arpa** barley (ячмень): OTurk. *arpa* (OUygh.), *abra* (late OUygh.); Karakh. *arpa* (MK, KB); Tur. *arpa*; Gag. *arpa*; Az. *arpa*; Turkm. *arpa*; Sal. *arfa* (ССЯ 292); Khal. *arpa*; MTurk. *arpa* (Sangl.); Uzb. *arpa*; Uygh. *a(r)pa*; Krm. *arpa*; Tat. *arpa*; Bashk. *arpa*; Kirgh. *arpa*; Kaz. *arpa*; KBalk. *arpa*; KKalp. *arpa*; Kum. *arpa*; Nogh. *arpa*; Khak. *arba*; Oyr. *arba*; Chuv. *orba*.

◊ EDT 198, VEWT 27, ЭСТЯ 1, 176-177, TMN 2, 24, Лексика 460, Егоров 27, Федотов 2, 286. Turk. > Hung. *árpa,* see Gombocz 1912.

PJpn. ***àpá** millet (просо): OJpn. *apa*; MJpn. *àfá*; Tok. *áwa*; Kyo. *àwá*; Kag. *awá*.

◊ JLTT 388.

‖ EAS 90, KW 15, Poppe 87. АПиПЯЯ 67. The Mong. form cannot be explained as a Turkism (despite TMN 2, 24, Щербак 1997, 100). The Turkic form is sometimes compared with Proto-Iran. **arba-* (corresponding to Gr. *alphi*), cf. East Iranian forms going back to **arpasyā-* (or **arbasyā*) (Стеблин-Каменский 1982, 23), but it is not identical (loss of the final syllable is hard to explain); on the other hand, the Jpn. parallel is a strong argument in favour of the Altaic origin of the Turkic form.

✱**ărV** witchcraft, craft: Tung. ***ar-**; Mong. ***arga**; Turk. ***ar-**.

PTung. ***ar-** 1 to make, work, construct 2 to come to one's senses 3 to cause fear (of an evil ghost), to appear in one's imagination 4 shape, form 5 evil spirit (1 делать, производить, работать 2 приходить в чувство 3 чудиться, пугать (о злом духе) 4 вид, форма 5 злой дух): Evk. *arit-* 3, *arū-* 2, *arinka* 5; Evn. *ar-*, *arị-* 3, *ar-* 2, *arịŋqъ̣* 5; Neg. *ajị* 5; Man. *ara-* 1, *arbun* 4, *ari* 5; SMan. *arəvən*, *arəvun* 'appearance, form' (2342); Nan. *arị* 5.

◊ TMC 1, 48, 49, 51, 52. Man. > Dag. *arbun* (Тод. Даг. 121).

PMong. ***arga** way, method (способ, способность, хитрость): MMong. *arqa* (SH 9), *arɣă* (MA 294), *arɣa-da-* 'to deceive' (MA 105), *arɣad-* (IM 432); WMong. *arɣa*; Kh. *arga*; Bur. *arga*; Kalm. *arGə*; Ord. *arGa*; Dag. *arga* (Тод. Даг. 121), *arehe* (MD 115); Dong. *raG*; S.-Yugh. *arag*; Mongr. *arGa*.

◊ KW 13, MGCD 115. Mong. > Turk. *arɣa* (since Chag., see VEWT 25, ЭСТЯ 1, 170-171), Tung. *arga* (TMC 1, 49, Rozycki 20).

PTurk. ***ar-** 1 to make magic, cast spells 2 to deceive (1 колдовать, заклинать 2 обманывать): OTurk. *ar-* 2 (Orkh., OUygh.), *arvïš* 'magic' (OUygh.); Karakh. *ar-* 1 (MK, KB), *arva-* 1 (MK); Tur. *arpaɣ* 'magic' (dial.); Turkm. *arvax* dial. 'evil spirit'; MTurk. *arba-* 1 (Sangl., Бад.);

Uzb. *avra-* 1, 2; Uygh. *a(r)ba-* 1; Tat. *arbɨ-* 1 (Sib., KCTT 103); Bashk. *arba-* 1; Kirgh. *arba-* 1, 2; Kaz. *arba-* 1, 2; KKalp. *arba-* 1, 2; SUygh. *arva-* 1 (ЯЖУ 16); Khak. *arba-* 1; Shr. *arba-* 1, *arbɨš* 'magic'; Oyr. *arba-n-* 'to scold'; Yak. *arbā-* 1 (Пек. I 139 'to praise for magic purposes').

◊ EDT 193, 199, VEWT 24, ЭСТЯ I 168-170. Turk. > MMong. *arba-* 'to put spells' (SH 8); Turk. *arbiš* > Mong. *arbis* 'knowledge' (Clark 1980, 41).

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**ā́rV** open space: Tung. ***ara-**; Mong. ***ar-**; Turk. ***(i)āra**.

PTung. ***ara-** 1 open space 2 open ritual court (открытое пространство): Evk. *araγan* 1; Evn. *arъγъn* 1; Ul. *aračụ* 2; Orch. *arāču* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 48.

PMong. ***ar-** 1 poorly grown, thin 2 space 3 island (1 редкий, покрытый редкой растительностью 2 пространство, промежуток 3 остров): MMong. *aral* 3 (SH), *aral* (MA 104); WMong. *aral* 3 (L 48); Kh. *armaG* 1, *aral* 3; Bur. *arma* 2, *armagar* 1, alar 3; Kalm. *arū*, *armъG* 1, *arḷ* 3; Ord. *aral* 3 *armaq* 2; Dag. *alla*, *aral* 3 (Тод. Даг. 120); Dong. *aran* 3; Bao. *alər*, *arən* (Tungren); S.-Yugh. *aral* 3; Mongr. *rāl*, *ral* (Huzu), *arā(r)* (SM 9, 11) 3.

◊ KW 14, 15, MGCD 116, TMN 1, 119-120. The original meaning of the root **ar-* must have been 'space between banks (or river branches)', whence **ara-γu*, **ara-ma(g)* 'spaced, thin' and **ara-l* 'island'. Mong. *aral* > Chag., Kirgh. etc. *aral* 'island; thicket, island covered with thick bushes'; Evk. *aral* 'wood island in a steppe'. Despite TMN ibid., "thicket" is obviously a secondary semantic development in Turkic, because only the meaning "island" is attested in Mong. Bur. *alar* > Yak. *alar,* Russ. Siber. *alár* (Аникин 80).

PTurk. ***(i)āra** 1 space between 2 on one's way, under way (1 промежуток, пространство между 2 в пути, по дороге): OTurk. *ara* 1 Orkh., OUygh.; Karakh. *ara* (MK); Tur. *ara*; Gag. *āra*; Az. *ara*; Turkm. *āra* 1; Khal. *hāra*; MTurk. *ara* (Abush.); Uzb. *эra*; Uygh. *ara*; Krm. *ara*; Tat. *ara*; Bashk. *ara*; Kirgh. *ara*; Kaz. *ara*; KBalk. *ara*; KKalp. *ara*; Kum. *ara*; Nogh. *ara*; SUygh. *ara*; Khak. *ara*; Shr. *ara*; Oyr. *ara*; Tv. *ara*; Yak. *āra* 2; Dolg. *āra-k-* 'to go away', *ārā-* 'not to reach'.

◊ EDT 196, VEWT 22, TMN 2, 24, ЭСТЯ 1, 162-164, Stachowski 41. Derived is probably **ārik* 'island; arik, ditch; thicket' id. (VEWT 23, 25, ЭСТЯ 1, 167, 187-188, Лексика 95, 110, Stachowski 37).

‖ KW 14 (Turk.-Mong.). A Western isogloss. Cf. also PTM **arbu-* 'space between two river branches'; Mong. *arba-* 'растопыриваться (о пальцах)'.

✱**arV (~ e-)** to change, sell: Mong. ***aralǯi-**; Turk. ***Ar-**.

PMong. ***aralǯi-** 1 to change, exchange, barter 2 exchange, change (1 менять, обменивать, торговать 2 обмен, торговля): MMong. *aralǯi-* 1 (SH), *āralǯi* 2 (MA 104); WMong. *aralǯi-* 1 (L 48); Kh. *arilǯi-* 1; Bur. *aralža-* 1; Kalm. *arcḷdə-*, *arcḷcə-* 1 (?); Ord. *arilǯi-* 1, *arilǯān* 2; Dag. *aralǯi-*, *allǯi-*,

(Тод. Даг. 120) *aliǯi-*; Dong. *arunǯa-* 1; Bao. *anǯi-*, *anǯə-* 1; S.-Yugh. *arālǯə-*, *arālʒi-* 1; Mongr. *rālǯi-* (*arāʒi-* (SM 10)).

◊ KW 15, MGCD 118, 319.

PTurk. ***Ar-** gift (дар): Karakh. *armaɣan* (MK, Oghuz); Tur. *armaɣan*; Az. *armaɣan*; MTurk. *armaɣan*; Kirgh. *arna-* 'to dedicate, design for'.

◊ EDT 231, 232, VEWT 27.

‖ A Turk.-Mong. isogloss; not quite reliable. Jpn. **úr-* could be a match, but it may also reflect PA **úŕi* q.v.

✱**āŕa** small, scarce; recent: Tung. ***ara-**; Mong. ***araj**; Turk. ***Āŕ**; Jpn. ***àrà-(ta-)**; Kor. ***ārā́i**.

PTung. ***ara-** scarcely (едва): Evk. *aran*; Evn. *arъn*; Man. *arqan*; SMan. *arəqən* (2952); Sol. *arã*.

◊ TMC 1, 48.

PMong. ***araj** scarcely, just a little (едва ли, слегка): MMong. *aran* (SH); WMong. *arai* (L 48); Kh. *araj*; Bur. *araj*; Kalm. *arǟ*; Ord. *arǟ*; Mog. ZM *arei* 'so it is, is it so?' (27-7b); Dag. *arān* (Тод. Даг. 121); S.-Yugh. *arān*; Mongr. *araŋ* (SM 11), cf. *aráaG* 'ruines de ville où il ne reste plus que les murs des maisons detruites' (SM 11).

◊ KW 13, MGCD 116. Mong. > Kirgh. *araŋ*, Oyr. *araj* etc. (ЭСТЯ 1, 167-168), Yak., Dolg. *araj* (Stachowski 36).

PTurk. ***Āŕ** few, a little (немного): OTurk. *az* (Orkh. ПМК, OUygh.); Karakh. *az* (MK); Tur. *az*; Gag. *az*; Az. *az*; Turkm. *āz*; Khal. *ház*; Uzb. *ɔz*; Uygh. *az*; Krm. *az*; Tat. *az, εz*; Bashk. *aδ, äδ*; Kirgh. *az*; Kaz. *az*; KBalk. *az*; KKalp. *az*; Kum. *az*; Nogh. *az*; SUygh. *az*; Khak. *as*; Shr. *as*; Oyr. *as*; Tv. *as*.

◊ EDT 277, VEWT 32, ЭСТЯ 1, 93-94

PJpn. ***àrà-(ta-)** new (новый): OJpn. *arata-*; MJpn. *àtàrà-si*; Tok. *atarashí-*; Kyo. *átáráshì-*; Kag. *atarashí-*.

◊ JLTT 383, 677, 826. The MJ and most modern form present a metathesis *atarasi-* < *arata-si-* (but cf. Yonakuni *àrà-* 'new'); the stem **àràtà* itself is preserved as a nominal and verbal stem (cf. **àràtà-ma-* > Tokyo *aratamé-* 'to renew' etc.).

PKor. ***ārā́i** yesterday, in the past (вчера, в предыдущий день, в прошлом): MKor. *ārǎi*, *ārái*; Mod. *āre* 'day before yesterday'.

◊ Nam 336.

‖ EAS 110, KW 13, Владимирцов 361. Low tone in **àrà-tà-* is probably secondary (a result of some contamination?); cf. Yonaguni (suffixless) *àrà-* < **árá-* 'new'. Despite Doerfer MT 44, TM is hardly borrowed from Mong. (although some forms - Evk., Evn. *arai* - are).

✱**àŕì** thorn, fang: Tung. ***(x)ar- (?)**; Mong. ***ariɣa**; Turk. ***aŕɨg**; Jpn. ***ìrà**.

PTung. ***(x)ar-** 1 shoot, bud; fang 2 tooth of a saw 3 a flower name (1 росток; клык 2 зубец инструмента, 3 назв. цветка (лютик, пострел)): Evk. *argā-wākte* 3 (?); Man. *arGan* 1,2, *arsun* 1; SMan. *arəhən* (625) 2.

◊ TMC 1, 50. Man. *arGan* is most likely < Mong. **araγa(n)*, see Rozycki 20.

PMong. ***ariɣa** 1 molar tooth 2 fang 3 tooth of a chisel etc. (1 коренной зуб 2 клык 3 зубец инструмента): MMong. *ara'a* 2 (SH), *aratai* 'predator' (HY 10), *aral* 2 (IM 432), *ariă*, *nariă* 2 (MA 105, 246); WMong. *araγa* 1 (L 47), *arija*; Kh. *arā* 1, 3; Bur. *arā(n)* 1, 2, 3; Kalm. *arān* 1, 2; Ord. *arā* 1, 3, *araŋGa* 'an extra tooth'; Dag. *arā* 1, 2 (Тод. Даг. 121), 3 (MD 115); Bao. *arə*; S.-Yugh. *arā*; Mongr. *arā* 1 (SM 9), *aranda* 'rênes' (SM 11), *rā* (MGCD).

◊ KW 12, MGCD 114. Cf. WMong. *araga-tan*, *arijatan* (> Bur. *ar'jatan*) 'predator' > Evk. *arātu*, see Poppe 1966, 196. Mong. > Tuva *arā* 'rifling'.

PTurk. ***aŕɨg** fang (клык): OTurk. *azɨγ* (OUygh.); Karakh. *azɨγ* (MK); Tur. *azɨ*; Az. *azɨ*; Turkm. *azɨ*; MTurk. *azu* (Sangl.); Uzb. *ɔziq*; Tat. *azaw*; Bashk. *aδaw*; Kirgh. *azū*; Kaz. *azuw*; KBalk. *azaw*; KKalp. *azuw*; Kum. *azuw*; SUygh. *azɨγ*; Khak. *azɨγ*; Shr. *azɨj*; Oyr. *azu*, *azū*; Tv. *azɨγ*; Chuv. **ora* > Mari *ora-puj* 'id.'; Yak. *ahī*, dial. *ɨhī*.

◊ VEWT 33, ЭСТЯ 1, 96-98, Лексика 229. Turk. > Mong. **aǯuγ* (*ačuγ* in Uygh. script, see Clark 1980, 41).

PJpn. ***ìrà** thorn (шип, колючка): MJpn. *ìrà*; Tok. *ira*.

◊ JLTT 425.

‖ KW 12, Владимирцов 361, EAS 111, Poppe 81, Лексика 229. Despite TMN 2, 55-56, Щербак 1997, 103 Mong. is not < Turk. The TM reflexes are weak: the Evk. form is semantically difficult, while Manchu *arGan* may well be borrowed < Mong.; however, the parallel form *ar-sun* is hard to explain as a loan (no similar form is attested in Mong.).

✱**aŕV** or: Turk. ***aŕu**; Jpn. ***ar-**.

PTurk. ***aŕu** or (или): OTurk. *azu* (OUygh.); Karakh. *azu* (MK); Tv. *azɨ*.

◊ EDT 280.

PJpn. ***ar-** or, perhaps (или, возможно): OJpn. *arupa*, *aruipa*; MJpn. *arufa*, *aruifa*; Tok. *aruiwa*.

◊ JLTT 384.

‖ JOAL 147. An interesting Turkic-Jpn. isogloss.

✱**ase (~ pʿ-)** to catch fire; hot: Mong. ***(h)asa-**; Turk. ***ɨsɨg / *isig**.

PMong. ***(h)asa-** to catch fire (загораться): WMong. *asa-* (L 55); Kh. *asa-*; Bur. *aha-*; Kalm. *as-*.

◊ KW 16.

PTurk. ***ɨsɨg / *isig** 1 hot 2 warm (1 горячий 2 теплый): OTurk. *isig* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *isig* 1 (MK, KB); Tur. *sɨǯak* 1; Az. *isti* 2; Turkm. *ɨssɨ* 1; Sal. *hɨssɨ* 2; Khal. *hissī*, *hisk* 1; MTurk. *isti* 2 (Pav. C.), *ɨsɨγ* (Бор. Бад., Abush.); Uygh. *issiq* 1; Krm. *issi* 1, 2 (HK), *sɨǯaq* 2 (K), *ɨsɨ-t-* (K) 'to warm'; Tat. *esse* 1; Kirgh. *ɨsɨq* 1, *ɨsɨ* 'heat, hot wind'; Kaz. *ɨssɨ* 1; KKalp.

ɨssɨ 1; Nogh. *issi* 1; Khak. *əzəg* 1; Oyr. *izü* 1; Tv. *iziγ* 1; Tof. *iʿsiγ* 1; Chuv. *ъ*^{w}*žъ*^{w} 2; Yak. *itī*, *ičiges* (< **isi-geč*) 2; Dolg. *itī*, *ičiges* 2.

◊ Derived from **ɨsɨ-* / **isi-* 'to be hot'. See VEWT 173-4, TMN 2,182, EDT 246, ЭСТЯ 1, 668-671, Лексика 19-20, Stachowski 123, 130.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 288. A Turk.-Mong. isogloss; cf. (?) Kor. (SKE 217) *s:a-da* 'to be hot'; *s:ə-da* 'to kindle (fire)' (the forms are nowhere to be found except SKE).

✱**ätV** horse: Tung. ***abdu-**; Mong. ***aduɣu-**; Turk. ***ät**.

PTung. ***abdu-** 1 cattle, herd 2 household, property 3 cloth, fabric (1 скот, стадо 2 домашнее хозяйство, имущество 3 ткань): Evk. *abdu* 1, 2; Evn. *abdụ* 2, 3; Neg. *abdụn* 1; Man. *adu* 3; SMan. *adun* 'herd, flock' (2319); Jurch. *ad-hu* (551) 3; Ork. *abdụ* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 5-6. Man. *adun* 'herd' is probably < Mong. (see Новикова 1972, 107).

PMong. ***aduɣu-** 1 horse(s), cattle 2 drove, herd 3 to herd (1 лошадь, домашнее животное 2 табун лошадей 3 пасти): MMong. *adusun* 1, *adu'u(n)* 2 (SH), *adu'uči* 'herdsman' (HY 30), *adu(w)sun*, *adasun* 1 (MA 95, 96), *adon*, *adoson* 1 (IM 432); WMong. *aduγusu* 1, *aduγu* 2, *aduγula-* 3; Kh. *adūs* 1, *adūn* 1, 2, *adūla-* 3; Bur. *adūha(n)*, *adaha(n)*, *adūn* 1, 2, *adūl-* 3; Kalm. *adūsṇ* 1, *adūn* 2; Ord. *adaGus(u)* 1, *adū* 2; Dag. *adōsa* 1, *adō* 2 (Тод. Даг. 118, MGCD, MD 111), *adōse* 'animal' (MD 111); Dong. *asun* 1, *adula-* 3 (Тод. Дн. 110); Bao. *asoŋ* 1, *adal-* 3 (Тод. Бн. 133), *adələ-* 3 (MGCD); Mongr. *āsə* (SM 15) 1, *dulā-* (SM 64) 3.

◊ KW 2, MGCD 94. Mong. > Chag. *adun*, see TMN 119; > Evk. *aduγun* etc., see Poppe 1966, 189, 195, Doerfer MT 98-99, Rozycki 11.

PTurk. ***ät** horse (лошадь): OTurk. *at* (Orkh., Yen., OUygh.); Karakh. *at* (MK, KB); Tur. *at*; Gag. *at*; Az. *at*; Turkm. *at*; Sal. *at, ac*; Khal. *hat*; MTurk. *at*; Uzb. *ɔt*; Uygh. *at*; Krm. *at*; Tat. *at*; Bashk. *at*; Kirgh. *at*; Kaz. *at*; KBalk. *at*; KKalp. *at*; Kum. *at*; Nogh. *at*; SUygh. *a't*; Khak. *at*; Shr. *at*; Oyr. *at*; Tv. *a't*; Chuv. *ut*; Yak. *at*; Dolg. *at*.

◊ EDT 23, VEWT 30, ЭСТЯ 1, 197-198, TMN 2, 4-5, Лексика 441, Ашм. III, 316-320, Stachowski 38.

‖ Новикова 1972, 108, АПиПЯЯ 15, Doerfer MT 99. A Western isogloss. Cf. also PT **adgɨr* (Лексика 442, ЭСТЯ 1, 107-108, Stachowski 40), Mong. *aǯirga* 'stallion', Dag. *adirag*, *adirga*, S.-Yugh. *aǯirγa*, Mongor *aǯirGa* (see KW 2, Владимирцов 397, VEWT 6; TMN 2, 186-187, Щербак 1997, 94: Turk. > Mong.; Mong. > Evk. *aǯirga* etc., see Poppe 1966, 192, Doerfer MT 75, MKor. *ačirkəi măr*, see Lee 1958, 119). It is possible to reconstruct **atbV* or **abtV*.

✱**atʿi** son, young: Mong. ***ači**; Turk. ***Atɨ**; Jpn. ***itua**; Kor. ***àtǎr**.

PMong. ***ači** grandson, junior nephew (внук, младший племянник): MMong. *ači* (HY 29) 'grandchild (male, by father)', *hači* 'Enkel'

(HYt); WMong. *ači* (L 8); Kh. *ač*; Bur. *aša*; Kalm. *ačə*; Ord. *ači*; Dong. *hačə* (Тод. Дн. 140), *hačɨ* (MGCD); Mongr. *ačі sunʒə* (SM 15), *ači* (MGCD).

◊ KW 18, MGCD 125. Dong. h-, as well as the variation 0-/h- in HY is secondary. Mong. > Oyr. *ačɨ*; Evk. dial. *ači* (TMC 1, 59).

PTurk. ***Atɨ*** (junior) nephew, grandson ((младший) племянник, внук): OTurk. *atɨ* (Orkh.); Uygh. dial. Lobn. *ataj-ɨm* 'oh, my child!'; SUygh. *atɨ*; Khak. *adaj* 'dog' (< *'cub').

◊ VEWT 31, EDT 40, ЭСТЯ 1, 79.

PJpn. ***itua** 1 young, lovable 2 cousin (1 юный, милый 2 племянник): OJpn. *itwo-kwo* 2, *it(w)ok(j)e-na-* 'young, small'; MJpn. *ito*, *ito-si-* 1, *itó-ko* 2; Tok. *ito-shí-* 1, *itóko* 2; Kyo. *ítóshì-* 1, *ítòkò* 2; Kag. *itóshi-* 1, *itokó* 2.

◊ JLTT 428. Accent correspondences are unclear.

PKor. ***àtǎr** son (сын): MKor. *àtǎr*; Mod. *adɨl*.

◊ Nam 335, KED 1069.

‖ Владимирцов 324, АПиПЯЯ 287.

✱**aʒo** a k. of salmon: Tung. ***aʒi-n***; Mong. ***(h)iʒe***; Jpn. ***àjû***.

PTung. ***aʒi-n*** a k. of salmon (калуга): Evk. *aʒin*; Neg. *aʒiṇ*; Man. *aʒin*; Ul. *aʒi(n)*; Ork. *aʒi(n)*; Nan. *aʒī*; Orch. *aʒi(n)*; Ud. *aʒi(n)*.

◊ TMC 1, 16.

PMong. ***(h)iʒe*** a small fish, coming from the ocean into rivers (небольшая рыба, приплывающая из океана в реки): WMong. *iʒe* (MXTTT); Kh. *iʒ*.

PJpn. ***àjû*** trout (форель): OJpn. *aju*; MJpn. *àjú*; Tok. *áyu*; Kyo. *àyû*; Kag. *ayú*.

◊ JLTT 388.

‖ The root denotes some salmon-like fish; the meaning of the Mong. form is unfortunately not very well defined.

✱**ȁʒV** younger relative: Tung. ***āʒi-***; Mong. ***aʒi-n***.

PTung. ***āʒi-*** 1 first child 2 small child 3 the most (1 первенец 2 маленький ребенок 3 самый, наиболее): Evn. *āʒiṇ* 1; Man. *aʒi-ge* 2, *aʒi* 1; SMan. *aʒigə* 2 (2403); Nan. *aʒī* 3, *aʒi-go-* 'родить первенца'; Ud. *aʒiga* 'girl'.

◊ TMC 1, 16-17, 55, Он. 29.

PMong. ***(h)aʒi-n*** wife of younger brother (as related to the wife of elder brother) (жена младшего брата (по отношению к жене старшего брата)): WMong. *aʒin* (L 62); Kh. *aʒin*; Ord. *aʒin*.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss; one of numerous common Altaic kinship "nursery" words.

B

✱**bā́** to bind: Tung. ***ba-**; Turk. ***b(i)ā-**; Jpn. ***bə́**; Kor. ***pa**.

PTung. ***ba-** 1 to propose for marriage 2 proposed for marriage since childhood (1 сватать 2 сосватанные с малолетства): Evk. *ba-* 1; Man. *ba-čixi* 2.

◊ TMC 1,60.

PTurk. ***b(i)ā-** 1 to bind 2 to fasten 3 bundle 4 bond, rope (1 связывать 2 укреплять 3 связка 4 веревка): OTurk. *ba-* 1, 2, *ba-γ* 3, 4, 'confederation' (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *ba-* 1, 2, *ba-γ* 3, 4 (MK, KB, At.); Tur. *ba-γ* 3, 4, *ba-γ-la-* 1,2; Gag. *bā-la-* (< **bag-la-*) 1; Az. *baɣ* 3, 4; Turkm. *bāG* 4; Sal. *baχ* 4; Khal. *vā-* 1, *baɣ* 4 (*baɣ* m.b. < Ogh.); MTurk. *baɣ* 4; Uzb. *bɔɣ* 3, 4; Uygh. *baɣ* 3, 4; Krm. *baɣ* 3, 4; Tat. *baw* 3, 4, *bɛj* 4; Bashk. *baw* 4, *bäj* 4; Kirgh. bō 3, 4; Kaz. *baw* 3, 4; KBalk. *baw* 4; KKalp. *baw* 3, 4; Kum. *baw* 3, 4; Nogh. *baw* 4; SUygh. *paɣ* 4; Khak. (dial.) *paɣ* (Kyz.) 4; Shr. *paɣ* (R) 4; Oyr. *bū* 4; Tv. *baɣ-la-* 1; Tof. Baɣ 4; Chuv. *pъjav* 4; Yak. *bā-j-* 1, 2, *bıa* 4; Dolg. *bā-j-* 1, *bıa* 4.

◊ EDT 292, 310, ЭСТЯ 2, 13-17, Федотов 1, 411, VEWT 53 (**bā, deriv.* **bā-g*), Stachowski 55, 69. Turk. **bāg* > Mong. *baɣ* (KW 27, TMN 2, 254), *baɣča* (> Man. *baqsan* etc., see Doerfer MT 142). Yak. has a standard verbal stem modifier (-j-).

PJpn. ***bə́** rope (веревка): OJpn. wo; MJpn. *wó*; Tok. *wó*; Kyo. *wŏ*; Kag. *wó*.

◊ JLTT 503. The Tokyo accent is aberrant (**wò* would be expected), but Kyoto, Kagoshima and the RJ gloss (*wó*) point to **bó*.

PKor. ***pa** rope, string (веревка): Mod. *pa*.

◊ KED 701.

‖ EAS 57, SKE 179, Martin 228, ОСНЯ 1, 172, АПиПЯЯ 68. One of the few common Altaic monosyllabic roots. Mong. **baɣu-* 'to bind' is probably < Turk. (Щербак 1997, 103). Doerfer's (TMN 2, 254) criticism is unacceptable ("unklar, da kor. Nominalstamm, tü. Verbalstamm").

✱**bā́čʿV (~ *p-, -č-)** sister: Mong. ***bača-gan**; Turk. ***bāča-**.

PMong. ***bača-gan** girl (девушка): Kh. *bacgan*; Bur. *basagan*.

◊ Будаев 142, 245, Аникин 124 (> Russ. Siber. *bacagan* 'girl').

PTurk. ***bāča** 1 elder sister 2 husbands of sisters (1 старшая сестра 2 мужья сестер между собой (свояки)): OTurk. *bača* (OUygh., late - Lig. VSOu) 2; Karakh. *bažа-naq* 2 (IM); Tur. *bažı* 1, *bažanak* 2; Gag. *bažanaq* 2; Az. *bažı* 1, *bažanaG* 2; Turkm. *bažı* 1, *bāža* 2; Sal. *pažа* 2 (ССЯ);

MTurk. *baǯi* 1 (R), *bača* 2 (MA, Pav. C.), *baǯanaq* 2 (Pav. C., AH); Uzb. *bɔǯa* 2; Uygh. *baǯa* 2; Tat. *paca* (KCTT) 2; Kum. *baǯiw* 1; Khak. *paǯa* 2, *piǯe* 1; Oyr. *baḋa* 2, 'wives of brothers'; Tv. *baǯa* 2; Tof. *baǯa* 2; Chuv. *poźana* 2.

◊ VEWT 54, TMN 2, 682, ЭСТЯ 2, 24, 26-27, Лексика 310, Егоров 168, Ашм. X, 33, Федотов 1, 453. Turk. > WMong. *baǯa*, Kalm. *baz*, Khalkha *baʒ*, Bur. *baz*, Ord. *baǯa* 'brother-in-law', whence Kirgh., KBalk., Kum., Yak. *baǯa*, Evk. *baǯa*, Kaz., KKalp., Nogh., Bashk. *baža*. The Khak., Oyr. and Tuva forms may also be < Mong. Cf. also ORuss. печенег.

‖ A Turk.-Mong. isogloss. Manchu *baša* 'wife's younger sister' is isolated and most probably < Mong. (see TMC 78, Rozycki 26).

✸**bȁdì** face, colour: Tung. ***bāda**; Turk. ***bEd-le**; Jpn. ***pítápi (/ *pìtàpi)**.

PTung. ***bāda** 1 face 2 shape, form, colour (1 лицо 2 вид, форма, цвет): Evk. *bāde* 1; Evn. *bād* 1, 2; Nan. *bādo* 'opposite to', *bādo-bādo* 'face to face'.

◊ TMC 1, 63, Он. 56.

PTurk. ***bEd-le (?)** such, similar, so (такой, подобный, таким образом): Karakh. *böjle* (Tefs.); Tur. *böjle*, (dial.) *bele*; (dial.) *bile-m* 'myself' etc.; Az. *bejlä*, *belä*, dial. *bilä-m* 'myself' etc.; Turkm. *bejle*; Khal. *bilä-m*, *bilä-si*, *bilä-miz* 'myself, himself, ourselves' etc. (< Az.); MTurk. *bejle*, *böjle* (Pav. C.); Oyr. *bejde* (Kumd.).

◊ ЭСТЯ 2, 107-108. Cf. perhaps also Yak. *bet-tex* (Dolg. *bettek*) 'here, closely', Yak., Dolg. *beterē* 'this, nearest side' (although it may go back to **bět* 'face'; derivation < **be-rü* 'this side' in ЭСТЯ 2, 124, followed by Stachowski 59, is hardly plausible). The sometimes proposed explanation as **bu ile*, i.e. "together with it" or "by means of it" is not quite acceptable for semantic reasons. As for the Oghuz variants with a labialized vowels, they may have an assimilative origin. But on the whole the attribution of the Turkic form is still dubious (although the semantic derivation "similar, such as" < "face, looks" seems to be quite common in Altaic).

PJpn. ***pítápi (/ *pìtàpi)** forehead (лоб): OJpn. *p(j)itap(j)i*; MJpn. *fítáfi* (/ *fìtàfi*); Tok. *hìtai*; Kyo. *hìtàí*; Kag. *hitái*.

◊ JLTT 410.

‖ Contaminations were possible: cf. **peda, *páda.*

✸**bǎdo** a k. of bird (quail, dun-bird): Tung. ***badara**; Mong. ***bödüne**; Turk. ***budur-**.

PTung. ***badara** dun-bird (нырок, крохаль): Evk. *badara*.

◊ TMC 1, 63. Attested only in Evk., but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***bödüne** quail (перепелка): MMong. *bodena* (HY 14), *būdene* (LH); WMong. *bödüne*; Kh. *bödnö*; Bur. *büdene*; Kalm. *bödnə*; Ord. *bödönö*; Mongr. *bodono* (SM 26), *puduri* (SM 305).

◊ KW 54. Mong. > Chag. *büdänä*, *bödänä* etc. (ЭСТЯ 2, 101-102; TMN 1, 218, Lig. VMI 21, Щербак 1997, 201), Chuv. *putene* (Róna-Tas 1971-1972). One should also mention WMong. *badana*, Khalkha *badna* 'перепел немой' (БАМРС 1, 213).

PTurk. ***budur-** quail (перепелка): Karakh. *budursɨn* (MK); *bujurčun*, *bujurčɨn* (AH); Khak. (*pudurčun*, *püdürčün*); Chuv. *pъʷrǯъgan* 'wagtail'.

◊ EDT 309, Лексика 173, ЭСТЯ 2, 305-306. The root was strongly influenced by **bɨldur-* (q.v. sub **pi̯ŏ́ltorV*); this explains the Khak. form (one would expect *puzur-*).

‖ Лексика 174. A Western isogloss. Mong. **bödüne* is a result of assimilation < **bedüne*.

✸**bagu** white, grey: Tung. ***bag-**; Mong. ***buɣurul**; Kor. ***pùhɨ́i-**.

PTung. ***bag-** 1 white 2 clear (of sky, weather) (1 белый 2 ясный (о небе, погоде)): Evk. *bagda-ma*, -rin 1, *baɣurin* 2; Evn. *bāwụn*, *bāị* 2; Neg. *bagdajīn* 1; Sol. *bagdarin*, *bogdarin* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 62.

PMong. ***buɣurul** grey (of hair etc.) (серый, седой): MMong. *burul* (MA 127); WMong. *buɣurul* (L 131); Kh. *būral*; Bur. *būral*; Kalm. *būrəl*; Ord. *būral*; Dag. *bōral*, *bōlal* (Тод. Даг. 127), *bōrol*; S.-Yugh. *būrol*; Mongr. *bōrol*.

◊ KW 65, MGCD 164. Mong. > Turk. *buɣurla*, Chuv. *pъʷvъrla* id.; Evk. *burul* etc. (see Doerfer MT 99); > Man. *burulu* (*morin*), MKor. *puru* (*măr*) 'a horse of red and white coat' (see Lee 1958, 119).

PKor. ***pùhɨ́i-** grey, milky white (серый, молочно-белый): MKor. *pùhɨ́i-*; Mod. *pūjə-* [*pūjəh-*], *pōja-* [*pōjah-*].

◊ Nam 267, KED 792, 818.

‖ Note Karakh. (MK, hap. leg.) *bögrül* 'a horse or sheep with white flanks' (EDT 328-329) - although the vocalism in this form is not clear.

✸**bắja** happiness, joy: Tung. ***baj-li**; Mong. ***bajar**; Turk. ***bAj-ra-m/k, bAj-ga**; Jpn. ***bái-m-**.

PTung. ***baj-li** favour, mercy (благосклонность, милость): Man. *bajli*.

◊ TMC 1, 66. Attested only in Manchu, but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***baja-** 1 joy, feast 2 to be happy, enjoy (1 радость, праздник 2 быть счастливым, радоваться): MMong. *bajas-* (HY 36, SH) 2, *bājas* (IM) 1, *bajas-* (MA) 2; WMong. *bajar* 1, *bajas-* 2 (L 77); Kh. *bajar* 1, *bajas-* 2; Bur. *bajarla-* 2; Kalm. *bajṛ* 1; Ord. *bajas-* 2; Dag. *bajir* 1, *bais(a)-* 2 (Тод. Даг. 123), *baire* 1, *baise-* 2 (MD 117, 118); Dong. *bajasu* 1, *bajasu-* 2; Bao. *bese-* 2; S.-Yugh. *bajar* 1; Mongr. *bēsə-* (SM 25) 2, *bajar* 1.

◊ KW 29, MGCD 139.

PTurk. ***bAj-ra-m/k, bAj-ga** 1 feast 2 horse-race 3 a prize in horse-race (1 праздник 2 скачки 3 приз за победу в скачках): Karakh. *baδram* (MK), *bajram* (MK Oghuz) 1; Tur. *bajram* 1; Gag. *bajram* 1; Az. *bajram* 1; Turkm. *bajram* 1, *bajraq* 3; MTurk. *bajram* (Бор. Бад.) 1, *bajɣa* 1 (P. de C.); Uzb. *bajram* 1, *pajgä* (R) 3, *bajraq* (dial., Khorazm) 3; Uygh. *bajram* 1, (dial.- Lobn.) *bajɣa* 1; Krm. *bajram* 1; Tat. *bɛjrɛm* 1, *bɛjgi* 2;

Bashk. *bajram* 1, *bäjgi* 2, 3; Kirgh. *majram* 1, *bajge* 2, 3; Kaz. *mäjram* 1, *bäjge* 2, 3, (dial.) *bajraq* 3; KBalk. *bajram* 1; KKalp. *bajram* 1, *bäjge* 2, 3, *bajraq* 3; Kum. *bajram* 1; Nogh. *bajram* 1; Khak. *paj* 1 (Sag.), *pajram* 1; Shr. *bajram* 1, *pajɣa* 1 (R); Oyr. *bajram* 1.

◊ VEWT 54, 56, ЭСТЯ 2, 32, 33-34 (erroneously under **baðrak* 'flag'), 35-36, TMN 2, 384-385. Here one should reconstruct *-j- (not *-ð-), dissimilated before -r- according to Mudrak's rule. Formally **baj-ra-m* and **baj-ra-k* are deverbatives from a hypothetical **baj-ra-* 'to celebrate'; **baj-ga* is a denominative with a usual East.-Kypch. suffix. Menges' (1933, 101) hypothesis of *bajga* < Russ. is quite unlikely (cf. the areal and the Chag. fixation). A rather popular theory of Iranian origin is also excluded: the only acceptable etymology of Pers. *bajram* is < Turkic (see also ЭСТЯ). Because of semantics, hardly connected with Mong. *baj* 'sign, goal, road sign'. Turk. > Russ. Siber. *bajgá* (Аникин 109).

PJpn. ***bái-m-** to smile (улыбаться): OJpn. *wem-*; MJpn. *wém-*; Tok. *em-*.

◊ Cf. also OJ *we-rak-* 'to laugh with joy' (another derivative of the same root). See JLTT 681.

‖ Turk. **bAj-ra-* = Mong. **bajar* = OJ *we-ra-* < PA **bǎ́ja-rV-* (it is interesting to note the double suffixation in PT **bAj-ra-k* = OJ *we-ra-k-*).

✱baja (~ -i̯a-) place, to be located: Tung. ***bia, -gun**; Mong. ***baji-**.

PTung. ***bia, -gun** 1 place (in a dwelling) 2 rookery, sealery 3 earth 4 estate 5 servants (1 место (в жилище) 2 лежбище морского зверя 3 земля 4 поместье 5 слуги): Evk. *bê* 1; Evn. *bǟ* 2; Man. *boiχon*, *boiGon* 3, 4; SMan. *ɓohən*, *ɓohun* 3 (2112); Jurch. *boj-hu* (276) 5, *boŋ-xoŋ* 3; Ork. *bê* 1; Ud. *beä* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 78, 89. Man. > Sol. *boigō* 'estate'.

PMong. ***baji-** to stand, stay, be located (стоять, стать, находиться): MMong. *bai'ji-* (SH), *bai'i-* (HY 35), *bāi-*, *bai-* (IM), *bai-* (MA); WMong. *baji-* (L 72); Kh. *baj-*; Bur. *baj*; Kalm. *bǟ-*; Ord. *bǟ-*; Mog. *bɛi-*; ZM *ba'i-* (40-10); Dag. *bai-* (Тод. Даг. 122, MD 117); Dong. *bai-*, *vai-*; Bao. *bei-*, *vi-*; (MGCD) *va-*; S.-Yugh. *bai-*; Mongr. *bə̄-*, *wə̄-* (SM 23), (MGCD 138) *wai-*, *ba-ŋ* (Minghe).

◊ KW 39-40, MGCD 138.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss (cf. also notes under **bi̯ogo*).

✱bǎjV rock: Tung. ***baj-**; Mong. ***baji-ča**; Turk. ***bAjɨr**.

PTung. ***baj-** rock, cliff (скала): Evk. *bajtu*.

◊ TMC 1, 66. Attested only in Evk., but hardly borrowed from Mong.

PMong. ***baji-ča** rock (скала): WMong. *bajiča* (L 73); Kh. *bajc*; Bur. *bajsa*.

◊ Mong. > Evk. *bajča* (TMC 1, 66), Russ. Siber. *bajca,* (Bur. >) *bajsanistij* (Аникин 110-111).

PTurk. ***bAjɨr** 1 hill, 2 foot-hill 3 hummock (1 холм 2 подножье горы 3 пригорок): Tur. *bajɨr* 1; Gag. *bajɨr* 'mountain'; Turkm. *bajɨr* 1; Krm. *bajɨr* 1; Khak. *pār* 2; Yak. *bɨar* 3.

◊ ЭСТЯ 2, 37-38, VEWT 57. The root should be distinguished from **bāgɨr* 'liver' (although there may occur secondary mergers, cf. Tat. *bawur* 'slope'). It has no relationship (suggested in ЭСТЯ) to Mong. *bajir* 'place' (derived from *baji-* 'to be' and borrowed in Uzb. *bajir* 'accustomed to local conditions', Kirgh. *bajɨr* 'attachment to a place', Nogh. *bajɨr* 'proper'); intermediate (not quite clear) cases are Chag. *bajɨr* 'plain, desert' (Pav. C.), Az. *bajɨr* 'the external part of the inhabited area as opposed to the internal part', Khal. *bajir* 'uncultivated (place)'.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**bǎka** to look, watch: Tung. ***baKa-**; Turk. ***bạk-**; Jpn. ***bàkàr-**; Kor. ***pò-**.

PTung. ***baKa-** to find, obtain (находить): Evk. *baka-*; Evn. *baq-*; Neg. *baxa-*; Man. *baχa-*; SMan. *bahə-* (1562); Jurch. *baxa-biar* 'obtain' (366); Ul. *bā-*; Ork. *bā-*; Nan. *bā-*; Orch. *bā-*; Ud. *baʿ-* (Корм. 210); Sol. *baxa-*.

◊ TMC 1, 66-67.

PTurk. ***bạk-** to look, watch (смотреть): Karakh. *baq-* (MK, KB); Tur. *bak-*; Gag. *baq-*; Az. *bax-*; Turkm. *baq-*; Sal. *pax-, vax-* (ССЯ 440, 542); MTurk. *baq-* (Abush.); Uzb. *bɔq-*; Uygh. *baq-*; Krm. *baq-*; Tat. *baq-*; Bashk. *baq-*; Kirgh. *baq-* 'to look after'; Kaz. *baq-* 'to look after'; KBalk. *baq-*; KKalp. *baq-* 'to look after'; Kum. *baq-*; Nogh. *baq-* 'to graze'; Khak. pax-; Oyr. *baq-*; Tv. *baq-qɨ-la-* 'to peek, to arise'; Tof. *ba'k-*; Chuv. *pъʷx-*; Yak. *bɨk-* 'to appear, to arise'; Dolg. *bɨk-* 'to look out'.

◊ EDT 311, VEWT 58, ЭСТЯ 2, 38-40, Мудрак 99, Stachowski 70.

PJpn. ***bàkàr-** to understand (понимать): OJpn. *wakar-*; MJpn. *wàkàr-*; Tok. *wakár-*; Kyo. *wákár-*; Kag. *wàkàr-*.

◊ JLTT 782.

PKor. ***pò-** to see (видеть): MKor. *pò-*; Mod. *po-*.

◊ Nam 259, KED 788.

‖ The root should be distinguished from **pə́kʿo* q.v. The etymology in SKE 204, linking the Kor. form with the Jpn. and TM accusative marker, is hardly credible. Kor. has a "verbal" low tone.

✱**bǎká (~ -o)** to divide: Tung. ***baK-**; Jpn. ***bàká-**.

PTung. ***baK-** 1 separate 2 to break, divide bread (1 отдельный 2 разламывать хлеб): Evk. *bakla* 1; Evn. *bēkъl* 1; Nan. *baqta-* 2 (dial.).

◊ TMC 1, 67. Cf. also Dolg. (< Evk.?) *baka* 'scraper to separate flesh from skin', *bakalā-* 'to separate flesh from skin' (Stachowski 51).

PJpn. ***bàká-** to divide (делить): OJpn. *waka-*; MJpn. *wàka-*; Tok. *waké-*; Kyo. *wàkè-*; Kag. *wàkè-*.

◊ JLTT 783.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss.

✱**báku (~ -a)** pole, pillar: Tung. ***baksa**; Mong. ***bagana**; Turk. ***bakna (~ -g-)**; Kor. ***pò**.

PTung. ***baksa** prop, central pole (подпорка, центральный столб): Evk. *baksa*; Ul. *baqsa*; Nan. *baqsa*.

◊ TMC 1, 67.

PMong. ***bagana** central pole (центральный столб, колонна): WMong. *baγana* (L 68); Kh. *bagana*; Bur. *bagana*; Kalm. *baxənə*; Ord. *baGana* 'жердь для понукания животных'; Dag. *bagas*.

◊ KW 29, MGCD 132. Mong. > Chag. *bakan* etc., see ibid., VEWT 58, ЭСТЯ 2, 42-43; > Yak., Dolg. *bagana* (Stachowski 50); > Man. *baxana*, see Doerfer MT 101, Rozycki 22; Tu >. Russ. *bagan* (Аникин 106).

PTurk. ***bakna (~ -g-)** rung of a ladder, step of a staircase (ступенька лестницы): Karakh. *baγna* (MK).

◊ EDT 316.

PKor. ***pò** beam, cross-beam (балка): MKor. *pò*; Mod. *po, tɨl-bo*.

◊ Nam 259, KED 786.

‖ KW 29, Doerfer MT 101. The Turkic and Mong. words are very similar, but quite different semantically, so one can hardly suppose a loan.

✱**bāku (~ -kʿ-)** small cattle: Mong. ***bog**; Turk. ***bākana**.

PMong. ***bog** small cattle, sheep and goats (мелкий скот, овцы и козы): WMong. *boγ* (L 110); Kh. *bog*; Kalm. *bogə* (KPC).

PTurk. ***bākana** 1 sheep skin 2 lamb 3 baby (1 овечья шкура 2 ягненок 3 ребенок): Tur. *baγan* 1, (dial.) *baγalak*, *baγnak* 1, *baγana* 3; Az. *baγana* 1; Turkm. *baγana* 1; MTurk. *baγana* 1 (R); Uzb. *baγana* 1 (Khor.); Kirgh. *baγlan*, *baγɨlan* 'lamb that has stopped suckling', *baγɨldɨr* 'wild lamb, 1-year-old mountain goat'; Kaz. *baγana* 2; KKalp. *baγlan* 'a well-fed early lamb'.

◊ VEWT 55, Лексика 390. The Kypchak form *baγlan* 'lamb' has hardly anything to do with Tat., Kaz. *baqlan* 'cormorant' (despite TMN 2, 298, Аникин 112).

‖ A Turk.-Mong. isogloss. Some Turkic forms meaning 'lamb, baby' may actually also continue PA **bèka* q.v. Cf. also Evk. (Titov) *baxana* 'he-goat' (< unattested Yak.?).

✱**bǎkV** knucklebone: Tung. ***baK-**; Mong. ***bagul- / *bugul-**; Turk. ***bakań**.

PTung. ***baK-** 1 muscles of thigh 2 knucklebone (of a horse); fetlock (1 мышцы бедра 2 бабки (лошади); щетки): Man. *baqalažɨ* 2; Nan. *bagdixị̄* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 62, 67.

PMong. ***bagul- / *bugul-** shoulder, shoulder bone (плечо, плечевая кость): WMong. *buγulaγ*, *buγuluγ* (L 131); Kh. *bugalag*; Bur. *bagalsag*, *bagansag* 'arm muscles'; Kalm. *baγltsəG* 'wrist joint; wrist'; Dag. *boGolǯār* 'wrist, carpus' (Поп. Даг. 71); Mongr. *baGūr* (SM 19: *baGụ̄r*) 'bracelet'; *baGụ̄r yäse* 'metacarpus', *baGarǯiaG* 'tibia', *narin baGarǯiaG* 'radius'.

◊ KW 28, Дыбо 227. On Turkic loans see KW 28.

PTurk. ***bakań** 1 hoof 2 knucklebone 3 joints in animals' feet (1 копыто 2 бабка 3 суставы в ногах животных): OTurk. *baqanaq* 1

(OUygh.); Karakh. *baqanaq*, *baqajaq* 1 (MK); Tur. *bakanak*, *bakɨnak* 1, 2 (dial.); Az. *baɣanaɣ*, *baɣančaɣ* 3 (dial.); Uygh. *baqalčäq* 'shinbone'; Tat. *bɛkɛl* 2; Bashk. *bäqäl* 3; Kirgh. *baqaj* 3; Kaz. *baqaj* 3; Nogh. *baqaj* 3; Khak. *paɣajax*, *maxajax* 2; Tof. *mahnɨq* ʿmetatarsus' (ФиЛ 205).

◊ VEWT 58, EDT 316-317, ЭСТЯ 2, 43-44, Дыбо 310, Лексика 286-287.

‖ Дыбо 310; Лексика 287. A Western isogloss.

✱**bȁkʿa (~ -k-)** to slide, sweep: Tung. ***bāKa- / *bāKu-**; Jpn. ***pàk-**.

PTung. ***bāKa- / *bāKu-** to slide (скользить, соскальзывать): Evk. *bākerō-*; Evn. *baqъrkịn-*; Neg. *baxụkịn-*; Ul. *baụrsụ-*; Ork. *baụr-*.

◊ TMC 1, 68.

PJpn. ***pàk-** to sweep (мести, подметать): OJpn. *pak-*; MJpn. *fàk-*; Tok. *hák-*; Kyo. *hák-*; Kag. *hàk-*.

◊ JLTT 684.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss.

✱**bȁkʿù** a sharp instrument: Tung. ***bāgba**; Mong. ***baki**; Turk. ***bokursɨ**; Jpn. ***pukusi**.

PTung. ***bāgba** 1 stake, bar, spear 2 to delve with a stake, spear 3 to hit (with a stake, stick) (1 пешня, лом, копье 2 долбить пешней, копьем 3 бить (палкой или другим твердым предметом)): Evn. *baɣъq-* 3; Neg. *bābga* 1; Man. *bo-* 2, *bon* 1; Ul. *baGba* 1; Ork. *bābGa ~ bāGba* 1; Nan. *baGba* 1; Ud. *bagba-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 61-62.

PMong. ***baki** tongs (щипцы): WMong. *baki*; Kh. *baǵ*; Bur. *baxinsag* 'багор'; Kalm. *bakə*.

◊ KW 29.

PTurk. ***bokursɨ** wooden plough, ploughshare (деревянный плуг, соха): OTurk. *boqursɨ* (OUygh: YB); Karakh. *boqursɨ* (MK); Uygh. *boqusa*, *buqusa* (Jarr.); Kirgh. *būrsun*.

◊ EDT 319. Voicing *-k- > -g- > -0- in Kirgh. is unclear. Molnar's (Molnár 2001) etymology < Sanskr. *vi-karṣati* presupposes an unattested derivative and is generally quite dubious.

PJpn. ***pukusi** digging stick (палка-копалка): OJpn. *pukusi*.

◊ JLTT 417.

‖ PT **bokursɨ* probably < **bakursɨ* (with a vowel narrowing in the first syllable of a trisyllabic word); PTM **bāgba* < **bāk-ba* through assimilation. Note a remarkable similarity of the Turkic and Japanese derivation. Cf. other similar roots: **pʿi̯ùjge*, **pokʿe*, **pʿȕge*, **pʿago*.

✱**bāla** child, young: Tung. ***baldi-**; Mong. ***balčir**; Turk. ***bāla, *bāldɨŕ**; Jpn. ***bàràpa(i)**.

PTung. ***baldi-** to bear, be born (рождать(ся)): Evk. *baldi-*; Evn. *baldъ-*; Neg. *baldị-*; Man. *banǯi-*; SMan. *banǯi-*, *banǯə-* (694, 2146); Jurch.

boldi-xaj (388); Ul. *baldị-*; Ork. *balǯị-*; Nan. *balǯị-*; Orch. *bāgdi-*; Ud. *bagdi-*; Sol. *baldi-*.

◊ TMC 1, 69-70. Man. *banǯibu-* 'to compile, write' > Dag. *banǯibū-* (Тод. Даг. 124). Cf. also Orok *balaŋga* 'young of seal' (ibid.) - perhaps preserving the original root without the dental suffix.

PMong. ***balčir** very young, infant (малолетний): WMong. *balčir* (L 80); Kh. *balčir*; Bur. *balšar*; Kalm. *balčṛ*.

◊ KW 32. Cf. also S.-Yugh. *bala* 'egg' - an isolated form and hardly archaic (< Turk. *bala* 'child'?).

PTurk. ***bāla, *bāl-dɨɨ́, *bāla-pan** 1 young animal, nestling, 2 child 3 a man's wife's younger sister 4 younger relative (1 молодое животное, птенец, 2 ребенок 3 младшая сестра жены 4 младший родственник): OTurk. *baldɨz* (OUygh.) 3; Karakh. *bala* 1 (MK), *baldɨz* 3 (MK); *baldɨr* 'step-son, step-daughter' (MK); Tur. *bala* 1, 2, *baldɨz* 3, *balaban* 'falcon' (dial.); Gag. *baldɨsqa* 3; Az. *bala*, *balaG* 1, 2, *baldɨz* 3; Turkm. *bāla* 1, 2, *bāldɨz* 3; Sal. *bala* 1, 2; Khal. *bala* 2; MTurk. *bala* 1, 2 (Abush., Бор. Бад.), *baldɨz* 3 (P. de C.); Uzb. *bɔla* 1, 2, *bɔldiz* 3, *palapan* 1 (dial.); Uygh. *bala* 1, 2; Krm. *bala* 2, *baldɨz* 3; Tat. *bala* 1, 2, *baldɨz* 3; Bashk. *bala* 2, *baldɨδ* 3; *belekej* 'small'; Kirgh. *bala* 2; Kaz. *bala* 2, *baldɨz* 3, *balapan* 1 (R); KBalk. *bala* 2; KKalp. *bala* 2, *baldɨz* 3; Kum. *bala* 1, 2; Nogh. *bala* 2, *baldɨz* 3; SUygh. *mɨla*, *mle* 2; Khak. *pala* 2, *pastɨ* 3; Shr. *pala* 2, *pastɨ* 3; Oyr. *bala* 1, 2, *passɨ* 3 (Tel., R); Chuv. *poldъr* 3, 4 (Aš. IX 282); Yak. *balɨs* 3, 4; Dolg. *balɨs* 3, 4.

◊ EDT 332, 334, VEWT 59, 60, ЭСТЯ 2, 47-50, 53-54, Лексика 71, 306-307, 312, Stachowski 51, 52. Turk. > Kalm. *baldṛ* (KW 30). Khak. *pastɨ* < **bazlɨ* < **balzɨ* with metathesis.

PJpn. ***bàràpa(i)** child (ребенок): OJpn. *warapa*; MJpn. *wàràfà*, *wàràfè*; Tok. *wárabe*; Kyo. *wáràbè*; Kag. *warabé*.

◊ JLTT 568. The Tokyo accent points to a variant **bàràpá(i)*.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 289. Jpn. low tone (or Turkic length) is irregular. The Western languages all reflect a common derivative **bāl(a)-tV*.

✱**balu** sable: Tung. ***bali-**; Mong. ***bulagan**; Jpn. ***puruki**.

PTung. ***bali-** sable (one year old) (соболь (одноосенний)): Evk. *balini*.

◊ TMC 1, 71.

PMong. ***bulagan** sable, game (соболь, дичь): MMong. *buluxan* (HY 10), *buluqan* (SH), *bul(u)ɣan* (MA); WMong. *bulaɣan* (L 133), *buliɣa*; Kh. *bulga(n)*; Bur. *bulgan*; Kalm. *bulɣən*; Ord. *bulaGa*; Dag. *baləg*, (Тод. Даг. 124) *balga*; S.-Yugh. *bulaGan*; Mongr. *bulGa*.

◊ KW 60, MGCD 168. Mong. > Chag. *bulɣan*, see TMN 1, 215.

PJpn. ***puruki** a k. of sable (вид соболя): MJpn. *furuki*.

‖ Ozawa 314-315. Despite obvious similarity, the etymology raises some problems. The MJpn. *furuki* is said to be an animal breeding in Korea, but no Korean match is available. R. A. Miller's hypothesis that *furuki* was borrowed from Mongolian, seems rather far-fetched (no

early Mong.-Jpn. contacts have been noticed so far), so we prefer to regard the word as genuine until some further evidence becomes available. Rather complicated is the attribution of PT **albuga* (VEWT 16): Khak. *albɨɣa* 'sable', Oyr. *albaɣa* 'sable; game' (Леб. Баск. 137). Cf. also *alda* 'game' (Туба Баск. 101, Яимова 109-110 *albaga*, *albaa*, *alabuga* (= "perch"). This may be al (al perü 'wild wolf') + *bulgan*, *bulɨq* 'sable' (< Mong.; see Потанин 1881, Очерки Северозападной Монголии, p. 139), see ibid. *aldɨq* 'sable'. The word is obviously tabooistic and folk-etymologically analysed as "red ox", but may also be a distortion of the original **baluga* (cf. the external evidence). On the other hand, one may note the resemblance of the Turkic word with Mong. *elbeŋkü* 'racoon', see KW 207 (> Evk. *elbiɣe*, *elbiŋē*, Man. *elbixe*, TMC 2, 445).

✱**bȁlu** early, ancient: Tung. ***bala-**; Turk. ***baldɨr**; Jpn. ***pùrù-**.

PTung. ***bala-** ancient, earlier (давно, прежде): Ul. *balana*; Ork. *balana*; Nan. *balana*.

◊ TMC 1, 68-69.

PTurk. ***baldɨr** beginning of the spring season, lambing season (начало весеннего сезона, сезона рождения ягнят): Karakh. *baldɨr* (MK); Uygh. *baldi(r)* (dial.: УДС 23) 'last year'.

◊ The root tends to mix with **bildur* 'last year', but is explicitly distinguished by MK (as *baldɨr* vs. *bildir).*

PJpn. ***pùrù-** old (старый): OJpn. *puru-*; MJpn. *fùrù-*; Tok. *furú-*; Kyo. *fúrù-*; Kag. *furú-*.

◊ JLTT 828.

‖ Лексика 72 (but the Turkic root should be divided and Mong. **boli-* attributed rather to **pŭlo* 'old, ancient - although the two roots may have converged in Mong.).

✱**băŋkʿi** to kick: Tung. ***baŋ-sala-**; Turk. ***böŋk-**.

PTung. ***baŋ-sala-** to kick (пинать, брыкаться): Man. *bašila-*; Ul. *basala-*; Ork. *basala-*; Nan. *baŋsala-*; Orch. *baŋsala-*; Ud. *baŋčala-*.

◊ TMC 1, 72.

PTurk. ***böŋk-** to kick, buck (пинать, брыкаться): Karakh. *möŋ-* (MK); Uygh. *möŋ-*, *möŋkü-*; Kirgh. *möŋkü-*; Kaz. *möŋki-*; Khak. *mükü-*; Oyr. *mökü-*; Tv. *mög-*; Tof. *möŋ-* (Рас. ФиЛ 207); Yak. *möx-*.

◊ EDT 767, VEWT 342, ЭСТЯ 7.

‖ An expressive Turk.-Tung. isogloss, with secondary vowel labialization in Turkic.

✱**bā́ra** goods, to possess, earn: Tung. ***bara-**; Mong. ***bari-**; Turk. ***bār**; Kor. ***pər-**.

PTung. ***bara-** 1 many 2 to increase 3 capacious (1 много 2 увеличиваться, возрастать 3 емкий, просторный): Evk. *bara-ma* 1, *bara-l-* 2; Evn. *baran* 3; Neg. *baja* 1; Man. *baran* 1; Ork. *bara* 1; Sol. *barā* 1.

◊ Some forms may be borrowed from Mong. (cf. Bur. *baran*; note, however, that the word is attested only in Buryat and probably borrowed < Turk., while the TM forms are very widely spread; Dag. *barān* certainly < TM, see Тод. Даг. 124), but the root is still probably genuine. See TMC 1, 73.

PMong. ***bari-** to take, hold (брать (руками), хватать): MMong. *bari-* (HY 33, SH), *bāri-* (IM), *bari-* (MA); WMong. *bari-* (L 85); Kh. *bari-*; Bur. *bari-*; Kalm. *bär-*, *bäŕ-*; Ord. *bari-*; Mog. *bari-*; ZM *bari-* (24-7b); Dag. *bari-* (Тод. Даг. 125, MD 119); Dong. *bari-*; Bao. *vār(ə)-*; S.-Yugh. *bar-*; Mongr. *bari-*, *wari-* (SM 22, 481).

◊ KW 38, TMN 1, 198, MGCD 143.

PTurk. ***bār** 1 there is, there are 2 existence, goods 3 all (1 есть, имеется 2 весь, все): OTurk. *bar* 1, 2 (Orkh., Yen., OUygh.), *barča* 3; Karakh. *bar* 1, 2, *barča* 3 (MK, KB); Tur. *var* 1, 2; Gag. *var* 1, 2; Az. *var* 1, 2; Turkm. *bār* 1, 3; *barča* 3; Sal. *bār*, *par*, *vār* 1, *bar*, *par* 'rich' (ССЯ); Khal. *vār* 1, 2; MTurk. *bar* 1, 2, 3, *barča* 3; Uzb. *bɔr* 1, 2, *bɔriča* 3; Uygh. *ba(r)* 1, 2, 3, *baričä* 3; Krm. *bar* 1, 2, 3, *barca*, *barča* 3; Tat. *bar* 1, 2, 3, *barča* 3, *barsɨ* 3; Bashk. *bar* 1, 'rich', *barɨ* 3; Kirgh. *bar* 1, 'rich', *barča* 3; Kaz. *bar* 1; KBalk. *bar* 1, 'rich', *barɨ* 3; KKalp. *bar* 1, 2, *barša* 3; Kum. *bar* 1, 3, 'rich', *barɨ* 3; Nogh. *bar* 1, 2, 3; SUygh. *par* 1; Khak. *par* 1, 2, *parčan* 3; Oyr. *bar* 1, 2, 3; Tv. *bar* 1, *barɨ* 2; Tof. *bar* 1; Chuv. *por* 1, 'any', 3, 'rich', *porəš* 3; Yak. *bār* 1, 2, *bar(ɨ)* 3; Dolg. *bār* 1, 2, *bar(ɨ)* 3.

◊ VEWT 62, EDT 353, 356-7, ЭСТЯ 2, 61-63, Лексика 326-327, 332-333, Федотов 1, 444-445, Stachowski 52, 53, 56. Syntactically it is an abstract noun frequently acting as a predicate.

PKor. ***pər-** to earn (зарабатывать): Mod. *pəl-*.

◊ KED 765.

‖ KW 38, VEWT 62, TMC 1,73, АПиПЯЯ 287, Лексика 326-327; ОСНЯ 1, 175, 176. Doerfer (MT 239) tries to argue ("Die Quantitätsverhältnisse weichen ganz ab"), but the phonetic match is quite regular (Turk. long : TM short).

✱**bȁrì** right, straight, direct: Tung. ***bāru**; Mong. ***baraɣun**; Turk. ***bEr-**; Jpn. ***pìtà**; Kor. ***pàrȁ̆-**.

PTung. ***bāru** in the direction of (postpos.) (по направлению к (послелог)): Man. *baru*; Ul. *bā-* / *bē-*; Ork. *bāru-*; Nan. *bāro-*; Orch. *bai-ti*.

◊ See TMC 1, 75.

PMong. ***baraɣun** righthand side; West (правая сторона; запад): MMong. *bara'un* (HY 50, SH), *barān* (IM), *bărawun* (MA); WMong. *baraɣun* (L 84); Kh. *barūn*; Bur. *barūn*; Kalm. *barūn*; Ord. *barūn*; Mog. ZM

baranɣəl (7-1a); Dag. *baran* (Тод. Даг. 124), *baren* (MD 119); Dong. *borun*; S.-Yugh. *barūn*; Mongr. *baroŋ*, *waroŋ* (SM 22, 482) (MGCD *waraŋ*).

◊ KW 35, MGCD 145. MMong. *baranqar* > Chag. *buranɣar* 'right wing (of an army)', see Щербак 1997, 200. Mong. > Evk. *baron*, see Doerfer MT 126, Rozycki 25.

PTurk. ***bEr-** 1 southern, right 2 to the South, to the right (1 южный, правый 2 к югу, направо): OTurk. *ber-din* 1 (Orkh., OUygh.), *beri-je* 2, *ber-gärü* 2 (Orkh.).

◊ EDT 359,364, 370. The forms *ber-din* (*abl.*), *ber-ije* (adv.), *ber-gerü* (*dir.*) - from a spatial noun **ber*. The usually related *berü* 'this side, here' etc. (EDT 355, ЭСТЯ II 124-125) should be rather kept apart. It is unclear morphologically (*bērü* < *ber-rü* seems to be a unique development) and may be derived from the demonstrative *bu* 'this', just like *naru*, *aŋaru*, *onaru* 'that side, there' is derived from the demonstrative stem *an-* 'that' (see Brockelmann 1954, 134).

PJpn. ***pìtà** direct, straight (прямой): OJpn. *pjita*; MJpn. *fità*; Tok. *hita-to* 'directly, closely'.

◊ JLTT 409.

PKor. ***pàrȁ-** direct, straight; right (прямой; правильный): MKor. *pàrȁ-*; Mod. *pari-*.

◊ Nam 238, KED 706.

‖ EAS 57, SKE 191, Poppe 21. "Verbal" low tone in Korean. Doerfer (TMN 1, 207) attempts to dismantle Ramstedt's comparison (Tung.-Kor.-Mong.) by preferring Ramstedt's own earlier (KW 35) derivation of Mong. baraɣun 'right; West' < *bara-* 'to end' - which is evidently much weaker semantically.

✱**bȁri** a k. of cloth: Tung. ***bārga-**; Mong. ***baraɣa**; Turk. ***bẹr**; Kor. ***pār**.

PTung. ***bārga-** to clothe, put on (одевать(ся)): Ul. *bargaǯi-*; Ork. *baGdụxi-*; Nan. *bāraǯiGo-*, *bāroli-*.

◊ TMC 1, 73.

PMong. ***baraɣa** cloth (ткань): WMong. *baraɣa* (L 82); Kh. *barā*; Bur. *barān*; Kalm. *barān*.

◊ KW 33.

PTurk. ***bẹr** 1 tunic 2 cloth, linen (1 жакет 2 ткань): Karakh. *ber-tü* 'a tunic', *bertü-le-n-* 'to wear a tunic'; Chuv. *pir* 2.

◊ EDT 358, 359 (MK), VEWT 71.

PKor. ***pār** curtain (занавес): MKor. *pār*; Mod. *pāl*.

◊ Nam 245, KED 723.

‖ Mongolian and TM reflect a suffixed form **bȁri-ga*.

✱**bāŕa (~ -o)** to rejoice, be proud: Tung. ***bāra-či-**; Mong. ***bar-da-**; Turk. ***bAŕ-**; Jpn. ***báráp-**.

PTung. ***bāra-či-** to rejoice (радоваться): Ul. *bārači-*; Nan. *bārāči-*; Orch. *bārači-*.

◊ TMC 1, 73.

PMong. ***bar-da-** to be proud, to boast (гордиться, хвастаться): WMong. *barda-*; Kh. *barda-*; Bur. *bardam* '1 чванство, кичливость, 2 гордец'; Kalm. *bardmṇ*; Ord. *barda-*; Dag. *bardan* (n.) (Тод. Даг. 124); S.-Yugh. *bardam* (n.); Mongr. *bārda-* (*bardoŋ* (SM 21), *pardaŋ* 'fanfaron, présomptueux' (SM 302)).

◊ KW 34, MGCD 143.

PTurk. ***bAŕ-** to hazard, make a decision (осмеливаться, решаться): Uzb. *baz-* (Sart., R); Tat. *baz-*; Bashk. *baδi-*; Kaz. *baz-*; KBalk. *baz-*; KKalp. *baz-n-a* 'панибратство'; Kum. *baz-*; Nogh. *baz-n-a batuv* (gerund from a refl. form); Yak. *bahɨ-rɨ-j-* 'to speek in an excessively loud and excited manner (expr.)' (?).

◊ VEWT 66.

PJpn. ***báráp-** to laugh (смеяться): OJpn. *warap-*; MJpn. *wáráf-*; Tok. *wàra-*; Kyo. *wárá-*; Kag. *wará-*.

◊ JLTT 783.

‖ Not quite secure, because of tone incongruence. Jpn. could have merged the roots **bāŕa* 'rejoice' and **běŕa* 'peace'.

✱**bǎŕ[i]** wide, thick: Tung. ***baru-n**; Mong. ***bar-**; Turk. ***bAŕɨk**; Jpn. ***pìrə̀-**; Kor. ***pǎr**.

PTung. ***baru-n** 1 thick 2 round, full (1 толстый 2 круглый, полный): Evn. *barụ-n* 1; Man. *barun* 2; Nan. *barõ* (Kur-Urm.) 2; Orch. *bau(n)* 1; Ud. *bau* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 76.

PMong. ***bar-** broad and thick (of a beard), coarse (of textiles) (толстый, взлохмаченный о ткани, бороде, (редко) в названиях чего-л. округлого, большой палец (дет.)): WMong. *barbaji-* (L 84); Kh. *barvaj-*; Bur. *barba-*; Kalm. *bar-də-γər*, *barwā̆-*.

◊ KW 34, 35.

PTurk. ***bAŕɨk** 1 thick, stout 2 a stubby man (1 толстый, дюжий 2 коренастый человек): MTurk. *bazuq* (OKypch., AH, CCum.) 2; Krm. *bazɨq/x* (H,Q,T) 1, 2; Tat. *bazɨq* 2; Bashk. *baδɨq* 1; KBalk. *bazɨq* 1; Kum. *bazɨq* 1.

◊ VEWT 66. The word is exclusively Kypchak (probably also borrowed in Chuv. *pɨzъk* id.), but is apparently archaic.

PJpn. ***pìrə̀-** 1 wide 2 fathom (1 широкий 2 сажень): OJpn. *pjiro-* 1, *p(j)iro* 2; MJpn. *fìrò-* 1, *fìrò* 2; Tok. *hiró-* 1, *hiro* 2; Kyo. *híró-* 1; Kag. *hiró-* 1.

◊ JLTT 408, 828.

PKor. ***pǎr** fathom (сажень): MKor. *pǎr*; Mod. *pāl*.

◊ Nam 246, KED 723. The modern form reflex a merger with MKor. *pār* 'armful' (v. sub **p'ǎĺŋa).*

‖ Whitman 1985, 193, 210 (Kor.-Jpn.). The vowel reflex in Korean is irregular, which leaves a possibility of Kor. **pǎr* and Jpn. **pìrə̀* 'fathom' going back to a different root (reconstructable as **Piari* or **Piali*); the

coincidence of *pìrə̀ 'fathom' and *pìrə̀- 'wide, broad' in Jpn. must be in that case secondary.

✱**baŕV** opposite, inimical: Tung. ***bargi-**; Mong. ***bar-lug**; Turk. ***bAŕ**.

PTung. ***bargi-** 1 opposite 2 enemy, inimical (1 противоположный 2 враг, противник, враждебный): Evk. *bargī* 1, *bargūk* 2; Evn. *bargъγ* 1, *bargъq* 2; Neg. *bajgị-* 1, *bajgụn* 2; Man. *bažі-la* 1, *baqčin* 1, 2; Jurch. *bai-ǯu-mij dī-* 'to be inimical' (797); Ul. *bažị* 1, *baǯụ(n)* 2; Ork. *bažžê* 1; Nan. *bajGị* 1, *bajGō(n)* 2; Orch. *baggi-* 1, *baǯuγi* 2; Ud. *bagä* 1, *bagia* 2; Sol. *bargī-*.

◊ TMC 1, 73-75.

PMong. ***bar-lug** servant, slave (слуга, раб): WMong. *barluγ* (L 88); Kh. *barlag*.

◊ Mong. > Russ. бурлак (?).

PTurk. ***bAŕ** stranger, foreign (чужак, иностранец): Karakh. *baz* (MK, KB); Krm. *bazɨ* 'some, someone'.

◊ EDT 388.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**básІ** payment, loan: Tung. ***basa-**; Turk. ***basɨg**; Jpn. ***písák-**; Kor. ***pskūi'í-, pskú-**.

PTung. ***basa-** payment (плата): Man. *basa*, *base*.

◊ TMC 1, 76. Attested only in Manchu, but having probable external parallels.

PTurk. ***bas-ɨg** 1 a k. of tax 2 a coin (1 вид подати, налога 2 монета): OTurk. *basɨγ* (OUygh.) 1; Tat. *bas*, pas, *bās* 'price', *pas-lɨ* 'valued, expensive' (Sib., KCTT 108, 177); Chuv. *pus* 2.

◊ EDT 373, Ашм. X, 4-5, Федотов 1, 449-450. The OT form is usually regarded as derived from **bas-* 'to press' (v. sub **pȁsi*), but external evidence suggests that this is one of the numerous inner Turkic folk-etymological reinterpretations. Chuv. *pus* "copec" needs some additional comments. According to Егоров 166 it can either be derived from *pus-* 'break' < Turk. **bas-*, or be borrowed from Pers. *pōst* "skin" > Tur. *post*, Uzb. *pust* 'id.' (Turkic forms see in VEWT 386). The latter hypothesis is rather improbable because the form means 'coin' only in Chuv., and because this borrowing is absent in other languages of the Volga region. VEWT 387 suggests Chuv. *pus* < Mari *puš* 'debt, tax' < *pu-* 'give'. The word is absent from the Mari dictionary, one only finds *puɨšaš* 'arrears'; cf., on the other hand, Udm. *pus* 'sign, subscription' < Chuv. *puzə* id. < *pus-* 'to press'. This etymology is, therefore, equally dubious, and our equation of Chuv. *pus* = OT *basɨγ* seems preferable.

PJpn. ***písák-** to sell, barter (продавать, торговать): MJpn. *físák-*; Tok. *hisag-*.

◊ JLTT 690.

PKor. ***pskūi'í-, pskú-** to loan, borrow (одалживать, брать в долг): MKor. *pskūi'í-*, *pskú-*; Mod. *k:ui-*, *k:u-*.

◊ Nam 62, KED 197, 206.

‖ TMC 1, 76 (TM-Turk.). Korean has a usual vowel loss between a stop and a fricative (**psku-* < **pis(i)-ku* or **pəs(i)-ku*). Note the velar suffixation in Turkic, Korean and Jpn.

✱**bašo** to run, drive: Tung. ***baša-**; Mong. ***bisi-ɣu, *busi-ɣu**; Jpn. ***basi-r-**.

PTung. ***baša-** to drive, urge (гнать, погонять): Man. *baša-*.

◊ TMC 1, 78. Attested only in Manchu, but having reliable external parallels.

PMong. ***bisi-ɣu, *busi-ɣu** 1 quick, swift 2 to run away (of horses) (1 быстрый, ловкий 2 убегать (о лошадях)): MMong. *biši'un* 'fair, smart' (38 HY); *bišun* (MA); WMong. *bisiɣu*, *bušiɣu* 1 (L 106, 140), *busqu-* 2; Kh. *bušū* 1, *busga-* 2; Bur. *bušū* 1; Kalm. *bušū* 1; Ord. *bušū* 1.

◊ KW 63. Mong. > Kirgh. *bosqin* 'flight'.

PJpn. ***basi-r-** to run, hurry (бежать, спешить): MJpn. *wasir-*.

‖ Cf. **p'às[a].*

✱**bǎtò** a k. of plant (for making ropes): Tung. ***batu-kin**; Turk. ***buta-**; Jpn. ***bàtà**.

PTung. ***batu-kin** rope (made of bark) (веревка (из коры)): Neg. *batuxin*; Ul. *batuxun*; Nan. *bartoxī*; Orch. *bātuxā̃*; Ud. *batixi*.

◊ TMC 1, 77.

PTurk. ***buta-** 1 основные нитки 2 bast, bass (for ropes) (1 основные нитки 2 лыко, мочало (для веревок)): Karakh. *butar* (MK) 1 (Clauson's 'papyrus reed' is hardly correct; one should rather translate it as 'warp of cotton cloth'); Chuv. *pъ^{w}dъ^{w}r* 2.

◊ EDT 307. Cf. also (ДТС 89) *batatu* 'cotton yarn', in a medical text.

PJpn. ***bàtà** cotton (хлопок): OJpn. *wata*; MJpn. *wàtà*; Tok. *watá*; Kyo. *wátà*; Kag. *watá*.

◊ JLTT 569.

‖ The root evidently denoted some k. of plant used for making ropes or yarn. Note however that the Turkic reflex is poorly attested and not quite reliable; in PTM a reconstruction **bartu-kin* is also possible (and perhaps preferable). The PA form should thus perhaps be changed to **bǎrtò* - a Tung.-Jpn. isogloss.

✱**bǎt´í** dirt: Tung. ***batu-n**; Mong. ***bat-ga**; Turk. ***bat-**; Jpn. ***pìntì**; Kor. ***ptǎi**.

PTung. ***batu-n** frozen soil (мерзлота, мерзлая почва): Evk. *batun*; Evn. *batъn*; Man. *batun*; Ul. *bātu(n)*; Nan. *batõ*.

◊ TMC 1, 77.

PMong. ***bat-ga** 1 dirt, sweat 2 to perspire (1 грязь, пот 2 потеть): WMong. *bataɣa*, *batɣa* 1; *badqu-* 2 (L 67); Kh. *batxa*; Bur. *badxa*; Kalm. *batəɣə*, *batxə*.

◊ KW 36. Mong. > Oyr. *patqa* etc.

PTurk. ***bat-gak** swamp, marsh (болото): OTurk. *batɨɣ-* (in *batɨɣ-daqɨ* 'swamp-living' (of dragons)) (OUygh.); Karakh. *batɨɣ* (MK, KB); Tur.

batak; Gag. *bataq*; Az. *bataG*; Turkm. *batGa*; Khal. *bat-laq* 'Lehm, Morast'; MTurk. *batɣaq* (San.); Uzb. *bɔtqɔq*; Uygh. *patqaq*; Krm. *bataq*; Tat. *bat-qaq* (dial.); Bashk. *batqaq*; Kirgh. *batqaq*; Kaz. *batpaq*; (dial.) bat 'sediment in water'; KBalk. *batmaq*, *batxaq*; KKalp. *batpaq*; Kum. *batmaq*; Nogh. *batpaq*; Khak. *patɨɣ* 'marshy, marsh'; Chuv. *put-kax*, *put-lъx*.

◊ EDT 301, ЭСТЯ II 79, 80, VEWT 65, Егоров 169, Ашм. X 42, 48. Traditionally analysed as derivatives from **bat-* 'to sink'; the derivational suffixes may be indeed both deverbative and denominative. But the external cognates are tempting.

PJpn. ***pìntì** dirt (грязь): OJpn. *pjidi*; MJpn. *fìdì*; Tok. *hiji*.

◊ JLTT 412.

PKor. ***ptǎi** dirt (грязь): MKor. *ptǎi*; Mod. *t:ä*.

◊ Nam 147, KED 419.

‖ Whitman 1985, 141, 181, 213. Korean has a usual reduction: **ptǎi* < **pitǎi*.

✱**bǎǯá** early: Tung. ***baǯi-**; Turk. ***bAja**; Jpn. ***pàjá-**.

PTung. ***baǯi-** early (рано): Evk. *baǯi-kir*; Evn. *baǯ*; Neg. *baǯiɣ*; Orch. *bāǯika*; Ud. *baǯi*.

◊ TMC 1, 64.

PTurk. ***bAja** recently (недавно): OTurk. *baja*, *baja-qɨ* (OUygh.); Karakh. *baja* (MK); Tur. *baja*, *bajak*; Az. *bajaG*; Turkm. *bajaq*, *baja-qɨ*; Khal. *bajaq* < Az.; MTurk. *baja* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *bɔja*; Uygh. *baja*; Krm. *baja-γɨ*, *baja-qɨ*; Tat. *baja*; Bashk. *baja*; Kirgh. *baja*; Kaz. *baja-γɨ*; KKalp. *baja-γɨ*; Kum. *baja-γɨ*; Nogh. *baja-γɨ*; SUygh. *pija*; Khak. *paja*; Shr. *paja*; Oyr. *baja*; Tv. *bije*; Chuv. *paźъr*.

◊ EDT 384, 385, VEWT 56, ЭСТЯ 2, 30-32, Лексика 83. The Chuvash form is difficult.

PJpn. ***pàjá-** early, swift (ранний, быстрый): OJpn. *paja* (n), *paja-* (adj.); MJpn. *fàjá* (n), *fàjà-* / *fàjá-* (adj.); Tok. *háya* (n.), *hayá-* (adj.); Kyo. *hàyá* (n.), *háyà-* (adj.); Kag. *hayá* (n.), *hayá-* (adj.).

◊ JLTT 402, 827. A rare case of the structure CV̀CV́ in an adjective, preserved under the influence of the noun. Already in RJ a variant *pàjà-* is witnessed, and modern dialects reflect only the latter in the adjectival form.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 77, Дыбо 11, Лексика 83-84. PJ has an irregular devoicing here (or should one think about a secondary assimilative voicing **baǯi* < **paǯi* in PTM? In that case PA **pàǯa* should be reconstructed).

✱**bḗ** bait: Tung. ***be**; Turk. ***beŋ**; Jpn. ***bái (~ biá)**.

PTung. ***be** bait (приманка, наживка): Evk. *be*; Evn. *bē*; Neg. *beɣewun*; Man. *be*; Ul. *bei*; Ork. *bē-ni*; Nan. *bē*; Orch. *be-ppe*, *be-meike*; Ud. *be-kpe*.

◊ TMC 1, 117-118.

PTurk. ***beŋ** bait, bird-seed (приманка, корм для птиц): OTurk. *meŋ* (OUygh.); Karakh. *meŋ* (MK, KB); Tur. *ben*, *beŋ* (dial.); Turkm. *meŋ*; MTurk. *meŋ* (MA); Yak. *meŋiä* < **meŋ-eg* (Dimin.); Dolg. *meŋe*.

◊ VEWT 334, EDT 766, Stachowski 178. Turk. > WMong. *meŋ*, see KW 261.

PJpn. ***bai (~ bia)** bait (приманка, наживка): OJpn. *we*; Tok. *é*; Kyo. *ê*; Kag. *è*.

◊ JLTT 392. Accent reconstruction is not quite clear.

‖ Miller 1985a, 78. An interesting monosyllabic root (TM evidence indicates that Turk. -ŋ is suffixed).

✱**bĕdù** thick, large: Tung. ***burgu-**; Mong. ***bediɣün, *büdüɣün**; Turk. ***bEdü-k**; Jpn. ***pùtuà-**; Kor. ***pɨrɨ-**.

PTung. ***burgu-** fat, thick (толстый, жирный): Evk. *burgu*; Evn. *bergъ*; Neg. *bojgo*; Ul. *boǯo(n)*; Ork. *boddo(n)*; Nan. *bujgu*; Orch. *boggo*; Ud. *bogo*; Sol. *burgu*.

◊ TMC 1, 112.

PMong. ***bediɣün, *büdüɣün** thick (толстый): MMong. *bid[o]n* (IM), *bidun* (MA); WMong. *büdügün*, *bidügün* (L 144); Kh. *büdū̆n*; Bur. *büdū̆n*; Kalm. *büdū̆n*, *bödū̆n*; Ord. *büdū̆n*, *bidū̆n*; Mog. *beidū̆n*; ZM *beidun* (18-3a); Dag. *budūn* (Тод. Даг. 128), *budun* (MD 126); Dong. *biedun*; Bao. *beidoŋ*; S.-Yugh. *budū̆n*; Mongr. *budin* (SM 31), *bidun* (Huzu).

◊ KW 66, MGCD 173. The South.-Mong. (Dong., Bao.), as well as Mog. *beidū̆n* (ZM *beidun*) and the Manchu loanword *bedun* (see TMN 1, 234) indicate that the original vowel was *e (**bedi-ɣün*), with subsequent assimilation in most dialects. Mong. > Yak. *bödöŋ* 'high'.

PTurk. ***bEdü-k** 1 big 2 high (1 большой, крупный 2 высокий): OTurk. *bedük* 1 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *beδük* 1 (MK, KB); Tur. *büjük* 1; Gag. *bū̆k* 1; Az. *böjük* 1; Turkm. *bejik* 2; Khal. *bidik/büdük* 1; MTurk. *bejik* 1, 2 (Abush., Sangl.); Uzb. *bujuk* 1, 2; Uygh. *büjük* 1, 2; Krm. *büjüḱ* 1; Tat. *bijek* 2; Bashk. *bejek* 1; Kirgh. *bijik* 1; Kaz. *bijik* 1; KBalk. *mijik* 1; KKalp. *bijik* 1; Kum. *bijik* 2; Nogh. *bijik* 1; SUygh. *bezɨk* 1; Khak. *pözək* 1, 2; Shr. *mözük* 2; Oyr. *bijik* 2; Tv. *bedik* 2; Tof. *bedik* 2.

◊ VEWT 67, EDT 299-301, ЭСТЯ 2, 288-290. PT **bEdü-k* 'big, high' is derived from **bEdü-* 'to become bigger, grow' (OT *bedü-*, Tur. *büjü-*, SUygh. *pezi-*, Az. *böjü-*, Khal. *bidi-*, Tuva *bedi-*, Gag. *bū̆-*, Karaim *büjü-*).

PJpn. ***pùtuà-** 1 thick 2 big (1 толстый 2 большой): OJpn. *putwo-* 1; MJpn. *fùtò-* 1; Tok. *futó-* 1; Kyo. *fúto-* 2; Kag. *futó-* 2.

◊ JLTT 829.

PKor. ***pɨrɨ̀-** thick, satiated (толстый, сытый): MKor. *pɨrɨ̀-*; Mod. *purɨ-*.

◊ Nam 270, KED 813.

‖ Gombocz 1905, KW 66, Poppe 53 (Turk.-Mong.), Martin 243-244, АПиПЯЯ 16, 68, 72, 280, Дыбо 12. Verbal low tone in Kor. Doerfer's (TMN 1, 235; 4, 275) criticism of the Turk.-Mong. match ("lautgesetzlich nicht vergleichbar;...passen im Vokalismus nicht...") is incorrect, because *-e- is well reconstructable for Proto-Mongolian. PTM **burgu* is a contraction < **bedu-rgu* (a similar phonetic development cf. in PTM

*xürgü 'tail' < *k'i̯udo-rgV). In Kor. one would expect *pùrɨ̀-; the attested pɨ̀rɨ̀- is an obvious result of vocalic assimilation.

✱**begV** a k. of ferment: Tung. ***bege**; Mong. ***beɣe-**; Turk. ***bEgni**.

PTung. ***bege** 1 ferment (made of animal liver or brain) 2 medicine (1 закваска (из печени или мозга животного) 2 лекарство): Evk. *beγe* 1, 2; Evn. *beγ* 2; Neg. *beɣe* 2; Orch. *bē-de-* 'to treat (with medicine)'; Nan. *bē* 'rotten food' (On.)

◊ TMC 1, 119.

PMong. ***beɣe-** to rot, mould (протухать, плесневеть): WMong. *bege-* (БАМРС); Kh. *bē-*; Kalm. *bē-*.

◊ KW 43-44.

PTurk. ***bEgni** millet beer (просяное пиво): OTurk. *begni* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *begni* (MK, IM).

◊ EDT 328. The word is also present in some Iranian languages (Sogd. βγ'ny, Osset. *bägäny*, where it is most probably a Turkic loanword, despite TMN 2, 311, Bailey 320 [with a dubious Iranian etymology]). Turk. > Mong. *bekni*, *begni*, see Щербак 1997, 193.

‖ A Western isogloss; not quite reliable.

✱**bè̀je** man; self, body: Tung. ***beje**; Mong. ***beje**; Jpn. ***bə̀**.

PTung. ***beje** person, man (человек): Evk. *beje*; Evn. *bej*; Neg. *beje*; Nan. *beje* 'person'; Sol. *bei*, *beje*.

◊ Homonymic forms in other languages denoting "body" should be probably regarded as mongolisms, but this is hardly plausible for all the forms meaning "man" (since that meaning is absent in Mong.), despite Doerfer MT 20, Rozycki 29. See TMC 1, 122-123.

PMong. ***beje** body, person, self (тело, личность, сам): MMong. *beje* (HY 45, SH), *bäjä* (IM), *bĭjă*, *bijä-du* (MA); WMong. *beje* (L 94); Kh. *bije*; Bur. *beje*; Kalm. *bī*, *bījə*; Ord. *bije*, *beje*; Dag. *bej(e)* (Тод. Даг. 125); Dong. *beije*; S.-Yugh. *bəi*; Mongr. *bīje* (SM 26), (MGCD) *buje*.

◊ KW 47, MGCD 147. Mong. > Yak., Dolg. *beje* 'self' (Kał. MEJ 40, Stachowski 57).

PJpn. ***bə̀** man (мужчина): OJpn. *wo(nokwo)*, *wotokwo*; MJpn. *wo(noko)*, *wòtòkò*; Tok. *otokó*; Kyo. *ótoko*; Kag. *otokó*.

◊ JLTT 507, 513. A compound **bə̀-nə-kua*, **bə̀-tu-kua* lit. 'male child'. The root is attested also separately as OJ *wo* 'male', as well as in the compound **bə-su* (OJ *wosu*, modern *osu* 'male').

‖ EAS 57, 98, KW 47, Владимирцов 261, Poppe 66, АПиПЯЯ 79, 105, 276.

✱**béjo** an ungulate animal: Tung. ***bejū-**; Mong. ***baji-ta-su**; Turk. ***bEje**; Jpn. ***bí (~ *bə́i)**.

PTung. ***bejū-** an ungulate animal (копытный зверь): Evk. *bejūn*; Evn. *bujūn*; Neg. *bejūn*; Ul. *buju(n)*; Ork. *buju(n)*; Nan. *bejũ*; Orch. *beju(n)*; Ud. *bui*, *buji*; Sol. *bejū-nī beje* 'hunter'.

◊ TMC 1, 121-122. The root is also attested in verbal function ('to hunt for ungulates'): Evk. *bejū-*, Evn. *bujū-*, Neg. *bejū-* etc.

PMong. ***baji-ta-su** farrow (horse, cow) (яловая (кобыла, корова)): WMong. *bajitasu*, *bajidasu* (L 74, 76); Kh. *bajdas*; Bur. *bajtaha(n)*; Kalm. *bäsn*; Ord. *bädasu*; S.-Yugh. *baidāsən* (MGCD 136).

◊ KW 40. Cf. also WMong. *bajilγa-* 'покрывать кобылу'. Mong. > Evk. *bajtahun* etc. (TMC 1, 66; Poppe 1966, 197, Doerfer MT 125); Mong. **bajtal* (the deriving stem for *bajta-sun* < **bajtal-sun*, although not attested) > Turk., Kirgh. *bajtal* etc. (VEWT 57, ЭСТЯ 2, 36-37, TMN 2, 388, Лексика 444).

PTurk. ***bEje** (foaled) mare (кобыла): OTurk. *be* (OUygh. - YB); Karakh. *be* (MK, IM); MTurk. *beje* (Sangl.); *bej* (CCum.); Uzb. *bijä*; Uygh. *bijä* (dial.); Krm. *bije*; Tat. *bijɛ*; Bashk. *bejä*; Kirgh. *bē*; Kaz. *bije*; KKalp. *bije*; Nogh. *bije*; SUygh. *pie, pi*; Khak. pī; Oyr. bē; Tv. *be*; Yak. *biä*.

◊ EDT 291, VEWT 75, ЭСТЯ 2, 133, Лексика 443. Forms as *bije* < **bẹje*, show a secondary vowel narrowing in front of -j-; the Kirgh., Oyr. and Tuva-Tof. forms point to *E.

PJpn. ***bí (~ *bái)** pig (свинья): OJpn. wi; MJpn. *wí*; Tok. *i(noshishi)* (*'pig' + 'flesh').

◊ JLTT 420.

‖ The root denotes any ungulate in TM; in other languages we observe a specialization of meaning ("mare", "horse", "cow" in Turk.-Mong., "pig" in Jpn.).

✱**bàka** young, short time: TM ***bekte-**; Mong. ***baga**; Jpn. ***bàkà-**.

PTung. ***bekte-** a short time (недолго): Neg. *bekte*; Ul. *bekte*; Nan. *bektẽ*; Orch. *bekte*.

◊ TMC 1, 123.

PMong. ***baga** young, small (молодой, маленький): WMong. *baγa* (L 67); Kh. *baga*; Bur. *baga*; Kalm. *baγə*; Ord. *baGa*; Dag. *bage* (MD 117); S.-Yugh. *baʁa*.

◊ KW 28, TMN 1, 213.

PJpn. ***bàkà-** young (молодой): OJpn. *waka-*; MJpn. *wàkà-*; Tok. *waká-*; Kyo. *wáka-*; Kag. *waká-*.

◊ JLTT 844.

‖ See Ozawa 300-301, Miller 1985, 143. On possible Turkic parallels see Лексика 390 (also under **bāku*).

✱**bekʿú** a k. of fish: Tung. ***beKe**; Mong. ***bekir**; Turk. ***bEkre**; Jpn. ***punku**; Kor. ***pok**.

PTung. ***beKe** goby (морской бычок): Orch. *bexe*.

◊ TMC 1, 123. Attested only in Oroch, but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***bekir** sterlet (стерлядь): WMong. *beker*; Kh. *bexer*; Kalm. *bekṛ*.

◊ KW 41.

PTurk. ***bEkre** sterlet (стерлядь): Turkm. *bekre*, *bekire* (dial.); MTurk. *bekre* (R); Uzb. *bekre* (dial.); Bashk. *bikre*; Kaz. *bekire*; KKalp. *bekire*.

◊ VEWT 68, ЭСТЯ 2, 108.

PJpn. ***punku** goby, swellfish (бычок, вид рыбы): Tok. *fúgu*; Kyo. *fùgû*; Kag. *fúgu*.

◊ JLTT 416. Accent is not quite clear (Tokyo and Kyoto point to **pù(n)kû*, Kagoshima - to **pú(n)ku)*.

PKor. ***pok** swellfish, blowfish (бычок (рыба)): MKor. *pok*; Mod. *pok*.

◊ Liu 388, KED 795.

‖ Martin 244 (Kor.-Jpn.) Cf. **pákʹ[o]*. The Turk. forms are rather late and may be borrowed < Mong. (hardly < Sam. **wekana* / **wekV(rV)*, despite Helimski 1995).

✱**bēle (~ -i)** waist, lap: Tung. ***belge**; Mong. ***belkeɣü**; Turk. ***bẹ̄l(k)**.

PTung. ***belge** lap (колени (передняя часть бедер при сидячем положении)): Evk. *belge*; Evn. *bēlgъ*; Neg. *belge*; Ul. *belǯe*; Ork. *beĺde*; Nan. *belge*; Ud. *bege*.

◊ TMC 1, 123.

PMong. ***belkeɣü** waist (поясница): WMong. *belkegü-sü(n)* (L 98); Kh. *belxṻs*; Bur. *belxṻhə(n)*, *belxenseg* 'big belt'; Kalm. *belkṻsn̥*; Ord. *belχṻs*.

◊ KW 42.

PTurk. ***bẹ̄l(k)** 1 waist 2 mountain pass, ridge 3 back (1 поясница 2 горный перевал, хребет 3 зад, сзади): OTurk. *bẹl* (Yen., OUygh.) 1, 2; Karakh. *bẹl* (MK, KB) 1; Tur. *bel* 1, 2, 3; Gag. *bel* 1; Az. *bel* 3; 1; Turkm. *bīl* 1; Sal. *bil* 1; Khal. *bīel* 1; MTurk. *bẹl* 1 (Бор. Бад., Sangl.); Uzb. *bel* 1, 2; Uygh. *bäl* 1; Krm. *bel* 1, 2; Tat. *bil* 1, 2; Bashk. *bil* 1, 2; Kirgh. *bel* 1, 2; Kaz. *bel* 1, 2, 3; KBalk. *bel* 1; KKalp. *bel* 1, 2, 3; Kum. *bel* 1; Nogh. *bel* 1, 2; SUygh. *peĺ* 1, 2; Khak. *pil* 3; 1, 2; Oyr. *bel* 3; 1, 2; Tv. *bel* 1, 2; Tof. *bel* 1; Chuv. *pilək* 1, 2, 3; Yak. *bīl* 1.

◊ VEWT 69, TMN 2, 416, EDT 330, ЭСТЯ 2, 135-137, Лексика 268-269, Егоров 160, Мудрак 1989, Дыбо 119-121. Turk. > Mong. *bel*.

‖ Poppe 76, Дыбо 306, Мудрак Дисс. 69, Лексика 269. A Western isogloss. Doerfer (TMN 2, 416) cannot say anything but "kaum dürfte das Wort auf ein "altaisches" *belke zurückgehen". Cf. also WMong. *beldüge*, Kalm. *böldəgn* 'die Weichen' (KW 56).

✱**bèli** to be acquainted, assist, employ: Tung. ***bele-**; Mong. ***bele-**; Turk. ***bil-**; Kor. ***pɨrí-**.

PTung. ***bele-** to help (помогать): Evk. *bele-*; Evn. *bel-*; Neg. *bele-*; Ul. *bele-či-*; Ork. *beĺe-*; Nan. *bele-či-*; Orch. *bele-či-*; Ud. *bele-si-*.

◊ TMC 1, 124.

PMong. ***bele-** 1 to prepare 2 ready (1 готовиться 2 готовый): MMong. *belen* 2, *belet-* 1 (SH), *bilän* 2 (MA); WMong. *belen*, *beleken* 2, *bele-dke-* 1 (L 97); Kh. *belde-* 1, *belxen*, *belen* 2; Bur. *belen* 2; Kalm. *beln̥* 2; Ord. *belen* 2; Dag. *belen* 2, *belke-* 1 (Тод. Даг. 126), *belede-* 1 (MD 121);

Dong. *bəlian*, *belien* 2; Bao. *balaŋ* 2, *bəldə-* 1; S.-Yugh. *belēn*; Mongr. *bulen* 2, *belen* (SM 24) 2, *belesGa-* (SM 24), *beledGa-* 1 (Huzu).

◊ KW 42, MGCD 148. Mong. > Evk. *belen*, Man. *beleni* etc. (TMC 1, 125), see Doerfer MT 78, Rozycki 28; > Yak. *belem*, Dolg. *belen-nē-*, *belem-nē-* (Kał. MEJ 40, Stachowski 57).

PTurk. ***bil-** to know (знать): OTurk. *bil-* (Orkh., Yen., OUygh.); Karakh. *bil-* (MK, KB, IM); Tur. *bil-*; Gag. *bil-*; Az. *bil-*; Turkm. *bil-*; Sal. *bil-*; Khal. *bil-*; MTurk. *bil-* (Abush., Sangl.); Uzb. *bil-*; Uygh. *bil-*; Krm. *bil-*; Tat. *bel-*; Bashk. *bel-*; Kirgh. *bil-*; Kaz. *bil-*; KBalk. *bil-*; KKalp. *bil-*; Kum. *bil*-1; Nogh. *bil-*; SUygh. *bɨl-*; Khak. *pəl-*; Shr. *pil-* (R.); Oyr. *bil-*; Tv. *bil-*; Tof. *bil-*; Chuv. *pe^{w}l-*; Yak. *bil-*; Dolg. *bil-*.

◊ VEWT 75, EDT 330-331, ЭСТЯ 2, 137-139, Stachowski 60. Cf. also **belgü* 'sign' (ЭСТЯ 2, 108-111) (= WMong. *belge*, see TMN 1, 216, Щербак 1997, 104). Turk. **bil-ig* > Mong. *bilig* (TMN 2, 418, Щербак 1997, 106).

PKor. ***pírí-** to use, employ (использовать, употреблять): MKor. *pírí-*; Mod. *puri-*.

◊ Nam 270, KED 814.

‖ EAS 106, Poppe 21, 76, Doerfer MT 78. Cf. also Kor. *paraǯi* 'aid, assistance'. The reason for narrowing **bel-* > **bil-* in PT is unclear; cf. **bel-* in the more archaic **bel-gü* 'sign'.

✱**bə̌ló** pale: Tung. ***beli**; Mong. ***balaj**; Jpn. ***pàrá-**; Kor. ***pə̌rk-**.

PTung. ***beli** 1 pale 2 to whiten (1 бледный 2 белить): Evk. *beli* 1; Neg. *belki-* 2; Orch. *bēli* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 123-124.

PMong. ***balaj** blind; dark (слепой; темный): MMong. *balāi̯* (Lig.VMI); WMong. *balaj* (L 78); Kh. *balaj*, *balar*; Bur. *balaj*, *balar*; Kalm. *balā̆*, *balr*; Ord. *balā̆* 'stupide'; Dag. *baliə* 'vague, indistinct' (MGCD 134), *baliē* 'blind' (MD).

◊ KW 30, 31. Mong. > Evk. *bali* etc. (TMC 1, 70,), see Poppe 1972, 100, Doerfer MT 19, Rozycki 24 (> Dolg. *bali*, *balī*, see Stachowski 51); > Yak., Dolg. *balaj*, see Kał. MEJ 40, Stachowski ibid.

PJpn. ***pàrá-** to clear up (of sky, weather) (проясняться (о небе, погоде)): OJpn. *para-*; MJpn. *fàrá-*; Tok. *haré-*; Kyo. *hàrè-*; Kag. *hàrè-*.

◊ JLTT 685.

PKor. ***pə̌rk-** bright (светлый): MKor. *pə̌rk-*; Mod. *pak-* [*palk-*].

◊ Nam 247, KED 732.

‖ Martin 227 (Kor.-Jpn.). Jpn. has an irregular p-.

✱**belV** hysterics, panic, mourning: Tung. ***beli(n)**; Mong. ***belbe-**; Turk. ***bElin̥**.

PTung. ***beli(n)** 1 hysterics 2 silly (1 истерика 2 глупый): Evk. *belin* 1; Neg. *belin* 1; Man. *beli* 2; Nan. *belčī* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 124. TM > Dag. *belin* (Тод. Даг. 126).

PMong. ***belbe-** mourning, widow (траур, вдова): MMong. *belbisun* (HY 32, SH), *b[ä]llbes* 'unmarried woman' (IM), *bilbusun* (MA); WMong.

belbüsü, (L 96) *belbesü(n)*; Kh. *belevsen*; Bur. *belbehe(n)*; Kalm. *belwəsṇ*; Ord. *belbesen* 'widow'; Dag. *belbisen* (Тод. Даг. 126), *belibsen*; S.-Yugh. *bölbösən*, *belwəsən*.

◊ KW 42, MGCD 148.

PTurk. ***bEliŋ** panic, terror (паника, ужас): OTurk. *beliŋ* (OUygh.); Karakh. *beliŋ* (MK), *beliŋ-le-* 'to be terrified' (KB); Tur. *belin* 'frightened' (dial. *peliŋ*, *peŋil-de-*); Turkm. *beliŋ al-* 'to fear, be disgusted'; MTurk. *beliŋ-le-* 'to be terrified' (Qutb); Bashk. *bilen-dä-* 'to be scared, startled'; Kirgh. *belim-či* 'a hysterical woman'; Kaz. *beliŋ*; Nogh. *beleŋ* 'scary'; Oyr. *peliŋ* 'faked illness' (R); Tv. *beliŋ-či*, *beliŋ-ne-*; Tof. *beliŋ-ši* 'scary', *beliŋ-ne-* 'be startled'.

◊ EDT 343, 344, VEWT 69, ОСНЯ 2, 98 (with a different TM parallel).

‖ TMC 1, 124 (TM-Turk.). A Western isogloss.

✱**beńa** red clay, dirt: Tung. ***beŋ-ge-**; Turk. ***bAńak**; Jpn. ***páni**.

PTung. ***beŋ-ge-** to sully (пачкать): Neg. *beŋge-*.

◊ TMC 1, 126. Attested only in Negidal, with possible external parallels.

PTurk. ***bAńak** dung (навоз): OTurk. *majaq* (OUygh.); Karakh. *majaq*, *bajnaq* (MK, Oghuz XI c.); Uygh. *majaq*; Tv. *mɨjaq*; Tof. *mɨ̃jaq*.

◊ VEWT 322, 336, EDT 350.

PJpn. ***páni** red clay (красная глина): OJpn. *pani*; MJpn. *fáni*.

◊ JLTT 398.

‖ If the Negidal form belongs here, it may reflect, together with PT **bAńak*, a common derivative **beńa-kV*.

✱**bĕ̌ré** daughter-in-law: Tung. ***bener**; Mong. ***beri-**; Jpn. ***bə̀tə́-**.

PTung. ***bener** younger relative-in-law (младший свойственник, свойственница (шурин, свояченица)): Evk. *bener*; Evn. *benъr*; Neg. *bene*; Ul. *bener*, *beneli*; Nan. *bener*; Orch. *bene*; Ud. *bene*.

◊ TMC 1, 125.

PMong. ***beri-** 1 daughter-in-law, bride 2 wife of the elder brother (1 невестка, невеста 2 жена старшего брата): MMong. *beri* (SH, HY 29) 1, *berigen* (SH, IM), *berigan* (HY 28) 2; WMong. *beri* 1, *bergen* 2 (L 99); Kh. *ber* 1, *bergen* 2; Bur. *beri* 1, *berigen* 2; Kalm. *berə* 1, *bergṇ* 2; Ord. *bere* 1, *bergen* 2; Mog. *bɛiri* 1 (Weiers); Dag. *beri* (*beŕ*) 1, *berigen* 2 (Тод. Даг. 126, MD 122); Dong. *bieri* 1, *beGen* 2 (Тод. Дн.); Bao. *vere* 1 (Тод. Бн.); Mongr. *beri*, *jeri* 'épouse, femme' (SM 25, 492), *bergen* (SM 25) 2.

◊ KW 42, TMN 1, 198, 209. Mong. > Evk. *berigei* etc., see Doerfer MT 101, Rozycki 29.

PJpn. ***bə̀tə́-** girl (девушка): OJpn. *woto-mje*; MJpn. *wòtó-mé*; Tok. *otóme*, *òtome*; Kyo. *òtómè*; Kag. *otomé*.

◊ JLTT 513. The root should be kept distinct from OJ *wòtò-kwò* 'man', which in all probability goes back to **bə̀-tu-kua* 'male child' and is parallelled by OJ *wono-kwo* id.

‖ For TM one has to suppose a resonant metathesis: **bener* < **bere-n*.

✱**běŕa** peace: Tung. ***bere**; Mong. ***berele-**; Turk. ***bAŕ- / *bAr-**.

PTung. ***bere** to ease, peaceful (успокаивать, мирный, смирный): Evk. *bere*; Man. *beǯiǵe-*; Ork. *bere-mi*.

◊ TMC 1, 127.

PMong. ***berele-** to be shy; to do a favour (to a respected person) (быть застенчивым; оказывать услугу почтенному лицу): WMong. *berele-*, (L 99) *berile-*; Kh. *berle-*; Kalm. *berḷ-*, *bermṣə-*; Ord. *berele-*.

◊ KW 42.

PTurk. ***bAŕ** peace (мир): OTurk. *baz* (Orkh.); MTurk. *baz* (Qutb, AH); Krm. *baz*; *baz-la-* 'to comfort, console'; Bashk. *baδ-a-* 'to be shy'; KBalk. *baz-a-ma* 'shelter, secure place'.

◊ EDT 388 (together with *baz* 'an alien'), VEWT 62, 66.

‖ A Western isogloss. The Mong. word is usually analysed as 'to behave like a daughter-in-law' (see e.g. KW 42, L 99), which may be a folk-etymology (in view of the external evidence).

✱**bétà / *pédà** sea, ford: Tung. ***pedē-**; Jpn. ***bátá**; Kor. ***pàtá-h, *pàdǎr**.

PTung. ***pedē-** to ford, cross over (переехать, переправиться): Evk. *hedē-*; Man. *fida-*, *fide-*; Sol. *edelbū-*.

◊ TMC 2, 360.

PJpn. ***bátá** 1 sea 2 to ford (1 море 2 переправляться, переходить вброд): OJpn. *wata* 1, *watar-* 2; MJpn. *wátár-* 2; Tok. *wàtaru* 2; Kyo. *wátár-* 2; Kag. *watár-* 2.

◊ JLTT 783.

PKor. ***pàtá-h, *pàdǎr** sea (море): MKor. *pàtá* (*pàtáh-*), *pàrǎr*; Mod. *pada*.

◊ Nam 236, 238, KED 703.

‖ An Eastern isogloss, with a peculiar variation of laryngeal features. Cf. perhaps Mong. *bide-* (?L 108: *bitü-*) 'to wander' (for semantics cf. Russ. *брод* 'ford' - *бродить* 'wander').

✱**bēǯu** numerous, great: Tung. ***beǯun**; Mong. ***buǯa-**; Turk. ***bāj, -tak**; Jpn. ***piji(n)ta- (~ pui-)**.

PTung. ***beǯun** 1 ten deer 2 multitude (1 десять оленей 2 множество): Evn. *beǯen* 1; Man. *buǯu baǯa* 2; Nan. *beǯu* 'thick (of a tree)' (On.) (?).

◊ TMC 1, 103, 120. Manchu also has *buǯun* '100000' which may be borrowed < Chin. *boqian* id.

PMong. ***buǯa-** strong, durable, quite good (крепкий, сильный, отличный): WMong. *buǯaγai* (L 143); Kh. *buʒgaj*; Bur. *bužagar*; Kalm. *buzgā̄* (*öl.*).

◊ KW 64 (Ramstedt regards the Kalm. dialectal form as borrowed from Khalkha).

PTurk. ***bāj** 1 rich, noble 2 many, numerous (1 богатый, знатный 2 много, многочисленный): OTurk. *baj* 1 (Orkh., Yen., OUygh.); Karakh. *baj* 1 (MK, KB); Tur. *baj* 1; Gag. *baj* 1; Az. *baj* 1; Turkm. *bāj* 1; MTurk. *baj*

1; Uzb. *bɔj* 1; Uygh. *baj* 1; Krm. *baj* 1; Tat. *baj* 1, *bajtaq* 2; Bashk. *baj* 1; Kirgh. *baj* 1; Kaz. *baj* 1; KBalk. *baj* 1; KKalp. *baj* 1; Kum. *baj* 1; Nogh. *baj* 1; SUygh. *päj* 1; Khak. *paj* 1; Oyr. *baj* 1, *bajtaq* 2; Tv. *baj* 1; Chuv. *pojan* 1; Yak. *bāj* 1; Dolg. *bāj*, *bājdak*, *bājdɨk* 1.

◊ EDT 384, VEWT 56, TMN 2, 259, ЭСТЯ 2, 27-29, 36, Лексика 304, 332, Федотов 1, 440, Stachowski 55, 56. Turk. > Mong. *bajan* 'rich' (KW 29, Щербак 1997, 103), whence Evk. *bajan* etc. (TMN ibid., Doerfer MT 37).

PJpn. ***piji(n)ta- (~ pui-)** to surpass (превосходить): OJpn. *p(j)iida-*, *p(j)ida-*; MJpn. *fiida-*; Tok. *hiidé-*; Kyo. *híídé-*; Kag. *hiidé-*.

◊ JLTT 688. Original accent is not quite clear.

‖ Note the common derivative **bēǯu-tV* (-tʹV) reflected in PT **bāj-ta-k* and PJ **piji-(n)ta-*.

✱**bǐ** I, 1st person pronoun: Tung. ***bi; *bue, *mü-n-**; Mong. ***bi, *min-; *ba, *man-**; Turk. ***bẹ-**; Jpn. ***bà-**; Kor. ***úrí**.

PTung. ***bi; *bue, *mü-n-** 1 I 2 we (1 я 2 мы): Evk. *bi* 1; *bu, mit* 2; Evn. *bi* 1; *bu, mut* 2; Neg. *bi* 1; *bu, bitta / butta* 2; Man. *bi* 1; *be, muse* 2; SMan. *bī* 1 (2869); *bō* 2 (2871), *mesə* 2 (2872); Jurch. *mi-n* (853) 1; Ul. *bi* 1; *bū, bue* 2; Ork. *bi* 1; *bu* 2; Nan. *mi,* dial. *bi* 1; *bū, bue* 2; Orch. *bi* 1; *bu, biti* 2; Ud. *bi* 1; *bu, minti* 2; Sol. *bi* 1; *bū, miti* 2.

◊ TMC 1,79: **bi* 'I', 98: **bue* 'we (excl.)', 539: **mü-n-* 'we (incl)'.

PMong. ***bi, *min-; *ba, *man-** 1 I 2 we (1 я 2 мы): MMong. *bi, mino* (gen.) (HY 31, SH), *bi, m[e]ni* (gen.) (IM), *bi, minu, mini* (gen.) (MA) 1; *bida* (HY 31), *ba, mano* (HYt, SH), *ba, man-* (IM) 2 etc.; WMong. *bi, minu* (gen.) 1; *bide, ba, man-* 2; Kh. *bi, minij* (gen.) 1; *bid, ba, man-* 2; Bur. *bi, menī* (gen.) 1; *man-* 2; Kalm. *bi, minē* (gen.) 1; *bid(ṇ), man-* 2; Ord. *bi, mini* (gen.) 1; *man-* 2; Mog. *bi* 'I', *nami, name, mini* (gen), *bidä, mōn-* 'we'; ZM *bi* (26-2), *mennɛi* (gen.) (26-10a); Dag. *bī, minī* (gen.) 1; *bed, bā, mān-* 2 (Тод. Дar. 123, 125, 126, 154); Dong. *bi, mini* (gen.) 1; *bižien, ma-* 2; Bao. *be, mene* (gen.) 1; *bede, man-* 2; S.-Yugh. *bə*; Mongr. *bu* (SM 30), *muni* (gen.), *ndā* (D) (SM 247, 260) 1; *buda* (SM 30) 2.

◊ KW 44, MGCD 151.

PTurk. ***bẹ-** 1 I 2 (**bi-ŕ*) we (1 я 2 (**bi-ŕ*) мы): OTurk. *ben* 1 (Orkh., Yen., OUygh.), *men* 1 (OUygh.), *biz* 2 (Orkh., Yen., OUygh.); Karakh. *men* 1 (MK, KB), *biz* 2 (MK, KB); Tur. *ben* 1, *biz* 2; Gag. *ben* 1, *bis* 2; Az. *män* 1, *biz* 2; Turkm. *men* 1, *bīz* 2; Sal. *mē(n)* 1, *pise(r)* 2 (ССЯ 128); Khal. *män* 1, *biz* 2; MTurk. *ben* 1 (Abush.), *biz* 2 (Abush.); Uzb. *men* 1, *biz* 2; Uygh. *män* 1, *biz* 2; Krm. *men* 1, *biz* 2; Tat. *min* 1, *bez* 2; Bashk. *min* 1, *beδ* 2; Kirgh. *men* 1, *miz* 2; Kaz. *min* 1, *biz* 2; KBalk. *men* 1, *miz* 2; KKalp. *men* 1, *biz* 2; Kum. *men* 1, *biz* 2; Nogh. *men* 1, *biz* 2; SUygh. men 1, *pɨz* 2; Khak. *min* 1, *pəs* 2; Shr. *men* 1, *pis* 2; Oyr. *men* 1, *mis* 2; Tv. *men* 1, *bis* 2; Tof. *men* 1, *bi's* 2; Chuv. *e-bə* 1, *e-bər* 2; Yak. *min* 1, *bihigi* 2 (Poss.); Dolg. *min* 1, *bihigi* 2.

◊ EDT 346 (*bẹ-n), 388 (*biŕ), ЭСТЯ 2, 129-130, VEWT 77, 333, Stachowski 60, 179.

PJpn. ***bà-** I, we (я, мы): OJpn. *wa-*; MJpn. *wàré*, *wátákúsí*; Tok. *wàtashi*; Kyo. *wàte*; Kag. *ói*.

◊ The form *watakusi* is regarded by Mochizuki 1971 as **wa-tu-(a)ku* si 'my place direction', and by Martin (JLTT 569) as **ba-tukusi* 'exhaust me' or 'I exhaust'. Rising accent in *wátákúsí* is unclear.

PKor. ***úrí** we (мы): MKor. *úrí*; Mod. *uri*.

◊ Nam 389, KED 1238.

‖ EAS 79, Владимирцов 357, ОСНЯ 2, 55-56, 63-66, JOAL 157, АПиПЯЯ 57, 68, 104-105, 276. An alternation **bi* / **mi-ne-* (sing.) ; **ba* / **mi̯u-n-* (plur.) should be reconstructed. Korean has undergone an irregular (dialectal) loss of *b- (**úrí* < **bú-rí*).

✱**bíju** to be, sit: Tung. ***bi-**; Mong. ***büji- (< *bijü-)**; Jpn. ***b(u)í-**.

PTung. ***bi-** to be (быть): Evk. *bi-*; Evn. *bi-*; Neg. *bī-*; Man. *bi-*; SMan. *bi-* (3016); Jurch. *bie-i* (704), *bie-fume* (614); Ul. *bi-*; Ork. *bi-*; Nan. *bi-*; Orch. *bī-*; Ud. *bi-*; Sol. *bi-*.

◊ TMC 1, 79-80.

PMong. ***büji-** to be (быть): MMong. *bue* (HY 51, SH), *bi* (IM, MA); WMong. *büi* (L 143: *bü-*); Kh. *bij*; Bur. *bī*; Kalm. *bī*; Ord. *bī*; Mog. *bi, be* 'ist', ZM *be* (27-5a); Dag. *bei* (Тод. Даг. 125); Dong. *bi-, vei-*; Bao. *vi-*; S.-Yugh. *bī, wai*; Mongr. *(w)ī-* (SM 187, 483), *bi-* (Minghe).

◊ KW 44, MGCD 150.

PJpn. ***b(u)í-** 1 to sit 2 to be (1 сидеть 2 быть): OJpn. *wi-* 1, 2; MJpn. *wí-* 1, 2; Tok. *ì-* 2; Kyo. *í-* 2; Kag. *í-*.

◊ JLTT 698.

‖ EAS 57, Poppe 112, Ozawa 304-307, ОСНЯ 1, 184, Murayama 1962, 109, АПиПЯЯ 68, 111, 280. Cf. perhaps MKor. *ì-* 'to be' (with loss of *b-, like in **uri* 'we')?

✱**bilčʿi** to mix, knead: Tung. ***bilča-**; Mong. ***bilča-**; Turk. ***biĺči-**; Jpn. ***písípə́**; Kor. ***pìč-**.

PTung. ***bilča-** to mix (flour), to glue (смешивать (муку), клеить): Man. *bilča-*.

◊ TMC 1, 83. Attested only in Manchu, and could be in fact < Mong., if not for the difference in meaning.

PMong. ***bilča-** to become flat and watery; to smear all over (размазывать(ся)): WMong. *bilča-*, *bilče-* (L 103); Kh. *b́alca-*; Bur. *bilsa-*; Kalm. *bilcə-*; Ord. *bilčal-*.

◊ KW 45.

PTurk. ***biĺči-** to stir up, churn (milk, butter) (помешивать, взбивать (молоко, масло), пахтать): Turkm. *pišek* 'churn pestle', -le- 'to churn'; Uzb. *piškak* 'churn pestle'; Tat. *peš-* (Сиб., Тумашева 180); Bashk. *beše-* 'to churn; to beat', *beškäk* 'churn-staff'; Kirgh. *biš-* / *biš-*;

biškek 'churn-staff for kumis'; Kaz. *pis-*; KKalp. *pis-; piskek* 'a big churn'; Nogh. *piskek* 'churn-staff'; Chuv. *pəźer-* 'to hit, beat'; Yak. *bis-* 'to smear'; Dolg. *bis-* 'to smear'.

◊ ЭСТЯ 2, 309-310, Stachowski 61, Ашм. X, 241-242. In a part of languages the root merges with **bíč-* "to ripen"; it differs from the latter by its original transitivity and consequent front vocalism.

PJpn. ***písípə́** a k. of bean paste; salted meat or fish (вид бобовой пасты; соленое мясо или рыба): OJpn. *p(j)isip(w)o*; MJpn. *físífó*.

◊ JLTT 409.

PKor. ***pìč-** to mix up, brew (месить (тесто), готовить (рисовое вино)): MKor. *pìč-*; Mod. *pit-* [*pič-*].

◊ Liu 417, KED 864.

‖ SKE 202, Miller 1970, 129.

✱**bĭli** wrist: Tung. ***bile-n**; Mong. ***beɣelej**; Turk. ***bilek**.

PTung. ***bile-n** 1 wrist 2 lapel on mittens (1 запястье 2 отворот на рукавицах): Evk. *bile(n)* 1, 2; Evn. *bilen* 1; Neg. *bile* 2; Ork. *bile* 2; Ud. *bule* 1 (Корм. 215), *bilepti*, *bulepti* 'bracelet' (Корм. 212).

◊ TMC 1, 83, Дыбо 260.

PMong. ***beɣelej** gloves (рукавицы): WMong. *begelei* (L 94); Kh. *bēlij*; Bur. *bēlej*; Kalm. *bēĺɛ̄*; Dag. *bēli*, *bēĺ* (Тод. Даг. 125, MD 121).

◊ KW 44, MGCD 147. Mong. > Chag. *bählä* etc., see TMN 4, 273-274; > Russ. Siber. *béla*, see Аникин 149.

PTurk. ***bilek** wrist, forearm (запястье, предплечье): OTurk. *bilek* (OUygh.); Karakh. *bilek* (MK, KB); Tur. *bilek*; Gag. *bilek*; Az. *biläk*; Turkm. *bilek*; MTurk. *bilek* (Бор. Бад., Sangl.); Uzb. *bilak*; Uygh. *biläk*; Krm. *bilek*; Tat. *belɛk*; Bashk. *beläk*; Kirgh. *bilek*; Kaz. *bilek*; KBalk. *bilek*; KKalp. *bilek*; Kum. *bilek*; Nogh. *bilek*; Khak. *pəlek*; Shr. *pilek* (R, Верб.); Oyr. *belek*; Tv. *bilek*; Yak. *belenčik*, *belenńik* (dial.).

◊ EDT 338-339, VEWT 76, TMN 2, 314, ЭСТЯ 2, 145-146, Дыбо 172-175 (with detailed analysis of phonetic variants and derivatives), Лексика 256. Turk. **bilek-jüŕük* > **bile(g)ŕük* 'bracelet' (EDT 345, Stachowski 60) > Mong. *bilüčüg / bilisüg / bülüžüg* (see Clark 1980, 41).

‖ A Western isogloss. Mong. *beɣelej* < **bejelej* < **bele-lej*. See EAS 109, Колесникова 1972a, 97-98, Дыбо 311, Лексика 250. Doerfer's (MT 240) attempt to refute the TM form by reconstructing **biglēn* is quite artificial: forms like Ul. *gileptu(n)* go back to a quite separate root (see **gilu*).

✱**bī́re** a k. of predator: Tung. ***birin**; Mong. ***ber-**; Turk. ***bȫrü**.

PTung. ***birin** female of a predator (самка хищника (медведя, тигра)): Evk. *birin*; Evn. *bịran*; Neg. *bịjịn*; Man. *birin ~ barin*.

◊ TMC 1, 84-85.

PMong. ***ber-** young of wolf (волчонок): MMong. *borte čino* (SH); WMong. *beltereg* (L 98: *belterge*); *berte činua*, *börtü* (L 128); Kh. *beltreg*; Bur. *belterge*; Kalm. *beltərəg*.

◊ KW 42. Mong. *beltereg is a regular metathesis < *berteleg. Mong. börtü (berte) činua is translated as 'multicolored wolf (name of the legendary ancestor of Chinggis Khan)' and börtü is glossed in L 128 as 'mottled, speckled, grey' - but in fact it is basically used with činua and is probably the original deriving stem of beltereg. -büri in MMong. ǯö'e-büri, WMong. čögebüri 'jackal' may be borrowed < Turk. (see Щербак 1997, 163).

PTurk. ***bō̄rü** wolf (волк): OTurk. böri (Orkh., Yen., OUygh.); Karakh. böri (MK,KB); Tur. börü (dial.); Turkm. bō̄rü; Sal. püŕe (ССЯ); Khal. bīeri; MTurk. böri (Sangl., Abush.); Uzb. bo̯ri; Uygh. böri; Krm. börü; Tat. büre; Bashk. büre; Kirgh. börü; Kaz. böri; KBalk. börü; KKalp. böri; Kum. börü; Nogh. böri; SUygh. böji, peri; Khak. pū̄r; Shr. pörü (R); Oyr. börü; Tv. börü, dial. (Todzh.) börük; Chuv. pirə; Yak. börö; Dolg. börö.

◊ EDT 356, VEWT 84, TMN 2, 333, ЭСТЯ 2, 219-221, Лексика 160, Stachowski 63. The hypothesis of the word being borrowed from an East Iranian source runs into difficulties, basically because of the lack of early attested forms with -k (only in Tuva dialects and the hypothetical Bulgar source of Russ. бирюк (cf. Аникин 128-129)). See also Abaev 1, 263 (isn't the East Iranian form itself < Turkic?)

‖ A Western isogloss. KW 42, Лексика 160. In Turk. one has to suppose a secondary assimilation < *bērü.

✱**bi̯alge** throat, to swallow: Tung. ***bilga**; Mong. ***balgu-**.

PTung. ***bilga** throat (горло, глотка): Evk. bilga; Evn. bi̯lgъ̣; Neg. bi̯lga; Man. bilχa; SMan. biləhā (62); Ul. bi̯lǯa; Ork. bi̯lda; Nan. bi̯lGa; Orch. bigga; Ud. bigaŋa (Корм. 212).

◊ TMC 1, 82. TM > Dag. bilgara (Тод. Даг. 126).

PMong. ***balgu-** 1 to swallow 2 gulp (1 глотать 2 глоток): WMong. balγu- (L 80) 1, balγu 2; Kh. balga- 1, balga 2; Bur. balga- 1, balga 2; Kalm. balγə- 1, balγə 2.

◊ KW 31.

‖ KW 31, ОСНЯ 1, 173. A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**bi̯ăl̥u** dirt, mud: Tung. ***bul-**; Mong. ***bul-**; Turk. ***ba̯l-**; Jpn. ***pu-**; Kor. ***piro**.

PTung. ***bul-** 1 snuff 2 swamp, marsh 3 become dull, colourless (1 нагар, шлак 2 болото, топь, грязь 3 тускнеть): Evk. bulē 2, būl- 3; Evn. bule 2; Ul. bu̯la(n) 1; Orch. bule 2; Ud. bula(n) 1.

◊ TMC 1, 106, 109. Evk. > Dolg. bilē 'dirt' (Stachowski 60).

PMong. ***bul-** dreggy, muddy, turbid (мутный, грязный): MMong. buluŋgir (HY 53), bulanγir (MA); WMong. bulaŋgir (L 133); Kh. buliŋgar; Bur. bulangir; Kalm. buĺəŋgər; Ord. bulaŋgir, buliŋgir.

◊ KW 30. Mong. has a number of similar forms with -a-: balar 'turbid', balbi- 'to become dirty, sullen', bala 'snuff', balǯira- 'be wet, soaked'. These may reflect a contamination of *bul- with another root, see *balai 'blind; dark'. The assumption of Mong. bulaŋgir being borrowed from Turkic (cf. MTurk. bulγančaq, derived from bulγa- 'to stir up') see in Щербак 1997, 110; on the other hand, Mong. is certainly the source of Tat. bolaŋir 'muddy, cloudy' etc.

PTurk. ***bạl-** mud, clay (грязь, глина): Karakh. *balčɨq* (MK,IM), *bal(ɨ)q* (MK); Tur. *balčɨk*; Az. *palčɨG*; Turkm. *palčɨq*; Sal. *palčɨx* (ССЯ 435 и др.); Khal. *palčoq* (< Az.); MTurk. *balčɨq* (Pav. C.), *palčɨq* (Sangl.); Uzb. *balčiq*; Uygh. *balčuq*; Krm. *balčɨq*; Tat. *balčɨq*; Bashk. *balsɨq*; Kaz. *balšɨq*, *balqaš*; Kum. *balčɨq*; Nogh. *balšɨq*; Khak. *palčax* (Sag.); Oyr. *bal-qaš*; Tv. *balɣaš*, *malɣaš*; Tof. *ba'lxaš*; Chuv. *pɨlʒъk*; Yak. *bɨlīk* 'sand, silt, brought by water' (Пек.).

◊ EDT 333, 336, VEWT 60, Мудрак Дисс. 179, Лексика 374. Turk. > Mong. *balčig* (Щербак 1997, 103). In Chuv. one would rather expect *pɨśəx*, so the form may reflect a slightly different morphologically **bạlɨ-čak.*

PJpn. ***pu-** dandruff (перхоть): Tok. *fu-ke*.

◊ JLTT 417 (accent unclear). A compound with *ke* 'hair'.

PKor. ***piro** dandruff, mange (перхоть, чесотка): MKor. *piro*; Mod. *piru*.

◊ Nam 276, KED 852.

‖ KW 30, ОСНЯ 1, 185, Martin 247. Jpn. **pu* (attested only within a compound) reflects a contraction < **bi̯ăl(u)-gu*; Kor. *piro* < **pjəro* (with a frequent variation *jə / i).

✱**bi̯ä́lča** harm, wound: Tung. ***bial-**; Mong. ***bilčawu**; Turk. ***biāĺč**; Jpn. ***bánsá-pápí**.

PTung. ***bial-** 1 to harm, damage 2 to be in a difficult position, obstructed (1 вредить 2 затрудняться, не сметь, не добиться): Evk. *bêl-* 2; Evn. *beleŋe-* 1; Man. *bele-* 1; Ul. *bajlị-* 'to wound'.

◊ TMC 1, 66, 79; 125.

PMong. ***bilčawu** wound, scar (рана, шрам, нарыв): WMong. *bilčaɣu*, (L 104) *bilčuu*; Kh. *ƀalcū*; Ord. *bilčirū*, *bülčürū̃*.

PTurk. ***biāĺč** wound (рана): OTurk. *baš* (OUygh.); Karakh. *baš* (MK, KB); Tur. *baš* (dial.); Turkm. *bāš*; Tv. *baiś* (Krg. Castr. 124); Chuv. *püźek* 'scar'; Yak. *bās*; Dolg. *bās*.

◊ EDT 376, VEWT 65, ЭСТЯ 2, 88-89, ОСНЯ 1, 172, Мудрак Дисс. 90, 194, Stachowski 57. Usually united with *baliɣ* 'wound, wounded', but cf. PA **màli.*

PJpn. ***bánsá-pápí** damage, harm, disaster (вред, несчастье): OJpn. *wazapap(j)i*; MJpn. *wazafafi*; Tok. *wàzawai*; Kyo. *wázáwái*; Kag. *wazawái*.

◊ JLTT 569.

‖ Мудрак Дисс. 90, 194.

✱**bi̯ä́lmi** knee, ankle: Tung. ***bialebki**; Mong. ***belberkej**; Turk. ***bAĺmak**; Jpn. ***pínsá**; Kor. ***parmak (~ -ă-)**.

PTung. ***bialebki** 1 knee cap 2 knee (1 коленная чашечка 2 колено): Nan. *bịlōkị* (Он. 66) 1; Ud. *bäluga* (-uɣa), *böloɣo* (-uɣo) 1 (Корм. 211); Sol. *bolōxi* 2.

◊ Cf. also (?) Oroch *mileuki* 'knee cap' (with a strange m-) (Аврорин - Лебедева 204). See TMC 1, 123. TM > Dag. *bolōgi*, *bolōki* 'knee cap' (Тод. Даг. 127).

PMong. ***belberkej*** pastern, ankle (of horses, animals) (бабка (у лошадей, животных)): WMong. *belber(e)kei* (L 96) *belbenčeg* (DO 63); Kh. *belberxi*, *berevxi*; Bur. *berbegei*, dial. *belhen*; Kalm. *belw̥rkē*, *belw̥ncəg*; Ord. *belbenčik*.

◊ KW 42.

PTurk. ***bAĺ-mak*** boot, shoe (ботинок, обувь): Karakh. *bašmaq* (MK Oghuz), *bašaq* (MK Chigil), *bašmaq* (IM); Tur. *bašmak*, *pašmak*; Az. *bašmaG*; Turkm. *bašmaq*, *pašmaq* ("heel of a camel; boot"); MTurk. *bašmaq* (Sangl., MA); Uzb. dial. (Khorazm) *baš-lɨq* 'heel-piece of a boot'; Tat. *bašmaq*; Bashk. *bašmaq*; Kirgh. *bašmaq-ta-* 'to sole (a boot)'; KBalk. *bašmaq*; KKalp. *bašmaq*; Kum. *bašmaq*; Nogh. *bašmaq*.

◊ EDT 382-383, ЭСТЯ 2, 93-95, ОСНЯ III 69, TMN 2, 293-294. Doerfer's inner etymology (*bašmak* with vowel elision < **baša-mak* from **baša-* 'to cut, make notches') is impossible: *baša-* is derived from **bāl(č)* 'wound' with a long vowel, while *bašmak* has a short one.

PJpn. ***pínsá*** knee (колено): OJpn. *pjiza*; MJpn. *fízá*; Tok. *hìza*; Kyo. *hízá*; Kag. *híza*.

◊ JLTT 412.

PKor. ***parmak (~ -ă-)*** a k. of footwear (вид обуви): Mod. *palmak*.

◊ KED 727.

‖ SKE 186 (Kor.-Turk.); Дыбо 1989a (Mong-TM). For a different treatment see ОСНЯ III 67-69 (cf. **pǎlka* below).

✱**bi̯are** to build, construct: Tung. ***biri-***; Mong. ***bari-***; Turk. ***b(i)ar-k***.

PTung. ***biri-*** 1 to lay planks 2 planking 3 tent, construction 4 fence 5 frame (1 стелить жерди 2 настил 3 шатер, постройка 4 забор 5 рама): Evk. *biri-* 1, *biriptir* 2, 3; Evn. *birken* 2, 3; Neg. *bijēγē* 2; Man. *biregen*, *bireken* 4, *beren* 5; Nan. *berẽ* 5 (possibly < Man.); Orch. *bipti* 3; Ud. *bīpti* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 84, 127.

PMong. ***bari-*** to build (строить): WMong. *bari-* (L 85); Kh. *bari-*, *barilga* 'building'; Bur. *bari-*; Kalm. *bər-* KPC 92; Ord. *bari-*.

◊ Usually considered to be one of the meanings of the polysemantic *bari-* 'to take, hold', which is probably a folk-etymological analysis.

PTurk. ***b(i)ar-k*** 1 house 2 home, household (1 постройка, здание 2 дом, имущество): OTurk. *barq* 1, 2 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *barq* 1, 2 (MK, KB); Tur. *bark* 2; Az. *barɨ* 'fence'; MTurk. *barq* 2 (Sangl., Pav. C.); Uzb. *barq* 1.

◊ EDT 359-360, VEWT 63, 66, ЭСТЯ II 62. *Bark* is traditionally linked with *bār* 'there is', *barɨ* 'belongings', but cf. the Az. word which can be hardly explained in this way.

‖ A Western isogloss. Not quite reliable because of secondary contaminations in Turco-Mongolian.

✱**bi̯ási** penthouse, decking: Tung. ***bi(a)sere-**; Turk. ***bAs-tɨrma**; Jpn. ***písásí**.

PTung. ***bi(a)sere-** 1 decking 2 shelf under ceiling 3 bed 4 pedestal (1 настил 2 полка под потолком 3 кровать 4 подставка, пьедестал): Man. *besergen* 3, 4; Ul. *bisere(n)* 1; Nan. *besere*, *bisere* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 85.

PTurk. ***bAs-tɨrma** penthouse (навес): Turkm. *bassɨrma*; MTurk. *basturma* (R - Zenker); Uzb. *bɔstirma*; Tat. *bastɨrma* (dial.); Kirgh. *bastɨrma*; Kaz. *bastɨrma*; KKalp. *bastɨrma*.

◊ Лексика 528. Formally derived from **bastɨr-* 'to cause to press' - which seems rather far-fetched semantically. We may deal here rather with a compound of **bas* + **terme* 'wall, building', secondary influenced by **bastɨr-ma*, **bastɨr-ik* 'pole for fixing hay and sheaves', see ЭСТЯ 2, 76-77.

PJpn. ***písásí** penthouse, shade (навес, укрытие): MJpn. *físásí*; Tok. *hìsashi*; Kyo. *hísáshí*; Kag. *hìsáshì*.

◊ JLTT 409.

‖ The root is similar to **pi̯óso* 'stairway, step' (q.v.), but should be strictly distinguished.

✱**bi̯ŏ̆ga** place: Tung. ***buga**; Mong. ***baɣu-**; Jpn. ***bà**; Kor. ***pá**.

PTung. ***buga** place (место, местность): Evk. *buɣa*; Evn. *bā*; Neg. *boa* ~ *boɣa*; Man. *ba*; SMan. *bā* (2562); Jurch. *buha-i* (71); Ul. *bu̯a*; Ork. *bō*; Nan. *boa*.

◊ TMC 1, 100.

PMong. ***baɣu-** 1 to step down, camp 2 camp (n.) (1 спускаться, останавливаться на постой 2 лагерь, стоянка): MMong. *bu-* (IM), caus. *bawulɣa-* (MA), *bau'u-* 1 (SH), *bū-* 1 (Lig.VMI); WMong. *baɣu-* 1, *baɣudal* 2 (L 71); Kh. *bū-* 1, *būdal* 2; Bur. *bū-*; Kalm. *bū-*; Ord. *bū-*; Mog. *bū-*; Dag. *bō-* (Тод. Даг. 126, MD 126); Dong. *bao-*, *bau-*; Bao. *bu-*, *bū-*; S.-Yugh. *bū-*; Mongr. *bū-*(30), *bau-* (Minghe).

◊ KW 64, TMN 1, 201, MGCD 164. TMN 1, 201.

PJpn. ***bà** place (место): OJpn. *pa* 'edge'; MJpn. *bà*; Tok. *bà*; Kyo. *bà*; Kag. *bà*.

◊ JLTT 390. All sources except Tokyo point to low tone. A rare case of preservation of *b- (which normally gives OJ w-), probably for syntactic reasons - the word is usually employed in genitive constructions, *-nə ba > *-mba > ba.

PKor. ***pá** place where, circumstance (aux. word) (место, где; обстоятельство (служ. слово)): MKor. *pá*; Mod. *pa*.

◊ Liu 359, KED 701.

‖ KW 40, Lee 1958, 106, АПиПЯЯ 81, Menges 1984, 282-283, TMC 1, 101. In PA it is somewhat difficult (but probably necessary) to distinguish between **bi̯òga* 'place', **b(i̯)aja* 'to be located' and **bi̯ogo* 'open place' q. v.

✸**bi̯ȍgi** to be cold, freeze: Tung. ***bog(i)- / *begi-**; Mong. ***beɣe-re-**; Jpn. ***pìja-, *pì**.

PTung. ***bog(i)- / *begi-** 1 to freeze 2 cold 3 frazil (1 обморозить, мерзнуть 2 холодный 3 наледь): Evk. *beɣī-* 1, *beɣin*, *boɣin* 2 *boɣoro* 3; Evn. *bei-*, *beɣi-* 1, *böɣe* 3; Neg. *bejī-* 1; Man. *beje-* 1; Jurch. *bei* 2 (95); Ul. *beji-* 1; Nan. *beji-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 87, 119.

PMong. ***beɣe-re-** be cold (зябнуть): WMong. *begere-* (L 94); Kh. *bēre-*; Bur. *bēre-*; Kalm. *bēr-*; Ord. *bēre-*; Dag. *bēre-* (Тод. Даг. 126), *bēde-* (MD 120).

◊ KW 44, MGCD 147.

PJpn. ***pìjá-, *pì** 1 to freeze 2 ice, hail (1 замерзать 2 лед, град): OJpn. *pji* 2; MJpn. *fìja-* 1, *fì* 2; Tok. *hié-* 1; Kyo. *hìè-* 1; Kag. *hìè-* 1.

◊ JLTT 405.

‖ EAS 91, KW 44, Poppe 60, АПиПЯЯ 69, 106, 280. Despite Doerfer MT 20, TM cannot be borrowed < Mong.

✸**bi̯ogo** place, open place: Tung. ***biga**; Mong. ***buji-**; Jpn. ***pía**.

PTung. ***biga** field, steppe (поле, степь): Man. *biGan*, *bixan*; SMan. *bihan* (2079); Ud. *biga*, *biɣa* (Корм. 212).

◊ Nan. *bi̯χã* is probably < Man. See TMC 1, 81.

PMong. ***buji-** 1 far off, unpopulated (place) 2 place of migration (1 отдаленный, захолустный 2 место, с которого перекочевали или на которое собираются перекочевать): WMong. *bojid*, *bujid* 1 (L 113, 132: *bojida*, *bujida*), *bujira* 2; Kh. *bujd* 1, *bujr* 2; Bur. *bujda* 1; Ord. *bujda* 1.

PJpn. ***pía** 1 room, place (in a dwelling) 2 place, surroundings (1 место (в жилище), комната 2 место, окрестности): OJpn. *pje* 1, 2; MJpn. *fé* 1, 2; Tok. *he-yá* 1; Kyo. *héyà* 1; Kag. *heyá* 1.

◊ Martin (JLTT 404) derives the word for 'room' from PJ **pià* 'part, separate' q.v., which is improbable because of its accent. A merger of two roots must have occurred here.

‖ The root is somewhat difficult to distinguish from **b(i̯)aja* q.v. (and in Jpn., indeed, the two roots could have merged - with additional mixture with **pʿāji* 'part' q.v.). Jpn. **pia* must be a contraction < **pəja* (**puja*).

✸**bi̯ṓkʿà(rV) (~ *p-)** dirt, patina: Mong. ***boki(r)**; Turk. ***bakɨr**; Jpn. ***pə́kə́rí**.

PMong. ***boki(r)** 1 taint, patina; chewing gum 2 dirty (1 налет, патина; жвачка 2 грязный): WMong. *boki* 1, *bokir* 2 (L 114); Kh. *boǵ* 1, *boxir* 2; Ord. *boki* 1; Mongr. *boGodi* (: *dege* ~) 'clopin-clopant' (SM 27).

◊ Mong. > Evk. *boki*, see Doerfer MT 125.

PTurk. ***bakɨr** 1 copper 2 patina (1 медь 2 налет, патина): OTurk. *baqɨr* 1 (Yen., OUygh.); Karakh. *baqɨr* 1 (MK, KB); Tur. *bakɨr* 1; Gag. *baqɨr*

1; Az. *paxɨr* 2; Turkm. *baqɨr* 1; MTurk. *baqɨr* (MA, Pav. C.) 1; Uzb. *baqir*, *paqir* 1; Uygh. *paqir* 1; Krm. *baɣɨr* 1; Tat. *baqɨr* 1; Bashk. *baqɨr* 1; Kirgh. *baqɨr* 1; Kaz. *baqɨr* 1; KBalk. *baɣɨr* 1; KKalp. *baqɨr* 1; Kum. *baɣɨr* 1; Nogh. *baqɨr* 1; SUygh. *paqɨr* 1; Khak. *pāɣər* (Kyz., Joki) 1; Oyr. *baqras* 'brass kettle'; Chuv. *pъʷgъʷr* 1; Yak. *baɣaraχ* 'pot for boiling milk'.

◊ EDT 317, VEWT 58, ЭСТЯ 2, 45-46, Лексика 405-406. Turk. > WMong. *baqar*, *baqur* (Kalm. *baχr*), see KW 29, Щербак 1997, 104. Turk. > Russ. Siber. *bakírka* (Аникин 111-112).

PJpn. ***pə́kə́rí*** dust (пыль): MJpn. *fokori*; Tok. *hòkori*; Kyo. *hókórí*; Kag. *hokóri*.

◊ JLTT 414.

‖ Лексика 406. Jpn. *-ə- in the first syllable is irregular, due to assimilation or bad compatibility of *a (which would be expected) and *ə.

✱**bi̯ŏla** end (of a branch etc.): Tung. ***bule**; Mong. ***bol- / *bul-**; Turk. ***bAldak**.

PTung. ***bule** staff, shaft (древко (копья), рукоятка): Ul. *buli(n)*; Ork. *būliɣe(n)*; Nan. *bulẽ*; Orch. *bule*; Ud. *bulʹa*.

◊ TMC 1, 106, 109.

PMong. ***bol-** a thick end of smth., bulb (толстый конец чего-л., луковица): WMong. *bolčaɣu*; Kh. *bolcū*; Bur. *bulsū*; Kalm. *bulə* 'callosity'; Ord. *bolčogor* 'утолщенный на конце'.

◊ KW 59. Cf. also *bulɣu-* 'uprooted', *bulɣul-* 'to disjoint' (L 134), *bulǯi-* 'to be disjointed' (L 137) > Evk. *bulǯi-*. The root tends to contaminate with **bul-* < PA **pula* 'to swell'.

PTurk. ***bAldak** 1 hilt 2 stalk, stem (1 рукоятка 2 стебель, ствол): Tur. *baldak* 1; Turkm. *baldaq* 2; MTurk. *baldaq* 1 (Pav. C.); Uzb. *bɔldɔq* 1; Uygh. *baldaq* 1; Tat. *baldaq* 1; Bashk. *baldaq* 1; Kirgh. *baldaq* 1; Kaz. *baldaq* 1; KKalp. *baldaq* 1; Nogh. *baldaq* 1.

◊ VEWT 60, ЭСТЯ 2, 52. Similar forms of the type **balčak* may be borrowed from Mong., while WMong. *baldaɣ*, *bardaɣ*, Khalkha *baldag*, *bardag*, Mongor *bardaG* 'hilt' are rather < Turkic.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**bi̯ŏla** a k. of bush, spiraea: Tung. ***boloka**; Mong. ***balčirgana, *baldargana**; Turk. ***bạl-gɨn**; Jpn. ***bàrà(m)pì**; Kor. ***pùrò**.

PTung. ***boloka** spiraea (таволга): Evk. *boloko*; Neg. *boloxokto*; Ul. *boloi̯qta*; Nan. *boloqto*; Orch. *bolokto*; Ud. *bolokto* (Корм. 213).

◊ TMC 1, 93.

PMong. ***balčirgana, *baldargana** heracleum dissectum, angelica (борщевник, дягиль): WMong. *balčiɣana*, *baldaɣana* (L 80); Kh. *baldargana*, *balčirgana*; Bur. *balšargana*; Kalm. *balčṛgənə* 'Waldknoblauch, Wolfswurz'.

◊ KW 32. Mong. > Khak. *paltɨrgan*, Tof. *ba'ltɨrɣan* 'борщевник, дягиль'; Hung. *bojtorján* 'burdock' (cf. Gombocz 1912).

PTurk. ***bạlgɨn** 1 tamarisk, 2 viburnum (1 тамариск 2 калина): Karakh. *bulγuna*, (dial.) *malγuna* (MK) 1; Az. *palan* 2 (R); Turkm. *balxɨ* 'a k. of white mulberry'; Uzb. *balxi* 'white mulberry'; Uygh. *balan* 2 (РУС 1956); Tat. *balan* 2; Bashk. *balan* 2; Kirgh. *balγɨn* 1 'a k. of bush similar to žilγɨn'; KBalk. *balan* 2 (Karach.); Shr. *palan* 2 (R); Oyr. *balan* 2; Chuv. (*palan* < Tat.), (**polan* > Mari *polan* 2); Yak. *bɨlax* 'white willow; willow branches as fodder'.

◊ EDT 338, ЭСТЯ 2, 52, VEWT 59, 324, Дмитр. 189, 201. Turk. > Mong. *balγu*, *balγuna* 'tamarisk'. Forms like *balxɨ* may be secondarily modified ('Balkh mulberry'), but in any case not < Iranian.

PJpn. ***bàrà(m)pì** a k. of fern (вид папоротника): OJpn. *warabji*; MJpn. *wàràbì*, *wàràfi*; Tok. *wárabi*; Kyo. *wáràbì*; Kag. *warabí*.

◊ JLTT 568. The Tokyo accent is irregular (pointing to a variant **bàràpí*). Cf. perhaps also **bàrá* 'straw'.

PKor. ***pùrò** salad, Lactuca (салат-латук): MKor. *puro*, *pùrù*; Mod. *puru*.

◊ Liu 394, KED 813.

‖ KW 31. Tone correspondence between Korean and Japanese is irregular.

✱**bi̯ŏli** arm muscles: Tung. ***bola-n**; Mong. ***bul-čiŋ, *bul-čir-**; Turk. ***b(i)altɨr**; Jpn. ***píntì**; Kor. ***pȁrh**.

PTung. ***bola-n** cuff (нарукавник, обшлаг рукава): Neg. *bolan*; Ork. *bolo*; Nan. *bōlo*.

◊ TMC 1, 91. Length in Nan. (Naikh.) must be secondary.

PMong. ***bul-čiŋ, *bul-čir-** 1 muscles (of thighs and arms) 2 gland (1 мышцы (рук и ног) 2 железа): MMong. *bilčirqai* 2 (MA); WMong. *bulčiŋ* 1, *bulčirqai* 2 (L 134); Kh. *bulčin* 1, *bulčirxaj* 2; Bur. *bulšan* 1, *bulšarxaj* 2; Kalm. *buĺčəŋ* 1, *buĺčərxǟ*, -xā 2; Ord. *bulčiŋ*; Dag. *balčirt* 1 (Тод. Даг. 124); Mongr. *paʒarGə̄* 2 (SM 301).

◊ KW 61. Mong. > Kirgh. *bulčuŋ* etc., Yak., Dolg. *bɨlčiŋ* (Kał. MEJ 94, Stachowski 70); > Man. *bulča(n)*, see Doerfer MT 137. Cf. also **bulǯir* 'gland' (KW 59).

PTurk. ***b(i)altɨr** calf of leg (икра ноги): OTurk. *baltɨr* (OUygh.); Karakh. *baldɨr* (MK); Tur. *baldɨr*; Gag. *baldɨr*; Az. *baldɨr*; Turkm. *baldɨr*; MTurk. *baldɨr* (MA), *baltɨr* (Sangl.); Uzb. *bɔldir*; Krm. *baldɨr*; Tat. *baltɨr*; Bashk. *baltɨr*; Kirgh. *baltɨr*; Kaz. *baltɨr*; KBalk. *baltɨr*, *baldɨr*; KKalp. *baltɨr*; Kum. *baldɨr*; Nogh. *baltɨr*; Khak. *paltɨr*; Shr. *paltɨr*; Oyr. *baltɨr*; Tv. *ba'ldɨr*; Tof. *baldɨr*; Yak. *ballɨr*.

◊ VEWT 61, ЭСТЯ 2, 54-55, Лексика 283-284.

PJpn. ***píntì** elbow (локоть): OJpn. *pjidi*; MJpn. *fídì*; Tok. *hijí*; Kyo. *híjì*; Kag. *híji*.

◊ JLTT 412.

PKor. ***pȁrh** arm (рука (верхняя часть)): MKor. *phȁr*; Mod. *phal*.

◊ Nam 462, KED 1736.

‖ Дыбо 313, Лексика 284. Martin 247, Whitman 210. The vocalism in Mong. **bul-či-* is probably influenced by the descriptive root *bul-* (*bult-*, *buld-*, *bült-* etc.) 'to be swollen, swell', see **bula*. Note that PT, Mong. and Jpn. reflect a common derivative **bi̯ol-tʹi-* (**bi̯oli-tʹV-*).

✱**bi̯ólò** time, agree upon time: Tung. ***bila-**; Mong. ***bolǯu-**; Jpn. ***bə́rì**.

PTung. ***bila-** to agree upon time (уславливаться, договариваться о сроке): Man. *bila-*.

◊ TMC 1, 81. Attested only in Manchu, but with probable external parallels.

PMong. ***bolǯu-** to agree upon time (уславливаться, договариваться о сроке): WMong. *bolǯu-*, *bolǯa-* (L 119); Kh. *bolʒo-*; Bur. *bolzo-*; Kalm. *bolzə-*; Ord. *bolǯo-*; Dag. *bolǯō*, *bolǯōlo-* (Тод. Даг. 127).

◊ KW 51. Mong. > Evk. **bolǯor* 'съезд, собрание' > Russ. Zabajk. *bolʹǯor* (Аникин 133).

PJpn. ***bə́rì** time, occasion (время, случай): MJpn. *wórì*; Tok. *orí*; Kyo. *órì*; Kag. *orí*.

◊ Accent is not quite clear: RJ has *wórì*, but modern dialects (except Kyoto which is ambiguous) point rather to **bə̀rì*. This may be explained by a folk-etymological influence of **bə̀r-* 'to bend'.

‖ Mong. **bolǯu-* > Evk. *bolǯo* etc., see Poppe 1966, 192, Doerfer MT 101; *bolǯal* 'appointed time' > Chag. *bolǯal* etc., see ЭСТЯ 2, 188-189, Щербак 1997, 200).

✱**bi̯olo** all, completely: Tung. ***bil-**; Mong. ***bul-tu**; Turk. ***bile (bula)**.

PTung. ***bil-** completely, wholely (целиком, полностью): Man. *bilči*, *bulǯi*; Nan. *bilde-bilde*.

◊ TMC 1, 82.

PMong. ***bul-tu** all, whole, entire(ly) (весь, целый, полностью): MMong. *bulun* 'together' (SH); WMong. *bultu* (L 136); Kh. *bult*; Bur. *bult(an)*; Kalm. *bultə*; Ord. *bultu*; Dag. *bolto* (Тод. Даг. 127).

◊ KW 60.

PTurk. ***bile (bula)** with, together, also (вместе с, с, также): OTurk. *bile, bilen* (OUygh.); Karakh. *bile* (MK, KB); Tur. *bile* 'even'; Gag. *-jlan*; Az. *bilä* (dial.); Turkm. *bile, bilen*; Sal. *bile*; Khal. *bilä*; MTurk. *bile* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *bilan*; Uygh. *bilän*; Krm. *bɨla*; Tat. *belɛn*; Bashk. *-benen*; Kirgh. *minen*; Kaz. *-ben*; KBalk. *bla*; KKalp. *benen*; Kum. *bulan*; Nogh. *-ben*; SUygh. *bile(n)*; Khak. *mɨnaŋ*; Shr. *mine* 'here, now'; Oyr. *bɨla* (dial., Tuba); Tv. *bile*; Chuv. *-bala(n)*; Yak. *-ɨnan* (?).

◊ EDT 364-365, ЭСТЯ 2, 140-142. Phonetic variants are explained by the transformation of the root into a postposition and, further, into a case ending. The form bile is attested quite early and therefore can be hardly treated as an assimilation < *bir-le* (derived from *bir* '1', cf. *bir-ge*, *bir-če* with a similar meaning).

‖ A Western isogloss; in the front row variant **bile* Turkic reveals a secondary delabialization < **büle*.

✱**bi̯ònV** a k. of predator: Tung. ***bońa**; Turk. ***bAnu**.

PTung. ***bońa** a big monkey (большая обезьяна): Man. *bońo*, *mońo*; SMan. *moni* 'monkey' (2212); *boni* 'year of the monkey' (2724); Jurch. *bo-noŋ* (151).

◊ TMC 1, 94, 545. The secondarily nasalized Manchu form *mońo* was borrowed in Sol., Oroch, Ud., Ul., Nan. *mońo* and Dag. (Тод. Даг. 155) *mońō* 'monkey', Kh. *mońō* 'male young of monkey'.

PTurk. ***bAnu** wild cat (дикая кошка): OTurk. *manu* (OUygh.); Tat. *manul*; Tv. *manɨ*.

◊ EDT 767. Turk. > Kalm. *manl*, Dag. *manū* (Tod. 153) (probably contaminated with Mong. proper *malur* < **malul* q. v. sub **máĺe*). Uygh. *molun* 'wild cat' may be a mongolism.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss. Palatalized *-ń- in TM is a secondary assimilation result. The root must have denoted some wild predator. It is tempting to compare similar forms in Mong. and Jpn., denoting some (mythical?) aquatic predator: PJ **bàni* 'crocodile', WMong. (БАМРС) *banuqai* 'a rare aquatic creature, dwelling in water during daytime and on the shore during nighttime' - but the semantic change seems too far-fetched.

✱**bi̯or[a]** color, shape: Tung. ***borkan**; Mong. ***baraɣa**; Turk. ***bArɨk (??)**; Jpn. ***púrí**.

PTung. ***borkan** color, beauty (цвет, красота): Evn. *borkan*; Man. *bočo*; SMan. *bočə*, *boči* (2417); Jurch. *bo(i̯)čo-gaj* (628); Ork. *boččo*; Nan. *bojqo*; Orch. *boqqo*; Ud. *boko*.

◊ TMC 1, 96.

PMong. ***baraɣa** shape, silhouette (форма, силуэт): MMong. *bara'a* (SH); WMong. *baraɣa* (L 83), *bara*; Kh. *barā*; Bur. *barā*; Kalm. *barān*; Ord. *barā*; Dag. *barā* (Тод. Даг. 124); Dong. *barā*.

◊ KW 33. Mong. *bara-ji-* 'to be unclearly visible' (Bur. *baraj-* , Khalkha *baraj-*) > Yak. *barij-*, *boruj-* 'id.', *barɨk*, *boruk* 'darkness'.

PTurk. ***bArɨk (?)** unclear silhouette (неясный силуэт): Karakh. *barɨq* (MK); Yak. *barɨk*, *boruk* 'darkness'.

◊ ДТС 84. A somewhat dubious etymon: the OT form is quoted from the Uzbek edition of MK, not confirmed by Clauson and Dizin; the sense of the passage is rather obscure; the Yak. form may be secondarily built on the basis of the borrowed *barij-*, *boruj-* 'be badly visible'. But cf. perhaps Kirgh. (ep.) *burqu* 'variety'?

PJpn. ***púrí** shape, sight (образ, вид): MJpn. *furi*; Tok. *fùri*; Kyo. *fúrí*; Kag. *fúri*.

◊ Usually regarded as a derivative from fur- 'to shake' which is rather dubious for semantic reasons.

‖ The Turkic match is rather weak (see notes above), but otherwise the etymology seems quite credible.

✱**bi̯ŏr[é]** give; take, collect: Tung. ***bū-**; Turk. ***bēr-**; Jpn. ***pírí-p-**.

PTung. ***bū-** to give (давать): Evk. *bū-*; Evn. *bō̄-*; Neg. *bū-*; Man. *bu-*; SMan. *bu-* (1398); Ul. *būwu*; Ork. *bū-*; Nan. *bū-*; Orch. *bū-*; Ud. *bū-*; Sol. *bū-*.

◊ TMC 1, 99.

PTurk. ***bēr-** to give (давать): OTurk. *ber-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *ber-* (MK, KB, IM); Tur. *ver-*; Gag. *ver-*; Az. *ver-*; Turkm. *ber-*; Sal. *be(r)-,ve(r)-*, *vē(r)-*; Khal. *ver-* (< Az.); MTurk. *ber-* (Abush., Sangl.); Uzb. *ber-*; Uygh. *bär-*; Krm. *ver-*; Tat. *bir-*; Bashk. *bir-*; Kirgh. *ber-*; Kaz. *ber-*; KBalk. *ber-*; KKalp. *ber-*; Kum. *ber-*; Nogh. *ber-*; SUygh. *per-*; Khak. *pir-*; Shr. *per-*; Oyr. *ber-*; Tv. *ber-*; Tof. *ber-*; Chuv. *par-*; Yak. *bier-*; Dolg. *bier-*.

◊ VEWT 70, ЭСТЯ 2, 114-116, EDT 354-5, Stachowski 59.

PJpn. ***pírí-p-** to gather, collect (собирать, подбирать): OJpn. *pjirip-*; MJpn. *fíróf-*; Tok. *hìro-*; Kyo. *hìrò-*; Kag. *hiró-*.

◊ JLTT 689. The Kyoto accent is aberrant (under literary influence?).

‖ АПиПЯЯ 282. The root seems quite secure, but reveals a variation of the vocalic reflex in the 2d syllable: **bi̯ŏre* (> Turk., TM), **bi̯ŏri-* (> Jpn.).

✱**bi̯óro (~ -ŕ-)** bank, rift: Tung. ***bir[u]-kan***; Mong. ***borgija***; Kor. ***pìrə́**.

PTung. ***bir[u]-kan** 1 precipice 2 mountain (1 обрыв, утес 2 гора): Man. *ḿoran* 1; Sol. *biraxan* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 84.

PMong. ***borgija** 1 river rift 2 hill, mound; frail soil with poor vegetation (1 речной порог, перекат 2 холм, насыпь; рыхлая земля с бедной растительностью): WMong. *borgija* 1, 2 (L 121); Kh. *borgio* 1, 2; Bur. *bōri* 2, *borjo-gor* 'неровный, каменистый'.

◊ Mong. > Evk. *borī*, Orok *bōri*. Cf. also *bartaɣa* (L 89) 'uneven terrain, broken country; hillock, knoll' (< **bortaɣa* ?); Ord. *boržoŋ* 'croûte de salpêtre ou de sel mêlés de terre qui se forme à la surface des terrains salpêtreux et sur les bords des lacs de sel', Kalm. *boržəŋ* 'быстрина'.

PKor. ***pìrə́** bank, precipice (берег, обрыв): MKor. *pìrə́*.

◊ Nam 276.

‖ Lee 1958, 106 (TM-Kor.).

✱**bi̯ŏŕu** calf, lamb: Tung. ***biaru***; Mong. ***biraɣu***; Turk. ***buŕagu***; Jpn. ***pítú-nsí***; Kor. ***puruk**.

PTung. ***biaru** sheep (овца): Evk. *bêru*.

◊ TMC 1, 78. Isolated in Evk., but despite Poppe 1972, 103, hardly < Mong. (because of semantic difference).

PMong. ***biraɣu** calf (1 year old) (теленок (1 года)): MMong. *bura'u* (SH), *buru* (MA); WMong. *biraɣu* (L 106); Kh. *ḿarū*; Bur. *burū*; Kalm. *bürū̄*; Ord. *birū* 'calf (2 year old)'; Mog. ZM *borōɣol* (20-8), KT *borōwol* (20-6); Mongr. *burū* (SM 36).

◊ KW 69. Mong. > Evk. *boro* 'one-year-old calf' (TMC 1, 96) ; Evk. **borow-čān* (unattested diminutive) > Russ. Siber. *borovčán, borovčák, borokčán* 'one-year-old calf, foal', *burún* '2-year-old calf' (Аникин 117, 145; but has no relation to Russ. *боров).*

PTurk. ***buŕa-gu** calf (теленок): OTurk. *buzaγu* (OUygh.); Karakh. *buzaγu* (MK, IM); Tur. *buzaγu*; dial. *buza-* 'to bear a calf', Osm. *buza-la-* 'id.'; Gag. *buzā*; Az. *bɨzov*; Turkm. *buzaw*; Sal. *puzo*, *pūzɨ* (ССЯ 457); MTurk. *buzaγu*, *buzaγ*, *buzaw* (Sangl., MA, Pav. C.); Uzb. *buzɔq*; Uygh. *mozaj*; Krm. *bɨzuv*, *buzuv*; Tat. *bɨzaw*; Bashk. *bɨδaw*; Kirgh. *muzō*; Kaz. *buzau*; KBalk. *buzow*; KKalp. *buzaw*; Kum. *buzaw*; Nogh. *buzaw*; Khak. *pɨzo*; Shr. *puza* (R); Oyr. *bɨza*; Tv. *bɨzā*; Chuv. *pъ^{w}ru*.

◊ EDT 391, VEWT 74-5, ЭСТЯ 2, 239-242, Лексика 438-439. Bulg. **burə^{w}u* > Hung. *borjú*, see MNyTESz 1, 345-346. The derivation from **boŕ* 'grey' and assumption of borrowing Turk. **buŕagu* > Mong. *biraγu* (Щербак 1997, 108) is hardly plausible.

PJpn. ***pítú-nsí** sheep (овца): OJpn. *pjituzi*; MJpn. *fítúzí*; Tok. *hìtsuji*; Kyo. *hítsújí*; Kag. *hitsúji*.

◊ JLTT 411. The word may indeed have **usi* 'ox' (with secondary voicing) in the second part, but Martin's analysis of the first part as *pi 'beard' seems hardly credible (in Kor. *jəm-so* the first part is also etymologically "goat", not "beard").

PKor. ***puruk** bull-calf (бычок): Mod. *puruk-so* (so 'cow'), *purugi*.

◊ KED 813.

‖ KW 69, Владимирцов 361, Poppe 21, 81, Новикова 1972, 117. In Jpn. we have to assume a secondary vocalic development in a long word: **pútí-(u)si* > **pítú(n)si* (the word is most probably a compound with **usi* 'cow' in the second part, cf. the Korean match).

✱bi̯òsá field, mountain slope: Tung. ***bosoga**; Turk. ***basɨg**; Jpn. ***bàsái**.

PTung. ***bosoga** North slope of a mountain (северный склон горы): Evk. *bosoγo*; Evn. *bosaγ*; Neg. *bosoγi̯da*, *bosoji̯*; Sol. *bosog* 'forest'.

◊ TMC 1, 97.

PTurk. ***basɨg** field, cornfield (поле): Tur. *bâsu-raχ* 'fenced garden, yard' (dial. Zonguldak - Eren 182); Tat. *basu*; *basaw* (R, Kas.); Bashk. *baϑɨw*; Chuv. *pozъ*.

◊ VEWT 64 (hardly < **bas-* 'to press'), Федотов I 450-451. Turk. > Mari *pasu*, Udm. *busɨ*.

PJpn. ***bàsái** early rice (ранние рисовые посевы): OJpn. *wase*; MJpn. *wàsé*; Tok. *wáse*; Kyo. *wásè*; Kag. *wasé*.

◊ JLTT 568. The accent in Kyoto is irregular (*wàsé* would be expected).

‖ The original meaning may be reconstructed as "vegetation on a mountain slope". All forms reflect a suffixed shape **bi̯òsa-gi* (-ga).

✱bi̯ŏt´è to cover: Mong. ***büte-, *büteɣe-**; Turk. ***baṭ-**; Jpn. ***pútá**.

PMong. ***büte-, *büteɣe-** to cover, stop up (покрывать, закрывать): MMong. *butugai* 'to finish, close' (HY 51), *bute'e-* (SH); WMong. *bütü-*, *bütege-*; Kh. *bütē-*, *bitū̄-*; Bur. *büte-*; Kalm. *büt-*; Ord. *bütē-*; Dag. *butu-*, *butūn* 'covered, secret'; S.-Yugh. *putū̄-le-*; Mongr. *pudē-* (SM 304).

◊ KW 70, MGCD 153. Mong. > Tat. *bite-*, Kaz. *betä-*.

PTurk. ***bạt-*** 1 to hide, conceal (trans.) 2 to hide (intr.) 3 to get lost (1 прятать, скрывать 2 прятаться 3 теряться): Karakh. *batur-* (MK) 1; Az. *bat-* 3; Uzb. *bɔt-* 2; Tat. *bat-* 2; Kum. *bat-* 3; SUygh. *pat-* 2; Chuv. *pɨdar-* 1, *pɨdan-* 2.

◊ Егоров 173, Федотов I 466-467, EDT 308, ЭСТЯ 2, 78-79: the root should be distinguished from **bat-* 'to sink' (v. sub **pàtʿá).*

PJpn. ***pútá*** lid, cover (крышка): MJpn. *futa*; Tok. *fùta*; Kyo. *fútá*; Kag. *fúta*.

◊ JLTT 419.

‖ The front vowel in Mong. is not quite regular here: **but-* would be normally expected.

✱**bi̯udi** a k. of weed, pigweed: Mong. ***budurgana***; Jpn. ***pìjú***; Kor. ***pìrăm***.

PMong. ***budurgana*** a k. of grass (Suaeda prostrata, Iljinia Regelii) (вид травы (поташник)): WMong. *budurγana* (L 131); Kh. *budargana*; Bur. *budargana*; Kalm. *budṛγənə* 'жерняк, вид Артемизии'; Ord. *budurGana*, *budurGanaq* 'Reamuria soongorica Maxim.'.

◊ KW 57. Mong. > Man. *budurxana* (see TMC 1, 102).

PJpn. ***pìjú*** pigweed, Amaranthus (марь, амарант): MJpn. *fijú*; Tok. *hiyu*.

PKor. ***pìrăm*** pigweed, Amaranthus (марь, амарант): MKor. *pirăm*, *pìrím*; Mod. *pirɨm*.

◊ Liu 411, 412, KED 852.

‖ Martin 238, Whitman 213. Despite the tone discrepancy, the Kor.-Jpn. parallel is still very convincing.

✱**bi̯údò (~ p-)** cold, fog: Mong. ***budaŋ***; Turk. ***bud-***; Jpn. ***pújù***.

PMong. ***budaŋ*** fog (туман): MMong. *budan* (SH, MA), *buduŋgu* 'dunkel' (HYt); WMong. *budaŋ* (L 129), *budun*; Kh. *budan*; Bur. *budan*; Kalm. *budŋ*; Ord. *budaŋ*; S.-Yugh. *budaŋ*.

◊ KW 57, MGCD 685.

PTurk. ***bud-*** 1 to freeze 2 to be sad, sorry (1 замерзать 2 грустить, тосковать): Karakh. *buδ-* (MK) 'to die of cold'; Tur. *buj-*, *bij-*, *büj-*, *bujux-* (dial.) 1; Az. *bɨj-*, *bujux-* (dial.) 1; Turkm. *buj-* 1; Uzb. *buj-γur-* 1, *bujuγ* 'cold' (dial.); Tat. *bojɨq-* 2; Bashk. *bojoq-* 2; Kirgh. *bujuq-* 1; Kaz. *bujɨq-* 1; KBalk. *bujuq-* 1, 2; KKalp. *bujuq-* 1; 'дремать'; Kum. *bujuq-* 'сжиматься от холода или испуга'; Khak. *puzux-* 2; Tv. *būq-* 2 (borrowed?).

◊ EDT 298, ЭСТЯ 2, 242-243.

PJpn. ***pújù*** winter (зима): OJpn. *puju*; MJpn. *fuju*; Tok. *fuyú*; Kyo. *fúyù*; Kag. *fúyu*.

◊ JLTT 419.

‖ A diphthong has to be reconstructed because of the *-j-reflex in Jpn.; cf. also Orok *pidul-* 'to freeze completely' (of a river) (TMC 2, 37).

✱**bi̯ùdo (~ -u)** gruel, paste; to swell in water: Mong. ***budaɣa***; Turk. ***botka***; Jpn. ***pùjàkà-***; Kor. ***pīd-, *pɨ́dVh***.

PMong. ***budaɣa*** 1 gruel, soup 2 food (каша, суп): MMong. *buda'an* (HY 24, SH), *budan* (IM), *budan* (MA) 1; WMong. *budaɣa(n)* (L 129) 1; Kh. *budā(n)* 1; Bur. *budā* 1; Kalm. *budān* 1; Ord. *budā* 1,2; Mog. ZM *bodɔ̄n* 'gruel' (15-1a); Dag. *badā* 2 (Тод. Даг. 123, MD 117), *bedā* 2 (MD 120), *budā* 1, 2; Dong. *budan* 2; Bao. *badaŋ* 2; S.-Yugh. *budān* 1; Mongr. *budā* (SM 30) 1, 2.

◊ KW 57, MGCD 165. Mong. > Man. *buda* etc. (TMC 1, 102; Doerfer MT 116; Rozycki 36).

PTurk. ***botka*** gruel, porridge (каша): MTurk. OKypch. *butɣa* (At-Tuhf.); Uzb. *bu̇tqa*; Uygh. *botqa*; Tat. *botqa*; Bashk. *butqa*; Kirgh. *botqo*; Kaz. *botqa*; KKalp. *botqa*; Nogh. *botqa*; Khak. *potxɨ*; Oyr. *botqo*; Tv. *botqa* (Krg.); Chuv. *pъ^{w}dъ^{w}*; Yak. *butuɣas*.

◊ VEWT 82, ЭСТЯ 2, 201. There seems to have existed a deriving verb **bot-* or **bod-* (*but-, *bud-) 'to stir (porridge)', reflected only in Yak. *butuj-*.

PJpn. ***pùjàkà-*** to swell (being immersed into water) (разбухать (в воде)): Tok. *fuyaké-*; Kyo. *fúyáké-*; Kag. *fuyaké-*.

◊ JLTT 797. The MJ accent is unattested. Kyoto and Tokyo point to original low tone, but Kagoshima is aberrant.

PKor. ***pīd-, *pɨ́dVh*** 1 to swell, get bloated (in water) 2 glue, paste, gruel (1 разбухать 2 клей, крахмал, каша): MKor. *phɨ́r* 2; Mod. *put-* (*pur-*) 1, *phul* 2.

◊ Nam 465, KED 832, 1763.

‖ Cf. perhaps also Man. *buʒu-* 'to cook': the form may go back to PTM **büdigu-*. MKor. *phɨ́r* < **pɨ́rh* < **pɨ́rVh* < **pɨ́dVh* (with an early vowel reduction, which explains the reflex -r as originally intervocalic).

✱**bi̯udu** down, feather, curly: Tung. ***bodu-***; Mong. ***buʒi- / *boʒi-***; Turk. ***bɨdɨk (*bɨdńɨk)***; Jpn. ***pí-n-kai***.

PTung. ***bodu-*** curly, fleecy (кудрявый, курчавый): Evn. *bodu̇ru̇qa*.

◊ TMC 1, 103. Attested only in Evn., but having quite probable external parallels.

PMong. ***buʒi- / *boʒi-*** 1 curly, fleecy 2 down (of bird) 3 be curly (1 кудрявый, пушистый 2 пух 3 быть курчавым): WMong. *buʒigir* 1 (L 143), *boʒuɣu* 2 (L 123), *buʒiji-* 3 (L 143); Kh. *buʒgir* 1, *boʒgo* 2; Kalm. *buʒəɣər* 1, *buʒī-* 3; Ord. *buʒī-* 3.

◊ KW 57-58. Mong. > Yak. *buʒur-*, Evk. *buʒir* etc., see Doerfer MT 78.

PTurk. ***bɨdɨk (*bɨdńɨk)*** moustache (усы): Karakh. *bɨδɨq* (MK), *bɨjɨq* (IM); Tur. *bɨjɨk*; Gag. *bɨjɨq*; Az. *bɨɣ*; Turkm. *mɨjq* (dial.); MTurk. *bɨɣ*, *mɨɣ* (Sangl.); Uzb. *mɨjɨq* (dial.); Krm. *mɨjɨx*; Tat. *mɨjɨq*; Bashk. *mɨjɨq*; Kirgh.

mɨjɨq; KBalk. *mɨjɨq*; KKalp. *mɨjɨq*; Kum. *mɨjɨq*; Nogh. *mɨjɨq*; Oyr. *mɨjɨq*; Chuv. *mъjъx*; Yak. *bɨtɨk*; Dolg. *bɨtɨk*.

◊ VEWT 73, EDT 301, ЭСТЯ 2, 304, Лексика 223, Stachowski 71.

PJpn. ***pí-n-kai*** beard (борода): OJpn. *pjige*; MJpn. *fígé*; Tok. *hìge*; Kyo. *hígé*; Kag. *híge*.

◊ JLTT 406. Historically a compound with **kai* 'hair'.

‖ KW 58, Владимирцов 174, Poppe 21, 53, Лексика 224. Despite Лексика 223, Turk. **budra* 'curls' (ЭСТЯ 2, 245) very probably represents the same root as **bɨdɨk* 'moustache' and also belongs here. Jpn. **pí-* should be regarded as an early contraction < **bi̯uj-* < **bi̯udu*.

✱**bi̯úga** wheel, pommel of a saddle: Mong. ***büɣü-rge***; Jpn. ***bà***; Kor. ***pàhói**.

PMong. ***büɣü-rge (~ -wr-)*** pommel of a saddle (лука седла): MMong. *buurkä* (MA 154); WMong. *bügürge* (L 145), *büürke* (MXTTT); Kh. *bŭreg*; Bur. *bŭrge*; Kalm. *bŭrəg*, *bŭrgə*; Ord. *bŭrge*; Dag. *būreg* (Тод. Дar. 128); S.-Yugh. *bŭrge*.

◊ KW 70-71, MGCD 173.

PJpn. ***bà*** wheel (колесо): OJpn. wa; MJpn. *wà*; Tok. *wá*; Kyo. *wǎ*; Kag. *wà*.

◊ JLTT 567.

PKor. ***pàhói*** wheel (колесо): MKor. *pàhói*; Mod. *pakhwi*.

◊ Nam 239, KED 710.

‖ Martin 246. Low tone in Jpn. is probably due to contraction. In Mong. one has to assume **büɣü-rge* < **biɣe-r-gü*. Cf. Manchu *faχun* 'rim of a wheel' (< Kor.?).

✱**bi̯ŭge** rock, hill: Tung. ***bug-***; Mong. ***böɣerüg***; Turk. ***bögür***; Jpn. ***bə***; Kor. ***pàhói**.

PTung. ***bug-*** hill, mound (холм, бугор): Evk. *buɣa*, *buɣan*; Evn. *bu̯ɣu̯n*, *buɣjeńe*, *buɣъndъ*; Ul. *bo(n)*; Nan. *buen*, *bugdure*.

◊ TMC 1, 101, 102.

PMong. ***böɣerüg*** 1 mountain slopes 2 hill (1 горные склоны 2 холм): WMong. *bögerüg*, *bögereg*; Kh. *bŏrög* 1; Kalm. *bŏrəg* 2.

◊ KW 57.

PTurk. ***bögür*** mountain slope (склон горы): Tur. *böɣür*; Turkm. *bövür* 'side'.

◊ ЭСТЯ 2, 207. The root is historically different from **bögür* 'kidney', but they are hard to distinguish within Turkic.

PJpn. ***bə*** hill, hillock (холм): OJpn. *wo*; MJpn. *wo*.

◊ JLTT 503.

PKor. ***pàhói*** rock (скала): MKor. *pàhói*; Mod. *pawi*.

◊ Nam 239, KED 708.

‖ Cf. **bŭkʿe*, **pāko*.

✱**bi̯ūgi** a k. of insect: Tung. ***bugu-tuna**; Mong. ***böɣe-sü**; Turk. ***bō̱g**; Jpn. ***pìwə̀-musi**.

PTung. ***bugu-tuna** 1 mosquito 2 gad-fly (1 комар 2 слепень): Evk. *bu̯gu̯tu̯na* 1; Man. *bekto* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 102, 123.

PMong. ***böɣe-sü** louse (вошь): MMong. *bo'esun* (HY 12, SH), *buwǎsu-tu* 'with lice', *buäsun* (MA), *būsūn* (LH); WMong. *bögesü(n)* (L 125); Kh. *bō̱s(ön)*; Bur. *bō̱he(n)*; Kalm. *bō̱sn̥*; Ord. *bō̱sü*; Mog. *busu* (Weiers); ZM *bosun* (21-8); Dag. *būs* (Тод. Даг. 128); Dong. *bosun*; Bao. *bosuŋ*, *bosoŋ*; S.-Yugh. *bū̱sən*; Mongr. *bōsə* (SM 29).

◊ KW 57, MGCD 160.

PTurk. ***bō̱g, *bō̱g-en, *bō̱g-ček** 1 insect 2 phalanx, tarantula 3 gad-fly 4 wolf (1 насекомое 2 фаланга, тарантул 3 слепень 4 волк): Karakh. *bög*, *böj* 2 (MK), *bij* 2 (MK - Oghuz); Tur. *böɣ* 2, *büɣe*, *büɣe-lek* 3, *böšek* 1, (dial.) 4; Gag. *böšek* 1; Az. *böv* 2; Turkm. *mō̱j* 2, *bij* 2, *mō̱šek* 4; MTurk. *bew* 2 (Sangl.); Uzb. *bij* 2; Krm. *bij* 2; Tat. *böjɛ* 2, *böšɛk* 1; Bashk. *böjö* 2, *böšäk* 1; Kirgh. *bō̱*, *böj*, *böjü*, *böjön* 3; Kaz. *büji* 2; KKalp. *mij* 2; Kum. *mija* 2; Nogh. *bij* 2, 'queen bee', *böšek* 'beetle'; Chuv. *pъ^{w}van* 3.

◊ EDT 323, VEWT 82-3, Лексика 184. Partly contaminated with **böke-l* 'gad-fly ' (v. sub **pi̯ŭk´í*). The form in -ček is a diminutive. Turk. > Hung. bögöly 'gad-fly', see Gombocz 1912.

PJpn. ***pìwə̀-musi** a k. of insect (day-fly, ephemera) (вид насекомого (поденка, мотылек)): MJpn. *fiwòmúsì*.

◊ JLTT 408.

‖ KW 57, VEWT 82-3, АПиПЯЯ 294, Лексика 184. The Jpn. tone seems to contradict Turkic length (but is not sufficiently well attested).

✱**bi̯ugu** joint: Tung. ***bog-**; Mong. ***bog-tu**; Turk. ***bogum**; Jpn. ***pu**.

PTung. ***bog-** 1 cuff, wristband 2 shoulder (1 обшлаг 2 плечо): Evk. *boɣjan* 1; Evn. *bu̯jan* 1; Ud. *bogdolo* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 87, 118.

PMong. ***bog-** collar bone, shoulder bone (ключица, плечевая кость): WMong. *boɣtu* (L 111), 'arm bone, part of arm from shoulder to elbow, part of animal's front leg' (Kow. 1211); Kh. *bogt(o)* 'elbow bone'; *bugu̯j* 'distal end of forearm, forearm, carpus'; Bur. *bogto* 'shoulder bone'; Kalm. *bōG*, *bokčə* (*čimgn*), *boktə* 'shoulder bone'; Ord. *boGto* 'elbow bone'; *bugūi* 'ankle' (Khorch.).

◊ KW 49, 53, Дыбо 226. The variant **bugu̯j* (< **bogu̯j*) is conaminating (and sometimes hard to separate from) **bugu-j* 'bracelet, noose' (v. sub **bŭkà*). Mong. > Yak. *boxto unuox* 'animal's radial bone'.

PTurk. ***bogum** joint (сустав): Karakh. *boɣɨm*, *boɣun* (MK); Tur. *boɣun*, *boɣum*; Turkm. *boGun*; Sal. *puɣum* (Kakuk); MTurk. *boɣun* (Sangl., Бор. Бад., Pav. C.); Uzb. *bu̯ɣin*; Uygh. *boɣam*; Krm. *buvun*; Tat.

buwɨn; Bashk. *bɨwɨn*; Kirgh. *mūn*; Kaz. *buwɨn*; KKalp. *buwɨn*; Kum. *bɨwɨn*; Nogh. *buwɨn*; Khak. *pun*; Oyr. *mun*, *pūn* (dial.).

◊ EDT 316, ЭСТЯ 2, 170-171, Лексика 260, TMN 2, 348-349.

PJpn. ***pu** joint, knot (место соединения, узел): OJpn. *pu*.

◊ JLTT 416.

‖ KW 53, ЭСТЯ 2, 171; Дыбо 309, Лексика 260.

✸**bi̯ùjlu (~ -i)** blood: Tung. ***boldu-**; Mong. ***bülüŋ**; Kor. ***píh**.

PTung. ***boldu-** pulse (пульс): Ork. *boldụni*.

◊ TMC 1, 92. Attested only in Orok, but with rather probable external parallels.

PMong. ***bülüŋ** blood clot (сгусток крови): WMong. *bülüŋ*, *bülin* (L 146, 147); Kh. *bülen*; Bur. *büliŋ*.

PKor. ***píh** blood (кровь): MKor. *phí*; Mod. *phi*.

◊ Nam 465, KED 1771.

‖ Medial *-jl- is reconstructed to account for loss of *-l- in Kor. (-h should be regarded as a suffix, as in a number of other cases).

✸**bi̯ujri** well, spring: Tung. ***bira**; Mong. ***bürü-dü**; Jpn. ***bì**; Kor. ***ù-**.

PTung. ***bira** 1 river 2 spring (1 река 2 ручей, ключ): Evk. *bira* 1, *biraja* 1,2; Evn. *bịra* 1, *bịraqčan* 2; Neg. *bịja* 1, 2, *bịjaxān* 2; Man. *bira* 1, *biraGa*, *birGan*, *birχa* 2; SMan. *birā* 1 (2087); Jurch. *bira* (40) 1; Ul. *bịra* 2; Nan. *bịrã̄* 2; Orch. *biaka* 2; Ud. *bā̄ʿsa* 1 (Корм. 212); Sol. *bira* 1, 2.

◊ TMC 1, 84.

PMong. ***bürü-dü** 1 swamp (with a spring) in a river bed 2 well (1 болото (с источником) в русле реки 2 криница): WMong. *bürüdü* 1; Kh. *bürd* 2; Kalm. *bürdə* 1; Ord. *bürdü* 1.

◊ KW 67.

PJpn. ***bì (~ *bùi, *bə̀i)** well (колодец): OJpn. wi; MJpn. *wì*; Tok. *i*.

◊ JLTT 420.

PKor. ***ù-** well (колодец): MKor. *ù-mɨ́r*; Mod. *umul*.

◊ Nam 389, KED 1239 (-mɨr 'water').

‖ Whitman 1985, 139, 245 (Kor.-Jpn.). Loss of final resonant in Kor. makes us reconstruct the medial -j-, which also explains several other phenomena: *-i-vowel in PTM (-u- would be expected after a labial); *b- in PJ (*p- would be expected before i). Korean has also lost the initial *b-, as in some other cases; cf. in this respect the interesting Old Koguryo and Silla forms: Old Koguryo **wöl*, Silla **ŏl* (see Miller 1979, 9). Jpn. **bì* < **bi̯ujr(i)-gV*.

✸**bi̯ǜkʿa (~ -u)** side (of body), thigh: Tung. ***bōKan**; Mong. ***bokaɣur**; Turk. ***bɨkɨn**.

PTung. ***bōKan** thigh (бедро, ляжка): Evk. *bōkan*; Evn. *bōqъ̣n*; Man. *buxi*; Ud. *bōʿ* (Корм. 213).

◊ TMC 1, 90.

PMong. ***bokaɣur** behind, buttocks (зад, ягодицы): MMong. *baqa'ur* (MA), *baγūr* (IM), *baqaūr* (LH), *baɣaɣur* 'derrière' (Lig.VMI); Kh. *buxar* (Most.); Kalm. *bokūr* 'Schurke, Schelm'; Mog. *buγār* (Ramstedt 1906); Dong. *boGo*; Bao. *boGor*.

◊ KW 50.

PTurk. ***bɨkɨn** thigh (бедро): OTurk. *bɨqɨn* 'hip' (OUygh.); Karakh. *bɨqɨn* 'hip, flank' (MK); Tur. *bɨkɨn* (dial.); Turkm. *bɨqɨn*; MTurk. *bɨqɨn* 'hip, flank' (Sangl.); Uzb. *biqin*; Uygh. *biqin*; Tat. *bɨγɨn* (Sib.); Bashk. *bɨγɨm*; Kirgh. *mɨqɨn*; Kaz. *mɨqɨn*; KBalk. *bɨγɨn*; Khak. *pɨxtɨ*; Oyr. *bɨqɨn*, *mɨqɨn*; Tv. *bɨγɨn*.

◊ EDT 316, VEWT 73, TMN 2, 301, ЭСТЯ 2, 304-305, Лексика 280. The Khak. form is a rebuilt posessive form.

‖ Дыбо 6, Лексика 280. A Western isogloss.

✱**bi̯ukʹe** vessel; gourd: Tung. ***buKu-**; Jpn. ***pùkù(m)pái (~ -ia)**; Kor. ***pàk**.

PTung. ***buKu-** 1 birch cradle 2 birch bark put into cradle 3 suitcase (1 берестяная люлька 2 береста, которую кладут в люльку 3 чемодан): Evk. *bukun* 2; Evn. *buk* 1; Man. *buqtulin* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 105.

PJpn. ***pùkù(m)pái (~ -ia)** gourd (тыква): MJpn. *fùkùbe*; Tok. *fukube*.

PKor. ***pàk** 1 gourd; scoop 2 bamboo basket (1 тыква; черпак 2 бамбуковая корзина): MKor. *pàkòní* 2; Mod. *pak* 1, *paguni* 2.

◊ Nam 236, KED 702, 710.

‖ Martin 232. An Eastern isogloss. In Kor. the root could contaminate with **pago* (q.v.), which can explain the prosodic irregularity.

✱**bi̯ŭkʹí** to bow, bend: Tung. ***buk-**; Mong. ***bök-**; Turk. ***bük-**; Jpn. ***pìnkàm-**.

PTung. ***buk-** hump, to bend (горб, гнуться): Evk. *buke-*; Evn. *bökčen-*; Neg. *boxon*; Man. *boqto*, *buqtu*, *buqda-*; Ul. *boqo(n)*; Ork. *boqqo*; Nan. *bukũ*; Ud. *boxo*; Sol. *buktur*.

◊ TMC 1, 104. Man. > Dag. *bogto* 'hill, mound' (Тод. Даг. 126).

PMong. ***bök-** 1 hump 2 to bend (tr.) 3 to bend, bow, incline 4 humpbacked (1 горб 2 гнуть 3 сгибаться, наклоняться, кланяться 4 горбатый): MMong. *bokotur*, *bogotur* (SH), *bukä-tu* (MA) 4; WMong. *böke* 1, *bökeji-*, *bökü̈i-* (L 126, 127) 2; Kh. *böx(ön)* 1, *bögtör* 4; Bur. *büxe(n)* 1, *bükti-*, *bügdi-* 3; Kalm. *bökn̥* 1; Ord. *bökö* 1, *bögötör* 4; Mog. ZM *bökkän* 'the hump of a camel'; Dag. *bug* 1 (Тод. Даг. 128), (MGCD) *buēktuē*, *buku*; S.-Yugh. *bögön* 1; Mongr. *pugī-*, *bukī-* (Huzu) 3.

◊ KW 55, MGCD 161, 162, 181. Mong. > Oyr. *bökö-* 'bend (tr.)', Yak *bököj-* 'bow, bend' (intr.), Kirgh. *bök-* 'припасть к земле, опуститься на колени (о верблюдице, для случки)'.

PTurk. ***bük-** 1 to bow, bend 2 to curve, bend, wrap smth. (1 сгибаться, кланяться 2 сгибать, складывать, свертывать): Karakh. *bük-* 1 (MK); Tur. *bük-* 2; Gag. *bük-* 2; Az. *bük-* 2; Turkm. *bük-* 2; Sal. *pöx-* 2 (ССЯ 454); MTurk. *bük-* 1 (Sangl. Pav. C.); Uzb. *buk-* 2; Uygh. *pük-* 2; Krm. *büg-ül-* 1 (K); Tat. *bög-* 2; Bashk. *bögö-* 2; Kirgh. *bük-* (-gV-) 2; Kaz. *bük/g-* 2; KBalk. *bük-* (-gV-) 2; KKalp. *bük-* (-gV-) 2; Kum. *bük-* (-gV-) 2; Nogh. *bük-* (-gV-) 2; Khak. *pük-* 2; Shr. *pük-* 2; Oyr. *bük-* (-gV) 2; Tv. *bük-* 'to wrap'; Chuv. *pəʷk-* 2; Yak. *bük* 'a bend, flexion'; *bügülē-* 2.

◊ EDT 324, VEWT 91-92, ЭСТЯ 2, 290-293.

PJpn. ***pìnkàm-** be twisted, warped (быть искривленным, покоробленным): MJpn. *figàm-*; Tok. *higám-*; Kyo. *hígám-*; Kag. *higám-*.

◊ JLTT 688.

‖ EAS 147, KW 55, Poppe 56, ОСНЯ 1, 191. Despite Doerfer MT 56, TM is hardly borrowed from Mong., and (despite TMN 2, 352) the Turk. and Mong. forms are certainly related. Cf. also Turk. **bok-* 'to cross (legs), bend (knees)' (VEWT 79, EDT 311), WMong. *boki-* (KW 49) 'to bend', reflecting a back-row variant of the same root. Part of the Mongolian (**bög-*) and TM forms seem to go back to a variant **bi̯ŭki*.

✱**bi̯ule** wick: Tung. ***bulin**; Turk. ***bilik**.

PTung. ***bulin** wick (фитиль): Neg. *bulin*; Ul. *buli(n)*; Nan. *bulĩ*.

◊ TMC 1, 108.

PTurk. ***bilik, *bEÍ-mek(e)** 1 wick 2 tinder, mushroom (1 фитиль 2 трут, гриб): Karakh. *bilik* (MK) 1; Uzb. *pilik* 1; Uygh. *pilik* (Jarr.) 1; Tat. *meškɛ* 2; Bashk. *bäšmäk* 2; Kirgh. *bilik* 1; KKalp. *pilik* 1; Khak. *miske* 2; Shr. *meške* 2; Oyr. *meške* 2.

◊ EDT 339, VEWT 69, 72, ЭСТЯ VI.

‖ TMC 1, 108. A Turk.-Tung. isogloss

✱**bi̯ŭle** to rub, whet: Tung. ***bula**; Mong. ***büle-**; Turk. ***bile-**; Kor. ***pjə̀ró**.

PTung. ***bula** thorn (шип, колючка): Man. *bula*; SMan. *bəlā* (2160).

◊ TMC 1, 106. Attested only in Manchu, with possible external parallels.

PMong. ***büle-** to bore, prick, incise (with a knife etc.) (колоть, надрезать (ножом и т. п.)): WMong. *büle-* (L 146); Kh. *büle-*; Kalm. *bül-*.

◊ KW 66.

PTurk. ***bile-** 1 to sharpen 2 whetstone (1 точить 2 точильный камень): Karakh. *bile-* (MK) 1; Tur. *bile-* 1; Gag. *bile-* 1, *bilä* 2; Az. *bülöv*, *bilöv* 2; Turkm. *bilev* 2; MTurk. *bile-* 1, *bilew* 2 (Pav. C.); Uygh. *bilä-* (Jarr.) 1; Krm. *bile-* 1, *bülew* 2; Tat. *belɛw* 2; Bashk. *beläw* 2; Kirgh. *bülö* 2; Kaz. *bilew* 2; KBalk. *bile-* 1, *bilew* 2; Kum. *bile-* 1, *bilew* 2; Nogh. *bilew* 2; Khak. *pəlö* 2 (R); Shr. *pile* 2; Oyr. *bilü* 2; Tv. *bili-* (Castr.- Soj.) 1; Chuv. *pəʷlev* 2.

◊ ЭСТЯ 2, 142-143, EDT 332-333 (< **bi* 'blade', denom. - but Turkm. shortness contradicts this derivation). Turk. **bile-gü* > Mong. **bile-γü* id., see Щербак 1997, 106.

PKor. ***pjə̀ró*** inkstone (for rubbing the ink from an ink stick) (чернильный камень): MKor. *pjə̀ró*; Mod. *pjəru*.

◊ Nam 258, KED 775.

‖ Turk. **bile-* is usually derived from **bij* 'edge' (q. v.) which is hardly the case (**bijle-* cannot be reconstructed).

✱**bi̯ŭlò** to soak, gush forth: Tung. ***b[ü]lkü-***; Mong. ***bul(ka)-, *bilka-***; Turk. ***bulak***; Jpn. ***pùrə̀ (~ -ua)***; Kor. ***puri- (~ -i-)***.

PTung. ***b[ü]lkü-*** 1 to soak, wet 2 to splash, swash (1 смочить, намочить 2 плескаться, бить ключом): Evk. *bilki-* 1, *bulkiw-* 2; Man. *bulχu-* 2; Nan. *bi̯lχo-* 1, *bolqo-* ~ *bulχo-* 2; Ud. *beäku-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 82, 108. The vocalism is not quite clear because of the doublets with -i- and -u- (due to interdialectal borrowing and perhaps also Mongolian influence, see below).

PMong. ***bul(ka)-, *bilka-*** 1 to soak, wet 2 to issue from the ground (as water) 3 to overflow (1 мочить 2 вытекать из земли (о воде) 3 переливаться, литься через край): WMong. *bulqa-* (L 136), *bulqu-* 1, *bulara-* 2 (L 133), *bilqa-* 3 (L 105); Kh. *bulxa-* 1, *ƀalxa-* 3; Bur. *bulxa-* 'to gargle', *bilxa-* 3; Kalm. *bulxə-* 1, *bilxə-* 3.

◊ KW 45, 60. Mong. > Kaz. *bilqi-* etc. (VEWT 74).

PTurk. ***bulak*** spring, well (источник, колодец): OTurk. *bulaq* (OUygh.); Karakh. *bulaq* (KB, IM); Tur. *bulak*; Az. *bulaG*; Turkm. *bulaq*; Khal. *bula:G* 'well; tear'; MTurk. *bulaɣ* (Abush.), *bulaq* (Sangl.); Uzb. *bulɔq*; Uygh. *bulaq* (dial.); Tat. *bolaq*; Kaz. *bulaq*; KBalk. *bulaq*; KKalp. *bulaq*; Kum. *bulaq*; Nogh. *bulaq*; SUygh. *bulaq*; Khak. *pulux* (R - Sag.); Shr. *puluq* (R); Tv. *bɨlaq;* Tof. *bɨlaq* (Рас. ФиЛ).

◊ EDT 336, VEWT 87, ЭСТЯ 2, 257-258, TMN 2, 355. Cf. Kaz. *bula-* 'to flow, gush forth'. Turk. > WMong. *bulaɣ*, Kalm. *buləg* (KW 59; TMN ibid., Щербак 1997, 110), whence Evk. *bulak* (Doerfer MT 125).

PJpn. ***pùrə̀ (~ -ua)*** bath (ванна, купание): MJpn. *fùrò*; Tok. *fúro*, *furó*; Kyo. *fùró*; Kag. *furó*.

◊ JLTT 418.

PKor. ***puri-*** to soak, make wet (мочить): Mod. *puri-* (SKE 211), *pulli-*.

◊ KED 836.

‖ TMC 1, 108 (TM-Mong.). An expressive root with difficult reconstruction. The two variants in Mong. and TM are probably due to interdialectal borrowing, but direct borrowing from Mong. into TM is hard to justify: the meanings are not in mutual correlation (Mong. *bilka-* is 'overflow', while *bilki-* in TM is 'to wet, moisten'; Mong. *bulka-* is 'to dip, rinse', while TM *bulku-* is 'to splash'). The Korean reflex is not quite certain (Martin KED 836 considers *pulli-* to be a factitive of *pūd-* 'swell' - which is, however, somewhat questionable).

✱**bi̯ura** to abandon, lose: Tung. ***burī-**; Turk. ***bɨrak-**; Jpn. ***pàra-p- / *pára-p-**; Kor. ***pəri- / *pǎrí-**.

PTung. ***burī-** 1 to let slip 2 to disappear 3 to let go (1 выронить, потерять 2 исчезать, пропадать 3 отпускать): Evk. *burī-* 1; Evn. *beri-* 1; Man. *burubu-* 2; Jurch. *buru-wi-xie* (840) 1; Orch. *bui-* 1; Sol. *burī-* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 113.

PTurk. ***bɨrak-** 1 to let, to abandon 2 to send 3 to throw (1 бросать 2 покидать 3 посылать): Karakh. *bɨraq-*, *bɨraγ-* (IM) 1; Tur. *bɨrak-* 1; Az. *burax-* 1, 2; MTurk. *bɨraq-* (Pav. C.), (OKypch.) 1; Krm. *bɨraq-* (K) 1, 3; Bashk. *bɨraq-tɨr-* 'to throw out'; Kum. *burax-* (dial.) 2; Shr. *purqa-* (R) 3; Oyr. *bɨrk-ɨra-* 'to scatter, become scattered'; Chuv. *pъʷrax-* 1, 3; Yak. *bɨrax-* 1, 3; Dolg. *bɨrak-* 1, 3.

◊ VEWT 74, ЭСТЯ 2, 307-308, Егоров 148, Федотов I 399-400, Stachowski 71.

PJpn. ***pàra-p- / *pára-p-** to sweep away, to drive out (сметать, убирать, выгонять): OJpn. *para-p-*; MJpn. *fárà-f- / fàrá-f-*; Tok. *hará-*; Kyo. *hárá-*; Kag. *hàrà-*.

◊ JLTT 684. Accent is not quite clear: modern dialects point to **pàràp-*, but RJ has a variation of *fáràf-* and *fàráf-*.

PKor. ***pəri- / *pǎrí-** to throw away, to abandon (выкидывать, покидать): MKor. *pǎrí- / pərí-*; Mod. *pəri-*.

◊ Nam 241, KED 759-760.

‖ SKE 184, 192, Martin 243. The Jpn. form is dubious because of irregular devoicing and somewhat aberrant semantics; cf. also an odd variation between **pǎr-* and **pər-* in Kor., suggesting that we may be dealing with more than one root here: one of them could have also resulted in Mong. *bara-* 'to end, finish'. Turkic has a peculiar disyllabic structure and Ramstedt may be right in suggesting an old compound; for the second part cf. **ek-* ˈto sow' < ˈto throw' (v. sub **pˈèkˈa*).

✱**bi̯ure** flea: Mong. ***bürge**; Turk. ***bürče / *bürge**; Kor. ***pjərók**.

PMong. ***bürge** 1 flea 2 louse (1 блоха 2 вошь): MMong. *burge* (HY 12) 2, *birik* (IM) 1, *burkä* (MA) 1, *būrge* (Lig.VMI) 1; WMong. *bürge*, *büürge* 2; Kh. *bū̄reg* 2; Kalm. *bū̄rgə* 1; Ord. *bū̄rge* 1; Dong. *bəŋγə*; Bao. *bərgə*; Mongr. *būrge* (SM 35), 2 (MGCD *burgə*).

◊ KW 71, MGCD 513. Cf. also (L 138) *buryuusun* 'mosquito, gnat'. Length in Northern forms may be expressive.

PTurk. ***bürče / *bürge** flea (блоха): Karakh. *bürge* (MK, IM); Tur. *pire*; Gag. *pire*; Az. *pirä*; Turkm. *büre*; MTurk. *bürge* (MA, Pav. C., Sangl.); Uzb. *burga*; Uygh. *bürgä*; Krm. *bürče*; Tat. *börčɛ*; Bashk. *börsä*; Kirgh. *bürgö*; Kaz. *bürge*, *bürše* (dial.), *burša* (dial.); KBalk. *bürče*; KKalp. *bürge*; Kum. *bürče*; Nogh. *bürše*; Chuv. *pъʷrźa*.

◊ EDT 362, VEWT 92, ЭСТЯ 2, 298-299, Лексика 182-183. The Kypch. form **bürče* is a diminutive.

PKor. ***pjàrók** flea (блоха): MKor. *pjàrók*; Mod. *pjəruk*.

◊ Nam 258, KED 775.

‖ KW 71, SKE 198, ОСНЯ 2, 99-100, Лексика 183. In Turkic one would rather expect **bir-*: this variant is indeed reflected in most Oghuz languages; others may have reintroduced -ü- under Mongolian influence.

✱**bi̯uri** one: Mong. ***büri**; Turk. ***bir**; Jpn. ***pitə**; Kor. ***pìrɨ́-**.

PMong. ***büri** all, each (каждый, все): MMong. *buri* (SH, HYt); WMong. *büri* (L 148); Kh. *bür*; Bur. *büri*; Kalm. *bürə*; Ord. *büri*; S.-Yugh. *burən*; Mongr. *bu* (SM 30), *bur*, *burən*.

◊ KW 67, MGCD 178.

PTurk. ***bir (*bīr)** one (один): OTurk. *bir* (Orkh., Yen., OUygh.); Karakh. *bir* (MK, KB, IM); Tur. *bir*; Gag. *biŕ*; Az. *bir*; Turkm. *bir*; Sal. *pyr*, *pir*, *pur* (Kakuk); Khal. *bi*; MTurk. *bir* (Abush., Sangl.); Uzb. *bir*; Uygh. *bir*; Krm. *bir/bɨr*; Tat. *ber*; Bashk. *ber*; Kirgh. *bir*; Kaz. *bir*; KBalk. *bir*; KKalp. *bir*; Kum. *bir*; Nogh. *bir*; SUygh. *bɨr*; Khak. *pər*; Shr. *pir*; Oyr. *bir*; Tv. *bir*; Tof. *bir*; Chuv. *pə^{w}r*; Yak. *bīr*; Dolg. *bīr*, *bir*.

◊ VEWT 76, TMN 2, 383-4, EDT 353-4, ЭСТЯ 2, 146-151, Егоров 157, Федотов I 421-422, Stachowski 61. Cf. also Khak. *praj* 'all', Tat. dial. *pəräj* 'any' (KCTT 179), Az. *birä-di* 'one, all together'.

PJpn. ***pitə** one (один): OJpn. *pjito*; MJpn. *fító-*, *fìtó-*, *fìtò-*; Tok. *hitótsu*; Kyo. *hîtótsu*; Kag. *hitótsu (xi̯tóT)*.

◊ JLTT 411.

PKor. ***pìrɨ́-** at first, begin (сначала, впервые, начинать): MKor. *pìrɨ́s*, *pìrɨ́só*; Mod. *piroso*.

◊ Nam 276, 277, KED 852.

‖ KW 67, Martin 238, АПиПЯЯ 73, 99, 277. Doerfer (TMN 2, 384) doubts Ramstedt's Turk.-Mong. comparison for phonetic reasons, which is hardly justified: Turkic frequently reveals a secondary delabialization -ir-, -il- < *-ür-, *-ül- (especially after labials).

✱**bi̯ùsí (~ p-)** to hide: Turk. ***bus-**; Jpn. ***pìsə́-ka**; Kor. ***pskɨ́-**.

PTurk. ***bus-** to hide, lay an ambush (прятаться, устраивать засаду): OTurk. *bus-* (OUygh.- Suv.); Karakh. *bus-* (MK, KB, IM); Tur. *pus-*; Az. *pus-* 'to eavesdrop'; Turkm. *bus-*; Khal. *bus-xo* 'Hinterhalt, Lauer'; MTurk. *bus-* (Pav. C., Sangl.); Uzb. *pis-; pus-* (dial.); Tat. *pos-*; Bashk. *buϑ-*.

◊ EDT 371, ЭСТЯ 2, 278-279, TMN 2, 291-292.

PJpn. ***pìsə́-ka** hidden, secret (тайный, секретный): OJpn. *p(j)is(w)oka*; MJpn. *fisóka*; Tok. *hísoka*; Kyo. *hìsókà*; Kag. *hisoká*.

◊ JLTT 409. Cf. also **pìsòmà-* 'to lie concealed' (see JLTT 690).

PKor. ***pskɨ́-** to extinguish, go out (fire) (тухнуть, гаснуть): MKor. *pskɨ́-*; Mod. *k:ɨ-*.

◊ Nam 71, KED 233.

‖ Korean has a usual loss of narrow vowel between a stop and a fricative. The back row in PT is not quite regular (**büs-* would be expected). It might be better to reconstruct **biso* (> Turk. **bɨs-*, with a subsequent labial assimilation > **bus-).* In TM cf. perhaps Nan. *busĩ* 'rodents' stores' (TMC 1, 115).

✱**bòdà** body; intestines, belly: Mong. ***boda**; Turk. ***bod**; Jpn. ***bàtà**.

PMong. ***boda** substance, matter, body (предмет, сущность, тело): MMong. *bodo* 1, 2 (SH); WMong. *boda* (L 108); Kh. *bod*; Bur. *bodo*; Kalm. *bodə*; Ord. *bodo*.

◊ KW 48. Mong. > Evk. *bodo*. The root should be distinguished from **bodu* 'cattle'. Philosophical connotations may have been acquired under the influence of Sanskr. *bhūta*, but a direct loan from Sanskr. is hardly credible, despite Sukhebatar 40.

PTurk. ***bod** 1 body, stature 2 self 3 kin, tribe 4 counter for persons 5 length (1 тело, стан, рост 2 сам 3 род 4 сч. слово для лиц 5 длина): OTurk. *bod* 1, 2, 4 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *bod* 1 (MK, KB), *boj* 3 (MK - Oghuz), *bod* 4 (KB); Tur. *boj* 1; Gag. *boj* 1, 5; Az. *boj* 1; Turkm. *boj* 1; Sal. *bojaɣɨr* (< *bojɨ aɣɨr*) 'pregnant' (ССЯ); Khal. *bod* 1; MTurk. *boj* 1 (Sangl., MA, Pav. C.); Uzb. *bǫj* 1, 5; Uygh. *boj* 1, 5; Krm. *boj* 1, 2, 5; Tat. *buj* 5; Bashk. *buj* 1, 5; Kirgh. *boj* 1, 2, 5; Kaz. *boj* 1, 2, 5; KBalk. *boj* 1, 5; KKalp. *boj* 1, 2, 5; Kum. *boj* 1, 2, 5; Nogh. *boj* 1, 5; SUygh. *poz* 1, 4; Khak. *pos* 2; Shr. *pozu* 2; Oyr. *boj* 2, 5; Tv. *bot* 2; Chuv. *pü* 1, 5.

◊ EDT 296-297, VEWT 77, TMN 2, 358-361, ЭСТЯ 2, 176-178, Лексика 265.

PJpn. ***bàtà** 1 intestines 2 belly (1 внутренности, кишки 2 живот): OJpn. *wata* 1; Tok. *watá* 1; Kyo. *wátà* 1; Kag. *watá* 1.

◊ JLTT 569.

‖ EAS 57, Poppe 21, 53, KW 48, VEWT 77, АПиПЯЯ 279, Лексика 266. Despite TMN 2, 360, Mong. is hardly borrowed from Turk.

✱**bŏdé** to jump, trot: Tung. ***buduri-**; Mong. ***büdüri-**; Turk. ***büdi-**; Jpn. ***bə́ntə́r-**; Kor. ***ptùi-**.

PTung. ***buduri-** to hurry (спешить, торопиться): Nan. *buduri-*.

◊ TMC 1, 103. Manchu *buduli-* 'to stumble' may be related, but may also be borrowed < Mong. (see Doerfer MT 78); the Nanai form, however, is hardly borrowed because of different semantics.

PMong. ***büdüri-** to stumble (спотыкаться): WMong. *büdüri-*, *büdüre-* (L 144); Kh. *büdre-*; Bur. *büder-*; Kalm. *büdṛ-*; Ord. *büdür(e)-*; Dag. *buduri-* (Тод. Даг. 128); Dong. *buʒiri-*; S.-Yugh. *budər-*; Mongr. *budəri-* (SM 31).

◊ KW 66, MGCD 173. Mong. > Yak. *büdür* etc. (VEWT 91), Evk. *budir-* etc. (Doerfer MT 78).

PTurk. ***büdi-** 1 to dance 2 to jib 3 dance (1 танцевать 2 топтаться 3 танец): OTurk. *büdi-* (OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *büδi-* (MK) 1; Tat. *bej-* 1;

Bashk. *beje-* 1; Kirgh. *bij* 3, *bij-le-* 1; Kaz. *bij* 3, *bij-le-* 1, *büji*-1 (dial.); KKalp. *bij* 3; Kum. *bij* 3, *biji-* 1; Nogh. *biji-*; Oyr. *pije-le-* 1 (ГАЯ); Yak. *bitij-* 1, 2, *bitī* 'танец'.

◊ EDT 300, VEWT 91, ЭСТЯ 2, 131-132 (the word has been contaminated with another root, reflected in Mong. *böžī-* (KW 54) [despite Щербак 1997, 111, hardly borrowed from Turk.] - see PA **pēǯo.*

PJpn. ***bə́ntə́r-** to jump (прыгать): OJpn. *wodor-*; MJpn. *wódór-*; Tok. *òdor-*; Kyo. *ódór-*; Kag. *odór-*.

◊ JLTT 740.

PKor. ***ptùi-** to jump (прыгать): MKor. *ptùi-*; Mod. *t:wi-*.

◊ Nam 169, KED 513.

‖ Korean demonstrates a frequent vowel loss between two stops. Note that Mong., TM and Jpn. reflect a common derived stem **bode-rV-*.

✱bodi (~ -e) a k. of platform: Tung. ***bedu- / *budu-**; Turk. ***böd**; Kor. ***ptə́i (?)**.

PTung. ***bedu- / *budu-** small table (столик): Neg. *bet*; Ul. *beduli*; Ork. *bedu*; Nan. *bedur*, *budduru*.

◊ TMC 1, 127.

PTurk. ***böd** throne (трон): OTurk. *böd* (Orkh.); Yak. *büttäx*, *bittäx* (Пек.) 'cross-bar in a stool, cross-piece in a boat' (?).

◊ VEWT 82, EDT 298. The Yak. word may belong here if it is not derived from **büt-* 'to end'.

PKor. ***ptə́i** raft (плот): MKor. *ptə́i*; Mod. *t:e*.

◊ Nam 153, KED 454.

‖ Basically a Turk.-Tung. isogloss; the Kor. word may belong here if it is not derived from *ptí-* 'to float' (q.v.). If the parallel is correct, then most TM languages have a secondary shift u > e after a labial (a very frequent phenomenon there).

✱bŏga (~ -u, -o) pregnant (of animals); to bear a bastard or miscarry: Tung. ***bogī-**; Mong. ***boɣo-**; Turk. ***bogaŕ**; Kor. ***pa̋i-**.

PTung. ***bogī-** to bear a bastard; to suffer a miscarriage (родить ребенка вне брака; родить раньше срока): Evk. *boɣī-*; *bō-kān* (< **boɣo-kān*) 'slave'; Neg. *boɣịn-*; Man. *bojχolo-* 'to escape (from a trap), get off the hook'; Ul. *bojal-*; Nan. *bojaGo-*.

◊ TMC 1, 87, 90.

PMong. ***boɣo-** slave, servant (раб, слуга): MMong. *bo'ol* (HY 28, SH), *b[a]wān*, *bawa* (IM), *bual* (MA); WMong. *boɣol*, (L 112) *boɣul*; Kh. *bōl* 1; *būrǯ* 'slave in the second generation'; Bur. *bōl*, *bogōl*; Kalm. *bōl*; Ord. *bōl*.

◊ KW 53, TMN 1, 212. Mong. > Evk. *bol* etc., see Doerfer MT 89.

PTurk. ***bogaŕ** pregnant (of animals) (беременная (о животных)): Az. *boɣaz* (dial.); Turkm. *boɣaz*; Khal. *poos*; MTurk. (*töl*) *boɣaz*

(Oghuz-nama); *boγaz*, *boγuz* (MA); Uzb. *bụγɔz*; Uygh. *boγaz*; Tat. *buɯaz*; Bashk. *bɨɯaδ*; Kirgh. *booz*; Kaz. *buɯaz*; KBalk. *buɯaz*; KKalp. *buɯaz*; Kum. *buɯaz*; Nogh. *buɯaz*; Khak. *põs*; Oyr. *poos*; Tv. *boos*; Yak. *buos*; Dolg. *buos*.

◊ VEWT 78, ЭСТЯ 2, 169, Stachowski 67. Turk. > WMong. *boγus*, Kalm. *bōs* (KW 54), Dag. *bōs* (Tod. 127), see Clark 1980, 39.

PKor. ***pǎi-** to be pregnant (быть беременной): MKor. *pǎi-*; Mod. *pǎ̄-*.

◊ Nam 251, KED 745.

‖ EAS 57, АПиПЯЯ 295. Doerfer's attempt (TMN 2, 348) to refute the Turk.-Tung. parallel for semantic reasons is unsuccessful. The meaning 'slave' in Mong. and Tung. is obviously derived < 'bastard', 'illegal child' (derivation < **boγo-* 'bind' and attempt to derive the TM words for 'slave' < Mong. in Poppe 1972, 96 is unsuccessful). The Kor. word has been secondarily associated with *pǎi* 'belly' (see under **pèjlo*).

✱**bŏ́gdu** to paint, variegated: Tung. ***bugdi**; Mong. ***budu-**; Turk. ***bodo-**; Jpn. ***púti**.

PTung. ***bugdi** 1 variegated 2 pimple, rash (**bugdeke*, **bug(d)-su-ke*) 3 to form (of pimples, rash) (1 пестрый 2 прыщи, сыпь 3 высыпать (о прыщах, сыпи)): Evk. *bugdi* 1, *bugdeke*, *buksukē* 2; Evn. *bụ̄dị* 1, *bụdụlị* 2; Man. *busxe-ne-* 3; Ork. *bụgžị* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 101. On Evk. *budan* 'rash' see under PA **bŭte*. Evk. > Dolg. *bugdī*, *bugdɨ* (Stachowski 64).

PMong. ***budu-** to paint (красить): MMong. *buduq* (MA) 'paint'; WMong. *budu-* (L 130); Kh. *buda-*; Bur. *buda-*; Kalm. *budə-*; Ord. *budu-*; Dag. *bodo-* (Тод. Даг. 127), bode- (MD 124), *bodu-*; S.-Yugh. *budə-*; Mongr. *budi-* (SM 31), *buda-* (Huzu, Minghe).

◊ KW 57, MGCD 165. Mong. > Evk. *buda-* etc., see Doerfer MT 94.

PTurk. ***bodo-** 1 to paint, dye 2 dye (1 красить 2 краска): OTurk. *boduγ* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *boδo-* (MK) 1, *boδoγ* (MK) 2; Tur. *boja-* 1, *boja* 2; Gag. *boja-* 1, *boja* 2; Az. *boja-* 1, *boja*, *bojaG* 2; Turkm. *boja-* 1, *boja*, *bojaG* 2; Sal. *bojaχ* 2 (Kakuk); Khal. *boda-* 1, *bodaγ* 2; MTurk. *boja-* (Abush., Sangl.) 1, *bojaγ/q* 2 (Sangl.); Uzb. *bụja-* 1, *bụjɔq* 2; Uygh. *boju-/a-* 1, *bojaq* 2; Krm. *boja-* 1, *boja* 2; Tat. *buja-* 1, *bujaw* 2; Bashk. *buja-* 1, *harɨ bujaq* 'серпуха' (a dying plant); Kirgh. *bojo-* 1, *bojoq* 2; Kaz. *boja-* 1, *bojau* 2; KBalk. *boja-* 1, *bojaw* 2; KKalp. *boja-* 1, *bojaq* 2; Kum. *boja-* 1, *bojaw* 2; Nogh. *boja-* 1, *bojaq* 2; Oyr. *pojo-* 1 (ГАЯ), *poju-* (dial. - Bask. Kum.); Tv. *budu-* 1, *buduq* 2; Chuv. *pəʷve-* 1; Yak. *butuj-* 1, *butuk* 2.

◊ EDT 300, VEWT 77, ЭСТЯ 2, 178-179, Егоров 155. Despite EDT, Tel. *bodu-* is a Mongolian loanword. Chuv. -v- instead of *-r- is not quite clear here (perhaps it is a trace of the archaic *-gd-cluster?).

PJpn. ***púti** spot, spotted, variegated (пятно, пестрый): OJpn. *puti*; MJpn. *futi*, *bútí*; Tok. *búchi*; Kyo. *búchì*; Kag. *búchi*.

◊ JLTT 390. Modern dialects have expressive voicing. Accent reflexes vary between **pútí* and **pútì*.

‖ KW 57. Mong. may be < Turk. (see Щербак 1997, 107).

✱**bògé** wizard, holy: Tung. ***bugu-ča**; Mong. ***bogda**; Turk. ***bögü**; Jpn. ***bə̀nkám-**.

PTung. ***bugu-ča** idol (идол): Ul. *bōčo*; Nan. *bugʒẽ*, *bukčẽ*; Orch. *bōčo*.

◊ TMC 1, 97.

PMong. ***bogda** holy, sacred (святой, божественный): WMong. *boγda* (L 111); Kh. *bogd*; Bur. *bogdo*; Kalm. *bogdə*; Ord. *bogdo* (Тод. ЯМВМ 122).

◊ KW 49.

PTurk. ***bögü** wizard (мудрец, колдун): OTurk. *bögü* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *bögü* (MK); Tur. *böjü*; Gag. *bü̃*; MTurk. *bügü* (Pav. C.).

◊ EDT 324, VEWT 83, ЭСТЯ 2, 293-294. Turk. > Mong. *böγe* id., see TMN 1, 234. Turk. > Hung. *bű* 'witchcraft' (< **büγü*), see Gombocz 1912.

PJpn. ***bə̀nkám-** to worship, bow in obeisance (поклоняться, почитать): OJpn. *wogam-*; MJpn. *wògám-*; Tok. *ogám-*; Kyo. *ógám-*; Kag. *ogám-*.

◊ JLTT 740. Accent in Kyoto is irregular (pointing to **bə̀(n)kàm-*).

‖ One of common Altaic religious terms.

✱**bojĺe** empty, meagre: Tung. ***bol-**; Turk. ***boĺ**; Kor. ***pɨi-**.

PTung. ***bol-** 1 clear 2 meagre (1 чистый 2 постный): Neg. *boltu̯-boltu̯* 1; Man. *bolGo* 1, 2; SMan. *bolə̀hən*, *bolə̀hun* 'clean, pure' (2550).

◊ TMC 1, 93.

PTurk. ***boĺ** free, empty (свободный, пустой): OTurk. *boš* (OUygh.); Karakh. *boš* (MK, KB); Tur. *boš*; Gag. *boš*; Az. *boš*; Turkm. *boš*; Sal. *boš*; Khal. *boš*; MTurk. *boš* (Sangl.); Uzb. *bu̯š*; Uygh. *boš*; Krm. *boš*, *bos*; Tat. *buš*; Bashk. *buš*; Kirgh. *boš*; Kaz. *bos*; KBalk. *boš*; KKalp. *bos*; Kum. *boš*; Nogh. *bos*; SUygh. *bos*, *pos*; Khak. *pos*; Shr. *pos*; Oyr. *boš*; Tv. *boš*; Tof. *bo'š*; Chuv. *požъ*; Yak. *bosxo* (**boš-ka*); Dolg. *bosko* 'a little'.

◊ EDT 376, VEWT 82, ЭСТЯ 2, 203-204, Мудрак Дисс. 126, Федотов 1, 457, Stachowski 63. The Chuv. form has a regular reflex, presupposing a final vowel. Turk. **boĺa-n-* > *bošan-* > Mong. *busani-* 'become empty, poor' (KW 63); **boĺ-u-g* 'permission' > Mong. *bošuγ* (Clark 1980, 41).

PKor. ***pɨi-** empty (пустой, свободный): MKor. *pɨi-*; Mod. *pī-*.

◊ Liu 410, KED 850.

‖ Medial *-j- is reconstructed to account for the loss of *-Í- in Korean. Phonetically a good match would be PJ **bəsa-na-* 'small, young (of children)', but the semantics raises some doubt here. Ramstedt (SKE 186) compares Turk. *boš* with Mong. *bulgu* 'free, broad' > Kirgh. *buluk-* 'to try to free smb.'; but we have not found either word in accessible sources.

✱**bójĺo** to learn, be attentive: Mong. ***bolgu-ɣa-**; Turk. ***boĺgu-**; Jpn. ***bə́sí-pa-**; Kor. ***pə̀ihó-**.

PMong. ***bolgu-ɣa-** be cautious, gingerly (быть осторожным, осмотрительным): MMong. *boluxa'a-* (HY 33), *bolqa'a-* (SH); WMong. *bolγuγa-* (L 117); Kh. *bolgō-*; Bur. *bolgō-*; Kalm. *bolγā-*; Ord. *bolgō-*.

◊ KW 50. Mong. > Oyr. *polγō-* etc. (see TMN 1, 233); Evk. *bolgo-* etc., see Doerfer MT 135.

PTurk. ***boĺgu-** 1 to learn 2 to teach, make learn 3 teaching 4 student (1 учиться 2 учить, наставлять, заставлять выучить 3 наставление 4 ученик, подмастерье): OTurk. *bošγu-n-* 1, *bošγu-t-*, *bošγu-r-* 2, *bošγut* 3 (OUygh.); Karakh. *bošγut* 4.

◊ VEWT 82, EDT 379. Derivation from *bošuγ* 'allowance, pardon' (EDT) is hardly plausible.

PJpn. ***bə́sí-pa-** to teach (учить): OJpn. *wosipa-*; MJpn. *wósífa-*; Tok. *òshie-*; Kyo. *óshié-*; Kag. *oshié-*.

◊ JLTT 742.

PKor. ***pə̀ihó-** to learn (учиться): MKor. *pə̀ihó-*; Mod. *päu-*.

◊ Nam 252, KED 749.

‖ Street 1980, 287 compares the PT form with Mong. *bolba-sun* 'trained, educated, mature' (possibly also related as a suffixed form). Medial *-j- should be reconstructed to account for loss of *-Í- in Korean.

✱**bóju** esteem: Tung. ***buje-**; Mong. ***boj**; Turk. ***bujur-**; Jpn. ***úja / *bíjá**; Kor. ***pə̀i-hə́-**.

PTung. ***buje-** 1 to wish, desire, love 2 to thank (1 желать, любить 2 благодарить): Man. *buje-* 1; Jurch. *buj-je-mij* (385) 1, *bij-il-sia-maj* 2 (815).

◊ TMC 1, 103.

PMong. ***boj** care, caring, rearing (забота, уход): WMong. *boi* (L 113); Kh. *boj*.

PTurk. ***bujur-** to order (приказывать): OTurk. *bujur-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *bujur-* (MK); Tur. *bujur-*; Gag. *bujur-*; Az. *bujur-*; Turkm. *bujur-*; MTurk. *bujur-* (Sangl., MA); Uzb. *bujur-*; Uygh. *bujru-*, *bujur-* (dial.); Krm. *bujur-*; Tat. *bojɨr-*; Bashk. *bojor-*; Kirgh. *bujur-*; KBalk. *bujur-*; KKalp. *bujɨr-*; Kum. *bujur-*; Nogh. *bujɨr-*; Oyr. *bujur-*; Chuv. *pür-*.

◊ VEWT 87, EDT 387-388, ЭСТЯ 2, 245-247, TMN 2, 362.

PJpn. ***úja / *bíjá** 1 esteem, worship 2 to esteem, worship (1почет 2 почитать): OJpn. *wija*, *uja* 1, *wija-b-* 2; MJpn. *újá* 1; Tok. *ùya-(ma-)*; Kyo. *úyá-(má-)*; Kag. *uya-(má-)*.

◊ JLTT 566, 781.

PKor. ***pə̀i-hə́-** to bestow a favour (оказывать почести): MKor. *pə̀ihə́-*; Mod. *pephul-*.

◊ Nam 252, KED 774.

‖ Originally we related to this root Mong. *beile* 'prince of the 3d rank' which is usually considered to be borrowed from Manchu *beile* id.

(cf. also Mong. *beise* = Man. *beise* 'prince of the 4th rank'). Both words are rather loans from some third language, perhaps Kitan (and cf. also the Old Bulgarian rank *bojla*) and may be ultimately related to PT **beg* which itself is either < Chinese or < Iranian (see Шервашидзе 1989); but Mong. *boji* 'care' seems to be a more satisfactory comparison. Both semantically and phonetically the etymology seems quite plausible (except perhaps for the variant -i- vowel in Old Japanese, possibly conditioned by the following -j-).

✱**bŏkà** rib, breast bone: Tung. ***boka-**; Mong. ***bogoni**; Turk. ***bokana**; Jpn. ***bàkì**.

PTung. ***boka-** breast bone (грудная кость): Evk. *bokolī*; Evn. *bokoliwun*; Man. *boqšon*; Ork. *bokko* 'belly'.

◊ TMC 1, 90.

PMong. ***bogoni** first rib (первое ребро): Kh. *bogino* (*xavirga*); Kalm. *boγəni*; Ord. *boGoni*, *boGono*.

◊ KW 49.

PTurk. ***bokana** false ribs (ложные ребра): Bashk. *boγana* (dial.); Kirgh. *boqono*; Kaz. *buγana* (*süjek*); Khak. *poγana*; Oyr. *boγono söök*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 2, 305, Лексика 275.

PJpn. ***bàkì** side (of body) (бок): OJpn. *wakji*; MJpn. *wàkì*; Tok. *wakí*; Kyo. *wákì*; Kag. *wàkí*.

◊ JLTT 567.

‖ KW 49, Дыбо 5, Лексика 275-276. The Jpn. word could also go back to **bi̯ùk'a*, but in that case it would rather have a *p-.

✱**bŏke** to lie in ambush: Tung. ***bokan-**; Mong. ***büg-**; Turk. ***buk-**; Jpn. ***bə̀ká-s-**.

PTung. ***bokan-** to catch up with, take revenge on (настигать, догонять, мстить): Evk. *bokon-*; Evn. *boqṇn-*; Neg. *boxon-*; Nan. *boqoŋGi-*; Orch. *bō-*, *bokko-*; Ud. *bo'n-o-* (Корм. 213); Sol. *boxon-*.

◊ TMC 1, 90.

PMong. ***büg-** to lie in ambush, to hide (сидеть в засаде, прятаться, таиться): WMong. *bügsi-*, (L 126) *bögsi-*; Kh. *bügši-*; Kalm. *büg-*; Dag. *bugši-* (Тод. Даг. 128).

◊ KW 66.

PTurk. ***buk-** 1 to lie in ambush 2 to hide (1 сидеть в засаде 2 прятаться): Turkm. *buq-* 2; MTurk. *buq-* (Pav. C.: Abu-l-Gazi) 1; Uzb. *biq-* 1; Kirgh. *buq-* 2; Kaz. *buq-* 2; KBalk. *buq-* 2; KKalp. *buq-* 1; Nogh. *buq-* 2; Yak. *bük-* 2 (Пек.).

◊ ЭСТЯ 2, 248.

PJpn. ***bə̀ká-s-** to attack, commit a crime (нападать, совершать преступление): OJpn. *wokas-*; MJpn. *wókás-*; Tok. *òkas-*; Kyo. *ókás-*; Kag. *okás-*.

◊ JLTT 740.

‖ KW 66.

✱**bȍki (~ -e)** to stop up: Tung. ***bōk-**; Mong. ***bögle-**; Turk. ***bök-**.

PTung. ***bōk-** 1 to stop, hinder 2 to tie up (1 задерживать, предотвращать 2 спутывать, привязывать): Evk. *bōk-* 1; Evn. *boq-* 1; Neg. *bok-* 1, 2; Man. *boxi-* 2; Ul. *boqi-* 2; Nan. *boqi-* 2; Orch. *boki-* 2; Ud. *boʹi-* связать (человека, животное, пойманное живьем) (Корм. 213).

◊ TMC 1, 89. TM > Dag. *boki-* (Тод. Даг. 127).

PMong. ***bögle-** to bar, hinder, stop up (затыкать, предотвращать): MMong. *bokle-* (SH); WMong. *bögle-* (L 125); Kh. *böglö-*; Bur. *bügle-*; Kalm. *bögl-*; Ord. *böglö-*; Dong. *buɣulie-*; *buɣun* 'plug'; Mongr. *bugəle-*, *bugule-* (SM 32).

◊ KW 54, MGCD 161.

PTurk. ***bök-** to dam, plug (ставить плотину, затычку): Karakh. *bök-* 'запрудить'(MK), böken- 'быть загороженным (дорога)' (At.); Tur. *böke-* (dial.); MTurk. *böken* 'плотина' (R, Pav. C. 173); Uzb. *pụkak* 'пробка'; Uygh. *pok* 'пробка'; Krm. *bök-lä-* (T) 'запирать, закрывать'; Tat. *büki* 'пробка'; Bashk. *büki* 'пробка'; Kirgh. *bögö-*; Kaz. *böge-*; KKalp. *böge-*; Oyr. *bök* 'затвор, пробка'; Chuv. *pъʷgъʷ* 'пробка'.

◊ EDT 324, 326, VEWT 82, 83, ЭСТЯ 2, 208-210, Егоров 146. Clauson prefers the reading with -g-, which is hardly justified. A variant with *-g- (Tur. *büɣe-*, Chuv. *pəvə* 'dam', Turkm. *böve-*, *bövet* 'id.', Yak., Dolg. *büö* 'plug') may be a result of the influence of *bog- 'to choke, dam' (cf. **boɣ-* 'dam' in Tuva, Uzb., Kum., Nogh., Oyr., Tat., Bashk.).

‖ EAS 58, KW 54, Poppe 58, 59 (Turk.-Mong.). A Western isogloss. The root is quite well attested in Turkic and borrowing is highly improbable, so Doerfer's (TMN 1, 229) skepticism seems ungrounded. A slight problem is the variation of *-k- and *-g- in Turkic, probably assimilative in this case (**bök-* should be the original variant).

✱**bȍku** throat, Adam's apple: Tung. ***bukse**; Mong. ***bagalǯaɣur**; Turk. ***boguŕ (/*bokuŕ)**; Jpn. ***pùkùm-**.

PTung. ***bukse** 1 cartilage, gristle 2 Adamʹs apple (1 хрящ 2 дыхательное горло, кадык): Evk. *bukse* 1, *bukeč* 'голова рыбы'; Evn. *būs* 1; Neg. *buxse* 1; Man. *buge*, *buxe* 1; *buge moŋGon* 2; SMan. *boxə*; *boxəē* 2 (64); Ul. *bukse* 1; Ork. *buske* 1; 'голова рыбы'; Nan. *bukse* 1; Orch. *bukse* 1; Ud. *buxe* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 105. Evn. > Russ. Siber. *bugačí* (pl.) (Аникин 137).

PMong. ***bagalǯaɣur** throat (горло): WMong. *baɣalǯaɣur* (L 68); Kh. *bagalʒūr*; Bur. *bagalzūr*; Kalm. *baɣəlzūr*; Ord. *baGalǯūr*.

◊ KW 28. Cf. also Ord. *bagul* 'hair on chin'.

PTurk. ***boguŕ, *bokur-dak** 1 throat 2 Adam's apple (1 горло 2 кадык): OTurk. *boɣuz* 1 (OUygh.), *boɣzɨ́* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *boɣoz* (MK, KB) 1; Tur. *boɣaz* 1, *boɣurdak*, *boɣurtlak* (dial.) 2; Gag. *buwaz* 1; Az.

boγaz 1; Turkm. *boGaz* 1, *boqurdaq* 1; Sal. *poγtaχ*, *poχtaχ* 1; Khal. *boγaz*, *boγuz*, *boγɨz* 1; MTurk. *boγuz* (Abush., Бор. Бад.) 1, *boqurdaq*, *boγardaq* (Sangl.) 2; Uzb. *bụγiz* 1; Uygh. *boγuz* 1; Krm. *boγoz*, *boγaz* 1; Tat. *buγaz* 1 (k), *puγɨrtaq* (dial.), *pūrtaq* (dial.) 2; Bashk. *boγaδ* 1, *boγarδaq* 'trachea'; Kirgh. *boγos* 'place where two rivers meet' (South.); Kaz. *buγaz*, *buγɨz* 'shaft-bed in a shovel' (dial.); KBalk. *boqqur* 2, *boγurdaq* 2; KKalp. *buwaz-aq* 'glass for a kerosene lamp'; Kum. *boγaz* 'channel, strait'; Nogh. *boγaz* 'double chin; channel, strait', *boγɨrdaq* 1; Tv. *boos* (*bosqu*); Tof. *boos* (*boqsu*); Chuv. *pɨr* 1; Yak. *buosax* 1.

◊ VEWT 78, TMN 2, 344, ЭСТЯ 2, 167-168, 184, Лексика 230-231. The derivative **bokur-dak* consistently displays reflexes of voiceless *-k-; it is present also in some reflexes of **boguŕ* (Kirgh. *boγos*, Kaz. *buγaz*, Nogh. *boγaz*, Bashk. *boγaδ*, Kum. *boγaz*) - all probably under the influence of **bokak* 'crop, craw' (v. sub **pŭk'a).*

PJpn. ***pùkùm-*** to hold in mouth (держать во рту): OJpn. *pukum-*; MJpn. *fùkùm-*; Tok. *fukúm-*; Kyo. *fúkúm-*; Kag. *fùkùm-*.

◊ JLTT 694.

‖ KW 28, Дыбо 5, Лексика 231-232. In Mong. the vocalism was influenced by a similar root (Mong. **bakaγu*, **bakalaγur* < **pŭk'a* q.v.); a remnant of the original root vocalism may be seen in WMong. *boγaγu* 'crop, goitre' (coexisting with *baqaγu*) - however, the latter form may as well be a Turkism < Turk. **bokak*.

✱**bǒlo (~ -e)** to be: Mong. ***bol-***; Turk. ***bōl-***; Jpn. ***bə́r-***.

PMong. ***bol-*** to become (становиться): MMong. *bol-* (IM, SH, HYt), *bul-* (MA); WMong. *bol-* (L 114); Kh. *bol-*; Bur. *bolo-*; Kalm. *bol-*; Ord. *bol-*; Mog. *bolu-*; Dag. *bol-* (Тод. Даг. 127), *bole-* (MD 125), *bolo-*; Dong. *bolu-*, *volu-* (MGCD: *olu-*); Bao. *ol-*; S.-Yugh. *bol-*; Mongr. *boli-* (SM 19), *ōli-* (SM 296), (MGCD: *ulə*).

◊ KW 50, MGCD 157.

PTurk. ***bōl-*** to become (становиться): OTurk. *bol-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *bol-* (MK, KB); Tur. *ol-*; Gag. *ol-*; Az. *ol-*; Turkm. *bol-*; Sal. *vol-*, *vō-*, *bō-* (Тен.ССЯ); Khal. *ộl-*; MTurk. *bol-* (Abush., Sangl.); Uzb. *bụl-*; Uygh. *bo(l)-*; Krm. *bol-*; Tat. *bul-*; Bashk. *bul-*; Kirgh. *bol-*; Kaz. *bol-*; KBalk. *bol-*; KKalp. *bol-*; Kum. *bol-*; Nogh. *bol-*; SUygh. *pol-*; Khak. *pol-*; Shr. *pol-*; Oyr. *bol-*; Tv. *bol-*; Chuv. *pol-*; Yak. *buol-*; Dolg. *buol-*.

◊ EDT 331-332, VEWT 79, TMN 2, 358, ЭСТЯ 2, 185-188, Федотов 1, 442, Stachowski 66. Forms with o- may represent a different root (see **ol-tur-*). On the other hand, the geographical distribution of this variant matches quite closely the change *b- > v- in a number of words with grammatical function (for Haladzh cf. *vīer-* 'give', *vāor* 'there is'), so most of the forms with o- may indeed reflect **bol-* > **vol-* > *ol-*; the different root **ol-* is with more certainty reflected only in Middle Uyghur (At., Tefs., IM - cf. *bar*, *bir-* in the same sources) and Middle Kypchak (Bulgat, Ettuhf., see ЭСТЯ 2, 186).

PJpn. ***bə́r-*** to be (быть): OJpn. *wor-*; MJpn. *wór-*; Tok. *ór-*; Kyo. *ór-*; Kag. *ór-*.

◊ JLTT 742. Accent in Tokyo is aberrant; all other dialects, as well as RJ *wór-*, point to **bór-*.

‖ KW 50, Poppe 99, Miller 1981, 851, Street 1985, 639, АПиПЯЯ 68. Doerfer (TMN 2, 358), quite fantastically, links also TM **ō-* (what about "Lautgesätze"?) : "altes indoeur. Lw. : **u̯ol- 'wollen'" (isn't this "Omnikomparatismus"?).

✱**boĺe** an indirect relative: Tung. ***bulu-**; Mong. ***büli**; Turk. ***böĺük**.

PTung. ***bulu-** bastard (внебрачный ребенок): Evk. *bulumǯu*.

◊ TMC 1, 109. The word is attested only in Evk. (whence Yak. *bulumǯu* - hardly vice versa), but has possible external parallels.

PMong. ***büli** cousin, niece (son or daughter of mother's relative); family (двоюродный брат, двоюродная сестра (сын или дочь родственника матери); семья): WMong. *bülü*, *büli*, *böle* (L 147); Kh. *bül*; Bur. *büle*; Kalm. *bülə*, *bölə*; Dag. *bule* (Тод. Даг. 128); S.-Yugh. *bulai*; Mongr. *bulai*.

◊ KW 55, 66, MGCD 175. Mong. > Turk. *bula*, Kaz. *bölö*, Yak. *bile* etc. (see the list in ЭСТЯ 2, 217-218, Лексика 293-294), Evk. *bule* 'family'.

PTurk. ***böĺük** a relation by marriage (свойственник, родственник по браку): OTurk. *böšük* (OUygh.).

◊ EDT 380-381.

‖ Tekin 1979, 129-130. A Western isogloss.

✱**bŏĺi** a k. of cedar, pine: Tung. ***bolgikta**; Mong. ***bujil- / *büjil-**; Turk. ***böĺ**; Jpn. ***pusi**.

PTung. ***bolgi-kta** dwarf cedar (кедровый стланик): Evk. *bolgig*, *bolgikta*; Evn. *bolgiγ*, *bolgit*; Neg. *bolgikta*; Ul. *bolǯiqta*; Ork. *boγi*, *boγita*; Nan. *bolGoqto* (Kur-Urm.); Orch. *boggikta*; Ud. *bogbö* (Корм. 213).

◊ TMC 1, 91-92.

PMong. ***bujil- / *büjil-** almond (миндаль): WMong. *büilesü ~ bujilasu* (MXTTT); Kh. *bujls(an)*, *büjls(en)*; Bur. *büjlõhe(n)* 'wild apricot'.

PTurk. ***böĺ** cedar, pinus Siberica (кедр, сибирская сосна): Oyr. *möš*, = dial. (Bask. Tuba); Tv. *pöˇš*, (Castr. Krg.) *böjš*; Tof. *böš*; Yak. *bes* 'pine', dial. 'larch bast' (ДСЯЯ 1 81).

◊ VEWT 71.

PJpn. ***pusi** small shrubs used as firewood (кустарник, используемый в качестве дров): MJpn. *fusi*.

‖ Дыбо 11. Mong. **bujil-* is a regular dissimilation < **bulil-*.

✱**bóra (~ -ŕ-)** to divide: Tung. ***borī-**; Jpn. ***bár-**; Kor. ***pərí-**.

PTung. ***borī-** to divide (разделять, отделять): Evk. *borī-*; Evn. *boriı-*; Neg. *bojii-*; Ul. *boriı-*; Ork. *boriı-*; Nan. *boriı-*; Orch. *boi-*.

◊ TMC 1, 95-96.

PJpn. ***bár-** to divide, split (разделять, расщеплять): OJpn. war-; MJpn. *wár-*; Tok. *wàr-*; Kyo. *wár-*; Kag. *wár-*.

◊ JLTT 783.

PKor. ***pərí-** to divide, split open (расщеплять, раскрывать): MKor. *pərí-*; Mod. *pari-*, *pəl-*.

◊ Liu 375, KED 706, 765, 766.

‖ Martin 243. An Eastern isogloss.

✱**bŏrkʿi** to cover, cover: Mong. ***bürkü-**; Turk. ***bŏ̄rk**; Jpn. ***púk-**.

PMong. ***bürkü-** to cover (покрывать): MMong. *burgu-* (HY 38), *burku-* (MA); WMong. *bürkü-*, *bürke-* (L 149, 150); Kh. *bürxe-*; Bur. *bürxe-*; Kalm. *bürkə-*; Ord. *bürχü-*; Mog. *bürkü-* (Ramstedt 1906); ZM *burk* 'clothed' (10-2b); Dong. *pugutu-* 'to become murky'; Mongr. *puger* 'cover sp.' (SM 306).

◊ KW 68. Mong. > Chag. *bürke-* etc.

PTurk. ***bŏ̄rk** hat, cap (шапка, головная повязка): OTurk. *börk* (OUygh. - Lig. VSOu); Karakh. *börk* (MK, KB); Tur. *börk*, (dial.) *bürk*, *pörk*; Az. *börk* (dial.); Turkm. *bŏ̄rik*; Khal. *bŏ̄k* (KhM), *birgäk*; MTurk. *pörük* (MA), *börk* (Бор. Бад., Pav. C.); Uzb. *bu̧rk*; Uygh. *börk*; Krm. *bärik* (H), *b'ork* (T); Tat. *bürek*; Bashk. *bürk*; Kirgh. *börük*; Kaz. *börik*; KBalk. *börk*; KKalp. *börik*; Kum. *börk*; Nogh. *börk*; SUygh. *pörük*, *perik*; Khak. *pörək*; Shr. *pörük*; Oyr. *börük*; Tv. *bört*; Tof. *bö'rt*; Yak. *bergehe*; Dolg. *bergehe*.

◊ EDT 362, VEWT 84, TMN 2, 289, ЭСТЯ 2, 221-223, Лексика 482, Stachowski 58. In Tuva, Tof. *-rk > rt is regular. Reconstruction of length is not quite certain: Turkm. length is not confirmed by Khalaj and contradicts pharyngealization in Tofalar. Turk. > WMong. *bürgü*, Kalm. *bürgə* (KW 67), Khalkha *bürx* (although theoretically this may as well be an indigenous derivative of *bürü-*, cf. similar Turkic forms: Tur. dial. *bür-me*, *bür-gü* 'headgear').

PJpn. ***púk-** to thatch (a roof) (крыть (крышу)): OJpn. *puk-*; MJpn. *fúk-*; Tok. *fùk-*; Kyo. *fúk-*; Kag. *fùk-*.

◊ JLTT 694. Accent in Kagoshima is irregular.

‖ Cf. **bŭ̀ri* (with possible contaminations).

✱**borso(kʿV)** badger: Mong. ***borki**; Turk. ***borsuk, *borsmuk**; Jpn. ***bə̀sákí, *ùsákí**; Kor. ***ùsɨrk**.

PMong. ***borki** old badger (старый барсук): WMong. *borki* (L 121); Kh. *boŕx*; Kalm. *borkə*.

◊ KW 52.

PTurk. ***borsuk, *borsmuk** badger (барсук): Karakh. *borsmuq* (MK), *borsuq* (MK Oghuz); Tur. *porsuk*; Az. *porsuG*; Sal. *porsuχ* (ССЯ); MTurk. *porsuq* (Sangl.); Uzb. *bɔrsiq*; Uygh. *borsuq*; Tat. *bursɨq*; Bashk. *burhɨq*; Kirgh. *borso-l-doj* 'young badger'; Kaz. *borsɨq*; KBalk. *borsuq*; KKalp. *porsɨq*; Kum. *porsuq*; Nogh. *borsɨq*; Khak. *porsɨx*, *morsɨx*, (dial.) *moršɨx*; Shr. *porsuq*; Oyr. *morsɨq*; Tv. *morzuq*; Tof. *borsuq*; Chuv. *porъš*.

◊ EDT 369, Лексика 164, TMN 2, 284, ЭСТЯ 7, Егоров 165, Федотов 1, 446-447. Reflexes of m- in Siberian languages may be due to the nasal in the suffix (cf. the form in

MK). Among the traditional derivations one should mention the connection with **bur-si-* 'to stink, rot', but external parallels indicate that this is rather a folk etymology.

PJpn. ***bə̀sákí, *ùsákí*** hare (заяц): OJpn. *usakji*, OJ East. dial. *wosagji*; MJpn. *ùsági*; Tok. *ùsagi*; Kyo. *ùsàgí*; Kag. *usagí*.

◊ JLTT 564, JOAL 116-118.

PKor. ***ùsɨrk*** badger (барсук): MKor. *ùsɨrk*.

◊ Nam 390.

‖ The meaning in Jpn. ('hare') is probably a result of contamination with **togsV-kˇV* 'hare' (which should have normally yielded PJ **tusaki*); this could also explain the tonal discrepancy between Jpn. and Kor. Korean, as in several other cases, has a loss *b- > *0-; cf. Old Koguryo **wus(i)kam* 'rabbit' (see Miller 1979, 10). All languages reflect a trisyllabic form **borso-kˇV*, with an original diminutive suffix. Loss of -s- in Mong. is somewhat strange; cf. perhaps alternatively TM **barka-na* 'bear's cub' > Evk. *barka-na*, *barka-čan*, Neg. *bajkana*, Ud. *bakana* (TMC 1, 75).

✱**bŏ̆ru (~ -a,-o)** dust; smoke, whirlwind: Tung. ***bure-ki***; Mong. ***bur-gi- / *bür-gi-***; Turk. ***bur-uk***; Kor. ***pa̋ra̋-m***.

PTung. ***bure-ki*** 1 dust 2 fresh snow (1 пыль 2 пороша): Evk. *burki* 2; Evn. *bụrqụ* 2; Man. *buraki* 1; Jurch. *bureŋ-ki* (59) 1; Ul. *burexi* 1; Nan. *burexĩ* 1; Orch. *burexi* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 113.

PMong. ***bur-gi- / *bür-gi-*** to rise (of dust, smoke) (подниматься (о пыли, дыме)): MMong. *burqalix* 'whirlwind' (SH); WMong. *burgi-(ra-)* (L 138), *bürgi-ni-*; Kh. *burgi-*; Bur. *burja-*, *borjol-* (Tsongol); Kalm. *bürgn-*, *bürgəń-*; Ord. *burgila-*, *burgi-*; Mongr. *puʒirā-* (SM 306).

◊ KW 68. Mong. > Man. *burgi-*, see TMN 1, 227; > Turk. Uzb. *burqira-n-* 'клубиться, дымиться', Kirgh. *burk-ura-*, *burgu-* 'валить клубами', Nogh. *burki-ra-* 'клубиться', Bashk. *borqo-* 'вздыматься (о пыли)', KKalp. *burqi-* 'валить клубами'.

PTurk. ***bur-uk*** 1 dust 2 smoke 3 to curl (of smoke) 4 to choke (in smoke) 5 to blow (of a snow-storm) 6 to produce smoke puffs 7 soot (1 пыль 2 дым 3 клубиться (о дыме) 4 задыхаться (в дыму) 5 мести (о вьюге) 6 пускать дым клубами 7 сажа): Turkm. *buruG-sa-* 3; Uzb. *buruq-sa-* 3; Uygh. *burux-t-un bolmaq* 4; Kirgh. *buruq-su-* 3, bur *et-* 3, *bura-t-* 6; Khak. *pir* 1, *pirin* 7, *pur-la-* 3, *puryun-na-* 5; Shr. *pirin* 7; Yak. *buruo* (< **burug*) 2; Dolg. *buruo* 2.

◊ VEWT 89, Stachowski 67. The stem interacts with the derivatives of *bur- 'to stink, smell' and *bur- 'to twist'- see ЭСТЯ 2, 268-271

PKor. ***pa̋ra̋m*** wind (ветер): MKor. *pa̋ra̋m*; Mod. *param*.

◊ Nam 241, KED 704.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 288. See TMC 1, 113 (Mong.-Tung.); despite ОСНЯ 1,188 the TM root is hardly related to Turk. **bōr* (on which see **māro*)

and to Mong. *bur* 'dirty, dark'. The Korean root belongs rather here than to Manchu *fara-* 'to dry' (SKE 191).

✱**boŕV** grey: Mong. ***boro**; Turk. ***boŕ**.

PMong. ***boro** grey (серый): MMong. *boro* (HY 42 'ashes coloured', SH), *borǎ* (MA); WMong. *boro*, (L 121) *boru*; Kh. *bora*; Bur. *boro*; Kalm. *borə*; Ord. *boro*; Mog. *borō* 'dunkelgelb, gelbbraun' (Ramstedt 1906); Dong. *boro(ŋ)*; Mongr. *burondog*, *boro* (SM 28).

◊ KW 51, MGCD 584. Mong. > Evk. *boro, boroŋ,* Man. *boro* (TMC 1, 96), see Doerfer MT 60, Rozycki 34; Tat. *bora,* Yak., Dolg. *boroŋ* (Stachowski 62). Cf. also Mong. *bur* 'dark, sludgy' - which, as well as Chag. *bor* 'reddish (horse)' etc. (see TMN 2, 330) are rather < Pers. *bōr* 'dark brown'.

PTurk. ***boŕ (~ ō)** grey (серый): OTurk. *boz* (OUygh.); Karakh. *boz* (MK); Tur. *boz*; Gag. *boz*, *bōz*; Az. *boz*; Turkm. *boz*; MTurk. *boz* (Sangl.); Uzb. *bụz*; Uygh. *boz*, *bos*; Tat. *büz*; Bashk. *buδ*; Kirgh. *boz*; Kaz. *boz*; KBalk. *boz*; KKalp. *boz*; Kum. *boz*; Nogh. *boz*; SUygh. *poz*; Oyr. *bos*.

◊ EDT 388, VEWT 82, TMN 2, 335, ЭСТЯ 2, 171-173, Лексика 605. Turk. > Old Russ. *bosij*, dial. *búsij*, *busój*, see Аникин 147 (with lit.).

‖ KW 51, Владимирцов 361, Poppe 20, 81, ОСНЯ 1, 183. A Turk.-Mong. isogloss. Despite TMN 2, 335, Щербак 1997, 109, Mong. cannot be borrowed from Turkic.

✱**bȍt´é** to bind: Tung. ***botā-**; Mong. ***büči**; Jpn. ***pə̀ntə̀k-**; Kor. ***pɨ̀th-**.

PTung. ***botā-** 1 to tie (with a knot) 2 to be bound, tied (1 вязать (узлом) 2 завязаться): Evk. *botō-* 1; Evn. *beteb-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 97. Cf. also **beti-ke* 'the hip part of high boots, trousers' (TMC 1, 127).

PMong. ***büči** string, rope (веревка): MMong. *buči* 'braid, cord, belt' (HY 23); WMong. *büči* (L 143); Kh. *büč*; Bur. *büše*; Kalm. *büčə*; Ord. *büči*.

◊ KW 70. Mong. > Tat. *meče-* 'to harness an outrunner', Kum. *mičew* 'tow-line' (with secondary m-), whence Russ. *бечева.*

PJpn. ***pə̀ntə̀k-** to untie (развязывать): OJpn. *podok-*; Tok. *hodók-*; Kyo. *hódók-*; Kag. *hòdòk-*.

◊ JLTT 691.

PKor. ***pɨ̀th-** to be attached (быть прикрепленным, прицепленным): MKor. *pɨ̀th-*; Mod. *put-* [*puth-*].

◊ Nam 275, KED 846.

‖ Cf. **puti* 'quilt, weave' and **p´út´a* 'thread, yarn': the roots are sometimes hard to distinguish.

✱**buč´o (~ -o-)** to dry on fire, under the sun: Tung. ***bučī-**; Mong. ***bučal-**; Jpn. ***pə̀tə̀-pər-**; Kor. ***pčōi-**.

PTung. ***bučī-** 1 to dry on fire 2 to become dry 3 unripe, coarse (1 сушить у огня, вялить на огне 2 пересыхать, ссыхаться 3 неспелый, необработанный): Evk. *bučī-* 1; Evn. *bụčị-* 1; Neg. *bočị-* 1, *bočụxịn* 3; Ul. *bučị-* 2, *bučule* bi 3; Nan. *bočo-* 2, *bočõ* 3; Orch. *buksa-* 2, *buču* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 97-98, 117.

PMong. ***bučal-** to boil (варить, кипеть): MMong. *bučal-* (SH), *bučal(a)-* (MA); WMong. *bučal-* (L 129); Kh. *bucla-*, *bučla-*; Bur. *busal-*; Kalm. *busḷ-*; Ord. *bučal-*; Mog. *bučōl-*; ZM *bečāl* (14-7a); Dag. *bačila-* (Тод. Даг. 125), *bačile-* (MD 116); Dong. *bučula-*; S.-Yugh. *puʒalu-*.

◊ KW 63, MGCD 172.

PJpn. ***pàtà-pər-** 1 to emit heat 2 heat (1 испускать тепло 2 тепло): OJpn. *p(w)ot(w)op(w)or-* 1; MJpn. *fòtòfor-* 1; Tok. *hotoborí*, *hòtobori* 2; Kyo. *hótóbórí* 2; Kag. *hotobóri* 2.

◊ Dialects reflect both low and high tones. The consistent spelling *fotofor-* in RJ prevents the analysis **pə-* 'fire' + **təm(p)ə-r-* 'burn' presented in JLTT 693.

PKor. ***pčōi-** to dry on fire, under the sun (сушить на огне, на солнце): MKor. *pčōi-*; Mod. *č:wē-*.

◊ Nam 432, KED 1491.

‖ Korean has a usual loss of narrow vowel between a stop and an affricate. Cf. also Kor. *č:i-* 'to steam, cook' (SKE 32).

✱**buda** to attach, follow, accompany: Tung. ***boda-**; Turk. ***bodu-**; Kor. ***pət**.

PTung. ***boda-** to follow smb., accompany (следовать за кем-л., сопровождать): Evk. *bodo-*; Evn. *bod-*; Neg. *bodo-*; Ul. *bodo-*; Ork. *bodo-*; Nan. *bodo-*; Ud. *bodo-*.

◊ TMC 1, 88.

PTurk. ***bodu-** 1 to fasten (with a nail, arrow) 2 to be fastened, attached 3 wooden nail in camel's nose for fastening the tether 4 nail (1 прикреплять, прибивать (гвоздем, стрелой) 2 быть прикрепленным 3 деревянный гвоздик в носовой перегородке верблюда для прикрепления привязи 4 гвоздь): OTurk. *bodu-* 1 (OUygh.), *bodul-* 2, *budlu* 3 (OUygh. - YB); Karakh. *bodu-* 1 (MK), *butlu* (= *budlu*) 3 (MK); Tur. *pojra* 'wheel hob', dial. *bujru*, *bujlu*; Turkm. *büjli* 3; MTurk. *bujla* (MA) 3; Uygh. *bujla* 3; Bashk. *bujlɨq* 'a bridle detail, суголовник'; Kirgh. *bujla* 3; Kaz. *bujda* 3; KKalp. *bujda* 3; Nogh. *bojɨsqan* (< **bodɨ-š-kan*) 'woollen lead for fastening calves during milking'; Khak. *pozɨɣ* 4; Shr. *pozuɣ* 4.

◊ EDT 300, 304, 305, ЭСТЯ 2, 287. The original meaning of the root is clearly 'to fasten, attach'. The -u-vowel in the name of camel harness may be a result of borrowing in Karakh. from a Kypchak-type dialect, with further dispersion from Karakh. Turk. *bujla* > Mong. *bujla* 'id.' > Tuva *bujla.*

PKor. ***pət** friend, companion (друг, товарищ): MKor. *pət*; Mod. *pət* [*pəs*].

◊ Nam 256, KED 771.

‖ A rather usual case of secondary nominalizing in Korean (cf. *pa* 'rope' < **bā́* 'to bind' etc.).

✱**bū́gà** heat, steam: Tung. ***bugar**; Mong. ***baɣa-gi-**; Turk. ***būg**; Jpn. ***bák-**.

PTung. ***bugar** burnt forest, wood (гарь, горелый лес): Evk. *buɣar*; Evn. *bōrin*.

◊ TMC 1, 101.

PMong. ***baɣa-gi-** to fumigate (дымить): WMong. *baɣagi-* (L 68); Kh. *bāgi-*.

PTurk. ***būg** steam, fog (пар, туман): Karakh. *bu* (MK, IM); Tur. *bu* 'aroma' (poet.), *buɣu* 'steam'; Gag. *bū*; Az. *buG*; Turkm. *būG*; MTurk. *buɣ* (Sangl., Pav. C.), *muɣ* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *buɣ*, *buɣ-la-* 'to steam'; Uygh. *buɣ*; Krm. *buv*; Tat. *bu, bu-la-n-* 'to vaporize'; Bashk. *bɨw*; Kirgh. *bū*; Kaz. *buw*; *buw-la-* 'to steam', *bu-la-* 'to treat with steam (medically)'; KBalk. *buwaq* 'hoar-frost'; KKalp. *puw*; Kum. *buɣaq* 'hoar-frost'; Nogh. *buw*; *buwaldɨr* 'hoar-frost'; Oyr. *buu*; Chuv. *pъ^{w}v*.

◊ EDT 292, VEWT 86, ЭСТЯ 2, 229-230, Лексика 37. The behaviour of final -g after a long vowel is probably regular (although this combination is rather rare). Turk. > MMong. *buɣ* (АФМ) 'steam' (Щербак 1997, 163).

PJpn. ***bák-** to boil, seethe (кипеть, варить(ся)): OJpn. *wak-*; MJpn. *wák-*; Tok. *wàk-*; Kyo. *wák-*; Kag. *wák-*.

◊ JLTT 783.

‖ Martin 226 compares the Jpn. form with Kor. *pagɨl-*, but PA *-g- could not have been preserved in Korean. The latter should be rather derived from PA **pʿó[k]ù* 'swell' q.v.

✱**bùjre** wrong, bad: Mong. ***buruɣu**; Jpn. ***bàrə̀-**; Kor. ***ōi-**.

PMong. ***buruɣu** wrong, bad (неверный, дурной, несправедливый): MMong. *buruʿu* (SH, HY 51), *burū* (MA); WMong. *buruɣu* (L 138); Kh. *burū*; Bur. *burū*; Kalm. *burū*; Ord. *burū*; Dag. *borō* (Тод. Даг. 128, MD 126); Dong. *buru*; S.-Yugh. *burū̃*; Mongr. *burū*.

◊ KW 62, MGCD 170. Mong. > Evk. *burū* etc., see Doerfer MT 123.

PJpn. ***bàrə̀-** bad (плохой): MJpn. *wàrò-*; Tok. *warú-*; Kyo. *wárù-*; Kag. *warú-*.

◊ JLTT 844.

PKor. ***ōi-** 1 bad, wrong 2 left (1 плохой, неверный 2 левый): MKor. *ōi-* 1; Mod. *ōi-* 1, 2.

◊ Nam 386, KED 1221.

‖ In TM cf. perhaps Evn. *bēruw-* 'to slander' (TMC 1, 127). Medial *-j- should be reconstructed to account for the loss of *-r- in Korean; the Korean word may belong here if it is another case of *b- > 0-, like in *úrí* 'we' < **bǐ-ŕV*, *ì-* 'to be' < **bíju*, *ù-* 'well' < **bi̯ujri*, *ùsɨrk* 'badger' < **borso-kʿV*.

✱**bŭkà** chain, rim: Tung. ***boKi-**; Mong. ***bugu-**; Turk. ***bukagu**; Jpn. ***bàkù**.

PTung. ***boKi-** chain (цепь): Neg. *boxopụn*; Ul. *bojpụ(n)*; Nan. *bojotõ*; Ud. *baxula*.

◊ TMC 1, 90.

PMong. ***bugu-** 1 bracelet 2 noose (1 браслет 2 петля, аркан): MMong. *bugi* 'rope', *bugija* 'fetters' (SH), *buɣū* 1 (IM 433), *buqau* 1 (MA); WMong. *buɣui*, *baɣu*, *baɣui* 1 (L 71, 131), *buɣujil* 2 (L 131), *baɣuu* (SM) 1; Kh. *bugujvč* 1, *bugujl* 2; Bur. *bugāg* 1, *bugɨ*, *bugūli*, *bugɨbša* 2; Kalm. *buɣū* 1, 'neck bandage'; Ord. *buGū* 1; S.-Yugh. *boʁorči* 1; Mongr. *baGūr* 1 (SM 19).

◊ KW 58, MGCD 166, Дыбо 226. The word is attested already in SH, so it cannot be (despite TMN 2, 278) a modern loanword from forms like Kirgh. *buɣaw* etc. See also notes to **bog-* (sub **bi̯ugu).*

PTurk. ***bukagu** fetters, chain, string (путы, цепь, веревка): OTurk. *buqaɣu* (OUygh.); Karakh. *buqaɣu* (MK); Tur. *bukaɣɨ*; Gag. *buqaa*, *bɨqaa*; Az. *buxov*; Turkm. *buqaw*; MTurk. *buqaɣu*, *buqaw* (Sng., MA); Uzb. *bụɣɔw*; Krm. *buqov*, *buɣuw*; Tat. *boɣaw*; Bashk. *bɨɣaw*; Kirgh. *boɣoo*; Kaz. *buɣaw*; KBalk. *buɣow*; KKalp. *buɣaw*; Kum. *buɣaw*; Nogh. *buɣaw*; Chuv. *pъʷɣav* 'iron manacles'; Yak. *bakājɨ* (?).

◊ EDT 314, VEWT 87, ЭСТЯ 2, 248-250, Егоров 152, TMN 2, 277-278. Turk. > Mong., cf. MMong. *buxa'u* (SH) id., see TMN ibid., Щербак 1997, 108. Yak. *bakāji* with irregular -a- and -k- may reflect some interdialectal loan. Turk. > Hung. *békó* (Gombocz 1912).

PJpn. ***bàkù** spool, rim, frame (катушка, обод): Tok. *wakú*; Kyo. *wákù*; Kag. *wakú*.

◊ JLTT 567.

‖ Дыбо 226 (Turc-Mong-TM).

✱**bŭkrV** pea, nut, cone: Tung. ***boKari, *boKa-kta**; Mong. ***buɣurčag**; Turk. ***burčak**; Kor. ***phǎs**.

PTung. ***boKa-ri, *boKa-kta** 1 pea 2 cone 3 nut 4 tree fungus (1 горох 2 шишка 3 орех 4 древесная губа): Evk. *bokoto*, *bokokto* 2, 3; Evn. *bokot* 2, 3; Neg. *boxoto* 2, 3; Man. *boχori* 1, *baxa* 2; Ul. *bōqto* 3; Ork. *bōqto* 2, 3; Nan. *bōqto* 3; Orch. *bokto* 3; Ud. *boʿto* 2, 4 (Корм. 213); Sol. *boxrō* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 90, 91. TM > Dag. *bokrō* 'peas' (Тод. Даг. 127). Nan. *boχori* ʿpea' is most probably < Manchu.

PMong. ***buɣurčag** pea (горох): MMong. *burčax* (HY 8); WMong. *buɣurčaɣ*, (L 132) *buɣurčai*; Kh. *būrcag*; Bur. *būrsag* 'semen, fruit of vegetables'; Kalm. *būrcəg*; Ord. *burčaq*; Dag. *borečō* (MD 126), *borčō*; Dong. *puča*, *puǯa*; Bao. *pəǯaG*; S.-Yugh. *purčaG*; Mongr. *puʒaG* (SM 305), *puǯaG*.

◊ KW 65, MGCD 171. Variants without -ɣ- (WMong. *burčaɣ* etc.) should be regarded as Turkisms), but those with -ɣ- can be hardly explained in this way, despite Clark 1980, 43, Sukhebaatar; Southern Mong. forms are ambiguous, because they could have underwent secondary vowel shortening.

PTurk. ***burčak** bean, pea (бобы, горох): OTurk. *burčaq* (OUygh.); Karakh. *burčaq* (MK); Tur. *burčak*; Gag. *borčaq*; Turkm. *burčaq*; MTurk. *burčaq* (Sangl.); Uzb. *burčɔq*; Uygh. *počaq*; Krm. *burčax*; Tat. *borčaq*; Bashk. *borsaq*; Kirgh. [*būrčaq* < Mong.]; Kaz. *buršaq*; KBalk. *burčaq*; KKalp. *buršaq*; Kum. *burčaq*; Nogh. *buršaq*; SUygh. *pɨrčaq*; Shr. *mɨrčaq*; Oyr. *mɨrčaq*; Chuv. *pъʷrźa*, *pəʷrźe*.

◊ EDT 357, VEWT 89, ЭСТЯ 2, 275-277. Turk. > WMong. *burčag*, Kalm. *burcəg* (KW 62, see TMN 2, 281, Щербак 1997, 110). Chuv. > Mari *pursa*; Bulg. > Hung. *borsó*, see Gombocz 1912.

PKor. ***phā́s** beans, peas (бобы, горох): MKor. *phā́s*; Mod. *phat* [*phath*].

◊ Nam 462, KED 1739.

‖ Дыбо 10, AKE 15, EAS 58. Phonetically a rather complicated case because of the rare medial cluster *-kr- with non-standard reflexes. Turkic, Mongolian and probably Korean reflect a suffixed form **bukrV-čʿV* (MKor. *phā́s* = **phā́č* < **bukVr-čʿV*); medial -k- in the cluster had disappeared in PT and yielded -ɣ- in Mong. Another derivative from the same root may be the Turk.-Mong. name of various kinds of berries: PT **bögürtlen* 'blackberry' etc., Mong. **böɣerel(ǯi)gene* 'raspberry etc.' (KW 56).

✸**bū́ktV** leg, thigh: Tung. ***begdi / *bugdi**; Turk. ***būt**.

PTung. ***begdi / *bugdi** 1 leg 2 foot (1 нога (leg) 2 нога (foot)): Evk. *begdi* 1; Evn. *bȫdъl* 1; Neg. *begdi* 1; Man. *betxe* 2; SMan. *betəxə*, *betəkə* 1, 2 (137, 2285); Jurch. *bodi-xe* (505) 2; Ul. *begdi* 1; Ork. *begǯi* 1; Nan. *begd'i* 2; Orch. *begdi* 1; Ud. *begdi* 1; Sol. *beldīr* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 118-119.

PTurk. ***būt** 1 thigh 2 leg, foot (1 бедро 2 нога): OTurk. *but* (OUygh.) 2; Karakh. *but* (MK) 1; Tur. *but* 1; Gag. *but* 1; Az. *bud* 1; Turkm. *būt* 1; Khal. *būt* 1; MTurk. *but* (Abush., Sangl.) 1; Uzb. *but* 'groin'; Uygh. *put* 2; Krm. *but* 1; Tat. *bot* 1; Bashk. *bot* 1; Kirgh. *but* 2; Kaz. *but* 1; KBalk. *but* 2; KKalp. *put* 1; Kum. *but* 2; Nogh. *but* 1; SUygh. *put* 2; Khak. *put* 1; Oyr. *but* 2; Tv. *but* 2; Tof. *but* 2; Yak. *būt* 1; Dolg. *būt* 1.

◊ VEWT 90, EDT 297, ЭСТЯ 2, 280-281, Лексика 282, Stachowski 67.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 289, Лексика 282. A Turk.-Tung. isogloss.

✸**bȕkʿe (~ -i)** hill, mound: Tung. ***būKa**; Mong. ***buka**; Turk. ***bük**; Kor. ***puk (~ -ɨ-)**.

PTung. ***būKa** island (остров): Evk. *būka*, *bukačān*; Evn. *bụqčan*; Neg. *boxačan*; Man. *buqsa*; Ul. *bāča(n)*; Ork. *boata*; Nan. *boačã*; Orch. *boača*; Ud. *bugasa*.

◊ TMC 1, 104.

PMong. ***buka** 1 canal 2 haycock, shock (1 канал 2 копна): WMong. *buqa* 1, *buqal* 2; Kh. *buxaĺ* 2; Bur. *buxal* 2; Kalm. *buxə* 1; Mog. ZM *boqqə̄n* 'hillock' (17-9a).

◊ KW 58. The original meaning was 'heap, mound of earth' (whence also 'island, dam > canal', cf. the meanings in related languages).

PTurk. ***bük** 1 wood, forest 2 hill 3 meadow 4 valley between mountains (1 лес 2 холм 3 луг 4 долина между гор): Karakh. *bük* 'bushes, underwood', *büktir* 'rocky mountain top' (MK); Tur. *bük* 'thicket at the waterside'; MTurk. *bük* 1 (Pav. C.); Uygh. *bük* 'thick (wood, garden)'; Tat. *bük* (dial.) 3, *püktɛr* 'snow-drift' (KCTT); Kirgh. *bök* 2, *böktör* 'foot-hills'; Kaz. *bökter* 'steep hill'; Khak. *pük* 3; Shr. *pük* 3; Oyr. *bük* 4; Tv. *bü'k* 4.

◊ VEWT 91, EDT 324, 325, ЭСТЯ 2, 291, Лексика 94.

PKor. ***puk (~ -i-)** heaping of earth (куча земли): Mod. *puk*.

◊ KED 823.

‖ SKE 208, Дыбо 11. Cf. **b̯iuge*, **pāko*. Jpn. **bə́ká* is rather to be derived from PA **úkʿe* q.v. (although contaminations were possible).

✱**bukʿV** to doubt, be stupid: Tung. ***buK-**; Mong. ***bukinid-**; Kor. ***puki**.

PTung. ***buK-** 1 to worry 2 to doubt, guess, contemplate (1 волноваться 2 догадываться, сомневаться, раздумывать): Man. *buxe-* 2; Nan. *bogbị-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 87, 105.

PMong. ***bukinid-** to be sad, grieve, be troubled (печалиться, горевать; томиться, застаиваться): WMong. *bukinid-*, *bokinid-* (L 133); Kh. *buxinda-*; Bur. *buxinda-*; Kalm. *buxtənə-* KPC 125.

◊ Mong. > Evn. *boqụtna-* (TMC 1, 91).

PKor. ***puki** idiotic person, stupid character (глупец, дурак): Mod. *pugi*.

◊ KED 810.

‖ One of the many verbs of emotion reconstructed for PA; cf. **pŭ̀go*, and perhaps Mod. Jpn. *baka* 'fool' (with expressive b-).

✱**bŭ̈li** to stir, shake, smear: Tung. ***bul-**; Mong. ***büli-**; Turk. ***bulga-**; Jpn. ***púr-**.

PTung. ***bul-** 1 to smear 2 to caress, stroke (1 мазать 2 гладить): Evk. *bulku-* 1, *bul-* 2; Evn. *bel-*, *böl-* 2; Neg. *bolkị-* 1, *bul-* 2; Man. *bilu-* 2; Ul. *bụlčị-* 2; Ork. *bolda-* 1, *bụlị-* 2; Nan. *buli-* 2; Orch. *būli-či-* 2; Sol. *bulgu-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 105-106, 108.

PMong. ***büli-** to stir (взбивать, помешивать (кумыс)): MMong. *bule-* (SH); WMong. *büli-*, *büle-* (L 146); Kh. *büle-*; Bur. *büli-*; Kalm. *bülə-*, *büĺ-*; Ord. *büli-*.

◊ KW 66. Mong. > Russ. Siber. *булить* 'to churn butter', see Аникин 141.

PTurk. ***bulga-** to stir, stir up (помешивать, перемешивать): OTurk. *bulγa-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *bulγa-* (MK); Tur. *bula-*; Gag. *bula-*; Az. *bula-*; Turkm. *bula-*; Khal. *bulγa-*; MTurk. *bulγa-*; *bula-* (Sangl., Abush.); Uzb. *bula-*, *bulγa-*; Uygh. *bulγu-*; Krm. *bulγa-*, *bolγa-*; Tat. *bolγa-*; Bashk. *bolγa-*; Kirgh. *bulγa-*; Kaz. *bɨlγa-*, *bulγa-*; KBalk. *bulγa-*; KKalp. *bɨlγa-*; Kum. *bulγa-*; Nogh. *bɨlγa-*, *bulγa-*; SUygh. *polγa-*, *pula-*; Khak. *pulγa-*; Shr. *pulγa-*; Oyr. *bulγa-*; Tv. *bɨlγa-*, (dial.) *bulγa-*; Tof. *bulha-*; Chuv. *pъlxa-n-* 'to become turbid'; Yak. *bulā-*, *bulkuj-*, *bɨlā-*; Dolg. *bulkuj-*.

◊ EDT 337, VEWT 88, ЭСТЯ 2, 253-256, Ашм. X, 112, Stachowski 65. The Turk. root is the probable source of Mong. *bulγa-* 'to confuse, uprise' (see TMN 2, 322-323, Щербак 1997, 110).

PJpn. ***púr-** to shake up, wave, rub (взмахивать, трясти, тереть): OJpn. *pur-*; MJpn. *fúr-*; Tok. *fùr-*; Kyo. *fúr-*; Kag. *fúr-*.

◊ JLTT 694.

‖ See EAS 57-58, 106.

✱**bŭlu (~ -a, -o)** cloud: Tung. ***bol-**; Turk. ***bulut (*bulɨt)**.

PTung. ***bol-** 1 autumn 2 air 3 to blow (of wind, snow) (1 осень 2 воздух 3 дуть, падать (о ветре, снеге)): Evk. *bolo* 1, *bolgo* 2, *bolī-* 3; Evn. *bolṭnị* 1; Neg. *bolo* 1; Man. *bolori* 1; SMan. *bolori* 'autumn, fall' (2728); Jurch. *bolo* (75); Ul. *bolo* 1; Ork. *bolo* 1; Nan. *bolo* 1; Orch. *bolo* 1; Ud. *boloni* 1; Sol. *bolo* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 92-93.

PTurk. ***bulut (*bulɨt)** cloud (облако): Karakh. *bulut* (MK); Tur. *bulut*; Gag. *bulut*; Az. *bulut*; Turkm. *bulut*; Sal. *bu(:)lɨt*; Khal. *bulɨt*; MTurk. *bulut* (MA); Uzb. *bulut*; Uygh. *bulut*; Krm. *bulut*; Tat. *bolɨt*; Bashk. *bolot*; Kirgh. *bulut*; Kaz. *bu̱lt*; KBalk. *bulut*; KKalp. *bult*; Kum. *bulut*; Nogh. *bulɨt*; SUygh. *pɨlɨt*; Khak. *pulut*; Shr. *pulut*; Oyr. *bulut*; Tv. *bulut*; Tof. *bulut*; Chuv. *pəʷləʷt* 'sky, cloud'; Yak. *bɨlɨt*; Dolg. *bɨlɨt*.

◊ VEWT 88 (the connection with PT **bulga-* 'to mix' is not obvious at all); TMN 2, 323; EDT 333, ЭСТЯ 2, 262-264, Лексика 24, Stachowski 71. Turk. > MMong. (ИМ) *bulut*, see Щербак 1997, 163. Derived are Kypch. forms like Kaz., KKalp. *buldɨr* 'foggy, cloudy', Kirgh. *buldur* 'fuzzy, cloudy', Nogh. *buldɨr* 'id.'

‖ A Turk.-TM isogloss. A Nostratic etymology (Ural. **pilwe* et al.) see in ОСНЯ 1, 179-180.

✱**bŭlV** to grab, find: Tung. ***bule-**; Mong. ***buliγa-**; Turk. ***bul-**.

PTung. ***bule-n** enemy (враг): Evk. *bulēn*; Evn. *bulъn*.

◊ TMC 1, 109-110.

PMong. ***buliγa-** to attack, rob, grab (нападать, грабить, хватать): MMong. *buli-* (SH) 'to rob', *bulqa-* (SH) 'to fight', *balγa* 'fighting' (IM); WMong. *bulija-* (L 134), *buliγa-*; Kh. *bulā-*; Bur. *buĺā-*; Kalm. *bulā-*; Ord. *bulā-*; Dag. *baliē-* (MD 119), *bolē-*; Dong. *bili-*; Bao. *bəl-*, *bula-*; S.-Yugh. *bələ-*; Mongr. *bulə-*, *buli-* (SM 33).

◊ KW 59, MGCD 167. Mong. > Turk.: Kirgh. *bula-*, Uygh. *bulu-* 'to rob'; > Yak., Dolg. *bɨlǯā-* (Kał. MEJ 19, Stachowski 70). A Mong. source is possible also for the Chag. form *bula-* (see above).

PTurk. ***bul-*** to find (находить): OTurk. *bul-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *bul-* (MK, KB); Tur. *bul-*; Gag. *bul-*; Khal. *bul-*; MTurk. *bula-* (Pav. C. 174); Krm. *bul-*; Yak. *bul-*; Dolg. *bul-*.

◊ EDT 332, VEWT 87, ЭСТЯ 2, 252-253, Stachowski 65.

‖ KW 59, VEWT 87. A Western isogloss. In Turkic 'find' obviously < 'grab, capture', the original meaning being well preserved in PT **bulun* 'captive, prisoner' (EDT 343).

✱**bulV** ice, jelly-like substance: Tung. ***belu / *bul-***; Turk. ***bul-***.

PTung. ***belu / bul-*** 1 flat, slippery ice surface 2 to become gelatinous, jelly-like (1 гладкая, скользкая поверхность льда 2 образоваться (о льде, шуге, насте), застывать, становиться густым, студенистым): Evk. *belu* 1, *buldi-lē-* 2; Evn. *buldid-* 2; Neg. *bel*, *bulǯi-* 2; Ul. *belu*, *bolu* 1, *bulde-* 2; Ork. *belu* 1; Nan. *belu*, *bulu* 1, *bulǯi-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 107, 124. Cf. also **bul-da-* 'slippery' (TMC 1, 107).

PTurk. ***bul-*** 1 hoar-frost 2 frazil, icy surface (1 изморозь 2 наледь): Turkm. *buldurčɨn* 1, *buldura-* 'to glitter (of dew, hoar-frost)'; Uzb. *bulduriq* 1; Oyr. *puluɣ* 2 (dial., Leb. R); Tv. *buluq* 2; Yak. *bulūs* 'glacier'.

◊ Лексика 38.

‖ A Turk.-TM isogloss. ? Cf. Karakh. *buldunɨ* 'a k. of milk dish' (MK) (= Evk. *buldumna*, - if the original meaning was "congeal").

✱**bū́la** confusion, fright: Tung. ***bolga-***; Mong. ***bala-***; Turk. ***bū́l-***; Jpn. ***básúr-***.

PTung. ***bolga-*** 1 to be afraid 2 to worry 3 to be shy, confused (1 пугаться 2 беспокоиться 3 робеть, смущаться): Evk. *bolgo-*; Neg. *bolgo-* 1; Ork. *bolGo-*; Nan. *bōlda-ǯi-*.

◊ TMC 1, 92.

PMong. ***bala-*** 1 guilt 2 reason, cause (1 вина 2 причина): WMong. *balaɣ* 1, 2; Kh. *balag* 1, 2; Bur. *balā* 1, 2; Kalm. *balā* 2.

◊ KW 30.

PTurk. ***bū́l-*** to be bad-tempered, irritable (быть раздражительным, иметь плохой характер, сердиться, возбуждаться): OTurk. *buš-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *buš-* (MK, KB); Gag. *būš-*; Turkm. *būš-la-* 'to be the first to communicate good news'; MTurk. *buš-* (Abush., Sangl.); Uygh. *puš-*; Krm. *bušurɣan-* 'to argue, be disgusted'; Tat. *poš-*; Bashk. *boš-*; Kirgh. *bɨš-*; KBalk. *bušuw* 'sadness'; Kum. *buš-*; Khak. *puzux-* 'to be sad', *puzu-r-a-* 'to be inflamed'; Tv. *bužurɣan-* 'to be anxious, angry'; Chuv. *pъžъ-r-ɣan-* 'to be anxious, sad'.

◊ VEWT 90, EDT 377, ЭСТЯ 2, 284-285, Мудрак Дисс. 96, Егоров 152, Федотов 1, 410. The devoicing in a number of Kypch. languages may be caused by the influence of a Persian loan *pušman*, *pušajman* 'remorse, regret' (Гаффаров 1, 97).

PJpn. ***básúr-** to forget (забывать): OJpn. *wasur-*; MJpn. *wásúrá-*; Tok. *wàsure-*; Kyo. *wásúré-*; Kag. *wasuré-*.

◊ JLTT 783.

‖ Despite Poppe 75, the Tungus root has nothing to do with Mong. *bulga* 'confusion, uprise' (a probable Turkic loanword, see under **búli*). Cf. **bùĺo.*

✱**bŭĺì (~ -o-)** joint, sinew: Tung. ***bul-**; Mong. ***büli-ken**; Jpn. ***pùsì**.

PTung. ***bul-** 1 to form, spring up (of an ulcer, lump, swelling) 2 to be, become convex, pop out (of eyes) 3 sinew, cartilage (1 вскочить (о волдыре, шишке) 2 вытаращить (глаза), быть лупоглазым, выпуклым 3 сухожилие, хрящ): Evk. *bulbente-* 1, *bulle* 3; Evn. *boldụra* 2, *būlrъ* 3; Neg. *bule* 3; Man. *bulǯa-* 1; Ork. *bụldā-*, *bolǯịna* 2; Nan. *bolǯa-* 2, *bulte* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 106, 107, 108, 109.

PMong. ***büli-ken** sinew; thick part of sinew (толстое сухожилие, мышечная связка): WMong. *büleke*, *büleki*, *bülike(n)*; Kh. *bülx*; Bur. *bülxi(n)*; Kalm. *bülkṇ*.

◊ KW 66.

PJpn. ***pùsì** a knot, bamboo joint etc. (узел, сустав бамбука и т.п.): OJpn. *pusi*; MJpn. *fùsì*; Tok. *fushí*; Kyo. *fúshì*; Kag. *fushí*.

◊ JLTT 418.

‖ Дыбо 311, Лексика 250-251.

✱**bŭĺo** to pity, be sad: Tung. ***bulī-**; Jpn. ***bəsì-**; Kor. ***pɨrə́-**.

PTung. ***bulī-** to be sad (тосковать): Evk. *bulī-*; Evn. *bụl-*; Ul. *bụldaǯị-*.

◊ TMC 1, 107-108.

PJpn. ***bəsì-** to pity, regret (жалеть): OJpn. *wosi-*; MJpn. *wòsì-*; Tok. *oshí-*; Kyo. *óshì-*; Kag. *oshí-*.

◊ JLTT 839.

PKor. ***pɨrə́-** to envy, be jealous (завидовать, ревновать): MKor. *pɨrə́-hă-*; Mod. *purəp-* (-w-).

◊ Liu 404, KED 813.

‖ Korean has a verbal low tone. An Eastern isogloss, but cf. **bŭĺa* : the two roots are very similar and their reflexes could have been mixed in Turk. and Mong. (which also has a form *bulara-* (БАМРС) 'to be exhausted, tired').

✸**bȕŋe** to howl: Tung. ***būni-**; Mong. ***büŋsi-, *büɣüre-**; Turk. ***böŋre-**; Jpn. ***bàmià-k- (~ -ai-)**.

PTung. ***būni-** to howl (выть): Evk. *būnī-*; Evn. *būni-*; Neg. *būnī-*; Ul. *buńi-ku* 'trumpet'; Ork. *būni-*; Nan. *būni-ku* 'trumpet'; Ud. *buni-*; Sol. *būnī-*.

◊ TMC 1, 110. TM > Dag. *būnī-* (Тод. Даг. 128).

PMong. ***büŋsi-, *büɣüre-** to howl (выть): WMong. *büŋsi-* (MXTTT); Kh. *bünši-*, *bū̃re-*; Bur. ?? *bū̃je-* 'to hum'.

◊ A variant **möɣüre-* is also attested (Khalkha *mō̃rö-*, Mongr. *mōro-* (SM 242) etc.)

PTurk. ***böŋre-** to howl (кричать (в первую очередь, о животном)): OTurk. *müŋre-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *müŋre-* (MK); Tur. *bögür-*; Turkm. *möŋŋür-*, *möŋre-*; MTurk. *muŋra-* (Sangl.); Uygh. *möri-*; Krm. *mövrä-*; Tat. *mögrɛ-*; Bashk. *möŋrä-*; Kirgh. *mō̃rō̃-*; Kaz. *möŋire-*; KKalp. *möŋrä-*; Khak. *mū̃re-*; Oyr. *mō̃rō̃-*; Tv. *mō̃re-*; Yak. *möŋürüö-*, *mögürüö-*.

◊ VEWT 342, EDT 770, ЭСТЯ 7. The variant **baŋra-* is also attested (see VEWT 327).

PJpn. ***bàmià-k- (~ -ai-)** to howl (выть): MJpn. *wamek-*, *womek-*; Tok. *wamék-*; Kyo. *wámék-*; Kag. *wàmèk-*.

◊ JLTT 783.

‖ Poppe 35, 73. An onomatopaeic root, but widely represented and (except for secondary fronting **būŋi-* > **būni-* in TM) with quite regular correspondences.

✸**bŭrdV** beard: Tung. ***burgakta (/*gurgakta)**; Mong. ***burǯi-**; Turk. ***burut**.

PTung. ***burgakta (/*gurgakta)** beard, moustache (борода, усы): Evk. *gurgakta*; Evn. *gụrgъt*; Neg. *gojgakta*; Ul. *bụǯaqta*; Ork. *Gụdaqta*; Nan. *boGaqta* / *boǯaqta*; Orch. *baǯakta*; Ud. *guakta*; Sol. *gụggakta*, *gụrgakta*.

◊ TMC 1, 173. Some languages reflect a secondary assimilation **burga-kta* > **gurga-kta.*

PMong. ***burǯi-** fleecy, curly (of hair) (курчавый, пушистый): WMong. *burǯi-* (L 140); Kh. *burǯgar*; Bur. *burǯagar*; Kalm. *burzəɣər*; Ord. *burǯuGur*.

◊ KW 63. Cf. also **burči-* id. (Kalm. *burcəgṛ*, KW 62).

PTurk. ***burut** moustache (усы): Turkm. *murt*; MTurk. *burut* (Pav. C., MA); Uzb. *murt*, *murut*; Uygh. *burut*; Tat. *murt* (dial., Sib.); Kirgh. *murut*; Kaz. *murt*; KKalp. *murt*, *murut*; Nogh. *murt*, *murut*.

◊ EDT 301 (sub *biðik*), VEWT 90, TMN 2, 290-291, Лексика 224 (with etymological discussion).

‖ Лексика 224. A Western isogloss. TM reflects an early assimilation (**burda-kta* > **burga-kta*) - the process which went on and led to a further assimilation **burga-kta* > **gurga-kta* in some dialects.

✸**bȕri (~ -i̯ū-, -e)** to cover, shade: Tung. ***bū-**; Mong. ***bürü-**; Turk. ***bürü-**.

PTung. ***bū-** to shade (light) (заслонять свет): Evk. *bū-*.

◊ TMC 1, 99. Cf. perhaps also: Evk. *boro* 'dusk'; Manchu *boro* 'hat (made of straw)' (see TMC 1, 96). A possible derivative is also **bō-gda* 'hat; upper clothes' (TMC 1, 87).

PMong. ***bürü-** 1 to cover 2 dusk, darkening (1 закрывать 2 сумерки, сумеречный): MMong. *buri-* 1 (SH), *b[o]r[o]nčäk* 'cover, blanket' (IM); WMong. *bürüj*, *bürüg* 2 (L 150); Kh. *büre-* 1, *bürū̃l*, *bürij* 2; Bur. *büri-* 1, *bürū̃l*, *bürū̃r* 2; Kalm. *bür-* 1, *bürū̃* 2; Ord. *büri-* 1; Dag. *burī* (Тод. Даг. 128, MD 127) 2, *burgiēn* 2; S.-Yugh. *burʁoloG* 2; Mongr. *burə-*, *buri-* 1.

◊ KW 68, 69, MGCD 177, 178. Mong. > Man. *buri-* etc., see Doerfer MT 142.

PTurk. ***bürü-, *bür-ke-** to cover up (покрывать, закрывать): Karakh. *bürün-* 'to be covered' (MK, KB), *bürkek* 'cloudy', *bürkür-* 'to become cloudy' (MK); Tur. *bürü-* (also of clouds), *bürge*, *bürgü* 'kerchief, thin curtain'; Gag. *bürü-*; Az. *bürü-*; Turkm. *büre-*; MTurk. *bürke-* (MA, Abush., Pav. C.); Uzb. *burka-*; Uygh. *pü(r)kä-*; Tat. *börkɛ-*; Bashk. *börkä-n-* 'to be covered', *börköü* 'stifling'; Kirgh. *bürkö-*; Kaz. *bürke-*; KKalp. *bürke-*; Kum. *bürke-* (also of clouds); Nogh. *bürke-*; Khak. *pürge-*; Shr. *pürge-*; Oyr. *bürke-*; Tv. *bürge-* (also of clouds); Tof. *bürhü-*; Chuv. *pəʷrke-*; Yak. *bürüj-*; *bürküj-* 'to become cloudy'; Dolg. *bürüj-*; *bürkük* 'cloudy'.

◊ EDT 363, 367, ДТС 133, VEWT 92, ЭСТЯ 2, 296-298, Stachowski 68. The form in -ke- is an intensive and can hardly be regarded as a mongolism.

‖ KW 68, Poppe 111, ОСНЯ 1, 192. A Western isogloss - but Mong. is hardly borrowed from Turk., despite Щербак 1997, 111. Cf. **bṓrkʿi*.

✸**bŭri (~ -ŕ-, -o-, -e)** to die, perish: Tung. ***bu(r)-**; Mong. ***bür-il-**.

PTung. ***bu(r)-** to die (умирать): Evk. *bu-*; Evn. *bu-ni* 'deceased'; Neg. *bu-*; Man. *buče-*; SMan. *bečə-* (744); Jurch. *bu-če-xie* (389); Ul. *bu(l)-*; Ork. *bu(l)-*; Nan. *bude-*, bu(r)-; Orch. *bu-de-*, *bu-kki-*; Ud. *bu-de-*, *bu-kki-*; Sol. *bu-*.

◊ TMC 1, 98-99.

PMong. ***bür-il-** to die, perish (погибать, разрушаться): MMong. *burel-* (tr.) (SH); WMong. *büril-* (L 149); Kh. *bürle-*; Ord. *bürilge-*.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 290, TMC 1, 99. A Mong-Tung. isogloss. TM demonstrates an exceptional case of loss of *-r- (recoverable in some forms of the paradigm) after an original short vowel, so the root may have been monosyllabic (**buŕ*) in PA.

✸**bùro (~ -o-, -ŕ-)** to break, crush: Tung. ***bur-**; Mong. ***burči-**; Jpn. ***bə̀r-**.

PTung. ***bur-** to crush, demolish (ломать, уничтожать): Evk. *burgī-*; Evn. *borgъ̣-*.

◊ TMC 1, 112. Cf. also Evk. *borowun* 'scraper (for bone)', *burbenti-* 'to break through' (TMC 1, 96, 111).

PMong. ***burči-** to crush, destroy (ломать, разрушать): WMong. *burči-* (L 137); Kh. *burša-*, *borči-*; Bur. *buršī-* 'to be wrinkled, rumpled'.

◊ Mong. > Kirgh. *buržugui* 'корявый' and a number of other Kypch. forms.

PJpn. ***bə̀r-** to break; to bend (ломать; гнуть): OJpn. *wor-*; MJpn. *wòr-*; Tok. *ór-*; Kyo. *òr-*; Kag. *òr-*.

◊ JLTT 742.

‖ A reconstruction of *-ŕ- is also possible; in the latter case Turkic could have merged the root with **buŕ-* < **mi̯uŕu* q.v.

✱**bŭsi (~ -o-, -e)** kidney, liver: Tung. ***bosa-kta**; Mong. ***büse**; Turk. ***bögse(k) < *bös-ge(k)**.

PTung. ***bosa-kta** kidney (почка): Evk. *bosokto*; Evn. *bostъ*; Neg. *boxokto*; Man. *bosχo*; SMan. *bošəqu*, *bosəqu* 'kidneys' (92); Ul. *bosoqto*; Ork. *bosoqto*; Nan. *bosoqto*; Ud. *bōkto*; Sol. *bosokto*.

◊ TMC 1, 97. TM > Dag. *basarta* (Тод. Даг. 125).

PMong. ***büse** belt (пояс): MMong. *buse* (HY 23, SH), *busä* (IM), *busǎ* (MA), *būse* (Lig.VMI); WMong. *büse* (L 151); Kh. *büs(en)*; Bur. *behe*; Kalm. *büsə*; Ord. *büse*; Dag. *bese*, *buse* (Тод. Даг. 126, MD 122); Dong. *pišie*; Bao. *se*; S.-Yugh. *pəsē*; Mongr. *ризə*, *busə* (Huzu).

◊ KW 69, MGCD 179. Mong. > Evk. *buse*, see Doerfer MT 94.

PTurk. ***bögse(k) < *bös-ge(k)** a part of human or animal trunk (часть туловища): OTurk. *bögsig* 'some part of body (belly?)' (OUygh.); Karakh. *bökseg* 'woman's breast; upper part of chest' (MK); MTurk. *bökse* 'the part of a human or animal body above the waist' (Abush., Sangl.); Uzb. *bu̯ksa* 'side part of the body below the breast and down to the hip; (dial.) lower part of body'; Tat. *büksɛ* 'belly; bird crop'; Bashk. *bükϑä* 'short person (abusive)'; Kirgh. *böksö* 'side of body; foot-hill'; KBalk. *böksün* 'half of animal carcass'; Tv. *böskek* 'bird's breast'; Tof. *böksek* 'bird's breast'; Chuv. *pəʷźexe* 'crop'; Yak. *böskö-j-* 'to appear abdominous'.

◊ EDT 329, VEWT 84, 83, ЭСТЯ 2, 213-214, Лексика 278. Forms without -k meaning 'buttock' or 'lower part of body' are most probably borrowed < Mong. **bögse*, having quite different origin (see under **pi̯oko*) - although some contaminations were not excluded.

‖ A Western isogloss - but cf. also MKor. *khòŋ-phǎs* 'kidney' (*khòŋ* 'bean'), where *phǎs* is also folk-etymologically analysed as 'bean', but may in fact continue the same Altaic root.

✱**bŭté** itch, scab: Tung. ***butu-**; Mong. ***bodu(ɣa)**; Turk. ***büt-**; Jpn. ***pàtákài**.

PTung. ***butu-** 1 a hoof disease, to suffer from hoof disease 2 pimple, pustule, to pustulate (1 копытница (болезнь оленей), болеть копытницей 2 прыщ, угорь, покрываться прыщами, пупырышками): Evk. *butu-*, *butun* 1, *buture-* 2; Evn. *butuke*; Man. *buturi* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 116.

PMong. ***bodu(ɣa)** smallpox (оспа): WMong. *bodu(-ɣa)* (L 109); Kh. *bodō*; Kalm. *bodə*; Ord. *bodō*.

◊ KW 48. Mong. > Evk. *budan* 'rash'.

PTurk. ***büt-** to heal (of a wound) (заживать (о ране)): OTurk. *büt-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *büt-* (MK); Turkm. *bit-; bitik* 'scar, cicatrice'; MTurk. *büt-* (Abush., Sangl.); Uzb. *bit-*; Tat. *bet-äš-*; Bashk. *böt-öš-*; Kirgh. *büt-*; Kaz. *bit-*; KKalp. *pit-*; Nogh. *bit-*; Khak. *püt-*; Oyr. *büt-*; Tv. *bü't-*; Yak. *büt-*.

◊ EDT 299 (sub **büt-* 'finish'), ЭСТЯ 2, 154-155. Cf. also Chuv. *pitča* 'гнойный лишай'.

PJpn. ***pàtákài** mange, scabies (чесотка): OJpn. *patake*; MJpn. *fàtákè*; Tok. *hàtake*; Kyo. *hàtákè*; Kag. *hataké*.

◊ JLTT 401. The Tokyo accent is irregular (*hátake* would be expected).

‖ PJ has irregular devoicing *b- > p- here. Turkic forms may belong here if they are not a specialized semantic development of **büt-* 'to finish, end' (a secondary merger is possible).

✱bŭt´ù (~ -o-) to beat, break: Tung. ***bute-, *butekte-**; Mong. ***buta-**; Jpn. ***pùt-**; Kor. ***putɨ'ič-**.

PTung. ***bute-, *butekte-** to break, crush (ломать, дробить, разбивать): Evk. *butēkte-*; *butukte* 'piece'; Evn. *bụ̄t-*; Neg. *bokta-l-*; Ul. *bụqta-*; Nan. *boqta-*; Orch. *buktaga-*; Ud. *bukta-*.

◊ TMC 1, 116.

PMong. ***buta-** 1 to break 2 be broken (1 ломать 2 ломаться): MMong. *butăra-* (MA); WMong. *buta-ra-* (L 141) 2; Kh. *butar-* 2, *butal-* 1; Bur. *butar-* 2; Kalm. *butṛ-* 2; Ord. *butara-* 2; Dong. *pudura-* (MGCD), *putura-* 2; Mongr. *pudərā-* (SM 304) 2!.

◊ KW 63, MGCD 172. Mong. > Chag. *butra-* etc. (VEWT 90-91, ЭСТЯ 2, 308-309) (not vice versa, despite Щербак 1997, 110: OTurk. *budra-* is invented, and OTurk. *budraq* 'scattered' is a hapax misinterpreted by Malov, see EDT 307).

PJpn. ***pùt-** to beat, hit (бить): Tok. *bút-*; Kyo. *bùt-*; Kag. *bùt-*.

◊ A verb (not attested in OJ) with an expressive voicing *p- > b-. See JLTT 680.

PKor. ***putɨ'ič-** to hit, bump, collide (бить, сталкиваться): MKor. *putɨ'ič-*; Mod. *pudit-* [*putič-*].

◊ Nam 265, KED 812.

‖ Poppe 21, 101; Martin 233.

Č

✱**čȁbà (~ -o)** sack: Tung. ***ǯaPku**; Jpn. ***tàpàra**; Kor. ***čar**.

PTung. ***ǯaPku** quiver (колчан): Man. *ǯabqu*; Ul. *ǯapaụ(n)*; Nan. *ǯafụ*; Orch. *ǯapku*.

◊ TMC 1, 251.

PJpn. ***tàpàra** sack (мешок): MJpn. *tàfàra*; Tok. *tawará*; Kyo. *táwàrà*; Kag. *tawará*.

◊ JLTT 544.

PKor. ***čar** sack (мешок): MKor. *čar*; Mod. *čaru*.

◊ Nam 416, KED 1376.

‖ An Eastern isogloss. Kor. **čàr* is a contraction < **čawar* < **čabar*.

✱**čabV** helmet, headgear: Tung. ***ǯabuka**; Mong. ***daɣulga**.

PTung. ***ǯabuka** ear-flaps, headgear (наушники): Ul. *ǯawa*; Nan. *ǯaụa*; Orch. *ǯawa*, *ǯauka*; Ud. *ǯauga*.

◊ TMC 1, 240.

PMong. ***daɣulga** helmet (шлем): MMong. *du'uluqa* (HY 19), *dăwulɣa* (MA); WMong. *daɣulɣa*, *duɣulɣa* (L 271); Kh. *dūlga*; Bur. *dūlga*; Kalm. *dūlɣə*, *dūlxə*; Ord. *dūlGa*.

◊ KW 104. Mong. > Chag. *davulɣa*, *dubulɣa*, *duvulɣa*, *duluɣa*, see Щербак 1997, 203.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**čágo** a k. of small predator: Tung. ***ǯagari**; Mong. ***ǯeɣe-ken**; Turk. ***ToK- (?)**.

PTung. ***ǯagari** bear's head; bear (3 y. old) (голова медведя; медведь (3-х лет)): Evk. *ǯaɣari*; Neg. *ǯaɣaskačān*; Man. *ǯajra* 'медведица (самка медведя-муравьеда)'; Nan. *ǯāriị*; Ud. *ǯāi*.

◊ TMC 1, 242.

PMong. ***ǯeɣe-ken** 1 wolverine 2 jackal (1 росомаха 2 шакал): MMong. *ǯo'ebori* 2 (SH); WMong. *ǯegeken* (L 1051: *ǯigege*) 1, *čöge-büri* 2; Kh. *ʒēx(en)* 1, *cõvör* 2; Bur. *zēgen* 1; Kalm. *zēgən* 1 (KPC).

◊ On -büri see under **beltereg*.

PTurk. ***ToK-** weasel (ласка): Khak. *totxanax* (Sag.); Shr. *toqɨnas*, *toqumas*, *toqumdas* (R); Oyr. *toqtonoq*; Tv. *toqtan* (R).

◊ VEWT 485. A local Syberian form, probably a compound of the expected *dog- with some obscure second component (possibly **dog-kumtiŕ* 'weasel-beaver').

‖ A Western isogloss. Initial *ǯ*- in Mong. is irregular (one should expect either **deɣe-ken* or **čiɣe-ken*: cf. in this respect the interesting WMong. form *čöge-büri* (< **čiɣö-büri* ?) 'jackal'); this may be due to an interaction with Turk. **jēbke* (see under **zībekV*).

✱**čā́kte** pine, larch: Tung. ***ǯagda**; Turk. ***Tīt**.

PTung. ***ǯagda** pine-tree (сосна): Evk. *ǯagda*; Evn. *ǯaɣdṭ*; Neg. *ǯagda*; Man. *ǯaqdan*; SMan. *ǯahədə*, *ǯahədā* (2158); Ul. *ǯagda*; Nan. *ǯāGda*; Sol. *ǯagda*.

◊ TMC 1, 242. Cf. also Evk. *dêkta*, Evn. *dêt*, Orok *ǯēqta* 'fir-needles, fallen leaves' (TMC 1, 202) - dialectal variants? A TM source is very probable for WMong. *ǯodaw*, Khalkha *ǯodō*, Bur. *žodō* "Siberian fir tree".

PTurk. ***Tīt** larch-tree (лиственница): OTurk. *tɨt* (OUygh.); Karakh. *tɨt* (MK); Tat. *tet aɣac* (dial., KCTT 200); Kirgh. *tɨt* 'mulberry tree'; Khak. *tɨt*; Shr. *tɨt*; Oyr. *tɨt*; Tv. *dɨt*; Tof. *tɨt* (Рас. ФиЛ), *dɨt* / *tɨt*; Yak. *tīt*; Dolg. *tīt*.

◊ VEWT 479, EDT 449, Stachowski 224. The meaning in Kirgh. is influenced by tut < Iran., see Стеблин-Каменский 1982, 88-89.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss; the PT form, despite Helimski 1995, is hardly < Sam.

✱**čā́lo** full, fill: Tung. ***ǯalu(-m)**; Mong. ***del-**; Turk. ***dōl-**; Jpn. ***tár-**; Kor. ***čăra-**.

PTung. ***ǯalu(-m)** full (полный): Evk. *ǯalum*; Evn. *ǯalụ-*; Neg. *ǯalum*; Man. *ǯalu-*; SMan. *ǯalū* (2629); Jurch. *ǯaw-lu-xa* (726); Ul. *ǯalụ(n)*; Ork. *dalụmǯi*; Nan. *ʒalo*; Orch. *ǯalu-*; Sol. *ǯalṹ*.

◊ Derived from PTM **ǯalu-* 'to fill, be filled'. See. TMC 1, 247.

PMong. ***del-** 1 full, abundant, wide 2 to expand 3 wide, broad (1 полный, обильный, обширный 2 расширяться 3 обширный, широкий): MMong. *delger* 1, *delge-* 2, *delike* (HY 54), *delegai* 3 (SH); WMong. *delger* 1 (L 249), *delge-*, *dele-*, *deli-* 2 (L 248, 249, 250), *delegei* 3 (L 248: *delegüü*); Kh. *delger* 1, *delge-*, *dele-* 2, *delxij*, *delū* 3; Bur. *delger*; Kalm. *delgṛ* 1, *del-* 2; Ord. *delger* 1; Dag. *delgere-*, *delgē-* (Тод. Даг. 136: *delge-*, *delgere-*); S.-Yugh. *delgeri*, *delgē-*; Mongr. *derge-* 'éteindre, déployer, étaler, dérouler' (SM 52), *dəlge-*.

◊ KW 86, MGCD 214, 215. Mong. > Yak. *delegej*, *delej*; > Oroch *dele*, Ul. *delen*, Nan. *dele*, *delekũ*, Man. *deleǯen* 'open space' (TMC 1, 233, 234).

PTurk. ***dōl-** full (полный): OTurk. *tolu* (OUygh.); Karakh. *tolu* (MK); Tur. *dolu*; Gag. *dolu*; Az. *dolu*; Turkm. *dōlɨ*; Sal. *doli*(:); *tʿolɨ* (Kakuk); *tōl-* v. (ССЯ); Khal. *tūol-* (v.); MTurk. *tola* (Abush., Pav.C.); Uzb. *tụla*; Uygh. *tola*, *tolɣan*; Krm. *tolɨ*; Tat. *tulɨ*; Bashk. *tulɨ*; Kirgh. *tolo*; Kaz. *tolɨ*; KBalk. *tolu*; KKalp. *tolɨ*; Kum. *tolu*; Nogh. *tolɨ*; SUygh. *tolo*; Khak. *tol-* (v.); Shr. *tol-dɨr-* (v.); Oyr. *tolo*; Tv. *dolu*; Tof. *dolu*; Chuv. *tol- (v.)*, *tolli*; Yak. *tuol-* (v.), *toloru*; Dolg. *tuol-* (v.), *toloru*.

◊ VEWT 486, EDT 491-492, ЭСТЯ 3, 257-259, Stachowski 226, 231. PT **dōl-i* is derived from **dōl-* 'to get filled'.

PJpn. ***tár-** be sufficient, full (б. достаточным, полным, хватать): OJpn. *tar-*; MJpn. *tar-*; Tok. *tàri-*; Kyo. *tárí-*; Kag. *tarí-*.

◊ JLTT 764.

PKor. ***čǎra-** be sufficient, enough (быть достаточным): MKor. *čǎra-*; Mod. *čara-*.

◊ Nam 412, KED 1375.

‖ Martin 243, JOAL 133-137, Miller 1981, 853, 858, 863; 1986, 195-196, АПиПЯЯ 13, 45-46, 75, 282, Дыбо 12.

✱**čǎlù** a k. of broad-leaved plant: Tung. ***ʒali-kta**; Mong. ***daldawu**; Turk. ***dal**; Jpn. ***tùrù**; Kor. ***čùr-kí**.

PTung. ***ʒali-kta** 1 hawthorn 2 willow (1 боярышник 2 ива): Evk. *ʒalikta* 1; Neg. *ʒālta* 1; Ul. *ʒatala* 2; Ork. *dātaqta* 1; Nan. *ʒalaqta* 2; Ud. *ʒalikta* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 246, 253.

PMong. ***daldawu** lime-tree, linden (липа): WMong. *daldau* (L 226: *dalduu*); Kh. *daldū*.

PTurk. ***dal** 1 branch 2 tree 3 willow (1 ветка 2 дерево 3 ива, верба): OTurk. *tal* 3 (OUygh.); Karakh. *tal* 1 (KB), 3 (MK); Tur. *dal* 1; Gag. *dal* 1; Az. *dal* 1; Turkm. *tal* 3; Sal. *dāl* 2; MTurk. *dal* 3 (Pav. C.), *tal* 1 (Pav. C., Abush.); Uzb. *tɔl* 3; Uygh. *tal* 3; Krm. *tal* 3; Tat. *tal* 3, (dial.) 1; Bashk. *tal* 3; Kirgh. *tal* 3; Kaz. *tal* 1, 3; KBalk. *tal* 3 (also 'poplar'); KKalp. *tal* 1, 3; Kum. *tal* 3; Nogh. *tal* 3; Khak. *tal* 3; Shr. *tal* 3; Oyr. *tal* 3; Tv. *tal* 3; Yak. *talax* 3; Dolg. *talak* 1, 3.

◊ EDT 489, VEWT 457, ЭСТЯ 3, 130-131, Лексика 125-126, Stachowski 216. Turkm. *tal* (with irregular t-) may be a loan from Kypchak: there seems to be no reason to postulate two different roots for PT.

PJpn. ***tùrù** vine (лоза): Tok. *tsurú*; Kyo. *tsúrù*; Kag. *tsurú*.

◊ JLTT 557.

PKor. ***čùr-kí** stalk, branch without leaves (стебель, ветка без листьев): MKor. *čùrkí*; Mod. *čulgi*, *čulgəri*.

◊ Liu 672, HMCH 297, KED 1507.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 13, 77, 288, Дыбо 10. Jpn. and / or Kor. can be also compared with TM **čuru-* 'willow, poplar' (TMC 2, 417); this could explain the tonal discrepancy between Jpn. and Kor.

✱**čalu** wave, to overflow: Tung. ***ʒal-**; Mong. ***dolgi-**; Turk. ***dal-g-**.

PTung. ***ʒal-** 1 to overflow (of sea, river) 2 to be agitated, wave (of sea) 3 spirit - master of the sea (1 заливать, затоплять водой 2 плескаться, волноваться (о море) 3 дух-хозяин моря): Evk. *ʒalki-* 2; Evn. *ʒāl-*, *ʒālqab-* 1; Neg. *ʒalalgun* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 245, 246. Evk. *ʒalki-* > Yak. *ʒalkij-* id. (not vice versa, despite TMC).

PMong. ***dolgi-** wave (волна): MMong. *doligijan* (HY 3); WMong. *dolgija(n)* (L 259); Kh. *dolgio(n)*; Bur. *dolgin*, *doljodo-*; Kalm. *dolǵān*; Dag. *dolǵēn* (Тод. Даг. 137), *doleǵēn* (MD 137).

◊ KW 94, MGCD 184. Mong. > Evk. *dolgin* etc., see Doerfer MT 102; > Yak., Dolg. *dolguj-* (see VEWT 458, 487, Stachowski 81-82).

PTurk. ***dal-g-** wave (волна): Tur. *dalga* 2; Az. *dalγa* 2; MTurk. *talγa* 'Wellenschlag', *talγum*, *talqum* 'sea waves'.

◊ KW 94, VEWT 458, 487. An Oghuz word.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**čȁma** to hesitate, argue: Tung. ***ʒām-**; Mong. ***dam-**; Jpn. ***tàmiàrap- (~ -ai-)**.

PTung. ***ʒām-** 1 argument, quarrel 2 to argue (1 спор, ссора 2 спорить): Man. *ʒaman* 1, *ʒamara-* 2; Nan. *ʒāmorã* 1, *ʒāmora-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 247.

PMong. ***dam-** to hesitate (сомневаться): WMong. *damna-*, *damla-* (L 228); Kh. *damna-*, *damla-*; Bur. *damžag-guj* 'doubtless, certain'; Kalm. *damnə-*.

◊ KW 75, 76.

PJpn. ***tàmiàrap- (~ -ai-)** to hesitate (сомневаться): MJpn. *tàmèraf-*; Tok. *tamerá-*; Kyo. *támérá-*; Kag. *tamerá-*.

◊ JLTT 763. The accent in Kagoshima is irregular (under literary influence).

‖ One of the suffixed forms - **čȁma-rV-* (TM **ʒāmV-ra-*) or **čȁma-lV-* (Mong. **dam-la-*) may be reflected in PJ **tàmià-ra-*; the diphthong -ia- (~ -ai-) may, however, suggest a more complex origin of the Japanese form.

✱**čamu** a k. of tree: Tung. ***ʒamu**; Mong. ***dom**; Jpn. ***tum(u)i**.

PTung. ***ʒamu** brier (шиповник): Man. *ʒamu*, *ʒamuri*; SMan. *ʒamərə* (2166); Ud. *ʒamukta*.

◊ See TMC 1, 247-248.

PMong. ***dom** lime-tree, linden (липа): WMong. *dom* (L 260); Kh. *dom*.

PJpn. ***tum(u)i** mulberry (тутовое дерево): OJpn. *tum(j)i*.

‖ Cf. **ńam(ń)ektʹV* (partial contaminations were possible). WMong. *ʒamur* 'fruit of sweet-briar (eglantine)' (L 1033) is most probably a Manchu loanword.

✱**čaŋgu** gift, loan: Tung. ***ʒaŋ(g)-**; Jpn. ***tu(n)ku-**.

PTung. ***ʒaŋ(g)-** 1 be in need, straitened 2 loan, as a loan (1 терпеть нужду 2 долг, взаймы): Man. *ʒaŋGala-* 1; Sol. *ʒan-da*, *ʒan-či* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 249.

PJpn. ***tu(n)ku-** 1 toll, tribute 2 to compensate, reimburse (1 пошлина, дань 2 компенсировать, вознаграждать): OJpn. *tuki* 1; MJpn.

mí-túki-mono 1, *tùkùnóf-* 2; Tok. *mìtsugi* 1, *tsuguná-* 2; Kyo. *mítsúgí* 1, *tsúgúná-* 2; Kag. *mitsúgi* 1, *tsuguná-* 2.

◊ JLTT 482, 772. Accent variation is not quite clear: the noun points to high tone, the verb - rather to low tone (although their relationship can hardly be doubted).

‖ A Tungus-Japanese isogloss; not quite secure because of sparse attestation in TM.

✱**čărikV** a k. of foliage tree: Tung. ***ǯarikta***; Mong. ***čirgaj***; Turk. ***dẹrek***.

PTung. ***ǯari-kta*** hawthorn (боярышник): Ul. *ǯaraqta*; Nan. *ǯarịqta*; Orch. *ǯarakta*.

◊ TMC 1, 246.

PMong. ***čirgaj*** dense, tall (forest) (густой, высокоствольный (о лесе)): WMong. *čirγai* (L 192); Kh. *čargaj*; Bur. *šereŋgi* 'thin growth, pinery' (?); Kalm. *čirγā* 'dense (branches); a k. of tree or bush'.

◊ KW 442.

PTurk. ***dẹrek*** 1 poplar 2 tree (1 тополь 2 дерево): Karakh. *terek* 1 (MK); Tur. *tirek* (dial.) 2; Turkm. *derek* 1; MTurk. *terek* 1 (Abush., Sangl., Pav. C.); Uzb. *terak* 1; Uygh. *deräk* 1; Krm. *terak* 2; Tat. *tirɛk* 1; Bashk. *tiräk* 1; Kirgh. *terek* 1; Kaz. *terek* 1, 2; KBalk. *terek* 2; KKalp. *terek* 1; Kum. *terek* 2; Nogh. *terek* 1; SUygh. *terek* 2; Khak. *tirek* 1; Shr. *terek* 1; Oyr. *terek* 1; Tv. *terek* 1; Chuv. *tirek* 1; Yak. *tirex* 1.

◊ VEWT 475, EDT 543, ЭСТЯ 3, 205-206, Лексика 105, 134-135. Iranian origin is quite improbable.

‖ A Western isogloss. Closed *ẹ in PT is not quite clear: perhaps a secondary narrowing in a disyllabic structure.

✱**čěkʹa** to repeat, again, always: Tung. ***ǯeki***; Mong. ***daki-***; Turk. ***d(i)akɨ***; Jpn. ***təkə***.

PTung. ***ǯeki*** always, constantly (всегда, постоянно): Neg. *ǯek*; Ul. *ǯek-ǯek*; Nan. *ǯek*; Orch. *ǯe*, *ǯeki*; Ud. *ǯe* 'at this time'.

◊ TMC 1, 283.

PMong. ***daki-*** 1 to repeat 2 one more time, again (1 повторять 2 снова): WMong. *daki-* 1 (L 223); Kh. *daxi-* 1, *daxin* 2; Bur. *daxi-* 1, *daxin* 2; Kalm. *däkən* 2; Ord. *daχi-* 1; Dag. *dagi-* (MGCD 206), *dagī* 'again' (Тод. Дar. 134).

◊ KW 73. Mong. > Evk. *daki* etc., see Doerfer MT 76.

PTurk. ***d(i)akɨ*** 1 additionally, and others, plus 2 again, once more (1 кроме того, к тому же, и другие, больше, вдобавок 2 опять, еще раз): OTurk. *taqɨ* 1, 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *taqɨ* 1 (MK); Tur. *daha* 1, *bir daha* 2 (*takɨ* as a clitic); Gag. *tā* 1, 2; Az. *däxi* 'too'; Turkm. *daGɨ* 1; Sal. *tāγɨ*, *taxi* 1, 2 (ССЯ); Khal. *taqɨ* 1, 2; MTurk. *daxɨ*, *taqɨ* 1 (Abush., Sangl.), *daγɨ* (MA) 1; Uzb. *taγin* 2; Uygh. *texi* 1, 2; Krm. *daa* (K) 1, 2, *daγɨ* (H, T) 1, 2, *daγɨn* (H,K) 2, *daxɨ* (K) 1, *daxa* (K) 1, 2; Tat. *taγɨn* 2, 'in order to'; Bashk. *taγɨ* 2; Kirgh. *daa*, *daγɨ*, *taγɨ* 1, 2; Kaz. *taγɨ* 2; KBalk. *daγɨ-da* 1, 2; KKalp. *daγɨ* 'al-

though', *taɣɨ* 1, 2; Kum. *daɣɨ* 1, 2; Nogh. *taɣɨ* 1, 2; SUygh. *ta'qi*, *daɣi* 2; Khak. *tā, dā* 1; Oyr. *daa* 'although' (ГАЯ); Tv. *dā* 1, *dān* 'wholly, always', *tān* 'very, excessively'; Yak. *daɣanɨ* 1.

◊ VEWT 457, EDT 466, ЭСТЯ 3, 122-123. Phonology is somewhat uncertain because the stem is functioning as a clitic.

PJpn. ***təkə** always, eternally (всегда, вечно): OJpn. *toko*.

◊ JLTT 548.

‖ Gombocz 1905, 278, KW 73, Владимирцов 319, . Mong. is hardly < Turk., despite Щербак 1997, 153. Jpn. **təkə-* < **takə* because of the incompatibility of *a and *ə in PJ.

✱**čə̋lV** a k. of small animal: Tung. ***ʒele-kī**; Jpn. ***tái (~ -ia)**; Kor. ***čār**.

PTung. ***ʒele-kī** ermine (горностай): Evk. *ʒelekī*; Evn. *ʒiliki*; Neg. *ʒelexī*; Man. *ʒelken*; Ul. *ʒieli(n)*; Ork. *ʒeĺei*; Nan. *ʒeli*; Orch. *ʒeleki*; Ud. *ʒelexi*.

◊ TMC 1, 284.

PJpn. ***tái (~ -ia)** marten (куница): MJpn. *té*; Tok. ten.

◊ The source of -n in the modern form is not quite clear; MJ has explicitly no second syllable.

PKor. ***čār** sable (соболь): Mod. *čāl*.

◊ KED 1392.

‖ An Eastern isogloss. The Jpn. form reflects a suffixed formation **čəl(V)-gV*.

✱**čə̀lV** to split, hole, crack: Tung. ***ʒēlge**; Mong. ***čilüɣe**; Turk. ***dil-**.

PTung. ***ʒēlge** crack, narrow passage (щель, узкий проход): Evk. *ʒēlge*; Nan. *ʒelgẽ*.

◊ TMC 1, 283. Nan. has a secondary vowel shortening (the old length is proved also by the Dagur loanword from TM - *ʒēlge, ʒēleg*, see Тод. Даг. 143).

PMong. ***čilüɣe** space between, leisure (промежуток): MMong. *čolo* (SH); WMong. *čilüge(n)* (L 183); Kh. *čölə̄*; Bur. *sülə̄*; Kalm. *čölēn*; Ord. *čölə̄*; Dag. *čulē* (Тод. Даг. 182, MD 131; MGCD *šol*); S.-Yugh. *čölə̄*; Mongr. *ćoloG* 'enfoncement' (SM 454).

◊ KW 444, MGCD 577. Mong. > Evk. *čulē* etc., see Doerfer MT 101.

PTurk. ***dil-** to split, cut in slices (расщеплять, отрезать ломтики): OTurk. *til-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *til-* (MK); Tur. *dil-*, *dil* 'thin slice'; Gag. *dil-*; Az. *dilim* 'slice'; Turkm. *dil-*; Khal. *tilim* 'slice'; MTurk. *til-* (Sangl., Pav. C.); Uzb. *til-*; Uygh. *til-*; Krm. *dilim* (K) 'slice'; Tat. *tel-*; Bashk. *tel-*; Kirgh. *til-*; Kaz. *til-*; KBalk. *til-*; KKalp. *til-*; Kum. *til-*; Nogh. *til-*; Khak. *təl-*; Oyr. *til-*; Tv. *dil-*; Chuv. *čəl-*.

◊ VEWT 480, EDT 490-491, TMN 2, 553, ЭСТЯ 3, 230-231, Егоров 322, Мудрак 76.

‖ KW 444, Владимирцов 183, Poppe 16 (Turk.-Mong.). A Western isogloss. The root was originally verbal (cf. PT); Mong. and TM reflect a velar derivative **čə̀lV-gV*. Despite Doerfer's (TMN 2, 554) criticism the

comparison still seems valid (although the narrowing *e > i in PT is not quite clear). Miller (1985b, 207) cites a MJ *tir-* 'cut in narrow strips' which would be a nice match, but we were unable to identify the source of the word.

✱**čikŕo** firm, strong: Tung. ***diktu (~ ǯ-)**; Mong. ***čiɣirag**; Turk. ***Tɨgra- / *Tɨgɨŕ**; Jpn. ***tíkàrà**; Kor. ***čirk-**.

PTung. ***diktu (~ ǯ-)** firm, tough (плотный, коренастый, сильный): Neg. *diktu*; Man. *ǯuktu*; Ul. *diktu*; Ork. *ǯiktu*; Nan. *ǯiktu*; Orch. *diktu*.

◊ TMC 1, 205.

PMong. ***čiɣirag** firm, tough, strong (крепкий, сильный): MMong. *čijirax* (HYt); WMong. *čigiraɣ* (L 179); Kh. *čīreg*; Bur. *šīrag*; Kalm. *čīrəg*; Ord. *čīraG*; Dag. *čira* (Тод. Даг. 181); Dong. *čəqara*; Mongr. *ćiraG* (SM 456).

◊ KW 443. Mong. > Oyr. *čīraq*; > Man. *čira* etc., see Doerfer MT 115, Rozycki 48.

PTurk. ***Tɨgra- / *Tɨgɨŕ** 1 firm, tough 2 narrow, compact, firm (1 крепкий, плотный 2 узкий, тесный, плотный): OTurk. *tɨɣra-q* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *tɨɣraq* 1 (MK); Turkm. *dɨqɨz* 1 (a contamination with *dɨq-* 'to stuff'); Bashk. *tɨɣɨz* 1, 2; Kirgh. *tɨɣɨz* 2; Oyr. *tūs* 2; Chuv. *tъ^{w}vъ^{w}r* 2; Yak. *tɨjɨs* 2.

◊ VEWT 477, EDT 471.

PJpn. ***tíkàrà** force, strength (сила): OJpn. *tikara*; MJpn. *tíkàrà*; Tok. *chikará*; Kyo. *chíkàrà*; Kag. *chikára*.

◊ JLTT 546.

PKor. ***čirk-** tough, firm (прочный, крепкий): MKor. *čirkɨi-*; Mod. *čilgi-*.

◊ Liu 686, KED 1551.

‖ Владимирцов 199, Poppe 15, Ozawa 121-123, JOAL 99, Miller 1985, 144-145. Mong. may be < Turk. (see Щербак 1997, 156), but not necessarily.

✱**číńo** power, ability: Tung. ***ǯiŋ**; Mong. ***čineɣe**; Turk. ***dɨŋ**; Jpn. ***tíná-m-**; Kor. ***čīń-**.

PTung. ***ǯiŋ** very, extremely, really (очень, совершенно, действительно): Evk. *ǯiŋ*; Neg. *ǯiŋ*; Man. *ǯin*, *ǯiŋ*; Ul. *ǯiŋ*; Ork. *ǯiŋ*; Sol. *ǯiŋ-ki* 'real'.

◊ TMC 1, 258.

PMong. ***čineɣe** force, strength, ability (сила, способность): WMong. *činege(n)* (L 188); Kh. *činē*; Bur. *šenē(n)*; Kalm. *činēn*; Ord. *činē*; Dag. *činē* (Тод. Даг. 181, MD 130).

◊ KW 441, MGCD 572. Cf. MMong. (MA) *čine-* 'to measure', Mongor *ćinē-* id. (SM 452).

PTurk. ***dɨŋ** 1 very, strongly 2 strong, powerful 3 healthy 4 power 5 compact, dense (of earth) 6 to become strong 7 virgin soil (1 очень, сильно, чрезвычайно 2 крепкий, сильный, мощный 3 здоровый 4 сила, мочь 5 залежный, плотный (о земле) 6 окрепнуть 7 целина): OTurk. *tiŋ ürki* 'recent' (OUygh. - ДТС); Tur. *din* 1, *dinč* 2, 3; Gag. *dinč* 2; Turkm. *diŋ* 1, *diŋe* 'only'; Uzb. *tin-ka* 4, *tiŋ* 5; Uygh. *tiŋ* 5; Kirgh. *tɨŋ* 2, *tɨŋ-* 6; Kaz. *tɨŋ* 2, 7, *tɨŋ-aj-* 6; KKalp. *tɨŋ* 7; Kum. *tɨn* 7; Khak. *tɨŋ* 2; Shr. *tɨŋ* 1; Oyr. *tɨŋ* 2; Tv. *dɨŋ* 1, *dɨŋzɨɣ* 2; Tof. *dɨŋzɨ-* 6; Chuv. *tъnk* 'crammed, stuffed'; Yak. *tɨŋ* 2; Dolg. *tɨŋ* 2.

◊ VEWT 478, Stachowski 238. Turk. > WMong. *čiŋ, čiŋγa* (KW 437, 441), whence Nan. *čiŋqī* et al. (TMC 2, 397). Derivatives with the meaning 'healthy' in ЭСТЯ 3, 344-345 are erroneously attributed to *dɨn-* 'rest'; Yak. *tɨŋ, dɨŋ* 'strained, tense' belongs not here (despite VEWT, but to *tɨŋ-* 'pull, stretch').

PJpn. ***tíná-m-** be related, connected (быть связанным, иметь отношение к): MJpn. *tíná-m-*; Tok. *chinám-*; Kyo. *chínám-*; Kag. *chinám-*.

◊ JLTT 767. The Tokyo accent is irregular (**chìnam-* would be expected).

PKor. ***čīń** 1 shape, appearance, conduct 2 to make, produce (1 форма, вид, поведение 2 делать, производить): MKor. *čīń* 1, *čīs-* (*čīń-*), *čìń-* 2; Mod. *čīt* [*čīs*] 1, *čīt-* [*čis-*] (*či-*) 2.

◊ Nam 441, 445, KED 1557.

‖ Владимирцов 172. The Korean form speaks in favour of reconstructing palatal *-ń-; Turkic and Tungus reveal a secondary -ŋ- resulting from a suffixed form **číń(o)-gV* (= Mong. **čineγe*).

✱**čĭŋV** to listen, consider: Tung. ***ʒiŋ-**; Mong. ***čiŋla-**; Turk. ***dɨŋla- / *diŋle-**.

PTung. ***ʒiŋ-** 1 to understand 2 attentive, conscious (1 понимать 2 сознательный, серьезный): Evk. *ʒiktew-* (< **ʒiŋ-ktew-*) 1; Ul. *dinile* 2; Nan. *ʒiŋire*, *ʒiksi-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 207, 256.

PMong. ***čiŋla-** to listen (слушать): WMong. *čiŋna-*, *čiŋla-* (L 190); Kh. *čagna-*; Bur. *šagna-*; Kalm. *čiŋnə-* (KPC); Ord. *čiŋna-*; Dag. *činčilə-*; Dong. *čenlie-*, *čanlie-*; Bao. *čoŋlə-*; Mongr. *ćinla-* (SM 452), *čiŋla-* (Huzu), (MGCD *čaŋla-*).

◊ MGCD 559.

PTurk. ***dɨŋla- / *diŋle-** 1 to listen 2 to hear 3 to consider, meditate (1 слушать 2 слышать 3 размышлять, обдумывать): OTurk. *tɨŋla-* 1 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *tɨŋla-* 1 (MK, KB); Tur. *dinle-* 1; Az. *dinlä-* 1; Turkm. *diŋle-* 1; MTurk. *diŋle-*, *tɨŋla-* 1 (Pav. C.); Uygh. *tiŋla-* 2; Krm. *dinle-*, *tɨŋla-* 2; Tat. *tɨŋma-* 1; Bashk. *tɨŋla-* 1; Kirgh. *tɨŋša-* 1; Kaz. *tɨŋda-* 1; KBalk. *tɨŋla-* 1; KKalp. *tɨŋla-* 1; Kum. *tɨŋla-* 1; Nogh. *tɨŋla-* 1; SUygh. *tɨnna-* 2; Khak. *tɨŋna-* 1; Oyr. *tɨŋda-* 1; Tv. *dɨŋna-* 2; Tof. *dɨŋna-* 2; Chuv. *čъnla-* 3.

◊ The verbal stem **dɨŋla-* is derived from the noun **dɨŋ* (OT *tɨŋ*, Turkm. *diŋ* 'reason, mind, cleverness'). See VEWT 478, EDT 522, ЭСТЯ 3, 236-237.

‖ Владимирцов 172. A Western isogloss. Mong. can be < Turk., see Щербак 1997, 156.

✱**čipV (~ -b-)** slow, sluggish: Tung. ***ʒibge**; Mong. ***čibda-**.

PTung. ***ʒibge** slow, sluggish; miserly (медленный, медлительный; скупой): Man. *ʒibge*.

◊ TMC 1, 255. Attested only in Manchu, but having a probable Mong. parallel.

PMong. ***čibda-** slow, sluggish; thin (of water flow); miserly (медленный, медлительный; тонкий (о потоке воды); скупой): WMong. *čibdaγ* (L 174); Kh. *čavdag*; Bur. *šabdag*.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**či̯adu (~ *či̯oda)** a k. of ungulate animal: Tung. ***ʒudura**; Mong. ***dudura-**; Turk. ***T(i)adun**.

PTung. ***ʒudura** a pig (looking like a wild grey or white pig) (свинья (похожая на диких серых или белых кабанов)): Man. *ʒudura*.

◊ TMC 1, 270. Attested only in Manchu, but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***dudura-** foal of a donkey, young of small cattle (осленок, детеныш мелкого скота): WMong. *dudurai*, *duduraŋ* (L 270); Kh. *dudraj*, *dudran*; Ord. *dudurā̄*.

PTurk. ***T(i)adun** 1 a one- or two-year old calf 2 ox (1 годовалый или двухгодовалый теленок 2 вол): Karakh. *taδun* (MK) 1; Khak. *tazɨn* 2.

◊ EDT 457.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**či̯á̯tu (~ *t-)** sweet, taste: Tung. ***ʒutī**; Mong. ***dadu-**; Turk. ***dāt**.

PTung. ***ʒutī** sweet (сладкий): Evk. *ʒutī*; Evn. *ʒut*.

◊ TMC 1, 279.

PMong. ***dadu-** to get accustomed (привыкать): MMong. *dadu-* (SH); WMong. *dadu-*, (L 215) *dad-*; Kh. *dad-*; Bur. *dada-*; Kalm. *dad-*; Dag. *dadlag* 'experience'.

◊ KW 71, MGCD 188.

PTurk. ***dāt-** 1 to taste 2 taste 3 sweet, tasty 4 to get accustomed (1 иметь вкус (1a пробовать на вкус) 2 вкус 3 сладкий, вкусный 4 привыкать): OTurk. *tat-* 1, 1a (OUygh.), *tatɨγ* 2 (OUygh.), *tatɨγ-lɨγ* 3 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *tat-lɨγ* 3 (MK), *tatɨ-* 1 (MK, KB), *tatɨγ* 2 (MK, KB), *tatɨγ-lɨγ* 3 (MK); Tur. *tat-* (*tatar*) 1a, *tat (-d-)*, *tadɨm*, *tatɨk* 2, *tatlɨ* 3, *dad-a-* 'to bait, lure', *dad-a-n-* 4; Gag. *dat-* 1a, *dat* 2, *datlɨ* 3, *dad-a-n-* 4; Az. *dad-* 1a, *dad* 2, *dadlɨ* 3, *dadan-* 4; Turkm. *dāt/d-* 1a, *dāt* 2, *dāt-lɨ* 3; Khal. *tāt-* 1; MTurk. *tat-* 1a (Abush., Pav. C., Sangl.), *tat* 2 (Sangl.), *tat-lɨγ*3 (Sangl.); Uzb. *tɔt-* 1a, *tati-* 1, 1a *tɔt* 2, *tɔtli* 3; Uygh. *teti-* 1, 1a, *tatq* 2, *tatliq* 3; Krm. *tat-* 1a, *tatɨ-* 1, 1a, *tat* (K), *tatuv* (T,H,K) 2, *tatlɨ* (T,H,K) 3, *tatan-* (K) 4; Tat.

tat- 1, 1a, *tat* 2, *tatlɨ* 3; Bashk. *tatɨ-* 1a, *tat* 2, *tatlɨ* 3; Kirgh. *tat-* 1 a, *tatɨ-* 1, *tatɨq* 2, *tattuw* 3, *tatq-a-n-* 4; Kaz. *tat-* 1, 1 a, *tätti* 3; KBalk. *tat-* 1 a, *tatɨw* 2, *tatlɨ* 3; KKalp. *tat-* 1 a, *tatɨ-* 1, 1a, *tatlɨ* 3; Kum. *tatɨ-* 1, *tatɨw* 2, *tatli* 3; Nogh. *tat-* 1, 1 a, *tatɨq* 2; SUygh. *tatɨ-* 1 a, *tatɨɣ* 3; Khak. *tadɨ-* 1, *tadɨɣ* 2, *tadɨlɨɣ* 3; Shr. *tatqɨ* 2; Oyr. *tatu* 2, 3; Chuv. *tuda-l-* 1, *tuda-n-* 1a, *todъ* 2, *tut-lъ* 3.

◊ VEWT 466, EDT 449-450, 452, 454, ЭСТЯ 3, 162-164, Федотов 2, 256-257. Oghuz (Osman) devoicing is secondary. Turk. > Mong. **tati-* > *tači(ja)-* 'become accustomed' (KW 385) > TM *tati-* id. (TMC 2, 170.)

‖ See АПиПЯЯ 13, 14. A Western isogloss. The Turkic forms (where both the meanings 'to taste' and 'to get accustomed (*to taste)' are represented), provide a good link between TM **ǯutī-* 'sweet' and Mong. **dadu-* 'to get accustomed'. See also notes to **dasa-*.

✱**či̯obe (~ *t-)** ten: Tung. ***ǯuba-n**; Jpn. ***təwə**.

PTung. ***ǯuba-n** ten (десять): Evk. *ǯān*; Evn. *ǯān-nu̯*; Neg. *ǯān*; Man. *ǯuwan*; SMan. *ǯuan* (2744); Jurch. *ǯuwa* (645); Ul. *ǯu̯wa(n)*; Ork. *ǯōn*; Nan. *ǯoã*; Orch. *ǯā(n)*; Ud. *ǯā(n)*; Sol. *ǯã̄*.

◊ TMC 1, 248.

PJpn. ***təwə** ten (десять): OJpn. *towo*; Tok. *tō̍*; Kyo. *tô*; Kag. *tō̍*.

◊ JLTT 550. Original accent unclear, as in all numerals.

‖ JOAL 84. A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss.

✱**či̯obeŕV (~-i̯abu-)** salt; bitter, acid: Tung. ***ǯujar-**; Mong. ***dabusu**; Turk. ***dūŕ**; Jpn. ***túrá-**; Kor. ***čjər-**.

PTung. ***ǯujar-** bitter, acid (горький, кислый): Evk. *ǯêri-pču*; Evn. *ǯu̯ir*, *ǯu̯jir*; Neg. *ǯojaji̯-gdi̯*; Man. *ǯu-šu-xun*; SMan. *ǯušuxun* (431); Ul. *ǯu̯jur-si̯*; Ork. *dū.re*; Nan. *ǯojor-si̯*; Orch. *ǯui-si*; Ud. *ǯūhi* 'sour' (Корм. 235); Sol. *ǯiš̄il-* 'to turn sour'.

◊ TMC 1, 254. Man. > Dag. *ǯusun* (Тод. Даг. 145).

PMong. ***dabu-su** salt (соль): MMong. *dabusun* (HY 24), *ṭābuson* (IM), *dabusun* (MA); WMong. *dabusu(n)* (L 213); Kh. *davs(an)*; Bur. *dabha(n)*; Kalm. *dawsn̥*; Ord. *dawusu*; Mog. *dabsun*, *dōpsun*; ZM *dɔ̄bsun* (24-6a); Dong. *dansun*; Bao. *dabsoŋ*; S.-Yugh. *dābsən*; Mongr. *dabsə* (SM 37).

◊ KW 80-81, MGCD 185. Mong. > Man. *dabsu* etc., see Poppe 1966, 195, Doerfer MT 38, Rozycki 52.

PTurk. ***dūŕ (~ *-ū̃-)** salt (соль): OTurk. *tuz* (OUygh.); Karakh. *tuz* (MK, KB); Tur. *tuz*; Gag. *tuz*; Az. *duz*; Turkm. *dūz*; Sal. *duz*, *düź*, *tuz*; Khal. *tūz*; MTurk. *tuz* (MA); Uzb. *tuz*; Uygh. *tuz*; Krm. *tuz*; Tat. *toz*; Bashk. *toδ*; Kirgh. *tuz*; Kaz. *tu̯z*; KBalk. *toδ*; KKalp. *duz*; Kum. *duz*; Nogh. *tuz*; SUygh. *duz*; Khak. *tus*; Shr. *tus*; Oyr. *tus*; Tv. *dus*; Tof. *tus*; Chuv. *tъ^{w}var*; Yak. *tūs*; Dolg. *tūs*.

◊ VEWT 502, EDT 571, ЭСТЯ 3, 288-289, Stachowski 234.

PJpn. ***túrá-** unbearable, hard, bitter (горький; тяжелый, невыносимый): OJpn. *tura-*; Tok. *tsùra-*; Kyo. *tsúrà-*; Kag. *tsúra-*.

◊ JLTT 842.

PKor. ***čjər-** to be salty (быть соленым): Mod. *čəl-* [*čjəl-*].

◊ KED 1442.

‖ Владимирцов 258, АПиПЯЯ 13, 19, 49-50, 70, 285, Дыбо 11. Mong. *dabu-su* regularly < **dabur-su*; borrowing in Mong. < Turk. is absolutely improbable, despite Щербак 1997, 160. The Turk.-Mong. parallel is an old etymology (starting with Pelliot 1935, 231) which Doerfer (TMN 2, 510-511) tries in vain to refute. A small problem is the preservation of *-b- (one should rather expect **dayu(r)-sun* in Mong.), which should be probably explained by an old assimilation **či̯oberV-* > **či̯operV* in pre-PM. For Jpn. one has to assume a rather universal semantic change 'bitter' > 'hard, unbearable'. Cf. perhaps also MKor. *čùijəmí* 'vinegar dregs'.

✱**či̯ŏge** to give, exchange: Tung. ***ʒugē-**; Mong. ***düji-**; Turk. ***dẹg-**; Jpn. ***tai (~ *tia)**; Kor. ***čù-**.

PTung. ***ʒugē-** to exchange (обмениваться): Evk. *ʒuγē-lge-*; Evn. *ʒuγēn-met-/č-*; Neg. *ʒuγe-t-*; Man. *ʒuwe-n* 'debt'; Jurch. *ʒui̯-mu-sun-* 'to lend' (443); Ul. *ʒue-či-*; Ork. *due-li-*; Nan. *ʒue-či-*; Orch. *ʒuwe-či-*; Ud. *ʒue-si-*; Sol. *ʒugut-*.

◊ TMC 1, 270, 267.

PMong. ***düji-** to buy or sell wholesale (покупать оптом): WMong. *düi-* (L 279); Kh. *düj-*.

PTurk. ***dẹg-** 1 to cost, to be worth 2 price 3 to change, exchange 4 allotment, portion 5 worth 6 change, exchange (1 стоить, быть достойным 2 цена 3 изменять(ся), обмениваться 4 доля (причитающееся) 5 достойный, положенный 6 перемена, обмен): OTurk. *teg-im* 1, *teg-im-lig* 5, *teg-ir* 4 (OUygh.), *teg-š-il-*, *teg-š-ür-* 3 (OUygh.); Karakh. *teg-* 1 (MK - ДТС), *teg-ir* 4 (MK), *teg-iš* 5 (KB), 'given in exchange' (MK), *teg-š-üt* 'exchange price' (MK), *teg-š-ür-ül-* 3 (KB); Tur. *deγ-* 1, *dejer* 2, *deγ-im* (dial.) 2, *dejiš* 6, *dejiš-* 3; Gag. *dīš* 6, *dīš-* 3; Az. *däjär* 2, *däjiš-* 3; Turkm. *deg-* 1, *degiš-* 3; MTurk. (Xwar.) *deg-* 1, (OKypch.) *deg-ir* 2, *teg-iš* 2 (Sangl.), *teg-iš-* 3 (Sangl.); Uygh. *tegiš-* 3; Krm. *tij-* 1, *degiš-* 3; Kum. *tij-* 1; Chuv. *tivəś* 'debt'.

◊ EDT 482, 485, 487, 488, ЭСТЯ 3, 181-182, 179-180, Лексика 338. Usually regarded as a development of **dẹg-* 'to touch, reach', which is somewhat dubious semantically; external parallels also seem to indicate that the two roots are originally distinct.

PJpn. ***tai (~ *tia)** goods for exchange (обмениваемые товары): OJpn. *te*.

PKor. ***čú-** to give (давать): MKor. *čù-* 'give', *čūi-čhú-* 'to present'; Mod. *ču-*.

◊ Liu 670, 673, HMCH 332, KED 435.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 13 (with a different Mong. parallel). Mong. **düji-* has a secondary narrowing < **döji-*; the early PJ form must have been **təjV*, with a subsequent contraction.

✱**či̯oke** a k. of small animal (squirrel, otter): Tung. ***ʒuku-n**; Turk. ***dEgiŋ**; Kor. ***čúi**.

PTung. ***ʒuku-n** otter (выдра): Evk. *ʒukun*; Evn. *ʒȍkъn*; Neg. *ʒuxin*; Ork. *dōkso*; Nan. *ʒuku(n)*; Orch. *ʒūku(n)*; Ud. *ʒugu*; Sol. *ʒūxũ*.

◊ TMC 1, 271. Cf. also Evk. *ʒuktu* 'lynx' (ibid.). Evk. > Dolg. *ʒukun*, *ʒükün* (see Stachowski 91).

PTurk. ***dEgiŋ** squirrel (белка): OTurk. *tejiŋ* (Orkh.); Karakh. *tegiŋ* (MK - erroneously glossed 'sable', see EDT), *tejiŋ* (KB); Tur. *dejin*, *deɣin* (dial.); MTurk. *tejin* (Sangl.); Uzb. *tijin*; Uygh. *tijin*; Tat. *tijen*; Bashk. *tejen*; Kirgh. *tɨjɨn*; Kaz. *tijin*, *tɨjɨn*; Oyr. *tijiŋ*; Tv. *dīŋ*; Yak. *tīŋ*; Dolg. *tīŋ*.

◊ VEWT 470, EDT 569, ЭСТЯ 3, 180-181, Лексика 164-165, Stachowski 224. Criticism of the borrowing (< Ugrian) theory see in Лексика 165, Аникин 546-547.

PKor. ***čúi** rat, mouse (крыса, мышь): MKor. *čúi*; Mod. *čwi*.

◊ Liu 673, KED 1517.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 14, Дыбо 7, Лексика 165. Voicing of -k- in PT must be due to early assimilation.

✱**či̯ùlú (~ t-)** ice, hail: Tung. ***ʒalka**; Turk. ***dolu**; Jpn. ***tùrárá**.

PTung. ***ʒalka** 1 fine snow 2 to fall (of fine snow) (1 снежок 2 падать (о мягком снеге)): Neg. *ʒalka-* 1, *ʒalka* 2; Ud. *ʒaka-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 246.

PTurk. ***dolu** hail (град): OTurk. *tolɨ* (OUygh.); Karakh. *tolɨ* (MK, KB); Tur. *dolu*; Gag. *tolu*; Az. *dolu*; Turkm. *dolɨ*, (A-Б) *dōlɨ*; Khal. *tôlɨ*; MTurk. *tolɨ* (MA), *tolu* (Sangl., Pav. C.); Uzb. *dụli*; Uygh. *tolɨ* (dial.); Kaz. *dolɨ* (dial.); Khak. *toŋ-dol* (*toŋ-* 'frozen'); Tv. *dolu*; Yak. *tolon*; Dolg. *tolot*.

◊ VEWT 486, EDT 491, ЭСТЯ 3, 260-261, Лексика 31-32, Stachowski 226. Cf. also **Toĺ* 'ice' (Tuva *doš*, Tof. do"š, Oyr. *toš* Лексика 18, VEWT 491, ЭСТЯ 3, 267).

PJpn. ***tùrárá** icicle (сосулька): MJpn. *turara*; Tok. *tsùrara*; Kyo. *tsùràrá*; Kag. *tsurará*.

‖ Vocalism is not quite clear: in TM one would expect **ʒial-*, but the existing forms point rather to **ʒal-* (note, however, that TM *-ia- and -a- tend to get confused after affricates).

✱**či̯ùmi** thousand: Turk. ***Tümen**; Jpn. ***ti**; Kor. ***čɨ́mɨ́n**.

PTurk. ***Tümen** ten thousand; very much (десять тысяч; очень много): OTurk. *tümen* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *tümen* (MK, KB), (Kypch. 14 cent.) *dümen*; Tur. *tümen*; Turkm. *tümen* (arch.); MTurk. *tümen* (Abush., Sangl.); Uzb. *tuman*; Uygh. *tümän*; Krm. *tümen*, *kimen*, *timen*; Tat. *töm*ɛ*n*; Kirgh. *tümön*; SUygh. *tŭmen* (ЯЖУ); Oyr. *tümen*; Tv. *tümen*; Yak. *tümän*.

◊ VEWT 504, EDT 507-508, Лексика 574-575. In general we agree with Doerfer's arguments (TMN 2, 632-642: the Turkic word is the source of Persian *tūmān* '10000', not vice versa, although in some cases the word was borrowed back into Turkic (in particular: Az. *tümän*, Khal. *timän* 'a Persian coin', KBalk., Kum. *tümen* '10 roubles'); the Tokharian word, whose IE source is highly dubious, is most probably < Turkic; a Chinese source is extremely dubious). Turk. > Mong. *tümen* (see TMN 2, 641, Щербак 1997, 160), whence Evk. *tumen* etc., see Doerfer MT 78. Week evidence of initial voice (*d- should be expected in PT) may be due to later cultural interborrowing.

PJpn. ***ti** thousand (тысяча): OJpn. *ti*; MJpn. ti; Tok. *chi*.

◊ JLTT 546.

PKor. ***čǵmǵn** thousand (тысяча): MKor. *čǵmǵn*.

◊ Nam 437.

‖ SKE 38. Despite TMN 2, 641 the Turk.-Kor. parallel seems quite acceptable. Jpn. **ti* reflects a suffixed form **či̯um(i)-gV*.

✱**či̯ŭ́nu** blood; spirit, breath: Tung. ***ʒun-**; Mong. ***čisu**; Turk. ***dīn**; Jpn. ***tí**.

PTung. ***ʒun-** pulse, vein (пульс, кровеносный сосуд): Man. *ʒun*.

◊ TMC 1, 275. Attested only in Manchu, but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***čisu** blood (кровь): MMong. *čisun* (HY 48, SH), *čiṣun* (IM), *čisun* (MA); WMong. *čisu* (L 192); Kh. *cus*; Bur. *šuha(n)*; Kalm. *cusŋ*; Ord. *ʒusu*; Mog. *čusun*; ZM *čosun* (3-7b); Dag. *čos* (Тод. Даг. 182), *čose* (MD 130); Dong. *čusun*; Bao. *čisoŋ*; S.-Yugh. *čusun*, *čüsən*; Mongr. *сəзи*, *сəзə* (SM 438), (MGCD *čisə*).

◊ KW 434, MGCD 582.

PTurk. ***dīn** 1 spirit, breath 2 rest 3 to rest 4 to pant 5 to breathe 6 quiet 7 sultriness (1 дыхание, дух 2 отдых 3 отдыхать 4 задыхаться 5 дышать 6 спокойный 7 духота): OTurk. *tɨn* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *tɨn* 1 (MK, KB), *tɨn* 2 (MK); Tur. *tin* 1, *din-le-* 3; Gag. *din-ne-n-* 3; Az. *tɨnč-ɨx-* 4, *dinč* 2; Turkm. *dīnč* 2; Khal. *tinč* 6; MTurk. *tɨn-* 3 (Pav. C., Abush.); Uzb. *tin* 1, *tin-* 3; Uygh. *tin* 1, *tin-* 3; Krm. *tɨn-* 5, *tɨnc* 2; Tat. *tɨn* 1; Bashk. *tɨn* 1, *tɨn-s-ɨw* 7; Kirgh. *tɨn* 1, *tɨn-* 3, 5; Kaz. *tɨn-ɨs* 1, 2; KBalk. *tin* 1, *tɨn-č-ɨ-* 'to rot, addle', *tɨn-č-aj-* 3, *tɨn-ɨm* 2; KKalp. *tɨn* 1, *tɨn-* 3; Kum. *tɨn-ɨš* 1, *tɨn-č-aj-* 3; Nogh. *tɨn-ɨs* 1, *tɨn-š-ɨq-* 4, *tɨn-š-a-j-* 3; Khak. *tɨn* 1, *tɨn-* 5, *tɨn-a-n-* 3; Shr. *tɨn* 1, *tɨn-* 5, *tɨn-a-n-* 3; Oyr. *tɨn* 1, 2, *tɨn-* 5; Tv. *tɨn* 1, *tɨn-* 5; Tof. *tɨn* 1, *tɨn-* 5; Chuv. *čəm* 1; Yak. *tīn* 1, *tīn-* 5; Dolg. *tīn* 1, *tīn-* 5.

◊ VEWT 478, EDT 512, ЭСТЯ 3, 341-345, Мудрак Дисс. 38-39, Stachowski 238, 239. Some Oghuz reflexes have voiceless t-, probably because of Kypchak influence; still the reconstruction of *d- seems preferable.

PJpn. ***tí** blood (кровь): OJpn. *ti* 'blood; spirit, force'; MJpn. *tí*; Tok. *chì*; Kyo. *chī́*; Kag. *chí*.

◊ JLTT 545. The reading *ti* for 'blood' in OJ is quite certain because of the makurakotoba *tipayaburu*, which is written alternatively with the characters 知 (Kojiki), 千 (e.g. Man'yōshū 2663) and 血 (Man'yōshū 3236).

‖ Ozawa 120-121, АПиПЯЯ 72, 92, 274. The Jpn. form may reflect a contraction of the suffixed **či̯ŭ́n(u)-gV*, but since loss of *-n- is not attested elsewhere, one cannot exclude a monosyllabic reconstruction **či̯ū*, with a suffix *-n added in Turkic and TM. Cf. also Mong. **činar* 'quality, image' (see Владимирцов 172, Poppe 15, 69; in VEWT 478 and KW 441 considered to be borrowed < Uygh. *tɨnar*).

✱**či̯ŭru (~ -a)** to scratch: Tung. ***ʒurū-, *ʒura-n**; Turk. ***dɨrŋa-k**; Kor. ***čūr**.

PTung. ***ʒurū-, *ʒura-n** 1 to draw 2 a scratch, line (1 чертить 2 черта, полоска): Evk. *ʒurū-* 1; Neg. *ʒojan* 2; Man. *ʒiʒu-* 1; SMan. *ʒuʒu-*, *ʒuʒi-* 1 (1315, 2380); Ul. *ʒu̯ra(n)* 2; Nan. *ʒorã* 2; Orch. *ʒurara* 'striped'; Ud. *ʒūnda-* 1; Sol. *ʒurī-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 278.

PTurk. ***dɨrŋa-k** finger-nail, claw (ноготь, коготь): OTurk. *tɨrŋaq* (OUygh.); Karakh. *tɨrŋaq* (MK, KB); Tur. *tɨrnak*; Gag. *tɨrnaq*; Az. *dɨrnaG*; Turkm. *dɨrnaq*; Sal. *ʒɨrna(:)χ*; Khal. *tɨrnaq*; MTurk. *tɨrŋaq/tɨrŋaγ* (Sangl.); Uzb. *tirnəq*; Uygh. *tirnaq*; Krm. *tɨrnax*; Tat. *tɨrnaq*; Bashk. *tɨrnaq*; Kirgh. *tɨrnaq*; Kaz. *tɨrnaq*; KBalk. *tɨrnaq*; KKalp. *tɨrnaq*; Kum. *tɨrnaq*; Nogh. *tɨrnaq*; SUygh. *dərmaq*; Khak. *tɨrγax*; Shr. *tɨrγaq*; Oyr. *tɨrGaq*; Tv. *dɨrγaq*; Tof. *dɨrγaq* 'comb'; Chuv. *čərne*; Yak. *tɨŋɨrax*; Dolg. *tɨŋɨrak*.

◊ Derived from PT **dɨrŋa-* 'to scratch, scrape'. See VEWT 465, 479, TMN 3, 200 (there are no reasons to postulate different roots here: we have obviously a case of a complicated behaviour of the medial -ŋ-); EDT 551, 549-50, ЭСТЯ III 345-349, Егоров 324, Дыбо 312, 323-325, Лексика 258, Stachowski 238.

PKor. ***čūr** file (напильник): MKor. *čūr*; Mod. *čūl*.

◊ Liu 672, HMCH 251, KED 1507.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 281,13; Дыбо 311-312, 323-324. Despite Doerfer MT 77, the TM forms are hardly borrowed from Mong. *ʒiru-*, which happens to have a quite different origin (see **ńi̯aŕe*). Cf. also **čʿiŕV*.

✱**či̯uŕi** even, straight: Mong. ***čir-**; Turk. ***düŕ**; Kor. ***čɨrɨ̀-**.

PMong. ***čir-** straight (прямой): WMong. *čiraγa*, *čirγa*; Kalm. *čirγə*.

◊ KW 442.

PTurk. ***düŕ** even, level (1 ровный 2 упорядочивать): OTurk. *tüz* (Orkh., OUygh.) 1, *tüz-* (OUygh.) 2; Karakh. *tüz* 1, *tüz-* 2 (MK, KB); Tur. *düz* 1, *düz-* 2; Gag. *düz* 1, *düz-* 2; Az. *düz* 1, *düz-* 2; Turkm. *düz* 1, *düz-* 2; Sal. *tüz*, *tiz* 1; MTurk. *tüz* 1 (MA), *tüz-* 2 (Sangl.); Uzb. *tuz-* 2; Uygh. *tüz-* 2; Krm. *tüz*, *tiz* 1, *tüz-*, *tüzü-* 2; Tat. *töz* 1, *töz-* 2; Bashk. *töδö-* 2; Kirgh. *tüz* 1; Kaz. *tüz-e-* 2; KBalk. *tüz* 1, *tüz-e-t-* 2; KKalp. *düz* 1, *düz-*, *düze-*, *tüze-* 2; Kum. *tüz* 1; Nogh. *tüz-* 2; SUygh. *tüz* 1, *tüz-* 2; Khak. *tüs* 1, *tüz-e-t-* 2; Shr. *tüs* 1, *tüz-e-t-* 2; Oyr. *tüs* 1, *tüze-* 2; Tof. *düs*; Chuv. *türə*, *törə* (NW) 1.

◊ See ЭСТЯ 3, 309-312, VEWT 508, EDT 571, 572. The word is interacting with **diŕ-* 'to string, thread' (v. sub **či̯úŕu*).

PKor. ***čɨrɨ̀-** to go straightly, take a short way (идти напрямик): MKor. *čɨrɨ̀-*; Mod. *čirɨ-*.

◊ Nam 436, KED 1530.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 13. The Mong. reflex is not quite certain: it is attested only in Kalm. and not quite satisfactory vocalically. The root is phonetically very close to **či̯úŕu* 'string', and was obviously liable to contaminations (in particular, Jpn. **túrá* 'row' may actually continue either root).

✱**či̯úŕu** string, to string: Mong. ***dürü-**; Turk. ***diŕ-**; Jpn. ***túrá**; Kor. ***čur-**.

PMong. ***dürü-** to stick into (втыкать): MMong. *duru-* (MA 185); WMong. *dürü-* (L 283); Kh. *düre-*; Bur. *düre-*; Kalm. *dür-*.

◊ KW 105-106.

PTurk. ***diŕ-** 1 to bead, string 2 arrange in a row (1 нанизывать 2 располагать в ряд): OTurk. *tiz-* (OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *tiz-* (MK, KB) 1; Tur. *diz-* 1, 2; Gag. *diz-* 1, 2; Az. *düz-* 1, 2; Turkm. *düz-* 1, 2; Khal. *tiz-* 1; MTurk. *tiz-*, *tüz-* (Abush., Sangl.) 1; Uzb. *tiz-* 1, 2; Uygh. *tiz-* 1, 2; Krm. *tiz-* 1, *tüz-* 1, 2; Tat. *tez-* 1, 2; Bashk. *teδe-* 1, 2; Kirgh. *tiz-* 1, 2; Kaz. *tiz-* 1, 2; KBalk. *tiz-* 1, 2; KKalp. *diz-* 1, 2; Kum. *tiz-* 2; Nogh. *tiz-* 1, 2; Khak. *təs-*, *čəs-* 1; Oyr. *tis-* 1; Tv. *dis-* 1; Chuv. *tir-* 1; Yak. *tis-* 1; Dolg. *tis-* 1.

◊ VEWT 482, EDT 572, ЭСТЯ 3, 218-220, Stachowski 223. The word (with the meaning 'to arrange in a row') interacts with **düŕ* 'even, level' (v. sub **či̯uŕi*) .

PJpn. ***túrá** row, line (ряд, линия): OJpn. *tura*; MJpn. *túrá*; Tok. *tsura*.

◊ JLTT 556.

PKor. ***čur-** 1 to string, bead 2 string, line (1 нанизывать 2 линия, веревка): MKor. *čùr-hjə̀-* 1, *čúr* 2; Mod. *čul* 2.

◊ Nam 434, Liu 672, KED 1507. The noun is absent in Nam and HMCH, but adduced with high tone in Liu, while the derived verb is given with low tone both in Nam and Liu. The original accent is thus not quite clear.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 14, 77. Cf. also **či̯uŕi* (with some contaminations possible).

✱**čŏĺe** front, front part: Tung. ***ʒule**; Mong. ***döli**; Turk. ***döĺ**; Kor. ***čɨrə**.

PTung. ***ʒule** front, front part (перед, передняя часть): Evk. *ʒulē*; Evn. *ʒul*; Neg. *ʒul-lē*; Man. *ʒule-ri*; *ʒulkun* 'hollow under neck'; Jurch. *ʒule* (*ʒule-le*) (598); Ul. *ʒuli*; Ork. *duli*, *dulde*; Nan. *ʒule*; Orch. *ʒulē-du*; Ud. *ʒulē* (Корм. 235), *ʒulie*; Sol. *ʒuldē-du*.

◊ TMC 1, 273-274.

PMong. ***döli** flat surface, Absatz *auf dem* Bergabhang (плоская поверхность, плато на склоне горы): WMong. *döli*, *döl* (L 267); Kh. *döl*; Kalm. *dölə*.

◊ KW 98.

PTurk. ***döĺ** mountain slope (склон горы): Tur. *döš* (dial.); Az. *döš*; Uzb. *tụš*; Uygh. *töš*; Kirgh. *töš*; Nogh. *tös*; Khak. *tös*; Tv. *dö'š*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 3, 287. The root should be kept distinct from **dŏĺ* 'breast' q. v. sub **t'ŏĺi* (see Щербак 1970, 197).

PKor. ***čɨrə** before, beforehand (прежде, заранее): MKor. *čɨrə*, *čɨrjə*; Mod. *čire*.

◊ Nam 436, KED 1529.

‖ KW 98 (Turk.-Mong.), SKE 35 (Kor.-Tung.), АПиПЯЯ 289.

✱**čŏtakV (~ -ukV)** pulp, mushroom; lip: Tung. ***ʒudakta / *ʒedukte**; Turk. ***dōtak**.

PTung. ***ʒudakta / *ʒedukte** 1 piece of meat (without bones) 2 tree mushroom (1 кусок мяса (без костей) 2 древесный гриб): Evk. *ʒedukte*, dial. *dedukte* 1; Ork. *dụdaqta* / *ʒụʒaqta* 2; Orch. *dudakta* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 219, 230, 282.

PTurk. ***dōtak** lip (губа): Tur. *dudak*; Gag. *dudaq*; Az. *dodaG*; Turkm. *dōdaq*; Sal. *totax*, *totɨx*; Chuv. *toda*, *tuda*.

◊ VEWT 491, TMN 2, 603-604, ЭСТЯ 3, 251, Федотов 2, 256, Лексика 226.

‖ Лексика 226. An interesting Turk.-Tung. isogloss: phonetically quite regular except secondary (assimilatory) voicing -t- > -d- in TM.

✱**čŭra** to stand: Tung. ***ʒur-**; Turk. ***dur-**; Jpn. ***tàt-**; Kor. ***čàrí**.

PTung. ***ʒur-** to stand still (стоять (спокойно, молча)): Evn. *ʒụr-ụl-*.

◊ TMC 1,278. Attested only in Evn., but having probable external parallels.

PTurk. ***dur-** to stand (стоять): OTurk. *tur-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *tur-* (MK, KB); Tur. *dur-*; Gag. *dur-*; Az. *dur-*; Turkm. *dur-*; Sal. *dɨr-*; Khal. *tur-*; MTurk. *tur-* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *tur-*; Uygh. *tur-*; Krm. *tur-*; Tat. *tor-*; Bashk. *tor-*; Kirgh. *tur-*; Kaz. *tụr-*; KBalk. *tur-*; KKalp. *tur-*; Kum. *tur-*; Nogh. *tur-*; SUygh. *dur-*; Khak. *tur-*; Shr. *tur-*; Oyr. *tur-*; Tv. *tur-*; Tof. *dur-*; Chuv. *tъ*^{w}*r-*; Yak. *tur-*; Dolg. *tur-*.

◊ VEWT 500, EDT 529-530, ЭСТЯ 3, 296-301, Stachowski 232. Turk. > WMong. *toru-* 'get smwh., arrive smwh.' (KW 402).

PJpn. ***tàt-** to stand (стоять): OJpn. tat-; MJpn. *tàt-*; Tok. *tát-*; Kyo. *tàt-*; Kag. *tàt-*.

◊ JLTT 765.

PKor. ***čàrí** seat; place, location (сиденье; место, расположение): MKor. *čàrí*; Mod. *čari*.

◊ Liu 642, KED 1377.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 101, 277. Korean has a "verbal" low tone, showing that the noun is a deverbative (although the original verb is not attested).

✱**čúrka (~ -i̯o-)** swift stream, current: Tung. ***ʒurku**; Mong. ***dargil**; Jpn. ***tákí, *tanki-t-**.

PTung. ***ʒurku** 1 rapid, swift stream 2 fairway (1 быстрое течение, быстрина 2 фарватер): Evn. *ʒụrqụ* 1; Neg. *ʒojkụ* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 277.

PMong. ***dargil** rapid current (быстрина, быстрое течение): WMong. *dargil* (L 233); Kh. *dargil*; Kalm. *därgl*.

◊ KW 89. Mong. > Evk. *dargi* etc., see Doerfer MT 123.

PJpn. ***tákí, *tanki-t-** 1 swift current, waterfall 2 to foam, overflow (1 быстрый поток, водопад 2 пениться, переливаться): OJpn. *takji* 1, *tagjit-* 2; MJpn. *tákí* 1, *tagir-* 2; Tok. *tàki* 1, *tagír-* 2; Kyo. *tákí* 1, *tágír-* 2; Kag. *táki* 1, *tagír-* 2.

◊ JLTT 539, 761.

‖ Ozawa 119-120, 241-242 (Jpn.-Mong.). A good common Altaic landscape term.

Čʿ

✱**čʿa** that, beyond, not very far: Tung. ***čā-**; Mong. ***ča-**; Kor. ***čə̀**.

PTung. ***čā-** that, further (not very far) (тот (находящийся дальше)): Evk. *čā-*; Evn. *čā-*; Neg. *čā-*; Man. *ča-*; Ul. *ča-*; Ork. *čō-*; Nan. *ča-*; Orch. *čā-*; Ud. *ča-*; Sol. *sā-*.

◊ TMC 2, 376-377. Cf. also Manchu *če* 'they' (TMC 2, 418-419).

PMong. ***ča-** that, beyond (тот): MMong. *ča'a-da* (SH) 'near, close'; WMong. *ča-*, *či-*, *čiɣa-* (L 157, 158); Kh. *cā-*; Bur. *sā-*; Kalm. *cā-*; Ord. *čāna*; Dag. *čā-š* (Тод. Даг. 181), *čāši* 'thither' (MD 127); Bao. *čiataŋ* 'near'; Mongr. *ćaGšə*, *taGšə* (SM 442).

◊ KW 423, 424. Cf. also **čina-* 'beyond, other side'.

PKor. ***čə̀** this (этот): MKor. *čə̀*.

◊ Liu 650.

‖ KW 423, Poppe 26, Rozycki 43. Hardly a loanword in TM < Mong., despite Doerfer MT 20.

✱**čʿabo** to pinch: Tung. ***čaba-**; Mong. ***čibka**; Kor. ***čūb-**.

PTung. ***čaba-** 1 to grip (with claws) 2 claw 3 to pinch (1 хватать (когтями) 2 коготь 3 щипать): Evk. *čawarī-* 1; Neg. *čawa-* 1; Ul. *čawa-qta* 2; Ork. *čawa-qta* 2; Nan. *čawa-qta* 2, (Bik.) *cawači-* 1; Ud. *čaban* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 375.

PMong. ***čibka** trigger, slingshot, string (of a stringed instrument) (smth. which is pinched) (курок, рогатка, струна (струнного инструмента) (то, что ущипывают)): WMong. *čibqa* (L 175); Kh. *čavx*; Bur. *šabxa*; Kalm. *čawəg* (KPC).

PKor. ***čūb-** to pick (подбирать, собирать): MKor. *čūs-* (*čūń-*), *čūń-* (< **čubuń-*); Mod. *čūp-* (-w-), *čūt-* [*čūs-*].

◊ Nam 435, KED 1509.

‖ Cf. **čʿípʿu*.

✱**čʿabu** army, war: Tung. ***čabu-ka**; Mong. ***čaɣur**; Turk. ***čAbuĺ(č)**; Jpn. ***tupa-**.

PTung. ***čabu-ka** army (войско): Neg. *čawxa*; Man. *čōχa*; SMan. *čuahə* 'soldier'(1141); Jurch. *čaw-xa* (269); Ul. *čaụχa*; Ork. *čaụχa*; Nan. *čaoχa*; Orch. *čaụxa*; Ud. *čawaha*, *čauha*; Sol. *čoɣa*.

◊ TMC 2, 402. Man. > Dag. *čōga*, *čuag* (Тод. Даг. 181).

PMong. ***čaɣur** military raid (военный поход): MMong. *ča'ur* (SH); Bur. *sūr sereg*; Ord. *čirik čūr* 'army'.

PTurk. ***čAbuÍ(č)** military commander (военный командир): OTurk. *čabuš* (Orkh., Yen.), *čavuš* (OUygh.); Karakh. *čavuš* (MK); Tur. *čavuš*; Az. *čovuš* 'leader of a pilgrimage'; MTurk. *čawuš* (Sangl.); Krm. *čavuš* (K) 'senior worker'; Kum. *čawuš* 'herald'.

◊ VEWT 101, EDT 399, TMN 3, 35-38. Criticism of the hypothesis of the word's Iranian origin see in TMN.

PJpn. ***tupa-** 1 armour, weapon(ry) 2 soldier (1 вооружение, оружие 2 солдат): OJpn. *tupa-m(w)ono* 1, 2; MJpn. *tufa-mono* 1, 2; Tok. *tsùwamono* 2; Kyo. *tsuwamonó* 2; Kag. *tsuwamonó* 2.

◊ JLTT 558. Accent is not clear.

‖ Владимирцов 209.

✱**čʿábu** sound, fame: Tung. ***čab-**; Mong. ***čuw**; Turk. ***č(i)āb**; Jpn. ***tuáp-**.

PTung. ***čab-** 1 to be noisy 2 noise 3 to resound (1 шуметь 2 шум 3 отдаваться, разноситься (о звуке)): Evk. *čiwi-*, dial. *čawir-* 1; Neg. *čawgi-* 1; Ul. *čāo* 2; Ork. *čajiqotči-* 1; Nan. *čawali-* 3, *čaō* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 389.

PMong. ***čuw** 1 rumour, gossip, echo, fame 2 to sound, cry (1 слух, эхо, слава, дурная слава 2 звучать, кричать): WMong. *čuu* (L 207) 1, *čuugi-* 2; Kh. *čū* 1, *čūgi-* 2; Bur. *sū hurag* 1, *sūja-* 2; Kalm. *cū̄* 1, *cūgi-*, *cū̄gi-* 2; Ord. *čū* 'notorious', *čūgi-* 2; Dag. *čōgīn* 1.

◊ KW 435, 436. Mong. > Kirgh. *čū* and some other Kypch. forms.

PTurk. ***č(i)āb** fame, good reputation, news (слава, хорошая репутация , новости): Karakh. *čav* (MK, KB); Tur. *čav*; Az. *čov*; Turkm. *čāv* (arch.); Khal. *čov* (may be < Az.); MTurk. *čaw* (Sangl.); Khak. *sab-laɣ* 'renowned'; Shr. *šap-tɨɣ* 'renowned'; Oyr. *čap*; Tof. *šaɣ*.

◊ VEWT 93, EDT 393. Final -p in Siberian languages is not quite clear.

PJpn. ***tuáp-** to address; to ask (обращаться; спрашивать): OJpn. *twop-*; MJpn. *tóf-*; Tok. *tò-*, *tó-*; Kyo. *tó-*; Kag. *tò-*.

◊ JLTT 771. Tokyo *tò-* and Kagoshima *tò-* point to an accent variant **tuàp-*.

‖ Владимирцов 256, Poppe 44; despite Щербак 1997, 193, not borrowed in Turk. < Mong. The vocalism is not entirely clear: the diphthong in OJ is either secondary (from **čʿābu* one would expect *tup-), or points to a contraction < **tVwap-*. In the latter case the PA form should rather be reconstructed as **čʿi̯āba*, with the Jpn. form analysed as containing a frequent -p-suffix (note that the TM evidence does indeed allow for an alternative reconstruction **čiab-*, because of the variation -i-/-a- in Evk.).

✱**čʿadVbV** scorpion, viper: Turk. ***čAd(b)an**; Jpn. ***tatipi**.

PTurk. ***čAd(b)an** scorpion (скорпион): Karakh. *čaδan* (MK, KB); Tur. *čajan*, *čɨjan* 'сколопендра'; Turkm. *čajān*; MTurk. *čajan*, *čɨjan*

(Abush., Sangl.), *čiban* (R - Calc.Wb., Pav. C.); Uzb. *čajɔn*; Uygh. *čajan*; Tat. *čajan*, (R, Буд. - Kas.) *čejban* 'millipede'; Bashk. *sajan*; Kirgh. *čajan*; Kaz. *šajan*; KKalp. *šajan*; Nogh. *šajan*.

◊ VEWT 94, EDT 403, Лексика 64, 184-185. Turk. > Kalm. *cajə* ˈcrayfish' (?), see Щербак 1997, 111.

PJpn. ***tatipi** viper (гадюка, ядовитая змея): OJpn. *tadipji*; MJpn. *tatifi*, *tadifi*.

‖ A Turk.-Jpn. isogloss.

✱**čʹ[a]ge** a k. of plant (reed) and its bast: Mong. ***čaɣal-su**; Turk. ***čɨg (~-ī-)**; Kor. ***čjòhǎi**.

PMong. ***čaɣal-su** paper (бумага): MMong. *ča'alsun* (HY 20, SH), *čalsun* (MA); WMong. *čaγasu(n)* (L 159), *čaγalsun* (DO 696); Kh. *cās*; Bur. *sārha(n)*; Kalm. *cāsn̥*; Ord. *čāsu*; Dag. *čās* (Тод. Даг. 180), *čāse* (MD 127); S.-Yugh. *čāsən*; Mongr. *ćā(r)ʒə* (SM 441), *ćālʒə* (Huzu), (MGCD *čālsə*).

◊ KW 424, MGCD 553. Mong. > Evk. *čārsun*, see Poppe 1966, 196, Doerfer MT 126.

PTurk. ***čɨg (~-ī-)** 1 reed 2 reed mat 3 things woven from reed (1 тростник, чий 2 тростниковая циновка 3 изделия, плетеные из чия (тростника)): OTurk. *čɨɣ* (OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *čɨɣ* (MK) 'reed screen'; Tur. *čɨɣ*, *čiɣ* 'reed partition'; MTurk. *čɨɣ* 2 (Sangl.); Uzb. *čij* 1, 3; Uygh. *čiɣ* 1; Kirgh. *čij* 1, 3; Kaz. *šij* 1, 3; KBalk. *čij* 2; KKalp. *šij* 2; Nogh. *šijboj* 'любисток' (?); SUygh. *ǯiɣ* 1; Oyr. *čij* 1.

◊ VEWT 107, 110; EDT 404, 412. Turk. > MMong. (HY 20) *čix*, WMong. *čig*, Khalkha *čig*, Ord. *čīg* 'bamboo screen'. The Nogh. form may be a compound; for the second part cf. **bińan*.

PKor. ***čjòhǎi** paper (бумага): MKor. *čjòhǎi*; Mod. *čoŋi*.

◊ Nam 432, KED 1486.

‖ PKE 39 (Kor.-Mong.). The meaning 'paper' in Mong. and Kor. must be derived from original '(reed) bast, bark'. Labialized -o- (as well as the source of modern -ŋ-) in Kor. is not quite clear.

✱**čʹaju (~ -e-)** resin, juice: Turk. ***čAjɨr**; Jpn. ***tuju**; Kor. ***čɨ̀r-**.

PTurk. ***čAjɨr** resin, tar (смола, деготь): Tat. *čɛjɨr*; Bashk. *sajɨr*; Kirgh. *čajɨr*; Kaz. *šajɨr*; KBalk. *čajɨr*; KKalp. *šajɨr*; Kum. *čajɨr*; Nogh. *šajɨr*.

◊ VEWT 95.

PJpn. ***tuju** juice (сок): OJpn. *tuju*; MJpn. *tuju*; Tok. *tsuyu*.

◊ See comments to **tuju* 'dew' (s.v. **čʹiju*).

PKor. ***čɨ̀r-** slushy, watery (водянистый, жидкий): MKor. *čɨ̀r-*; Mod. *čil-*.

◊ Nam 439, KED 1551.

‖ Kor. **čɨ̀r-* (with contraction) = Turk. **čAjɨr*. Cf. perhaps also WMong. *čei-dem*, Kalm. *čīdm*, *cīdm* 'water mixed with kumis' (although this may be a derivative of *čeji-* 'white, whitish').

✱**čʿájV (~ -ē-)** sand, sandbar: Mong. ***čeɣel**; Turk. ***čāj**.

PMong. ***čeɣel** 1 deep (water) 2 spring, place with springs 3 small pool (1 глубокая (вода) 2 источник, место с родниками 3 пруд, лужа): MMong. *čeʼel* (SH) 1; WMong. *čegel* 2 (L 169); Kh. *cēl* 2; Bur. *sēl* 1; Kalm. *cēl* 3; Dag. *čēle* (Тод. Даг. 181).

◊ KW 428.

PTurk. ***čāj** 1 small river 2 sand, pebbles 3 flood, freshet 4 shallow (1 речка 2 песок, галька 3 половодье, наводнение 4 мелководный): Tur. *čaj* 1; Az. *čaj* 1; Turkm. *čāj* 1, *čäge* 2; MTurk. *čaj* 1, *čeke* 2; Bashk. *saj* 'a river weed' (?); KBalk. *čaj* (in the hydronym *qaračaj*); Shr. *šajɨq* 3; Oyr. *čaj-r-am* 4; Yak. *čaj* 2 (?).

◊ The word is poorly attested (almost only in some modern Oghuz languages and Chag., see VEWT 95, Лексика 94; the Yakut parallel is phonetically unclear - borrowed from Tuva or Altai?). Turk. **čāj-ka* (Turkm. *čäge*, Chag. *čeke*) > Kalm. *cekē* (KW 426). The forms (despite semantic difference) may have an Iranian origin: Pers. (Pekhl.) *čāh* 'well, spring' < **čāϑa* > Av. *čāta*, Kurd. *čāl*, Bel. *čāt*, Osset. *čad* 'lake', Wakhi *čot* 'pond' (Horn 97, Аб. 1, 285, 329, Расторгуева 1990, 191, ЭСВЯ 130); a certain Persian loan is Khal. *čā* 'Brunnen, Grube'. Osset. *čʼaj* 'well' is regarded by Abaev as a borrowing from Pers. through Georgian (*ča* 'well'). The relationship to the verbal stem *čāj-* 'to swill' (ОСНЯ 3, 59-60) (< 'wash water off from the surface'?) is yet to be determined.

‖ A Turk.-Mong. isogloss. Not quite reliable because of scarce attestation in Turkic (the form may actually have an Iranian origin).

✱**čʿàjǯV** breast: Tung. ***ča(i)ǯa-n**; Mong. ***čeɣeǯi**; Turk. ***čičig (/*čɨčɨg)**; Jpn. ***tì, *tìtí**; Kor. ***čjə́č**.

PTung. ***ča(i)ǯa-n** 1 breast (fem.) 2 udder (1 грудь (ж.) 2 вымя): Evk. *ǯadan* 2; Evn. *ǯeǯin(/-a-)* 2; Neg. *ǯojan* 1; Man. *čeǯen* 1; Ork. *dada-qta* 1, 2; Nan. *ǯaǯaqta* 1, 2 (On.) .

◊ TMC 1,242, 2,419. The Manchu form may be < Mong. (see Rozycki 45); in that case one has to reconstruct **ǯa(j)ǯa(n)* for PTM. In both cases initial **ǯ-* is historically a result of assimilation to the medial -ǯ-.

PMong. ***čeɣeǯi** breast (грудь): MMong. *čeʼeǯi* (SH); WMong. *čegeǯi(n)* (L 170); Kh. *cēž*; Bur. *sēže*; Kalm. *cēǯə*, *čēǯə*; Ord. *čēǯi*; Mog. *čeiǯi* (Ramstedt 1906); Dag. *čēǯi* (Тод. Даг. 181, MD 128); S.-Yugh. *čīǯ*; Mongr. *śiǯan*.

◊ KW 428, 438, MGCD 565.

PTurk. ***čičig (/*čɨčɨg)** 1 breast (fem.) 2 female sheep 3 sheep tail 4 roasted sheep tail 5 roasted fat (1 грудь (женская) 2 овцематка 3 курдюк 4 жареный курдюк 5 жареный жир): MTurk. *čičiɣ* 2, 3 (R - Vamb.), *čɨčɨɣ*, *čɨčɨq* 4 (R - Zenker); Tat. *čɨžɨq* (R, Bud. - Kas.), *čɨǯɨq* (R - Tob.) 5; Chuv. *čəǯə* 1.

◊ VEWT 110. An onomatopaeic root, attested late - but possibly archaic because of the external evidence. The assumed semantic development in Chag. and Tat. is 'udder' > 'roasted udder' > 'fat roasted piece of meat'.

PJpn. ***tì, *tìtí** breast (fem.) (грудь (женская)): OJpn. *ti*; Tok. *chichí*; Kyo. *chìchí*; Kag. *chichí*.

◊ JLTT 545, 546.

PKor. ***čjə́č** breast (f.) (грудь (женская)): MKor. *čjə́s*; Mod. *čət* [*čəč*].

◊ Nam 426, KED 1460.

‖ Martin 227, Lee 1958, 107, АПиПЯЯ 32-33, 76, 88, 279. An expressive reduplicated root, but no doubt common Altaic. Because of its structure, liable to assimilations (**čʿǎjǯV* > **ǯǎjǯV* or **čʿǎjčʿV*).

✱**čʿàki** a k. of coniferous tree: Tung. ***čāK-**; Mong. ***čigör-**; Turk. ***čEket**.

PTung. ***čāK-** fir-tree (ель): Evk. *čākre*.

◊ TMC 2, 379. Isolated in Evk., but having possible external parallels.

PMong. ***čigör-** cypress tree (кипарис): MMong. *čigorsun* (pl. *čigot*) (HY 6, SH).

PTurk. ***čEke-t** 1 coniferous forest 2 pistacio nut 3 (fruit) stone, seed 4 hazel-nut 5 wild jujube 6 young coniferous growth 7 bush, shrub 8 fir branch (1 лес (хвойный) 2 фисташковый орех 3 косточка, семечко 4 лесной орех 5 дикая ююба 6 молодые хвойные поросли 7 кустарник 8 ветка ели): Karakh. *šeki-r-tük* 2 (MK); Tur. *čeki-r-dek* 3; Gag. *čeker-dek* 3; MTurk. *čeke-r-dek*, *čekidɛ* 5 (Pav. C., R - Babur); Krm. *čegirdek*, *čekirdek* 3, *čeger* 'blackthorn'; Tat. *čiki* 4 (dial.); Kirgh. *čege-dek*, *čege-l-dek* 8; KBalk. *čeget* 'forest, wood' (Karach.), 'North' (Balk.); Nogh. *šege-r* 7; Shr. *šet* 7 (R); Oyr. *čet aɣaš* 6; Tv. *šet* 6.

◊ VEWT 102, EDT 867-868. Morphologically -t - is a collective suffix, -dak/-dik - a denominative suffix. The word is attested in MK, but in an aberrant (dialectal) shape with *š-*, and the meaning 'nut' is probably secondary, the original meaning of the root being 'coniferous tree, branch'. Several other plant names may be related, cf.: Chag. *čekɛ* 'berries found in the Fergana mountains'; Uzb. *čakanda* 'облепиха крушиновидная', Uygh. *čäkändä* 'a bush with red fruits' (R 3, 1947 Taranchi, mod. *čakanda* 'a k. of thorny bush'), Az. *čäkil* 'mulberry'; Kirgh. South. *čekende* 'хвойник; кузьмичева трава; эфедра двуколосковая' (its pseudoberries are edible; despite Yudakhin, not < Iranian - the word is not attested in Persian). Turk. > Pers. *čäkäldäk* 'blackberry' (Гафаров).

‖ EAS 63. A Western isogloss.

✱**čʿáko** many; be full, enough: Tung. ***čak**; Turk. ***čok**; Jpn. ***tákú-páp-**; Kor. ***čhǎ-**.

PTung. ***čak-** 1 full 2 strongly (1 полный 2 сильно, крепко): Man. *čaq seme* 2; Ork. *čak bi* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 379.

PTurk. ***čok** 1 many, very 2 vile, hooligan 3 to gather, multiply 4 group, crowd (1 много, очень 2 дурной, хулиган, баловник 3 собирать(ся), размножать(ся) 4 толпа, множество): Karakh. *čoq* 1 (ДТС - КВ), *čōq* 2 (MK - Oghuz), *čoɣ-al-* 3; Tur. *čok* (-ɣu) 1, *čoɣal-* 3; Gag. *čoju* 4, *čoq-la-n-* 3; Az. *čox* 1, *čoxal-* 3; Turkm. *čoq* (-qu) 4; MTurk. *čoq* 1 (Sangl., Oghuz-nama, AH), *čoq-* 3 (Abush.); Krm. *čoq* 1, *čoɣɨ* 4 (K); Kirgh. *čoq* 1;

Kaz. *šoγɨr* 4; KKalp. *šoq* 2, 4; Nogh. *šoq* 'дружно'; Khak. *sox* 2; Oyr. *čoq-* 3; Tv. *šoγ* 2.

◊ VEWT 113, EDT 405, 406. The Oghuz adverb 'much', in the 12th c. (KB) 'very, extremely', is probably the same word as *čoq* 'bad, vile'(Ogh. 11) (cf. also the Tuva parallel). Turk. > Mong. (Khalkha) *cox* in *cox xara* 'very black'. The identification of *čoq-(la-)* 'gather, collect' with *čoγ-la-* 'to bind, pack' (ДТС) or *čoq-* 'to bend' (EDT) is rather dubious. Vocalic length is unclear (cf. the voicing of -k- in Western Oghuz).

PJpn. ***tákú-páp-** to hoard, assemble (запасать, накапливать): OJpn. *takupap(a)-*; MJpn. *tákúfáf(a)-*; Tok. *takuwaé-*, *tàkuwae-*; Kyo. *tàkùwàè-*; Kag. *takuwaé-*.

◊ JLTT 762. Accent is somewhat uncertain, though most sources (RJ, Tokyo *tàkuwae-*, Kagoshima) point to **tákúpáp-*. It is also worth noting Middle Jpn. and modern *takusán* 'much, many': the word is shaped and perceived as a kango (澤山 'swamps and mountains'), but is apparently not attested in Chinese sources and may represent a folk etymology. Its accent, however, differs from that of **tákú-páp-* (Kyoto *tákùsàn* and Kagoshima *takusán*, together with the Tokyo form, point to **tàkù-sà[mà]).*

PKor. ***čhǎ-** to be full, fill (быть полным, наполнять): MKor. *čhǎ-*; Mod. *čha-*.

◊ Nam 447, KED 1561.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 283. The comparison of PT **čok* with Sino-Kor. *čjok* (SKE 39, AKE 7, EAS 63) should be, of course, rejected; on the other hand, the comparison of Kor. *čhă-* (a regular reduction < **čăhă-*) with Mong. *čad-*, *čas-* in SKE 46 cannot explain the aspiration of *č-* in Korean. See further МССНЯ,331.

✱**čʿakʿa** to wrap, tie: Tung. ***čaK-**; Turk. ***čak-**; Jpn. ***ta(n)k-**; Kor. ***čhǎ-**.

PTung. ***čaK-** to wrap up, collect (заворачивать, собирать): Evk. *čak-*; Evn. *čaq-*; Neg. *čak-*.

◊ TMC 2, 378.

PTurk. ***čak-** to bind, fetters, harness (связывать, оковы, упряжь): Tur. *čakɨl-* 'to be bound, fastened' (of yoke animals), *čaγan* 'camel fetters'; Gag. *čaqɨldaq* 'rope harness'; MTurk. *čaγan* 'camel fetters'; Oyr. *čaqɨ* 'stick for binding horses'.

◊ VEWT 94, 96 (but Oyr. *čakɨ* is regarded as borrowed < Mong. *čaqu*, on which see **čʿakʿV).*

PJpn. ***ta(n)k-** 1 to bind one's hair into a bun 2 to bundle together; to wear on the belt (1 связывать волосы в узел 2 связывать; носить на поясе): OJpn. *tak-* 1; MJpn. *tagana-* 2.

◊ JLTT 761.

PKor. ***čhǎ-** to wear on the belt (носить на поясе): MKor. *čhǎ-*; Mod. *čha-*.

◊ Nam 447, KED 1562.

‖ Дыбо 15. Korean has a frequent vowel reduction between a stop and a fricative (**čhă-* < **čəhă-*).

✱**čʿakʿe** forearm: Tung. ***čaxan**; Turk. ***čɨkan(ak)**; Kor. ***čjàkái-**.

PTung. ***čaxan** 1 place under the knee 2 calf of leg 3 back part of heel 4 cubit, armpit (1 место под коленом 2 икра ноги 3 задняя часть пятки 4 локоть, подмышка): Evk. *čakan*, *čāke* 1, *čakča* 2; Neg. *čaxā* 3; Nan. *čaχã* 4.

◊ TMC 2, 378, 380.

PTurk. ***čɨkan(ak)** elbow, forearm (локоть, предплечье): MTurk. *čaɣanaq* (Sangl., CCum., AH); Uzb. *čekänäk* (dial.); Uygh. *ʒäjnäk*; Krm. *cɨɣanaq*; Tat. *cɨɣanaq* (dial.); Bashk. *sɨɣanaq* (dial.); Kirgh. *čɨqanaq*; Kaz. *šɨɣanaq* 'bay'; KBalk. *čɨna*; KKalp. *šɨɣanaq*; Nogh. *šɨɣanaq*; SUygh. *čikenek*; Khak. *čɨɣanax*; Shr. *šɨɣanaq*; Oyr. *čaɣanaq*; Tv. *šenek*; Tof. *čeʼhenɛk*; Chuv. *čike* 'cubit'.

◊ VEWT 96, EDT 404, Егоров 325, Лексика 249.

PKor. ***čjàkái-** groin, inguinal region (пах, паховая область): MKor. *čjàkái'jám*; Mod. *čagämi*.

◊ Nam 419, KED 1372.

‖ Дыбо 311, Лексика 250. A reconstruction **čʿajkʿe* is not excluded because of the Korean form; this is perhaps the reason for *-x- in TM (where in this context one would rather expect **čakan*).

✱**čʿăkʿi** a k. of insect: Tung. ***čaKu- (~ š-)**; Mong. ***čoku**; Turk. ***čekü-rtke**.

PTung. ***čaKu- (~ š-)** a k. of midge (мошка-мокрец): Evk. *čaki-mukta*; Neg. *čoxomto*; Ul. *čōqta*; Nan. *čōqta*.

◊ TMC 2, 379.

PMong. ***čoku** beetle (жук): WMong. *čoqu* (L 199); Kh. *cox*; Bur. *soxo*.

PTurk. ***čekü-rtke** locust, grasshopper (саранча, кузнечик): Karakh. *čekürge* (MK Oghuz; Tefs.); Tur. *čekirge*; Az. *čekirtge*; Turkm. *čekirtge*; MTurk. *čegürtke*, *čewürtke* (Sangl.); Uzb. *čigirtka*; Uygh. *čekätkä*; Krm. *čegirtke*; Tat. *čikertkɛ*; Bashk. *siŋertkä*; Kirgh. *čegirtke*; Kaz. *šegirtke*; KKalp. *šegirtke*; Nogh. *šegertki*; Khak. *saɣɨrtxi*; Tv. *šergi*; Yak. *saxsɨrɣa* 'fly'; Dolg. *haksɨrga* 'fly'.

◊ VEWT 103, EDT 416-417, Лексика 187, Stachowski 94. Forms like Tat. dial. *sikertke* are a result of contamination with **sēk-* 'jump' (v. sub **sǎki)*.

‖ A Western isogloss. Note a labial vowel in the second syllable which in this case must be reflecting suffixation (**čʿăkʿi-bV-*); Mong. **čoku* < **čaku* with a frequent secondary vowel assimilation.

✱**čʿakʿV** section, prop (in a building): Tung. ***čaKi-**; Mong. ***čaku**; Kor. ***čhái**.

PTung. ***čaKi-** 1 partition (in house) 2 to tread a path (< 'make a partition'?) (1 перегородка (в строении) 2 протоптать (тропу)): Evk. *čaki-* 2; Man. *čaxin* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 379. The Evk. form (borrowed in Yak. *čāki* 'rammed path') presupposes a secondary semantic development and is somewhat uncertain here. Man. > Dag. *čagin* (Тод. Даг. 180).

PMong. ***čaku** prop, support (подставка, подпорка): WMong. *čaqu* (L 167); Kh. *cax*; Kalm. *caxlūr* (KPC).

PKor. ***čhái** section of a building (секция здания): MKor. *čhái*; Mod. *čhä*.

◊ Liu 695, KED 1576.

‖ Korean has a frequent vowel loss between *čʹ- and *-k-.

✱**čʹali** membrane, bark: Tung. ***čalban**; Turk. ***čEl(p)-**.

PTung. ***čalban** birch, birch bark (береза, береста): Evk. *čalban*; Evn. *čālban*; Neg. *čālban*; Nan. *čalbã*; Orch. *čā(b)ba*; Ud. *čafaktʹai* 'березняк'.

◊ TMC 2, 380-382. TM > Dag. *čālbān* (Тод. Даг. 180).

PTurk. ***čEl** 1 film, membrane 2 albugo 3 mucus discharged by the eye 4 unhusked rice 5 thin bread, cake 6 husk in grain (1 пленка, кожица, подмездрина 2 бельмо 3 глазной гной 4 неошелушенный рис 5 тонкая лепешка 6 шелуха в крупе): Karakh. *čelpek* 3 (MK); Tur. *čel-tik* 4; *čelpik* 3 (Red. only); Az. *čäl-tik* 4; Turkm. *čelpek* 5, *čel-tik* 6; Khal. *čäl-tik* 4; MTurk. *čelpek* 5 (Sangl.); Uzb. *čalpak* 5; Uygh. *čälpäk* 5; Tat. *cilen* 'cow's afterbirth' (dial. KCTT); Kirgh. *čel* 1, 2, *čelpek* 5; Kaz. *šel* 2, 'fat under skin', *šelpek* 5; KKalp. *šelpek* 5; Nogh. *šel-te-* 'to husk grain'; Oyr. *čel* 1, 2.

◊ VEWT 103, EDT 418-419, Лексика 392. Ogh. *čel-tik* > Pers. *čaltuk, šaltūk* (despite VEWT 104). Turk. *čelpek* > Pers. *čalpak* (TMN 3, 1111). The meaning 'eye pus, mucus' in **čel-pek* developed under the influence of the similar **čapak* (see under **čap-* 'plaster'), but the two roots should be clearly distinguished (despite EDT 418).

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**čʹàlù** sharp, to cut: Tung. ***čal-**; Mong. ***čali**; Turk. ***čal-**; Jpn. ***tùrù(n)kì**.

PTung. ***čal-** 1 to cut off 2 to cut, engrave 3 bed in cross-bow 4 arrow head (1 отрезать 2 резать, вырезать 3 ложе в самострелe 4 наконечник стрелы): Evk. *čalī* 4; Neg. *čōlị-* 1; Man. *čoli-* 2; Ul. *čālụ-* 1, 2, *čaγlị, čaịlqa* 3; Ork. *čaγla* 3; Nan. *čālị-* 1, 2; Orch. *čali* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 382, 405. Some forms reflect a PTM derivative **čal-ga* (**čal-gi*).

PMong. ***čali** 1 sharp 2 sharp instrument, crowbar (1 острый 2 острый инструмент, лом): MMong. *čalir* 2 (SH); WMong. *čali* 1, *čalir* / *čaril* 2 (L 163, 166); Kh. *calir* / *caril* 2; Bur. *salī-* 'to be sharp'; Kalm. *caĺə, cäĺə* 1, *caĺr, cäĺr* 2; Ord. *čalir* 2.

◊ KW 420, 421.

PTurk. ***čal-** 1 to knock (down), hit, agitate 2 to whet 3 to slaughter 4 to mow 5 scythe 6 to sting, pierce 7 to sweep 8 to chop 9 a k. of broom 10 to sharpen, whet 11 whetstone 12 mowing, hay time 13 to trip 14

blade (1 сбивать, ударять, бить, взбалтывать 2 точить 3 убивать, закалывать 4 косить 5 коса 6 жалить, закалывать 7 подметать 8 изрубить, отрубить 9 вид метлы, веник-голик 10 точить 11 оселок 12 покос 13 дать подножку 14 острие, лезвие): OTurk. *čal-* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *čal-* 1 (MK, KB); Tur. *čal-* 1, *čalgɨ* 9, *čalgɨ oraɣɨ* 5; Gag. *čalɨm* 14; Az. *čal-* 1, 6, 7, *čalɣɨ* 9; Turkm. *čal-* 10, 7, 6, *čalGɨ* 5, 11; Khal. *čal-* 1, 6; Uzb. *čal-* 1, *čalɣi ụrɔq* 5; Uygh. *čal-* 1, *čalɣa* 5; Krm. *cal-* 1, 4, *calqɨ*, *calɣɨ* 5; Tat. *čal-* 1, 3, *čalɣɨ* 5; Bashk. *salɨ-* 3; Kirgh. *čal-* 1, 3, *čalɣɨ* 5, *čalɣɨn* 12; Kaz. *šal-* 13, *šalɣɨ* 5, *šalɣɨn* 12; KBalk. *čal-* 4, *čalqɨ* 5; KKalp. *šal-* 1, 3, 13, *šalɣɨ* 5, *šalɣɨn* 12; Kum. *čal-* 1, 4, *čalɣɨ* 5; Nogh. *šal-* 1, 3, 4, *šalɣɨ* 5; SUygh. *čal(ɨ)-* 8; Khak. *sal-* 1; Shr. *šalɣɨ* 5; Oyr. *čalɣɨ* 5; Tv. *šalɨ-* 10; Chuv. *śol-* 4, *śolъk* 9; Yak. *sālɨn-* 'to fall abruptly'.

◊ VEWT 97, EDT 417-418 , Егоров 206, Федотов 2, 132, 133. The difference in length between Turkm. and Yak. allows to suppose a merger of at least two roots, perhaps originally distinguished semantically and phonetically as **čāl-* 'to knock down' (reflected in Yak., not reflected in Turkm.) - **čal-* 'to sharpen, whet' (reflected in Turkm., not reflected in Yak.). Since "Verba des Schlagens" are generally vague semantically, in most languages it is difficult to draw a line between them.

PJpn. ***tùrù(n)kì** sword (меч): OJpn. *turugji*; MJpn. *tùrùgì*, *tùrùkì*; Tok. *tsurugí*; Kyo. *tsúrùgì*; Kag. *tsurugí*.

◊ JLTT 557. Kagoshima accent is irregular.

‖ KW 420, ОСНЯ 1, 196-197. KW 420, ОСНЯ 1, 196-197. The Jpn. form can be alternatively compared with PTM **dargi* 'harpoon'.

✸**čʿamo** to suffer hardships: Tung. ***čamu-li-**; Mong. ***čima-**; Turk. ***čAm**; Jpn. ***tamar-**; Kor. ***čǎmh-**.

PTung. ***čamu-li-** to eat smth. alone, be not willing to share (съесть что-л. одному (не поделиться)): Neg. *čamuḷi-*.

◊ TMC 2, 383. Attested only in Neg., but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***čima-** 1 to want or demand more, be dissatisfied 2 queasy (1 быть неудовлетворенным 2 придирчивый, разборчивый): WMong. *čamaɣaŋ* 2, *čima-la-*, *čima-rqa-*, *čama-rqa-* 1 (L 184); Kh. *camān* 2, *čamla-*, *čamarxa-*, *camārxa-* 2.

PTurk. ***čAm** 1 a backbiting man 2 to exact a fine 3 claim 4 reproach 5 to be offended 6 to be angry (1 клеветник 2 штрафовать 3 претензия, рекламация (юрид.) 4 упрек 5 обижаться 6 сердиться): OTurk. *čam* 3 (OUygh.); Karakh. *čamɣuq* 1 (MK); Khal. *čammal-tur-* 'to look nervous, angry'; MTurk. *čam-la-* 'to speak with disgust' (R, Pav. C.); Kirgh. *čam-da-n-* 4; Kaz. *šam* 'that which causes offence', *šam-da-n-* 4; KBalk. *čam* 'joke, mockery', *čam-la-n-* 6; KKalp. *šam-la-n-* 5, *šam-šɨl* 'resentful, sensitive'; Nogh. *šam-la-n-* 6; SUygh. *čʿimig* 'badly'; Oyr. *čam* (dial., R) 4, *čam-da-l-* (dial., R) 5.

◊ EDT 421-422, 423, VEWT 98, D-T 97. At least part of the forms may ultimately have a Chinese source (MC *zə̄m* 'slander'). Cf. also *čaman* 'lazy horse, dog'; Tur. *čamura jat-* 'to

decline from paying a debt' (slang; lit. 'to lie down in dirt' - perhaps a reanalysis based on the analogy with *čamur* 'dirt', cf. also *čamur* (metaph.) 'low, humble').

PJpn. ***tamar-** to endure, bear (терпеть, выносить): Tok. *tamar-*.

PKor. ***čā́mh-** to endure, to bear (терпеть, выносить): MKor. *čhā́m-*; Mod. *čhām-*.

◊ Nam 448, KED 1571.

‖ The Kor. form reflects an earlier **čāmh-* < **čam(o)-g-*, with a velar suffix (cf. the Mong. form). The root is sufficiently attested in Mong. and Kor.; but the Turkic forms may have a borrowed origin, the TM and Jpn. forms are attested worse, so the archaic nature of the root is somewhat dubious.

✱**čʿámo (~ -e-)** a k. of tree: Mong. ***čöme-sü ?**; Turk. ***čAm**; Jpn. ***támú-kui**; Kor. ***čāmh**.

PMong. ***čöme-sü ?** bird-cherry, cornel (черемуха, кизил): Kalm. *cöms*.

◊ KW 432.

PTurk. ***čAm** 1 pine tree 2 fir-needle (1 сосна 2 хвоя): Tur. *čam* 1, *čam japraɣɨ* 2; Gag. *čam* 1; Az. *šam* 1; MTurk. *čam aɣač* 1 (Pav. C.); Krm. *čam*, cam 1; Khak. *sabal* 2; Shr. *šabal* 2.

◊ VEWT 97. Dmitrieva (Дмитриева 1979, 205) derives the Oghuz word for 'fir-tree' from Arab. *šam* 'candle', which is dubious phonetically and unlikely because of the Khak. and Shor forms (pointing to **čamal*); more probably an original Turkic root, although localized.

PJpn. ***támú-kui** ash-tree (ясень): MJpn. *támúki*.

◊ JLTT 540.

PKor. ***čāmh** oak-tree (вид дуба): MKor. *čhām-nam'u*; Mod. *čham-namu*.

◊ Liu 692, KED 1571.

‖ SKE 47. It is worth noting that the Korean word also means 'sesame' or 'anise' (in compounds, see KED 1570, 1571): this may be in fact a merger with the reflex of PA **čʿi̯umu* 'seed, cone' (q.v.).

✱**čʿā́mro** a k. of small animal: Tung. ***čamduk-**; Mong. ***čindaga**; Turk. ***čārba- (*čārma-)**.

PTung. ***čamduk-** 1 mouse 2 tarbagan (1 мышь 2 тарбаган): Evk. *čamukčān* 1; Evn. *čāmъq* 2, *čāmъ̣qčan* 1; Orch. *čunduki* 1; Ud. *čundihe* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 383, 390. The relation of Evn. *čị̄dъɣa* 'polar suslik' is not quite clear (< Mong. 'hare'?).

PMong. ***čindaga** white hare (заяц-беляк): WMong. *čindaɣa(n)* (L 188); Kh. *čandaga*; Bur. *šandaga(n)*; Kalm. *čindəɣən*; Ord. *čindaGa(n)*; Dag. *šandag* (Тод. Даг. 183).

◊ KW 441. Mong. > Man. *čindaχan* 'snow rabbit, Lepus timidus' (Rozycki 48).

PTurk. ***čārba- (*čārma-)** 1 squirrel 2 sable, marten (1 белка 2 соболь, куница): Khak. *sarbax* 1; Shr. *šarbaq* 1; Oyr. *čɨrbɨq* 1; Yak. *sārba* 2.

◊ VEWT 100, 403. A regional Siberian root.

‖ Дыбо 8, Лексика 166. A Western isogloss, with a specific development of the medial cluster *-mr-.

✱**čʿàńè (~ *č-, -e-)** building: Jpn. ***tònò**; Kor. ***čáń**.

PJpn. ***tònò** building, residence (здание, резиденция): OJpn. *tono*; MJpn. *tònò*; Tok. *tono*.

◊ JLTT 550.

PKor. ***čáń** city wall, fortress, (KED) mountain pass (городская стена, крепость, (KED) горный перевал): MKor. *čás* (< **čáń*); Mod. *čä*.

◊ Nam 418, KED 1409. Only the later form *čás* is attested in MKor., but the modern form *čä* points unambiguosly to *-ń-.

‖ A Kor.-Jpn. isogloss. Cf. perhaps also Dag. *čēn* 'town' (Тод. Даг. 181).

✱**čʿaŋo** people, gathering: Tung. ***čaŋit**; Mong. ***čiɣul-**; Jpn. ***tami**; Kor. ***č(j)ōŋ.**

PTung. ***čaŋit** 1 robber 2 enemy, clan enmity (1 разбойник 2 враг, родовая вражда): Evk. *čaŋit* 1; Nan. *čaŋgiči-* 'to wait for a convenient time for retaliation' (On.); Ork. *taŋičị* 2; Orch. *čaŋiti* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 384. Evk. > Dolg. *čaŋit, čaŋit* (see Stachowski 72).

PMong. ***čiɣul-** 1 to gather (of public) 2 public assembly, society (1 собираться 2 народное собрание, общество): WMong. *čiɣul-* 1, *čiɣulɣan* 2 (L 178); Kh. *čūla-* 1, *čūlgan* 2; Ord. *čūl-* 1, *čūlGan* 2.

◊ Mong.> Evk. *suglān* 'gathering', see Аникин 509.

PJpn. ***tami** people, subjects (народ, подданные): OJpn. *tam(j)i*; MJpn. *tàmì*; Tok. *támi*; Kyo. *támì*; Kag. *támi*.

PKor. ***č(j)ōŋ** slave (раб): MKor. *čjōŋ*; Mod. *čōŋ*.

◊ Nam 433, KED 1483.

◊ JLTT 540. Accent in Tokyo and Kagoshima is quite irregular (reflecting an early borrowing < Kyoto?).

‖ Jpn. and Mong. suggest that the original meaning was "people, public gathering"; in TM and Korean the root shifted the meaning to "foreign people" > (TM) "enemies, robbers", Kor. "slave(s)".

✱**čʿăpʿa (~ -u, -i)** to chop, hit: Tung. ***čapka**; Mong. ***čabči-**; Turk. ***čap-**; Kor. ***čak-**.

PTung. ***čapka** fish spear (острога): Evk. *čapka*; Neg. *čapka*; Ul. *čaqpa*; Ork. *čapqa*; Nan. *čaqpã*.

◊ TMC 2, 384.

PMong. ***čabči-** to chop, mow (колоть, рубить, косить): MMong. *č[e]wča-* (IM), *čabči-* (MA); WMong. *čabči-* (L 154); Kh. *cavči-*; Bur. *sabša-*; Kalm. *capči-*, *čapči-*; Ord. *ʒabči-*; Dag. *čirč-* (Тод. Даг. 181 *čerči-*), *čarči-*; Dong. *čɨʒi-*; Bao. *čəbči-*; S.-Yugh. *ʒabča-*; Mongr. *ʒabśʒi-* (SM 76), *ćavći-* (Huzu), *čabʒi* (Minghe).

◊ KW 437, MGCD 555. Mong. > Man. *sabči-*, Nan. *čapči-* etc., see Doerfer MT 115, Rozycki 172; > Kirgh. *čapči-* 'бить ногой (о лошади)'.

PTurk. ***čap-** 1 to beat, hit 2 to attack, rob 3 chisel 4 hack, hoe, hatchet 5 to chop 6 to scythe, mow 7 to dig 8 to break 9 sharp 10 scythe 11 to whet, sharpen (a scythe) 12 metal shavings after forging 13 trap 14 whetstone for sharpening scythes 15 to whip 16 to hack, adze 17 shavings 18 booty 19 currycomb (1 бить, ударять 2 нападать, грабить 3 резец 4 мотыга, тяпка, сечка 5 рубить 6 косить 7 копать (кетменем) 8 разламывать 9 острый 10 коса 11 точить (косу) 12 обсечки металла при ковке 13 капкан 14 брусок для точки кос 15 хлестать 16 тесать 17 стружка 18 добыча, трофей 19 скребница): Karakh. *čap-* 1 (MK); Tur. *čap-* 2, *čapla* 3, *čapa* 4, *čapak* 12; Gag. *čapanaq* 18; Az. *čap-* 5, 2; Turkm. *čap-* 5, 2, *čapGɨ* 4, *čapGɨr* 9; Sal. *čap-*, *ča'-* 1 (ССЯ); Khal. *čap-* 2; MTurk. *čap-* 5, 2 (Abush., Sangl.); Uzb. *čɔp-* 5, 7, *čɔpqi* 4; Uygh. *čap-* 5, 6, *čapqu* 4; Krm. *cap-* 1; *čap-* 1, 5, *čapa* 19; Tat. *čap/b-* 5, 6, 1, *čapqɨ* 4; Bashk. *sap/b-* 6, 5, 1, *sapqɨ* 4; Kirgh. *čap/b-* 5, 7, 1, *čapqɨ* 4, 10; Kaz. *šap/b-* 5, 6, 2, *šapqɨ* 4; KBalk. *čab-* 2; KKalp. *šap/b-* 5, 6, 2; Kum. *čap-* 5, *čapɣɨ* 4; Nogh. *šap/b-* 5, *šapqɨ* 4; SUygh. *ča'p-* 1, 5, 8; Khak. *sap-* 1, 5, 6, *saxpɨ*, *sapxɨ* 10; Shr. *šap-* 1, 6, *šapqɨ* 13; Oyr. *čap-* 5, 6, *čapqɨ* 10, 13; Tv. *šap-* 1, 2, *šap-ta-* 15; Tof. *šap-tɨ* 17, *šaptɨ-la-* 16; Chuv. *śop-* 1, 11, *śopkaś* 14; Yak. *sabā-* 1.

◊ VEWT 99, EDT 394, Егоров 203, 219, Федотов 2, 85, 137-8, Ашм. XII, 247-249.

PKor. ***čak-** fish spear (острога, гарпун): Mod. *čak-sal*, *čak-suŋi*.

◊ KED 1387.

‖ KW 437, ОСНЯ 1, 201. Mong. is hardly borrowed from Turk., despite Щербак 1997, 112. Several subgroups reflect a PA derivative **čʿapʿ(V)-kʿV* (PT **čapkɨ* = PTM **čapka* = Kor. **čak-* (< **čapk-*)).

✱čʿăpʿa (~ -u, -i) glue, clay: Tung. ***čapa**; Mong. ***čabaɣ(u)**; Turk. ***čap-**.

PTung. ***čapa** 1 fish roe, caviar 2 white clay (1 рыбья икра 2 белая глина): Evk. *čapa* 1, *čapida*, *čawiža* 2; Neg. *čapa* 1; Nan. *čapa* 1; Orch. *čapa* 1; Ud. *čafa* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 74, 384.

PMong. ***čaba-** glue, fish glue (клей, рыбий клей): MMong. *č[a]bsun* (IM); WMong. *čabaɣu* (L 154) *čabau* (DO 697); Kh. *cavū(n)*; Bur. *sabū(n)*; Kalm. *cawəg*; Ord. *čawū*; Dag. *čagu*.

◊ KW 423, MGCD 1697.

PTurk. ***čap-** 1 to plaster 2 eye pus 3 to puncture (a tumour, furuncle) (1 мазать, залеплять, обмазывать 2 глазной гной 3 прокалывать (опухоль, нарыв)): Karakh. *čap-* 1 (MK); Tur. *čapak* 2; Gag. *čapaq* 2; Uzb. *čapi-* 1; Uygh. *čap-li-* 1, *čapaq* 2; Kirgh. *čap-ta-* 1, *čabaq-ta-* 3; Kaz. *šabaq-ta-* 3; KKalp. *šabaq-ša-la-* 3; Kum. (aq) *čap-* 'to blanch, pipeclay'; Tv. *šap-* 'to pour water and stamp (ground)'(?); Chuv. *śop-* 'заворачивать пирог'.

◊ VEWT 99, EDT 394, Ашм. XII, 248. Turk. > Hung. *csipa* 'eye pus' (<*čapaγ), see Gombocz 1912.

‖ KW 423. A Western isogloss.

✱**čʿapʿi (~ *čʿepʿa)** a k. of horned animal: Mong. ***čaɣa**; Turk. ***čepiĺ**.

PMong. ***čaɣa** reindeer (олень (домашний)): WMong. *čaγa* (L 154: *ča*); Kh. *cā*; Bur. *sagān* 'breeding reindeer'; Kalm. *cā* (KPC).

PTurk. ***čepiĺ** a half-year or 1-year-old kid ((полу)годовалый козленок): Karakh. *čepiš* (MK); Tur. *čepiš*, *čepič*; Az. *čäpiš*; Turkm. *čebiš*; Khal. *čapiš* (< Az.?); Uygh. *čivič*; Kirgh. *čebič*; KBalk. *čemič*; Kum. *čebič*.

◊ VEWT 105, EDT 399, Щербак 1961, 120. Cf. also Chag. *čiber* 'mountain goat' (R). The reflex -b- in Turkm. and Uygh. may be an indication of original vowel length (?) Shcherbak's hypothesis of the word being borrowed < Iranian is dubious; Pers. *čapiš*, *čapuš* itself may well be borrowed < Turkic. In any case, the Persian form cannot be a regular IE match for Lat. *caper*. Cf. WH 1, 157, sub caper: "Np. čapiš...lautlich unmöglich"; indeed, Common Iranian -p- (< IE -p-) > Mod. Pers. and NW-Iran. -b-, in exceptional cases -v- (Расторгуева ЗИФ 114-115); a parallel for *caper* may perhaps be found in Sak. *caṵ*, Osset. *cäv* 'goat' (see Аб. 1, 307, Bailey 105). One should mention the problematic "Wanderformen" Rum. *cap*, Alb. *tsap*, Ital. dial. *cappo*, Crim.-Goth. *stap*, Slav. **cápъ* 'he-goat'; cf. also Oyr. *čāp* 'one year-old roebuck' (< Mong.?). See Трубачев 1960, 89-90, Orel 47 with literature; note especially Hubschmid's (1954, 49) hypothesis of the Turkic origin of this Wanderwort.

‖ A Turk.-Mong. isogloss. There are alternatives: the Mong. form can be compared with Evk. *čenekū*, *čeŋek* 'reindeer' (TMC 2, 421), while the Turkic may be compared with Evk. *čubukī*, *čêwakūn* 'mountain ram' (TMC 2, 410). On the whole, a rather obscure case: cf. Хелимский 2000, 286 on a possibility of the Mongolian word being borrowed < Sam.

✱**čʿare (~ -ŕ-, -o)** bare, barefooted: Tung. ***čara-ku**; Mong. ***čira-ma**.

PTung. ***čara-ku** barefooted (босой): Ul. *čaraqu*; Nan. *čaraqõ*.

◊ TMC 2, 385.

PMong. ***čira-ma** naked, bare, nude (голый): WMong. *čirama*, *čirma* (L 192); Kh. *čarmā*; Kalm. *čirm̥*.

◊ KW 442.

‖ A Tung.-Mong. isogloss.

✱**čʿàro** to cut off, tear off: Tung. ***čari-**; Turk. ***čar**; Jpn. ***tàt-**; Kor. ***čări-**.

PTung. ***čari-** to tear (рвать): Evk. *čari-*.

◊ TMC 2, 385. Attested only in Evk., but with probable external parallels.

PTurk. ***čar** 1 whetstone 2 sickle 3 to whet (1 точильный камень 2 серп 3 точить): Sal. *čār-* 'to cut, stick in' (ССЯ: Udzh.); MTurk. *čar-la-* 3 (Pav. C.); Tat. *čar* 1, 'mill stone', *čar-la-* 3; Bashk. *sar* 1; Kaz. *šar* 1; KKalp. *šar* 1; Kum. *čar* 1, 'spool'; Nogh. *šar* 1; Shr. *šar* 1; Oyr. *čar* 1; Chuv. *śorla* 2; Yak. *sardaγa*, *sardāna* 'short heavy arrow with a broad head' (Пек.).

◊ VEWT 99-100, Егоров 221, Федотов 2, 143 (borrowing < FU **śorva* 'horn' is hardly credible). Bulg. > Hung. *sarló* 'sickle', see Gombocz 1912, MNyTESz 3, 494-495. The root is

certainly genuine, although some influence of the Iranian *čarik*, *čarx* 'wheel' could have existed.

PJpn. ***tàt-** to cut, cut off (резать, отрезать): OJpn. tat-; MJpn. *tàt-*; Tok. *tát-*; Kyo. *tàt-*; Kag. *tàt-*.

◊ JLTT 766.

PKor. ***čărɨ-** to cut off, chop off (отрезать, отрубать): MKor. *čărɨ-*; Mod. *čarɨ-*.

◊ Nam 413, KED 1376.

‖ Martin 229, АПиПЯЯ 76, ОСНЯ 1, 209. The Japanese form may be alternatively derived from PA **tʿatʿV* q.v.

✱**čʿăʒV** cheek, cheekbone: Tung. ***ʒaʒi-**; Mong. ***ʒaʒi-**; Turk. ***čAj-na-**.

PTung. ***ʒaʒi-** cheekbone (скула): Man. *ʒaʒin*; Ul. *ʒaʒiqta*; Nan. *ʒaŋʒiχta*.

◊ TMC 1, 242.

PMong. ***ʒaʒi-** 1 to chew 2 part of cheek (1 жевать 2 часть щеки): MMong. *ʒeaʒolom-* 1 (IM); WMong. *ʒaʒi-la-* (L 1041: *ʒaʒil-*) 1, *ʒaʒi-γur* 2 (L 1041); Kh. *зaʒla-* 1, *зaʒūr* 2; Bur. *žažal-*, *zažal-* 1; Kalm. *ʒaʒl-* 1 (KPC); Ord. *ʒaʒil-* 1; Mog. *ʒaʒul-* 1 (Weiers), *ʒaʒi-* 1 (Ramstedt 1906); Dag. *ʒeʒile-* 1; Dong. *ʒaʒulu-* 1; Bao. *ʒɛʒal-* 1; S.-Yugh. *ʒaʒil-* 1; Mongr. *ʒaʑili-* (SM 77), *ʒaʒilə-* 1.

◊ MGCD 422.

PTurk. ***čAj-na-** 1 to chew 2 to bite (1 жевать 2 кусать): Tur. *čiγne-*, *čejne-* 1 (R); Gag. *čīne-* 1; Az. *čejnä-* 1; Turkm. *čejne-* 1; Sal. *čene-*, *čäinä-* 1 (ССЯ); MTurk. *čajna-* 1 (Pav. C.); Uzb. *čajna-* 1; Uygh. *čajna-* 1; Krm. *cajna-*, *čajna-*, *čejne-* 1; Tat. *čɛjnɛ-* 1, 2; Bashk. *säjnä-* 1; Kirgh. *čajna-* 1; Kaz. *šajna-* 1; KBalk. *čajna-* 1; KKalp. *šajna-* 2; Kum. *čajna-* 1; Nogh. *šajna-* 1; Khak. *tajna-* 1; Shr. *tajna-* 1; Oyr. *čajna-* 1; Tv. *dajna-* 1; Tof. *tajna-* 1.

◊ VEWT 95, Расс. ФиЛ 168. Forms with t- in some Siberian languages are rather enigmatic.

‖ Дыбо 5, Лексика 220. A Western isogloss. In Mong. and TM one has to presume an early assimilation (**ʒaʒi-* < **čaʒi-*).

✱**čʿébV** branch, forked branch; staff: Tung. ***čebu-(gan)**; Mong. ***čib-**; Turk. ***čĀb-**.

PTung. ***čebu-(gan)** 1 lever 2 forked branch 3 brace, clinch (1 рычаг 2 раздвоенная ветка (подпорка для подвешивания котла над огнем) 3 скоба, крепеж): Evk. *čewe* 2; Man. *čoban* 1; Nan. *čebe* 3 (Он.).

◊ TMC 2, 401, 419.

PMong. ***čib-** whip, lash (плеть, кнут): MMong. *čiču'a* (SH); WMong. *čibčirga* (L 174); Kh. *čavčirga*; Ord. *ʒibčarGa*; Mongr. *śʒū* (SM 393).

◊ Mong. > Evk. *čěčuγa* etc., see Doerfer MT 78, Rozycki 180; > Chag. *čupčuryа*

PTurk. ***čĀb-** whip-lash (плеть): Karakh. *čavɨɣ*, *čaɣɨɣ* (MK); Tur. *čavun* 'leather whip'; Turkm. *čāv-la-* 'to lash with a rod, whip'; Tv. ? *šavɨ-la-* 'to lash (of branches)'; Chuv. *čъvъš* 'sound of the whip or rod', *čъ^{w}vaš-la-* 'to lash'.

◊ EDT 395. See also under **čɨp*.

‖ A Western isogloss. Cf. also **čʿipV*, **čʿípʿa*.

✱**čʿéčʿí** to press, squeeze: Tung. ***čeče-re-**; Jpn. ***tíntí-**; Kor. ***čìčɨ́r-**.

PTung. ***čeče-re-** to press, squeeze in arms (жать, сжимать в объятиях): Man. *čečere-*.

◊ TMC 2, 422. Attested only in Manchu, but having probable Kor.-Jpn. parallels.

PJpn. ***tíntí-** to press, compress (сдавливать): MJpn. *tidi-k-*; Tok. *chìjime-*; Kyo. *chíjímé-*; Kag. *chijimé-*.

◊ JLTT 768.

PKor. ***čìčɨ́r-** to press down (давить, придавливать): MKor. *čìčɨ́r-*; Mod. *čižirɨ-*.

◊ Nam 443, KED 1537.

‖ An Eastern isogloss.

✱**čʿečʿu** flower: Turk. ***čeček**; Jpn. ***tutu(n)si**.

PTurk. ***čeček** 1 flower 2 chicken-pox (1 цветок 2 оспа): OTurk. *čeček* (OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *čeček* (KB) 1; Tur. *čiček* 1, 2; Gag. *čiček* 1, 2; Az. *čičäk* 1, 2; Turkm. *čeček* 1; Sal. *čičex* (ССЯ) 1, 'bud'; MTurk. *čeček* (Sangl.) 1; Uzb. *čečak* 1, 2; Uygh. *čečäk* 1, 2; Krm. *čiček*, *čeček* 1, 2; Tat. *čɛčɛk* 1, 2; Bashk. *säsäk* 2, *säskä* 1; Kirgh. *čeček* 2; *aq čeček* 'a k. of tree', *čečekej* 'crystalline lens'; Kaz. *šešek* 1, 2; KBalk. *čeček* 2; KKalp. *šešek* 2; Kum. *čeček* 1, 2; Nogh. *šešek* 1, *šešekej* 2; SUygh. *čʿužug*; Oyr. *čeček* 1; Chuv. *śeśke* 'flower, leaf'.

◊ VEWT 102, EDT 400-401, Лексика 120. Turk. > Mong. *čečeg*, see TMN 3, 57, Щербак 1997, 112. Kypch. > Chuv. *čeččе*, *čeček* (see Егоров 322, Федотов 2, 408-409); some Turkic forms (Tuva *čeček*, perhaps also Oyr. *čeček* and some of the Kypchak forms) may be borrowed back < Mong.

PJpn. ***tutu(n)si** a k. of rhododendron (вид рододендрона): OJpn. *tutuzi*; MJpn. *tùdùsí*; Tok. *tsutsúji*; Kyo. *tsútsùjì*; Kag. *tsutsúji*.

◊ JLTT 558. Accent reconstruction unclear.

‖ A Turk.-Jpn. isogloss; not quite reliable. Cf. **čʿ[i]čʿV*: one cannot exclude that this is the same expressive root (*'sprout'), with some irregular developments.

✱**čʿegV(nV)** a k. of insect: Tung. ***čegene-**; Mong. ***čeɣV- / *čiɣV-**; Kor. ***čìnə́i**.

PTung. ***čegene-** crayfish (рак): Neg. *čeɣenex*; Ul. *čēni*; Ork. *teinei*; Nan. *čēnī*; Orch. *čeŋei*; Ud. *čendeuxie*.

◊ TMC 2, 419.

PMong. ***čeɣV- / *čiɣV-** 1 locust 2 multiped, wood louse (вид насекомого): MMong. *čəurge* 1 (HY 12); WMong. *čigigči* 2 (L 179); Kh. *čijgč* 2; Bur. *šīgej* 2; Kalm. *čīgən* 2.

◊ The WMong. and modern forms may have been influenced by *čiɣig* ʿwetʼ (semantically cf. Russ. мокрица ʿwood louseʼ < мокрый ʿwetʼ).

PKor. ***čìnói** centipede,multipede (стоножка, многоножка): MKor. *čìnói*; Mod. *čine*.

◊ Liu 681, KED 1527.

‖ The TM and Kor. forms reflect a common *-n-suffixation.

✱**čʿĕkʿà (~ -i̯a-)** to strike fire: Tung. ***či(K)u- (~ -e-)**; Mong. ***čaki-**; Turk. ***č(i)ak-**; Jpn. ***ták-**; Kor. ***čhă̆-**.

PTung. ***či(K)u- (~ -e-)** fire steel (кресало, огниво): Ul. *čiu(n)*; Ork. *ču*; Nan. *čiũ*; Ud. *cui* (arch.) (Корм. 311).

◊ TMC 2, 400.

PMong. ***čaki-** to strike fire (высекать огонь): MMong. *čaqi-* (MA); WMong. *čaki-*, *čakil-* (L 161); Kh. *caxi-*, *caxila-*; Bur. *saxil-*; Kalm. *cak-*, *cakḷ-*, *käkḷ-*; Ord. *ǯakil-* 'to scintillate, glare, lighten'; Mog. ZM *čaqeldour* (19-5b) 'moonshine'; Dag. *čakil-* (Тод. Даг. 180 *čakilgān* 'lightning').

◊ KW 420, 424. Mong. > Evk. *čakêlga*, see Doerfer MT 126.

PTurk. ***č(i)ak-** 1 to strike fire 2 flint, fire steel (1 высекать огонь 2 кремень, огниво): OTurk. *čaq-* (OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *čaq-* (MK) 1; Tur. *čak-* 1; Gag. *čaq-* 1; Az. *čax-* 1; Turkm. *čaq-* 1; Khal. *čaqmaq* 2; MTurk. *čaq-* (Sangl.) 1; Uzb. *čaq-* 1; Uygh. *čaqmaq-taš* 2; Krm. *čaq-* 1; Tat. *čaq-* 1; Bashk. *saɣ-/saq-* 1; Kirgh. *čaq-* 1; KBalk. *čaɣ-/čaq-* 'to produce sparks, shoot from a flint gun'; KKalp. *šaq-* 1; Kum. *čaq-* 'to pull the trigger', *čaqma* 2; Nogh. *šaqpa* 2; SUygh. *ča'q-* 1; Khak. *sax-* 1; Shr. *šaɣɨn* 'spark'; Oyr. *čaq-* 1; Tv. *šaq-* 1; Tof. *ča'q-* 1; Yak. *sax-* 1.

◊ VEWT 95, TMN 3, 80-81, Лексика 373. Kypch. > Chuv. *čakma* 'fire steel', whence > Mari, Udm. (Федотов 2, 387). The verb is usually regarded as one of the meanings of **čak-* 'hit, strike', but the semantics 'strike fire' is attested quite early and allows to use the Turkic material in the Altaic comparison.

PJpn. ***ták-** to burn, put on fire (жечь, зажигать): OJpn. *tak-*; MJpn. *ták-*; Tok. *tàk-*; Kyo. *ták-*; Kag. *ták-*.

◊ JLTT 762.

PKor. ***čhă̆-** flint, silicon (кремень, кремний): MKor. *čhă̆-tòr*; Mod. *čhadol*.

◊ Liu 690, KED 1562.

‖ KW 420, 424, Poppe 26, JOAL 99. Korean has a frequent vowel reduction between a stop and a fricative. Mong. is hardly borrowed from Turk., despite Щербак 1997, 112 (TMN 3, 82: "Onomatopoetica").

✱**čʿèkʿù (~ *čʿi̯okʿe, -k-)** handle: Turk. ***čEkük / *čEküč**; Jpn. ***tùkà**; Kor. ***čhái**.

PTurk. ***čEkük / *čEküč** hammer (молот): Karakh. *čekük* (MK: Oghuz), *čekücč* (IM); Tur. *čekič*; Gag. *čekič*; Az. *čäküč*; Turkm. *čekič*; MTurk. *čekücč*, *čöküč* (Abush., Sangl.); Uzb. *čǫkič* 'hack'; Krm. *cokuc*, *cekic*, *čöküč*; Tat. *čükeč*; Bashk. *sükeš*; KBalk. *čögüč*; Kum. *čöküč*; Nogh. *šökiš*.

◊ VEWT 103, EDT 415. (< Iran., see TMN 3, 85-86?). Despite EDT, hardly derived from *ček-* 'to pull'. The controversy concerning the Iranian origin of the Turkic word vs. the Turkic origin of the Modern Persian one (see Doerfer, Clauson), should be probably resolved as follows: Old Persian (= Av. *cakuš-* 'axe / hammer for throwing') > Pers. *čakuš* 'hammer'; but Pers. *čekoč*, *čekoǯ* are phonetically aberrant (see Horn 99) and should be regarded as Turkisms; Pers. *čekuš* is a mixed form. The source of Pers. *čekoč* is Turk. *čekücč* - a diminutive in -č for the form *čekük*. Turkic forms in -š (Khal. *čäkkuš*, Kirgh. *čöküš*, KKalp. *šökkiš*, possibly also Nogh. *šökiš*, Bashk. *sükeš*) may be iranisms. Turk. > Mong. *čekücč* (see Щербак 1997, 112).

PJpn. ***tùkà** handle (ручка): OJpn. *tuka*; MJpn. *tùkà*; Tok. *tsuká*; Kyo. *tsúkà*; Kag. *tsúka*.

◊ JLTT 554. Tone in Kagoshima is irregular (all other evidence points to **tùkà).*

PKor. ***čhái** whip; handle (кнут; ручка): MKor. *čhái*; Mod. *čhä*, *čhä-č:ik*.

◊ Nam 449, KED 1576.

‖ Korean has a usual vowel loss between a stop and a fricative.

✱**čʿekʿV** part of shoulder close to neck: Mong. ***čekerej**; Turk. ***čekn**.

PMong. ***čekerej** part of breast (close to upper spine) (часть груди (у верхней части позвоночника)): MMong. *čekerei* (SH).

PTurk. ***čekn** part of shoulder between the neck and shoulderblade (часть плеча между шеей и лопаткой): OTurk. *čikin* (OUygh.); Tur. *čekin*, dial. *čeɣin*, *čeɣn*; Az. *čijin*; Turkm. *čigin*; Khal. *čīn*; MTurk. *čikin* (Abush., Sangl.); Chuv. *śan* 'body'.

◊ EDT 415, VEWT 103, Дыбо 129-130, Лексика 238-239 (see there about details of phonetic reconstruction).

‖ Дыбо 308; Дыбо 130-131, Лексика 238-239 (but Evk. *čeke* 'throat, palate' should rather be derived < **šekʿa* q.v.): A Turk.-Mong. isogloss.

✱**čʿēkʿV** a k. of cloth: Tung. ***čeKe**; Mong. ***čegedeg**; Turk. ***čĒk-**; Kor. ***čjə́k-**.

PTung. ***čeKe** 1 upper short clothes 2 velvet (1 короткая верхняя одежда 2 бархат): Man. *čeke* 1, *čekemu* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 419 (other forms: Oroch, Ul., Nan. *čeke* 'velvet' may be borrowed from Manchu).

PMong. ***čegedeg** a k. of cloth, short shirt (вид ткани, короткая рубашка): WMong. *čegedeg* (L 169); Kh. *cegdeg*, *cegēdeg*; Kalm. *cegədeg*; Ord. *čigedek* 'touloupe courte'.

◊ KW 426.

PTurk. ***čĒk-** 1 woven cotton fabric 2 cotton shirt 3 woollen cloth 4 a k. of upper clothes (jacket, trousers, cloak) (1 хлопковая ткань 2 хлопковая рубашка 3 шерстяная ткань 4 вид верхней одежды (куртка, шаровары, плащ)): OTurk. *čekrek* 2 (OUygh. - XIV c.); Karakh. *čekrek* 2 (MK); Tur. *čekmen*, *čäpkän* 4; Turkm. *čäkmen* 'gown'; MTurk. *čekmen* 4, 1 (Pav. C.); Uzb. *čakmɔn* 4; Uygh. *čäkmän* 4; Krm. *cekmen*, *čekmän* 3; Tat. *čikmɛn* 4; Bashk. *säkmän* 4; Kirgh. *čekmen*, *čepken* 3, 4; KBalk. *čepken* 3, 4; Oyr. *čekpen*, *čepken* 3, 4; Tv. *šekpen* 3, 4; Tof. *šekpen* 3.

◊ VEWT 103, EDT 416, 413.

PKor. ***čjə́k-** shirt, coat (рубашка, куртка): MKor. *čjə́k-sàm*; Mod. *čəksam*, *čəgori*.

◊ Nam 425, KED 1418, 1425.

‖ KW 426, SKE 27. A cultural term, but borrowing (either in Mong. < Turk. or in Manchu < Mong.) is hardly possible. The Kor. form is somewhat dubious (tone does not correspond to Turkic; perhaps we should regard it as an old loan < Manchu; if it is not, a reconstruction **čʿējkʿV* is possible). Mong. -g- speaks in favour of PA *-k-, but may be a result of assimilation (before -deg, like **ogo-da-su* < **oko-da-su*), thus (on Korean evidence) more probable is the reconstruction of *kʿ.

✱**čʿepʿà** rag: Mong. ***čoɣu-da-**; Turk. ***čepürek**; Jpn. ***tapai**; Kor. ***čapa- (~ -ă-)**.

PMong. ***čoɣu-da-** strip, long narrow piece (полоска, длинный узкий кусок): WMong. *čoγudasu(n)* (L 195); Kh. *cūdas*.

PTurk. ***čepürek** 1 rag, patch 2 worn, used clothing (1 тряпка, лохмотья 2 изношенная одежда): OTurk. *čopra* (perhaps = *čöpre*) 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *čöpür-čepür* ; *čopra* (~ *čübrä*) 2 (MK); Turkm. *čüprek* 'oakum'; MTurk. (OKypch.) *čüprek* 1 (Houts.); Krm. *čiprek*, *ciprek*, *čüpräk* 1; Tat. *čüpräk* 1; Bashk. *sepräk* 1; Kirgh. *čüpürek*, *čüpürek-čapıraq* 1; KKalp. *šüberek* 1; Kum. *čüpürek* 1; Nogh. *šiberek*, *šüberek* 1; Khak. *sübrek* 1; Shr. *šübürek* 1; Oyr. *čeberek*, *čibirek* 1.

◊ EDT 398, VEWT 118 (confused with **čöp* 'dirt'), Аникин 677. Perhaps (as suggested in EDT 398) connected with Karakh. (MK) *čöpür* 'goat's hair', Chag., Turkm. *čöpür* id.

PJpn. ***tapai** a k. of cloth (made of bast), cloth in general (вид ткани (из лыка), ткань вообще): OJpn. *tape*; MJpn. *tafe*; Tok. *shiro-tae*.

◊ JLTT 537.

PKor. ***čapa- (~ -ă-)** rags, odd ends of paper or cloth (тряпка, лоскутья): Mod. *čabägi*.

◊ KED 1379.

‖ Mong. **čoγu-da-* - with a secondary (usual) labialization < **čaγu-da-*. Cf. also **čʿi̯opʿa*, from which this root is sometimes difficult to distinguish.

✱**čʿépʿu** ulcer, furuncle: Tung. ***čepe**; Mong. ***čijigan**; Turk. ***čīpgan**; Kor. ***čjūpók**.

PTung. ***čepe** ulcer, pustule (лишай, нарыв, прыщ): Evk. *čepe*.

◊ TMC 2, 421. Attested only in Evk., but having reliable external parallels.

PMong. ***čijigan** tumour, albugo (опухоль, бельмо): MMong. *čeiγān* (IM), *čiqan* (MA); WMong. *čijiγan*, *čiqan*; Kh. *čīγan*, *cagān*; Bur. *šīxan*; Kalm. *cagā*, *cagā̄*; Ord. *čagā*.

◊ KW 419.

PTurk. ***čīpgan** 1 furuncle 2 rash, pimple (1 фурункул 2 сыпь, прыщ): Karakh. *čɨbɨqan* (MK) 1; Tur. *čɨban* 1; Gag. *čɨban* 1; Az. *čiban*1, *čivzä* 2; Turkm. *čīban* 1; MTurk. *čɨban* (Sangl.) 1; Uzb. *čipqɔn* 1; Krm. *cɨban*, *čɨban* 1; Tat. *čuwan* 1, *čebi* 'цыпки'; Bashk. *säbärt-* 'обметать губы', *sebeške* 'цыпки'; Kaz. *šɨjqan* 1; Nogh. *šɨjqan*, dial. *šuba* 1; Shr. *šɨbɨγan* 2; Oyr. *čɨbɨtqan*, (dial. - Верб.) *čibiške* 2; Tv. *šiviški* 2; Tof. *šibiški* 2, 1; Chuv. *śъʷban*, *śъʷvan* 1.

◊ VEWT 106, EDT 396, TMN 3, 1151, Егоров 208, Федотов 2, 96. The Kaz. and Nogh. forms may be < Mong. (although they differ semantically).

PKor. ***čjūpók** furuncle, ulcer (нарыв, прыщ): MKor. *čjūpók*; Mod. *čubu-kho* 'red bulbous nose' (= MKor. *čjūpók-kò*).

◊ Nam 436, KED 1498.

‖ Poppe 26 (Turc-Mong). Mong. cannot be borrowed < Turk. In PT a secondary vowel narrowing has occurred (probably **čīpgan* < **čạ̄pɨgan*); otherwise correspondences are quite regular. Note velar suffixation reflected in PT, Mong. and Kor. (PA **čʿēpʿu-ka-*).

✱**čʿera (~ -o)** snow, to freeze: Mong. ***čar**; Turk. ***čar-**.

PMong. ***čar** 1 snow crust 2 to freeze (1 наст, снежная корка 2 замерзать, затвердевать): WMong. *čar* 1, *čarča-* 2 (L 165); Kh. *car* 1, *carca-* 2; Bur. *sarsa-* 2, *sarja* 'tramped snow'; Kalm. *car* 1; Ord. *ʒarča-* 2.

◊ KW 422. Mong. > Oyr. *čarča-* 'to freeze'.

PTurk. ***čar-** 1 snow dust 2 fog (1 пороша 2 туман): Karakh. (MKypch.) *čas* 2; Tur. (dial.) *čars* 2; Tat. *čas* 2 (dial.); Bashk. *sar* 'animal trace on snow'; KBalk. *čars* 2; Kum. *čars* 2; Oyr. dial. (Leb.) *šarša* 1.

◊ Лексика 29, 35. The derivative **čar-s* is somewhat peculiar morphologically and could be a loanword - from the (unattested) Mong. **čar-su(n)* (?).

‖ KW 422. A Turk.-Mong. isogloss.

✱**čʿibe** to twist, turn: Tung. ***čib-**; Mong. ***čüw**; Turk. ***čebir-**.

PTung. ***čib-** to wriggle, roll (извиваться, кататься): Evk. *čiwar-*.

◊ TMC 2, 389. Cf. also Evk. *čepče-* 'to roll; to plait (a string, rope)'. An expressive and isolated root, therefore the PTM reconstruction is dubious.

PMong. ***čüw** ring (кольцо): WMong. *čü* (MXTTT); Kh. *cū̄*; Bur. *süj*.

PTurk. ***čebir-** 1 to twist, turn 2 round (1 крутить, поворачивать 2 круглый): Karakh. *čevür-* 1 (MK); Tur. *čevir-* 1; Gag. *čevir-* 1, *čevrä* 2; Az.

čevir- 1; Turkm. *čövür-* 1; MTurk. *čewür-* 1 (Sangl.); Uygh. *čäbir-* 1; Krm. *civir-*, *čevir-* 1, *civre* 2; KBalk. *čüjür-* 'to tuck', *čüjre* 'contrariwise'; Kum. *čüjür-* 'to wrap'; Nogh. *šüjir-* 'to twiddle a whirligig'; Chuv. *śavar-/śar-* 1, *śavra* 2; Yak. *sebirij-* 'to uncoil (of a twisted rope)'.

◊ VEWT 102, EDT 398, Егоров 201-201, Федотов 2, 80. Despite VEWT, there are no reasons to regard the Chuv. word as a borrowing.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 287. A Western isogloss; Mong. **čüw* < **čiw* with secondary assimilative labialization. The PA nature of the root is somewhat dubious because of its expressive meaning and the isolatedness of Evenki forms.

✱**čʹ[i]čʹV** spout, prick, penis: Tung. ***čiču**; Mong. ***čiči-**; Kor. ***čăči**.

PTung. ***čiču** 1 penis 2 spout (of a tea-pot) (1 penis 2 носик (чайника)): Man. *čočo* 1; Ul. *čịčụ* 1,2; Ork. *tụtụ* 1; Nan. *čịčịqo* 2; Ud. *čičko* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 403.

PMong. ***čiči-** 1 to prick 2 prick, thorn, sprout (1 колоть, прокалывать 2 шип, росток): MMong. *čičigina* 'Krautwurzel' (SH); WMong. *čiči-* 1, *čičigür*, *čičijesü(n)*, *čičiγesü(n)* 2 (L 176); Kh. *čiči-* 1, *čičū̆r* 2; Kalm. *čičə-* 1, *čičū̆r*, *čičēsṇ* 2; Ord. *ǯiči-* 1; Dag. *čiči-* 1 (Тод. Даг. 181).

◊ KW 442.

PKor. ***čăči** penis (penis): Mod. *čāǯi* (orth. *čăči*), *čot* [*čoč*].

◊ KED 1383, 1488.

‖ SKE 25 (Kor.-Tung.). An expressive word with not quite secure vocalic correspondences (cf. also in Turkic: Uzb. *čụčɔq* 'penis' (of a child) = Kirgh. *čüčök* 'острица, брань по поводу детей', Khal. *čučo* 'pee' (in childr. language); cf. also **čʹečʹu* 'flower'.

✱**čʹiju** wet, moisture: Tung. ***čikpa-**; Mong. ***čiγig**; Turk. ***čij-ɨk**; Jpn. ***tuju**; Kor. ***čī-n, *čhuk-**.

PTung. ***čikpa-** 1 wet 2 to become wet, soak (1 мокрый 2 мокнуть): Neg. *čịp-* 2; Ul. *čịqpa* 1; Ork. *čịqpa* ~ *čịpqa* 1; Nan. *čaqpa* 1; Orch. *čippa* 1; Ud. *čipa* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 398. Cf. also Evk. *čīw-* 'to flow, leak' (TMC 2, 389) which could reflect the original **čiju.*

PMong. ***čiγig** moisture (влага): WMong. *čigig* (L 179), *čig*; Kh. *čijg*; Bur. *šīg*; Kalm. *čīg*; Ord. *čīg*; S.-Yugh. *čīg*.

◊ KW 443, MGCD 568.

PTurk. ***čij, *čij-ɨk** 1 wet, soaking, moist 2 dew 3 moisture 4 raw (1 мокрый 2 роса 3 влага, влажный 4 сырой): Karakh. *či/čɨ* 3 (MK), *čɨ-la-* 'to moisten' (MK), *čɨq-* 'to absorb moisture' (MK), *čɨγ-la-n-* 'to be half-cooked' (MK), *čig* 4 (IM); Tur. *čiγ*, *čij* 1, 2; Gag. *čij* 1, 2; Az. *čij* 'raw'; Turkm. *čīg* 1, *čīG* 2; Sal. *čɨx-ču* 2 (ССЯ); Uzb. *čiq* 2 (dial.), *čīγ* 1 (Xɔrazm); Krm. *čɨj*, *cij* 4, *čɨx* 2, 'hoar-frost'; Tat. *čɨq* 2; Bashk. *sej* 4, *ɨsɨq* 2; Kirgh. *čij-ki* 4, *čɨq* 2, 3; Kaz. *šɨq* 2; KBalk. *čij* 4, *čɨq* 2; KKalp. *šɨq* 2; Kum. *čij* 4, *čɨq* 2;

Nogh. *šij* 4, *šiq* 2; Khak. *six* 1, 3; Shr. *šiq* 3, *šiqtiγ* 1; Oyr. *čij* 4, *čiq* 3; Tv. *šiq* 3, 'meadow', *šiqtiγ* 1; Tof. *šiq* 1; Yak. *sīk* 2, 3; Dolg. *hīk* 2.

◊ EDT 393, 406,408, 413, 418, VEWT 107, Лексика 39, Stachowski 106. The actual reflexes are best explained if we postulate an opposition **čij* 'wet, raw' - **čij-ik* 'dew, moisture' (with further contractions). Some forms, however, could be secondarily borrowed from Mong. (see Kal. 34).

PJpn. ***tuju** dew (роса): OJpn. *tuju*; MJpn. *tuju*; Tok. *tsuyu*.

◊ JLTT 558. There is considerable confusion of three words in Japanese: a) RJ *tùjú*, Tokyo *tsúyu*, Kyoto *tsúyú*, Kag. *tsúyu* 'dew'; b) RJ *tújù*, Tokyo *tsúyu*, Kyoto *tsúyù*, Kag. *tsuyú* 'juice'; Tokyo *tsùyu*, *tsúyu*, Kyoto *tsúyú*, Kag. *tsúyu* 'early rainy season'. It seems that there had existed several original words but their dialectal reflexes got hopelessly mixed up.

PKor. ***čī-n, *čhuk-** 1 fluid, liquid, sap 2 be moistened, wet (1 жидкость, сок 2 быть мокрым, влажным): MKor. *čīn* 1, *čhuk-*, *čhùk-čhùk-hă-* 2; Mod. *čīn* 1, *čhuk-*, *čhukčhuk-ha-* 2.

◊ Liu 685, 701, Nam 450, KED 1543, 1635, 1637.

‖ EAS 64, KW 443, Лексика 39. A PA derivative **čʿiju-kʿV* is reflected in PT **čijik* = Mong. *čiγig* = PTM **čik-* = Kor. **čhuk-*. Also here probably Kor. *čhú-m* 'phlegm'. In Japanese (perhaps also in Korean) there is some confusion of this root with **čʿaju* 'resin, tar' q.v.

✱**čʿika (~ -u)** to stamp, ram; stamped path: Tung. ***čiKi-**; Mong. ***čig**; Turk. ***čigir**.

PTung. ***čiKi-** 1 edge, border 2 to go along the shore, come out on the shore 3 stamped snow (1 край, граница 2 идти по берегу, выходить на берег 3 утоптанный снег): Evk. *čiki* (Tomm.); Man. *čikin* 1, *čiki-ra-* 2; Nan. *čiku-le-* 2 (Kur-Urm.).

◊ TMC 2, 389, 391.

PMong. ***čig** 1 to stamp, ram 2 narrow, pressed 3 direction (1 набивать, затыкать 2 узкий, сдавленный 3 направление): WMong. *čigǯi-* 1 (L 180), *čig* 3 (L 178), *čig* 2; Kh. *čigǯ-* 1, *čig* 3; Bur. *šegžǖn* 'набитый (о трубке)', *šeg* 3; Kalm. *čig* 2; Ord. *čig*; Dong. *čiGəi-* 1; Bao. *čiχə-* 1; S.-Yugh. *čiGə-* 1.

◊ MGCD 569, KW 438.

PTurk. ***čigir** 1 to stamp, ram (ground) 2 stamped snow 3 boundary, limit 4 small path (1 топтать, утаптывать (землю) 2 утоптанный снег 3 граница 4 узкая тропа): Karakh. *čiγru-* 1, *čiγir* 4 (MK); Tur. *čiγir* 4, 'coomb, trace of an avalanche'; Turkm. *čiGir* 3; Khal. *čiγir* 'bad road'; MTurk. *čiγir* 'thawed spot' (Sangl.), 'snow stamped by strong wind' (Pav. C.); Uzb. *čijir* 'trace'; Uygh. *čiγir jol* 4; Tat. *čiγir* 3; Kirgh. *čijir*, *čijir* 4; Kaz. *šijir* 'stamped'; KBalk. *čijir-t-* 'to stamp snow, grass'; Tv. *šīr* 2; Tof. *šīr* 'spot on snow or ground with many tracks'.

◊ VEWT 95, 107, EDT 409, 410. Cf. perhaps also PT *čig- 'to draw a line' (VEWT 110). Turk. > Mong. Khalkha *čijr* 'stamped road', Kalm. *čīr* 'eaten and stamped grass' (KW 443).

‖ A Western isogloss. Mong. > Tung. (Evk. *čigǯan*, *čigle-* etc.), see TMC 2, 389 (perhaps also Nan. *ǯiGda-*, TMC 1, 255) - although Evk. *čiki* 'stamped snow' must be genuine.

✱**čʿǐkʿà** bead, treasure: Tung. ***čiku-**; Turk. ***čEk- (~ -i-)**; Jpn. ***tàkàrà**.

PTung. ***čiku-** 1 bead 2 ornament (made of carp's bones) (1 бисер 2 украшение (из костей карпа)): Evk. *čikti* 1; Neg. *čịktị* 1; Ul. *čikukte* 2; Nan. *čiku-kte* (Sch.) 2, *čīči* 1 (Naikh.); Orch. *čixite* 1, *čukčikti* 'beads'.

◊ TMC 2, 392.

PTurk. ***čEk- (~ -i-)** silk bead embroidery (вышивка бисером по шелку): Karakh. *čikin* 'embroidered brocade' (MK); MTurk. *čikin* 'floral designs embroidered in silk' (Sangl.); Tat. *čigen* 'golden embroidery' (R - Kas.); *čig-* 'to embroider'; Bashk. *sige-* 'to embroider'; KBalk. *čij tigiš* 'вышивание гладью'.

◊ EDT 415-416, ДТС 143. Despite Clauson, cannot be < Chin.

PJpn. ***tàkàrà** treasure (сокровище): OJpn. *takara*; MJpn. *tàkàrà*; Tok. *takará*; Kyo. *tákàrà*; Kag. *takará*.

◊ JLTT 538.

‖ An interesting common Altaic cultural term.

✱**čʿǐkʿá** to cut, cutting instrument: Tung. ***čikā-**; Jpn. ***tánkání**.

PTung. ***čikā-** to cut, hack, chop off (отрезать, отрубать, отсекать): Evk. *čikā-*; Evn. *čịqị-*; Neg. *čịxa-*; Man. *čikiri* 'shavings'; Ork. *čike* 'support for cutting, hacking smth.'.

◊ TMC 2, 390, 391.

PJpn. ***tánkání** chisel (долото, резец): OJpn. *tagani*; MJpn. *tágáné*; Tok. *tàgane*; Kyo. *tágáné*; Kag. *tagané*.

◊ JLTT 537 (not mentioning the OJ form). Tone in Kagoshima is aberrant. Already in MJ the word was obviously influenced by *kane* 'metal'.

‖ A Tung.-Jap. isogloss.

✱**čʿïkʿa (~ -o, -u)** to rise, sprout: Tung. ***čiK(i)-**; Mong. ***čiki**; Turk. ***čɨk-**; Kor. ***čhi-**.

PTung. ***čiK(i)-** to sprout (прорастать, подниматься из земли): Evk. *čiki-ltu-*; Man. *čiq-ǯala-*.

◊ TMC 2, 391 (cf. also Man. *čiqte-n* 'stem, stalk', *čiq-si-* 'to ripen, become grown-up').

PMong. ***čiki** 1 sprout 2 to sprout (1 росток 2 прорастать): WMong. *čiki(n)* 1, *čikile-* 2 (L 181); Kh. *čix* 1, *čixle-* 2; Bur. *šexen* 1, *šexer-* 2; Ord. *šiχile-* 2; Mongr. *ćigi* (SM 448) 1.

◊ Homonymous with *čiki(n)* 'ear' - but certainly quite different etymologically.

PTurk. ***čɨk-** to go out, come out (выходить): Karakh. *čɨq-* (MK, KB); Tur. *čɨk-*; Gag. *čɨq-*; Az. *čɨx-*; Turkm. *čɨq-*; MTurk. *čɨq-* (Abush., Sangl.);

Uzb. *čiq-*; Uygh. *čiq-*; Krm. *čɨq-*; Tat. *čɨq-*; Bashk. *sɨq-*; Kirgh. *čɨq-*; Kaz. *šɨɣ-/q-*; KBalk. *čɨɣ-/q-*; KKalp. *šɨɣ-/q-*; Kum. *čɨɣ-/q-*; Nogh. *šɨɣ-/q-*; Khak. *sɨx-*; Shr. *šɨq-*; Oyr. *čɨq-*; Yak. *sɨɣarɨj-* 'to move, be displaced' (?).

◊ EDT 405-406, VEWT 107-108.

PKor. ***čhi-** to raise, rise (поднимать, подниматься): MKor. *čhí-*; Mod. *čhi-*.

◊ Nam 452, Liu 704, KED 1655.

‖ In Kor. - a usual vowel loss between a stop and a fricative; cf. also SKE 48.

✱**čʿikʿò** straw, chaff: Tung. ***čixe-**; Mong. ***čiɣire**; Turk. ***čigit / *čigɨt (~ -k-)**; Jpn. ***təkusa**; Kor. ***čùkɨ́r**.

PTung. ***čixe-** 1 straw; bast 2 stub, broom remains (1 соломинка; лыко 2 пенек, остаток от веника): Man. *čike-ku* 1; Nan. čixin 2 (On.)

◊ TMC 2, 392.

PMong. ***čiɣire** chaff, straw (солома): MMong. *čiji'ulsun* 'matting' (HY 21); WMong. *čigire*, (L 179) *čigirsü(n)*; Kh. *čijrs*.

◊ KW 443. Mong. > Yak. *sigiri* 'мочалка из лыка, стружки'.

PTurk. ***čigit / *čigɨt (~ -k-)** cotton seed(s) (хлопковое семя, семена): Karakh. *čigit* (MK - Argu); Tur. *čɨɣɨt*, *čiɣit* 'seed; freckle'; Az. *čijid*; Turkm. *čigit* 'seed'; MTurk. *čigit* (Sangl., Pav.C); *čɨɣɨt* 'spots on a pregnant woman's face' (Pav. C.); Uzb. *čigit*; Uygh. *čigit*; Kirgh. *čigit*; Kaz. *šijit*; KKalp. *šigit*.

◊ EDT 414, TMN 2, 88, Лексика 116.

PJpn. ***təkusa** a k. of horse-tail (вид хвоща): MJpn. *tòkùsà*; Tok. *tokusá*; Kyo. *tókùsà*; Kag. *tokúsa*.

◊ JLTT 549. Kagoshima reflects **tɔ́kúsá*, but all other forms reflect low tone, probably under double influence of **kùsà* 'grass' and **tùkúsi* 'horse-tail' (q.v.).

PKor. ***čùkɨ́r** chaff (мякина): MKor. *čùkɨ́r*; Mod. *čuk-čəŋi*, *č:uk-čəŋi*.

◊ Liu 670, KED 1505.

‖ Дыбо 10, Лексика 116. In Jpn. it is difficult (but probably necessary) to distinguish the reflex of this root from **čʿi̯ò̯kʿe* 'forage grass' (> Jpn. **tukusi* 'horse-tail') q.v. The Mongolian form also raises problems: it probably reflects a suffixed **čʿikʿrV* with a development -kr- > -ɣVr- (cf. similarly *buɣurčag* < **bŭkrV*, *uɣurga* < **ukʿrukV* / **ukʿurkV*); otherwise -ɣ- is very hard to explain.

✱**čʿĭkʿo (~ -k-)** pivot, bolt: Tung. ***čiKi**; Mong. ***čigta**; Turk. ***čɨkanak**; Jpn. ***tikiri**; Kor. ***čítóri**.

PTung. ***čiKi** pivot (шарнир, петля): Evk. *čiki*; Evn. *čīq*; Neg. *čịx*.

◊ TMC 2, 391.

PMong. ***čigta** lock, bolt (засов, запор): WMong. *čiɣta* (L 178); Kh. *čagt*; Bur. *šagta*; Kalm. *čiktə* 'Leit- oder Halsstrick der Kälber und Füllen'.

◊ KW 439. Mong. > Kirgh. *čɨqta*. Cf. also the common Mong. **čiki(n)* 'linchpin' - formally coinciding with the word for 'ear', which may be a secondary coincidence.

PTurk. ***čɨkanak** lock, pivot (засов, стержень): Tat. *cɨyanak* (Sib.); Bashk. *sɨyanaq*, dial. *sɨyansaq*; Oyr. *čɨyanak*, dial. *čānaq* (Верб.).

◊ Дыбо 171. It is also necessary to note Kaz. *šege*, Kirgh. *čege* 'nail', possibly going back to the same root.

PJpn. ***tikiri** balance beam (коромысло, балансир (весов)): MJpn. *tikiri*; Tok. *chikiri*.

PKor. ***čítóri** pivot, hinge (шарнир, петля): MKor. *čítóri*; Mod. *čidoli*.

◊ Liu 682, KED 1528. The explanation in KED < *čì-* 'carry' + *tòr-* 'turn' is tonally implausible and obviously folk-etymological.

‖ Дыбо 43. Note dental suffixation in Mong. and Kor. (PA **čʿīkʿ(o)-tʿV*).

✱**čʿī́lčʿu** to swell: Tung. ***čilču-**; Mong. ***čulčaji- / *čelčeji- / *čili-**; Turk. ***sīĺč**; Jpn. ***tu(n)si-m-**.

PTung. ***čilču-** swelling, gland (опухоль, железа): Evk. *čilčun*; Man. *čilčin*; SMan. *čiličin* 'wen' (151); Ul. *čulču-kte*; Nan. *čilču-kte*; Ud. *cikci* (Корм. 310).

◊ TMC 2, 394.

PMong. ***čulčaji- / *čelčeji- / *čili-** to swell (пухнуть): WMong. *čulčaji-*, *čulčuji-* (L 206), *čelčeji-*, *čiliji-* (L 183); Kh. *culc-*, *celc-*; Bur. *sulsaj-* 'to be plump (about children)'; Kalm. *culcī-*, *čilī-*; Ord. *ǯulčʷī-* 'to be swollen'.

◊ KW 433, 440. Cf. also Khalkha *colcoŋ* 'nodule'. Mong. > Kirgh. *čulčuj-* etc.

PTurk. ***sīĺč-** 1 to swell 2 swelling, tumour (1 пухнуть 2 опухоль): OTurk. *sɨš-*, *šɨš-* 1, *šiš* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *sɨš* 2, *sɨšɨl-* 1 (MK), *šiš-* 1 (Tefs., IM); Tur. *šiš-* 1, *šiš* 2; Gag. *šiš-* 1, *šiš* 2; Az. *šiš-* 1, *šiš* 2; Turkm. *čīš-* 1, *čīš* 2; Khal. *šɨš-* 1; MTurk. *šiš-* (Sangl.) 1; Uzb. *šiš-(mɔq)* 1, *šiš* 2; Uygh. *išši-(maq)* 1; Krm. *šiš-*, *sis-* 1; Tat. *šeš-* 1; Bashk. *šeš-* 1; Kirgh. *šiši-* 1; Kum. *šiš-* 1; Nogh. *sis-* 1; SUygh. *siz-* 1; Khak. *səs-* 1, *səs* 2, (Qyz.) *čəǯək* 2; Shr. *šiš-* 1, *šiš* 2; Tv. *ɨ'š-* 1; Chuv. *šɨś-* 1; Yak. *is-* 1; Dolg. *is* 2.

◊ VEWT 424, EDT 857, ДТС 524 , Егоров 341, Федотов 2, 467, Stachowski 128-129. Languages display both assimilations and dissimilations (loss) of the first consonant. Loss of length in Yak., Tuva and Tof. is not quite clear (Turkm. clearly demonstrates a long -ī-); if we take into account the Chuv. reflex (-ɨ- corresponding to Common Turkic i/ɨ), we should perhaps reconstruct a PT form **sɨ̄j́lč-* (see Мудрак Дисс. 158).

PJpn. ***tu(n)si-m-** to have discoloration appear on the skin (as in the bruises from a beating) (появляться (о синяках на коже)): MJpn. *tusim-*, *tuzim-*.

‖ EAS 108, KW 440, Poppe 117, Мудрак Дисс. 91, Miller 1970, 129, JOAL 119. In Turkic one has to suppose a dissimilation (**sīĺč* < **čīĺč*; cf. Turkm. *čīš-*, perhaps preserving an archaism). PA **čʿī́lčʿu* may be a par-

tial reduplication, or else have a suffixed *-čʿV (*čʿǐǐlu-čʿV; cf. Mong. *čili-*, perhaps reflecting an original simple stem). A possibility of reconstructing *čʿǐjǐlu-čʿV should be also considered (see above on the Turkic reflexes).

✱**čʿìme** knuckle, cartilage: Tung. ***čīme- (~š-,-ū-)**; Mong. ***čimöge**; Turk. ***čEmirčik**; Kor. ***čəŋk- (< *čəm-k- ?)**.

PTung. ***čīme- (~š-,-ū-)** 1 knee-cap, fat under the knee-cap 2 ankle, huckle-bone (1 коленная чашечка, клейкая масса (в коленном суставе) 2 лодыжка): Evk. *čīmečin* 1; Evn. *čimnēk* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 395.

PMong. ***čimöge** marrow, marrow-bone (костный мозг, мозговая кость): MMong. *čimegan* (HY 48), *čimigän* (MA); WMong. *čimüge(n)*, *čömüge(n)* (L 186, 203); Kh. *čömög*; Bur. *semege(n)*, dial. *šemege(n)*; Kalm. *čimgṇ*; Ord. *čömögö*; Dag. *šimug* (Тод. Даг. 183), *šimehe* (MD 216), *šiməg*; Dong. *čumeGe*; S.-Yugh. *čeŋgən*; Mongr. *ćimuge* (SM 451).

◊ KW 440, MGCD 578. Mong. > Evk. *čēŋa* 'marrow bone'; Yak., Dolg. *čoŋku* 'marrow, marrow bone' (hardly < Evk. *čūkī* 'scull', despite Stachowski 75); cf. Аникин 516.

PTurk. ***čEmirčik** cartilage, gristle (хрящ): Tat. *čəməj* 'knucklebone'; Kirgh. *čemirček* 'хрящ на лопатке и мечевидном отростке'; Kaz. *šemiršek*; KKalp. *šemiršek*; Nogh. *šemiršek*; Oyr. *čamaj* 'cheekbone'.

◊ VEWT 251. Widely spread forms like Chag. *kämirčäk* are probably due to contamination with **kEmük* 'bone' (v. sub **kʿi̯ome).*

PKor. ***čəŋk-** 1 knee 2 shin, shank (1 колено 2 голень): Mod. *čəŋgaŋi*, *čəŋgäŋi* 2.

◊ KED 1450.

‖ Лексика 261.

✱**čʿǐmu** to pinch, pluck (with fingers): Tung. ***č[i]m-**; Mong. ***čim-**; Turk. ***čɨm-**; Jpn. ***túm-**; Kor. ***čum**.

PTung. ***č[i]m-** 1 to grip with claws 2 to pick one's teeth 3 to pinch (1 хватать когтями 2 ковырять в зубах 3 брать щепотку): Evk. *čomdokolō-* 3; Neg. *čimŋet-* 2 (Цинциус 1982); Man. *čamna-* 1; Nan. *čimi-* 'поджать под себя ноги' (On.)

◊ TMC 2, 375, 406. Vocalism is hard to reconstruct: aberrations are probably due to the root's expressive nature.

PMong. ***čim-** 1 to pinch 2 a pinch (1 щипать 2 щипок): WMong. *čimki-*, *čimči-* (L 185) 1; *čim* 2; Kh. *čimxe-* 1; Bur. *šemxe-* 1; Kalm. *čimkə-*, *čimčə-* 1; Ord. *čimke-*; Dag. *čuēk* 2; Bao. *čoŋGə-* 1; S.-Yugh. *čimke* 2; Mongr. *ćiŋgi-* (SM 453) 1; *ćimō-* 'cueillir'.

◊ KW 440, MGCD 571. Mong. > Oyr. *čimči-* etc. (VEWT 111).

PTurk. ***čɨm-** 1 to pinch 2 a pinch, thimbleful (1 щипать, брать щипком 2 щипок, щепотка): Tur. *čimdik*, *čimʒik* 2; Gag. *čimdik* 2; Az. *čimdik-le-* 1, *čimdik* 2; Turkm. *čümmük* 2; MTurk. *čimdi-* 1, *čimdik* 2 (Pav.

C.), (CCum.) *čɨmdɨ-* 1; Uzb. *čim-*, *čimči-*, *čimči-la-*, *čimdi-*, *čimi-t-* 1, *čimdi-m* 2; Uygh. *čimdi-*, *čimqi-* 1, *čɨmdim* 2; Krm. *čimde-* 1, *čimdik* 2, *cɨmda-*, *čɨmda-* 'to bite'; Tat. *čemče-t-*, *čemče-n-* 1, *čemček* 2; Bashk. *semte-* 1, *semte-m* 2; Kirgh. *čɨmčɨ-*, *čɨmčɨ-la-* 1, *čɨmčɨm* 2; Kaz. *šɨmšɨ-*, *šɨmšɨ-la-* 1; KBalk. *čimdi-* 1; KKalp. *šɨmšɨ-*, *šɨmšɨ-la-* 1, *šɨm*, *šɨmšɨm* 2; Nogh. *šɨmtɨ-* 1, *šɨmqɨm* 2; SUygh. *ʒume-* 'to pick out, pull out'; Khak. *čɨmʒɨ-la-* 1, *čɨmčɨx* 2; Shr. *šimči-* 1, *šimčik* 2; Oyr. *čɨmčɨ-* 1, *čɨmčɨ-m* 2; Tv. *šɨmčɨ-* 1, *šɨmčɨm* 2; Tof. *šɨmʒɨ-* 1, *šɨmʒɨm* 2; Chuv. *čəbət-* 1, *čəptəm*, *čəpkəm* 2 (?).

◊ VEWT 108, TMN 3, 99, Егоров 323, Федотов 2, 413. Chuv. *čəbət-* is phonetically strange; it may reflect a secondary denasalization (Мудрак Дисс. 50), but may actually be a trace of a different root, cf. PA **čʿipʿu* or **čʿabo.*

PJpn. ***túm-** to pluck (with fingers) (срывать, хватать (пальцами)): OJpn. *tum-*; MJpn. *túm-*; Tok. *tsùm-*; Kyo. *tsúm-*; Kag. *tsúm-*.

◊ JLTT 775.

PKor. ***čum** fist, handful (кулак, горсть): MKor. *čúm*, *čùmàkúi*; Mod. *čūm*, *čumək*.

◊ Nam 433, 434, KED 1496, 1509. Original tone is not quite clear.

‖ Poppe 26, JOAL 98, АПиПЯЯ 76; TMN 3, 99 ("möglich, daß hier ein Zusammenhang besteht...Jedoch sind die Wörter anscheinend expressiv, daher nicht gut als urverwandt vergleichbar.")

✱**čʿìmu** top, edge: Tung. ***čīme**; Mong. ***čimarkai**; Turk. ***čɨm- / *čum- (*čom-)**; Jpn. ***tuma**.

PTung. ***čīme** 1 top (of tree, mountain) 2 crown, sinciput (1 вершина (дерева, горы) 2 темя): Evk. *čīme* 1; Evn. *čem* 1; Nan. *čimčikẽ* 2 (On.)

◊ TMC 2, 395. Cf. also Evk. *čīmka* 'middle post in the house'.

PMong. ***čimarkai** temple (of head), sides of forehead (висок, стороны лба): WMong. *čimarqai* (L 184); Kh. *čamarxaj*; Bur. *sabirgaj* 'temple, temporal'; Ord. *čimarxã*.

PTurk. ***čɨm- / *čum- (*čom-)** 1 top, upper part 2 staff (with a knob) 3 lump, pompon, knob (1 верхушка 2 палка (с набалдашником) 3 комок, помпон, набалдашник): Karakh. *čomaq* 2; Az. *čomaG* 2; Turkm. *čömmek* 1; Uygh. *čomčak* 1; Chuv. *čъʷmak* 3.

◊ VEWT 115, TMN 2, 94-95, EDT 422. The Chuv. reflex points to *-ɨ-.

PJpn. ***tuma** edge, side, rim; skirt, lap (бок, сторона; подол): OJpn. *tuma*; MJpn. *tuma*; Tok. *tsumá*; Kyo. *tsúmà*; Kag. *tsúmà*.

◊ Accent reconstruction difficult (see JLTT 555).

‖ The root seems reliable, although in Turkic its reflex is rather hard to distinguish from a homonymous reflex of **čʿi̯úmu* 'rounded object'.

✱**čʿimV** a k. of fish: Tung. ***čime**; Mong. ***čima**.

PTung. ***čime** 1 a k. of salmon 2 burbot (1 вид кеты 2 налим): Man. *čima*, *čime* 1; Ul. *čịmada* 'name of a fish', (Sch.) *čêmada* 2; Orch. *čume* 1; Ud. *сита* 'тихоокеанский лосось' (Корм. 312).

◊ TMC 2, 414. Neg. *čêŋan*, Oroch *čīŋen* 'burbot' perhaps reflect a contamination with **siaŋa-n* 'burbot' (v. sub **si̯āŋa).*

PMong. ***čima** a small carp (маленький карп (рыба чам)): WMong. *čima* (L 184); Kh. *čam*.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss, and borrowing in Mong. < TM is not excluded (although the meanings differ); in Turkic cf. perhaps Chuv. *śomga* 'rainbow trout'.

✱**čʿipV** sharp edge, peg: Tung. ***čibuke**; Mong. ***čibe**; Turk. ***čib**.

PTung. ***čibuke** 1 awl 2 through(out) (1 шило 2 насквозь): Evk. *čiwuke* 1; Nan. *či̯oqo* 1; Orch. *čiok-čiok* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 389. The word resembles Mong. *siböge* 'awl', but this is probably fortuitous: *siböge* cannot be borrowed as **čibuke*, and has a separate TM parallel.

PMong. ***čibe** penis (penis): WMong. *čibe* (L 174); Kh. *čiv*; Bur. *šebe* 'мочевой проток (анат.)'; Kalm. *čiwə*, *čiwl̥*.

◊ KW 442, 443.

PTurk. ***čib** 1 nail, peg 2 corner 3 penis 4 fir (1 гвоздь, колышек, чека 2 угол 3 penis 4 хвойное дерево): OTurk. *čɨ/iv* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. (*čiǯ* 1 MK - a miswriting instead **čiv*?); Tur. *čivi* 1; Gag. *čivi* 1; Az. *čiv* 1; Turkm. *čüj* 1; Uzb. *čuv* 1; Uygh. *čüä* 3 (R, by animals), *čivä* 'space between legs above the knees', *čivilän* 'back saddlegirth' (fixed with a wooden peg); Krm. *čüj*, *čüw*, (K) *čivij* 1; Tat. *čöj* 'wedge, cotter'; Bashk. *söj* 1; KBalk. *čüj* 1; KKalp. *šüj* 1; Kum. *čüj* 1; Nogh. *šüj* 1; Oyr. *čiiš* 'wedge'.

◊ VEWT 110, 121, EDT 393-394, 396, Лексика 125, 398. Because of well known semantic correlations of the type 'penis': 'thorn': 'fir (needle)' it is tempting to compare also the name of the fir-tree: Tat. dial. (KCTT) *čivi*, *civi*, Khak. *sɨbi*, Shor *šübe*, Oyr. *čibi* (Tuba *čibi*), Tuva *šivi*, Tof. *šibi*. However, the intermediate form meaning 'thorn' is not attested, and the medial consonant here is rather *-p- (unless we suppose interdialectal loans), so it may be unrelated.

‖ A Western isogloss. Cf. **čʿíp̓a*, **čʿébV*.

✱**čʿíp̓a** branch, sharp branch: Tung. ***čipa-**; Turk. ***čīp**.

PTung. ***čipa-** 1 edge of sledge brake-stick 2 sharp (1 наконечник палки-тормоза для саней 2 острый): Evk. *či̯pan* 1; Neg. *či̯p-či̯p* 2; Nan. *čip* '(to stick into, pierce) deeply' (On.)

◊ TMC 2, 398.

PTurk. ***čīp** branch (ветка): Karakh. *čɨp*, *čɨbɨq* (MK); Tur. *čɨbɨk*, *čubuk*; Gag. *čɨbɨq*; Az. *čubuG*; Turkm. *čībɨq*; MTurk. *čubuq* (Sangl.); Uzb. *čiviq*; Uygh. *čiviq*; Krm. *cɨbuq*, *cubuq*, *čubuq* 'lash'; Tat. *čɨbɨq* [*čɨbɨrqɨ* 'lash']; Bashk. *sɨbɨq*; Kirgh. *čɨbɨq*; Kaz. *šɨbɨq*; KBalk. *čɨbɨq* 'lash'; KKalp. *šɨbɨq*; Kum. *čubuq*; Nogh. *šɨbɨq*; Khak. *sɨmɨx*; Shr. *šɨmɨq*; Oyr. *čɨbɨq*; Tv. *šɨvɨq*; Tof. *šɨbɨq*; Chuv. *čъbъk* 'lash'.

◊ EDT 393, 395, VEWT 106, TMN 3, 1059, Лексика 118-119, Егоров 320, Федотов 2, 403-404. Forms meaning 'lash' reflect a contamination with PT **čĀbik* 'lash' (v. sub **čʹi̯ōbé).*

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss; possible but not very reliable. The root seems to be distinct from **čʹébV* 'branch, staff' and from **čʹípV* 'sharp edge' q.v. - although contaminations were of course possible.

✱**čʹípʹú** to press (with fingers), pinch: Tung. ***čip-**; Jpn. ***túmpə́-m-**; Kor. ***čìp-**.

PTung. ***čip-** 1 to press (with fingers) 2 to squeeze, press 3 to stuff, stick 4 to clutch 5 to pick with a finger (food remnants) 6 to lick (1 сжимать (пальцами) 2 жать, давить 3 набивать, заталкивать 4 хватать, зажимать 5 подбирать пальцем (остатки еды) 6 лизать, облизывать): Evk. *čīpčī-* 3, *čipka-* 2, *čīw-* 6; Evn. *čịpčụ-* 3, *čū-* 6; Neg. *čipixet-* 1, *čịpịxịla-* 2, *čịpčị-* 3, *čịw-* 6; Man. *čibu-* 3; Ul. *čipečі-* 5; Ork. *čịpo-* 5; Nan. *čịp* 'tightly', *sefele-* (Bik.) 4; Orch. *čipči-* 3, *čipopu(n)* 'index finger'; Ud. *čipči-* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 389, 398, 399. Evk. length in some forms is probably expressive or compensatory.

PJpn. ***túmpə́-m-** to stuff, press into (сжимать, сужать): MJpn. *tuboma-*; Tok. *tsùbome-*; Kyo. *tsúbómé-*; Kag. *tsubomé-*.

◊ JLTT 771.

PKor. ***čìp-** 1 to pick up, pinch 2 tongs, tweezers (1 щипать, брать пальцами 2 клещи, щипцы): MKor. *čìp-* 1, *čìpkə́i* 2; Mod. *čip-* 1, *čipke* 2.

◊ Liu 687, KED 1554, 1555.

‖ An Eastern isogloss (but cf. **čʹabo*, with possible contaminations). In Turk. cf. Chuv. *čəbət-* 'to pinch' - possibly reflecting a contamination of the above root with Turk. **čim-* (q.v.).

✱**čʹȉpʹ[ú]** small bird: Tung. ***čipi-**; Mong. ***čuwčali**; Turk. ***čɨpčɨk**; Jpn. ***tùmpá-mái (~ -ia)**; Kor. ***čʲəpì**.

PTung. ***čipi-** 1 a small bird 2 swallow (1 птичка 2 ласточка): Evk. *čipi-čā* 1; Evn. *čịbṛlṛn* 1; Neg. *čịptịja* 1; Man. *čibin* 2; SMan. *čivaqən* 2 (2240); Nan. *čịpịaqo* 2; Ud. *čiwjau* 'sparrow'.

◊ TMC 2, 398. The root is expressive and subject to various irregular changes.

PMong. ***čuwčali** snipe (кулик): WMong. *čuučali* (L 207); Kh. *cūcaĺ*; Bur. *sūsālžan* 'кулик', *sūsagālžan* 'бекас'; Kalm. *čūčḷ* (KPC); Ord. *čūčil-*.

◊ Mong. > Man. *čōčanli, čočori* 'the common snipe' (Rozycki 49).

PTurk. ***čɨpčɨk** sparrow (воробей, мелкая птица): Karakh. (MKypch.) *čapčuq*, *čɨpčɨq* (AH), *šɨpšɨq* (Ettuhf.); Tur. *čimček*, (dial.) *čabčɨk*, *čɨpčɨk*; Turkm. *čɨmčɨq*, dial. *čɨpǯɨq*; MTurk. *čɨpčuq*, *čupčuq* (MA, Abush., Pav. C.), *čimčik* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *čumčuq*; Uygh. *tumučuq*; Krm. *cɨfcɨq*; Tat. *čɨpčɨq*, dial. *čɨpɨj*; Bashk. *säpseq* 'wagtail; (dial.) sparrow', *sɨpqaj* 'утка-поганка'; Kirgh. *čɨmčɨq*; *čimeldirek* (South.) 'a small green bird'; Kaz.

šɨbɨšɨq; KKalp. *šɨmšɨq*; Kum. *ʒimčiq*, dial. *čimčik*; Nogh. *šɨmšɨq*; Shr. *čimčigeš* 'titmouse' (Верб., Upper-Kond.); Oyr. *čibilčik* (dial.) 'a k. of bird' (R, Верб., Kumd.).

◊ VEWT 109, *Лексика* 176. Turk. > Mong. *čirčiqaj* (TMN 3, 123, Щербак 1997, 113).

PJpn. ***tùmpá-mái (~ -ia)** swallow (*ласточка*): OJpn. *tubame*; MJpn. *tubame*; Tok. *tsùbame*; Kyo. *tsùbàmé*; Kag. *tsubamé*.

◊ JLTT 552.

PKor. ***čjəpì** swallow (*ласточка*): MKor. *čjəpì*; Mod. *čēbi*.

◊ Nam 425, KED 1464.

‖ SKE 26 (Tung.-Kor.), АПиПЯЯ 293, *Дыбо* 8, EAS 63, *Лексика* 176-177. The vocalism is not quite certain because of expressive changes (Mong. **čuwčali* may be < **čiɣu-čali*, but -jə- in Kor. is harder to explain). Cf. **sipV*.

✱**čʿĭre** to stink, be rotten: Tung. ***čiri-**; Mong. ***čer**; Turk. ***čẹr**; Kor. ***čiri-**.

PTung. ***čiri-** to stink (вонять, плохо пахнуть): Evk. *čiri-*; Nan. *čịrịftala-* (Bik.).

◊ TMC 2, 399.

PMong. ***čer** 1 phlegm 2 tumour (1 слизь, мокроты 2 опухоль): WMong. *čer*; Kh. *cer* 1; Bur. *ser* 2; Kalm. *cer* 1; Ord. *čir* 1; Dag. *čire* 'dirt, manure'.

◊ KW 427.

PTurk. ***čẹr** 1 bodily heaviness, constipation (euphem.) 2 rotten, foul 3 to rot 4 illness 5 dirt 6 to be sick, ill 7 rot 8 glue 9 anguish, sorrow (1 запор (эвфем.) 2 гнилой, сгнивший 3 гнить 4 болезнь 5 грязь 6 болеть, хворать 7 труха, гниль 8 клей 9 тоска, скорбь): Karakh. *čer* 1 (MK), *čer-le-n-* 'to be constipated; to suppurate (of eyes)' (MK); Tur. *čer* 4, *čirk* 5, *čiriš* 'flour paste'; Gag. *čiriš* 8; Az. *čär* 'horse's heart attack', *čärlä-* 6, *čirk* 5; Turkm. *čirk* '(dirty) spot; insult', *čerrik* 'illness (of cattle)'; MTurk. *čir* 'tumeur, clou', *čire-* 'se dégoûter'; Uzb. *čiri-* 3, *čirik* 2, *čirk* 'snuff; hardened wheel ointment'; Uygh. *čiri-* 3, *čirik* 2; Krm. *ciri-*, *čiri-* 3, *cirik*, *čirik* 2, *čiriš* 8; Tat. *čir* 4, *čirlä-* 4, *čere-* 3, *čerek* 7; Bashk. *sir* 4, sere- 3, *serek* 2; Kirgh. *čer* 9, 'hard tumour', *čerle-* 'to be anguished', *čiri-* 3, *čirik* 2, *čirenč* 8; Kaz. *šer* 4, 9, *širi-* 3, *širik* 2; KBalk. *čiri-* 3, *čirik* 2; KKalp. *šer* 9, *šir-* 3, *širik* 2, *širiš* 'slime'; Kum. *čer* 4, 9, *čiri-* 3, *čirik* 2, *čirkew* 'maggots in rotten food'; Nogh. *šer* 4, *širi-* 3, *širik* 2; Oyr. *čiri-* 3, *čirik* 2; Chuv. *čir*, dial. *čẹr* 4, *śər-* 3, 6, *śərək* 2.

◊ VEWT 105, EDT 427, 430, TMN 1077, Егоров 211-212, 326, Федотов 2,111-112, 420. As Doerfer notes, Turkic forms of the type *čirkin* 'dirty, nasty, ugly' (Chag., Tur., Gag., Tat., Uzb.) are rather borrowed from Persian *čirkin* (which itself is derived from *čirk*, borrowed < Turkic).

PKor. ***čiri-** to be foul, emit a foul odour (плохо пахнуть): Mod. *čiri-*.

◊ KED 1531.

‖ EAS 63, SKE 35, ОСНЯ 1, 207.

✱**čʹire** to cut, scrape: Tung. ***čire-**; Turk. ***čert-**.

PTung. ***čire-** to scrape off (сцарапать, содрать): Evk. *čir-čī-*; Nan. *čīre* '(to cut smth.) across' (On.)

◊ TMC 2, 400.

PTurk. ***čert-** 1 to cut (off edges), make notches 2 to click 3 to pinch 4 to pinch (a musical instrument) (1 обрезать (края), делать зарубки 2 щелкать 3 щипать 4 играть на щипковом инструменте): Karakh. *čert-* 1 (MK); Az. *čärt-* 1, 2; Turkm. *čirt-* 1, 3; Khal. *čirt-* 2; Uzb. *čert-* 2, 4; Tat. *čirt-* 2, 3, *čärdäk-lä-* 'to hew'; Bashk. *sirt-* 2, 3; Kirgh. *čert-* 2, 4; Kaz. *šert-* 2, 4; KBalk. *čert-* 'to mark'; KKalp. *šert-* 2, 4; Kum. *čert-* 1, 2, 4; Nogh. *šert-* 2, 3, 4; Khak. *sirte-* 2; Shr. *širte-* 2; Oyr. *čert-* 1, 2; Chuv. *śart* 'a dent for inserting bottom into banded vessels'.

◊ VEWT 105, EDT 428, Федотов 2, 87-88. The semantic development here is 'to make notches, indents' > 'break the edge', 'pinch' (whence 'to click with fingers') - not onomatopoetic, as suggested by Clauson.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss. Not quite reliable because of scarce attestation in TM.

✱**čʹiŕV** to drag, draw: Mong. ***čir-**; Turk. ***čiŕ-**.

PMong. ***čir-** to drag, pull (тащить, тянуть): WMong. *čir-* (L 191); Kh. *čire-*; Bur. *šere-*; Kalm. *čir-*; Ord. *čir-/šir-*; Dag. *šoro-* (Тод. Даг. 184), *šore-* (MD 218); Bao. *čirgə-*; S.-Yugh. *čirGa-*, *čerGa-*.

◊ KW 442, MGCD 563, 572. Mong. *čir-γa* 'sleigh' > Dolg. *hirga, sirga,* see Stachowski 119.

PTurk. ***čiŕ-** to draw (чертить): OTurk. *či/iz-* (OUygh.); Tur. *čiz-*; Gag. *čiz-*; Az. *čiz-*; Turkm. *čiz-*; Khal. *či/ɨz-*; MTurk. *čiz-*, *siz-* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *čiz-(mɔq)*; Uygh. *siz-(maq)*; Krm. *ciz-*, *čiz-*; Tat. *siz-*; Bashk. *hiδ-*; Kirgh. *čiz-*, *siz-*; Kaz. *siz-*; KBalk. *siz-*; KKalp. *siz-*; Kum. *siz-*; Nogh. *siz-*; Khak. *siz-ir-* 'to scrape, plane'; Chuv. *čər-* 'to draw, scrape, tear'.

◊ VEWT 112, EDT 432, Егоров 323, Федотов 2, 413-414. . The variant **siŕ-* is probably due to assimilation.

‖ A Turk.-Mong. isogloss; not quite reliable, since the Mong. word can also belong to **či̯uru* q.v.

✱**čʹi̯abo (~ *čʹi̯obe)** foam, bubble: Tung. ***čobī- (~ š-)**; Mong. ***čeγer**.

PTung. ***čobī- (~ š-)** 1 foam 2 saliva 3 to sprinkle (1 пена 2 слюна 3 прыскать): Evk. *čowī-ksa* 1,2; Evn. *čoγlị* 1; Neg. *čoxsa* 1, 2.

◊ TMC 2, 402.

PMong. ***čeγer** 1 foam or scum 2 bubble (1 накипь 2 пузырь): WMong. *čeger* 1 (L 169); Kh. *cēr* 1, *cevrū̄* 2; Bur. *seberū̄* 2.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**čʹi̯abVkʹV** oyster, shell: Tung. ***čiabikta**; Kor. ***čjòkài**.

PTung. ***čiabikta** shell (раковина): Evk. *čêwɨka* (Il.); Neg. *čōkta*; Ul. *čoiqta*; Ork. *toiqta*; Nan. *čoiqta*; Orch. *čojikta*.

◊ TMC 2, 387, 404.

PKor. ***čjòkài** oyster, shell, clam (моллюск, раковина): MKor. *čjòkài*; Mod. *čogä*.

◊ Nam 432, KED 1469.

‖ A Tung.-Kor. isogloss.

✱**čʹi̯aga** cold, frozen snow: Tung. ***čiaga**; Mong. ***ča(g)-su**; Kor. ***čhǎ-**.

PTung. ***čiaga** 1 frozen snow 2 to become frozen (of snow) (1 наст 2 образовываться (о насте)): Evk. *čēγa* 1; Evn. *čaqaj* 1; Man. *čaq-ǯa-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 387.

PMong. ***ča(g)-su** snow (снег): MMong. *časun* (HY 1, SH), *čāson* (IM), *časun* (MA); WMong. *času(n)* (L 166); Kh. *cas(an)*; Bur. *saha(n)*; Kalm. *casn̥*; Ord. *ǯasu*; Mog. *čōsun*; ZM *čɔ̄ϑun* (19-9a); Dag. *čas* (Тод. Даг. 180), *čase* (MD 128); Dong. *časun*, *ǯansun*; Bao. *časoŋ*, *čabsoŋ* (Tungren); S.-Yugh. *čekseu* (MGCD *ǯasən*), *čeksen* (Sichuan); Mongr. *ćasə* (SM 444), *čaxsə* (Minghe).

◊ KW 423, MGCD 564.

PKor. ***čhǎ-** cold (холодный): MKor. *čhǎ-*; Mod. *čha-*.

◊ Nam 447, KED 1561.

‖ Kor. *čhiw-* 'cold' is a secondary derivation from *čhǎ-*. Mong. *ča-sun* may actually reflect a contamination with **čar-sun*, cf. **čar* 'crust (of snow), наст' (see **čʹera*); Southern Mongolian languages seem, however, to preserve traces of a velar **čag-su*.

✱**čʹi̯ākʹe** time: Tung. ***čiK-**; Mong. ***čag**; Turk. ***čiāk**; Jpn. ***tə̀kì**; Kor. ***čək**.

PTung. ***čiK-** grown-up (возмужалый, совершеннолетний (о мужчине от 30 до 40 лет)): Man. *čiqsin*.

◊ TMC 2, 392. Attested only in Manchu, but quite possibly going back to the Altaic root for 'time' (*'timely' > 'grown-up').

PMong. ***čag** time (время): MMong. *čax* (HY 5, SH), *čaq* (MA); WMong. *čaγ* (L 156); Kh. *cag*; Bur. *sag, segēn*; Kalm. *cag*; Ord. *čag*; Dag. *čag(i)* (Тод. Даг. 180); Dong. *ča*; S.-Yugh. *čeg*; Mongr. *čaG*.

◊ KW 419, MGCD 556.

PTurk. ***čiāk** 1 time, measure 2 precisely, exactly (1 время, пора 2 точно, впору): OTurk. *čaq* 1, 2 (late OUygh.); Karakh. *čaq* 2 (MK); Tur. *čaγ* 1; Gag. *čāq*, *čaq* 'up to'; Az. *čaγ* 1; Turkm. *čāG* 1; MTurk. (OKypch.) *čaq* 'when (conj.)'; Uzb. *čɔq* 1, *čɔqum* 'certainly'; Uygh. *čaq* 2; Krm. *čaγ* (K), *caq* (H) 1; Tat. *čaq* 1, 2; Bashk. *saq* 1, 2; Kirgh. *čaq* 1, 2; Kaz. *šaq* 1, 2; KBalk. *čaq* 1, *čaq-lɨ* 'this much'; KKalp. *šaq* 1, 2; Kum. *čaq* 1, 2; Nogh. *šaq* 1, *šaq-lɨ* 'this much'; Khak. *sax* 2; Oyr. *čaq* 1; Tv. *šaq* 1, 2; Chuv. *čox* 1;

Yak. *sax* 1, *saɣa* 'about (the time when, the size of)'; Dolg. *haga* 'about (the time when, the size of)'; *sagɨna* 'while'.

◊ VEWT 95, Егоров 327, Лексика 67, EDT 404, ДТС 139, Федотов 2, 425, Stachowski 92-93, 208. Forms like Chag. *čaɣ*, Uygh. *čaɣ* or Tof. *šaɣ* 'time' are borrowed < Mong., but this cannot be assumed for most other forms quoted above.

PJpn. ***tə̀kì** time (время): OJpn. *tokji*; MJpn. *tòkì*; Tok. *tokí*; Kyo. *tókì*; Kag. *tokí*.

◊ JLTT 548.

PKor. ***čək** time (время): MKor. *čək*; Mod. *čək*.

◊ Nam 422, KED 1423.

‖ EAS 64, KW 419, Poppe 26, Martin 244, Menges 1984, 266, АПиПЯЯ 76. Jpn. tone is irregular; it may be, however, due to an influence of another root (cf. **čekʿa*, OJ *toko* 'always, eternally' /accent unknown/). Mong. *čag* may be < Turk. (see TMN 3, 27-28, Щербак 1997, 112), but may as well be genuine. The Kor. reflex is quite regular (the attested *čək* is just an orthographic variant of the expected **čjək*), despite Doerfer's doubts in TMN ibid.

✸**čʿi̯ā́kʿe (~ -u)** small: Mong. ***čaka**; Turk. ***čĀka**; Kor. ***čjāk-, *čjə̄k-**.

PMong. ***čaka** new-born child (новорожденный ребенок): MMong. *čaxun* (~ *ajaqa*) 'small cup, pan' (HY 19); WMong. *čaqa* (L 166); Kh. *cax*; Ord. *ǯaxa* 'inheritor'.

◊ Mong. > Tuva *čaɣa* 'bear cub' (Менгес 1979, 170).

PTurk. ***čĀka** new-born child (новорожденный ребенок, детеныш): Tur. *čaɣa* (dial.); *čaɣa* 'young of birds' (Old Osm. XIV c.); Az. *čaɣa*; Turkm. *čāGa*; MTurk. *čaqa* (Pav. C.), (Xwar.) *čaqa* 'young of birds' (Фазылов 2, 511); Uzb. *čaqalɔq*, (Tashk.) *čaqa*; Uygh. *bala-čaqa* 'children' (dial.); Tat. *čaɣa*; Kirgh. *bala-čaqa* 'children'; Kaz. *qɨzɨl šaqa* 'quite naked (of young of animals)'; KKalp. *qɨzɨl šaqa* 'quite naked (of young of animals)'; Nogh. *bala-šaɣa* 'children'.

◊ VEWT 96, Менгес 1979, 170.

PKor. ***čjāk-, *čjə̄k-** small (маленький): MKor. *čjāk-*, *čjə̄k-*; Mod. *čak-*.

◊ Nam 419, 425, KED 1386.

‖ SKE 20, EAS 64. Turkic forms are attested late and can be < Mong.; however, Turkm. *čāGa* with a long vowel is hard to explain as a loan. On the other hand, cf. Karakh. *čekün* 'young of marmot' (EDT 415), Evk. *čekše* 'tarbagan': if these words are related, the PA reconstruction should be changed to **čʿekʿa*.

✸**čʿ[i̯a]kʿi** temple; ear: Tung. ***čaKar**; Mong. ***čiki**; Turk. ***čẹke**; Kor. ***čăkami**.

PTung. ***čaKar** temple; eyelid (висок; веко): Evk. *čakar*; Evn. *čaqarba*.

◊ TMC 2, 378. Occasional forms with -o- (Evk. dial. *čōkawran*, *čokomī*, Evn. *čoqṛrron*) may actually reflect PA **čʿòkʿe* q.v.

PMong. ***čiki** ear (ухо): MMong. *čikin* (HY 45, SH), *ček[ä]n* (IM), *čiqin* (MA); WMong. *čike*, *čiki(n)* (L 181); Kh. *čix(en)*; Bur. *šexe(n)*; Kalm. *čikṇ*; Ord. *ʒike(n)*; Mog. *čekin*, *čikin*; ZM *čeqin* (2-1b); Dag. *čiki* (Тод. Даг. 181, MD 129); Dong. *čəqeŋ*, *čəGən*, *čɨGɨn*; Bao. *čixaŋ*, *čixoŋ*; S.-Yugh. *čəGən*, *čiGən*; Mongr. *ćigi* (SM 448).

◊ KW 439, MGCD 573.

PTurk. ***čẹke** 1 temple 2 cheekbone (1 висок 2 скула): Karakh. (MKypch.) *čeke* 1 (At-Tuhf.); Turkm. *čekge* 1, 2; MTurk. *čeke* 'back of head' (Vamb.); Uzb. *čakka* 1, 2; Uygh. *čekä* 1; Krm. *čege* 1; Tat. *čigɛ* 1; Bashk. *sikä* 1; Kirgh. *čeke* 1; Kaz. *šeke* 1; KKalp. *šeke* 1; Kum. *čeke* 1; Nogh. *šeke* 1; Chuv. *čigə* 1.

◊ VEWT 103, TMN 3, 87f, Егоров 326, Лексика 203. Despite the lack of ancient attestation, the root is evidently archaic.

PKor. ***čăkami** chin of helmet (подбородок шлема): MKor. *čăkami*; Mod. *čagämi*.

◊ Nam 412, Liu 631.

‖ KW 439, Poppe 55, АПиПЯЯ 294 (without the Tung. form), Дыбо 4, Лексика 203. The vocalism is not quite certain: a reconstruction of *-i̯a- is possible if we admit a secondary monophthongization **či̯a-* > **ča-* in PTM.

✱**čʿi̯ale** to spread, open wide: Tung. ***čildi-**; Mong. ***čala-**.

PTung. ***čildi-** 1 to spread, open wide 2 become wider (of footwear) (1 расширяться, широко раскрываться 2 разнашиваться (об обуви)): Evk. *čildi-* 1; Evn. *čịldụm-* 2; Nan. *čildin-* 'прибывать (о воде)' (On.)

◊ TMC 2, 393. The Nan. meaning reflects a contamination with čilqa- < *tilka- q.v.

PMong. ***čala-** to open wide, have a wide opening (широко раскрываться): WMong. *čalaji-* (L 162); Kh. *calaj-*; Bur. *salū* 'spacious'; Kalm. *calā̆-*; Ord. *čalā̆-*.

◊ KW 420.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**čʿi̯ālu (~ *čʿi̯ōla)** to talk nonsense, babble: Tung. ***čōlī-**; Mong. ***čal-**; Turk. ***čAl-**.

PTung. ***čōlī-** 1 to gossip, prattle, babble 2 tongue (1 болтать, пустословить, лепетать 2 язык): Evk. *čōlī-* 1, *čōlī* 2; Neg. *čōlị-* 1; Nan. *čolči-* (On.) 1.

◊ TMC 2, 405.

PMong. ***čal-** to talk nonsense, blab (говорить чепуху, болтать): WMong. *čalči-* (L 162); Kh. *čalči-*; Bur. *šali-*, *šalšaran* 'lisping'; *šalšagana-* 'to talk nonsense'; Kalm. *čälčə-*; Ord. *ʒalči-*; Dag. *čolči-*.

◊ KW 438, MGCD 561.

PTurk. ***čAl-** 1 noisy, talkative man 2 blasphemy (1 болтун, болтовня 2 богохульство): OTurk. *čo/ulvu* (OUygh.) 2; Karakh. *čalaŋ* 1 (MK).

◊ EDT 418, 420.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**čʿi̯álV** a k. of thorny plant: Tung. ***čil-**; Mong. ***čulkir**; Turk. ***č(i)ali-**; Jpn. ***tára**.

PTung. ***čil-** 1 growth, bushes 2 a k. of tree with red bark (1 растительность, кусты 2 вид дерева (краснокорый лозняк)): Evn. *čị̄ldụqa* 1; Man. *čolχo* mō 2.

◊ TMC 2, 393, 405.

PMong. ***čulkir** a k. of plant (кумарчик гобийский): WMong. *čulkir* (MXTTT); Kh. *culxir*.

PTurk. ***č(i)ali-(gan)** 1 bush, shrub 2 nettle 3 thorn (1 куст 2 крапива 3 колючка): Tur. *čalɨ* 1; Gag. *čalɨ* 'blackthorn; thorn'; Az. *čalɨ* 1; Turkm. *čalɨ* 'солянка кустарниковая'; Khal. *čalu* 'eine Pflanze zum Verbrennen'; MTurk. *čalaɣan* 2 (R - Vam.); Uzb. *čalɔw* 'ковыль волосистый'; Kirgh. *čalqan* 2; Shr. *šalɣɨn*, (R) *šalɣanaq* 2; Oyr. *čalqančaq* 2.

◊ VEWT 97, Лексика 110. Clauson (EDT 420) relates here OT (MK) *čalqan* 'spread of an injury' which is not quite probable (rather a derivative from the polysemic *čal-).*

PJpn. ***tára** a k. of plant, Aralia manchurica (japonica) (вид растения, аралия): OJpn. *tara*; MJpn. *tára*; Tok. *tara(noki*).

◊ JLTT 542.

‖ The root denotes a wild plant, probably thorny; the vocalic reconstruction is not quite certain. In TM one would expect a **čial-*, but the diphthong may have been distorted in a long form with initial affricate; Mong. **čulukir* may similarly represent a later assimilation < **čalu-kir*. In that case one could reconstruct **čʿi̯ála*.

✱**čʿi̯aŋu (~ *čʿi̯oŋe)** a sharp bone, sharp instrument: Tung. ***čoŋkī-**; Turk. ***čeŋe**; Kor. ***čəŋ (~ *čjəŋ)**.

PTung. ***čoŋkī-** 1 to peck 2 pecking, beak (1 клевать 2 клевание, клюв): Evk. *čoŋkī-* 1, *čoŋkī* 2; Evn. *čoŋqṭ-* 1, *čoŋqṭn* 2; Neg. *čoŋkị-* 1, *čoŋkị̄* 2; Man. *čoŋgi-*, *čoŋki-* 1; Nan. *čoŋkị-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 407.

PTurk. ***čeŋe** jaw (челюсть): Gag. *čenä*; Az. *čänä*; Turkm. *čene* (dial.); Khal. *čänä*; MTurk. *čaŋa*, *čeŋe* (Pav. C., AH); Krm. *ceŋge*; Kum. *čene*; Yak. *seŋie*.

◊ Лексика 220. Despite Буд. 1, 483-484, D-T 98 the Pers. *čānah* 'lower jaw' cannot be the source of Turkic forms; it does not have any Iranian etymology and is itself most likely a Turkism.

PKor. ***čəŋ (~ *čjəŋ)** chisel (зубило): Mod. *čəŋ*.

◊ KED 1450.

‖ It is also tempting to compare PJ **tùnuá* 'horn'.

✱**č´i̯apa** groin, hip: Tung. ***čiabu-**; Mong. ***čabi**.

PTung. ***čiabu-** 1 thigh, hip 2 buttock (1 бедро 2 ягодица): Ul. *čiwu* 1; Nan. *čêokị* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 389.

PMong. ***čabi** groin (пах): WMong. *čabi* (L 155); Kh. *caú*; Kalm. *cävə*; Ord. *cawi*.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss. Not quite secure: the TM forms can be alternatively derived from **čiKü-ki*, a diminutive of **čiKi* (**čiKü*) 'pivot' (q. v. sub **č´ȉk´o*); cf. with the same anatomical meaning Ewk. *čiki*, Ewn. *čīq*, Neg. *čịx*, Ud. *cigi* (TMC 2, 391, Корм. 310). For this etymological direction see Дыбо 1988, p. 120.

✱**č´i̯ȍk´e (~ -k-)** grass, weed: Tung. ***čūKa**; Turk. ***čekin**; Jpn. ***tùkúsi**; Kor. ***soksăi**.

PTung. ***čūKa** grass (трава): Evk. *čūka*; Evn. *čūk*; Neg. *čōxa*; Sol. *čuka*.

◊ TMC 2, 411.

PTurk. ***čekin** different weed kinds (различные виды сорных трав): Karakh. *čikin* / *čekin* 'a plant growing among the vines and eaten by cattle' (MK); MTurk. *čekin* 'greens, grass; a weed on rice fields, with black seeds and sharp awns' (Pav. C., Sangl.), *čekil-dam* 'tulip bulb; a root similar to wild garlic' (Pav. C., for *dam* cf. Uzb. *dam* 'pungency, bitterness' < Pers.); Uzb. *čakalak* 'bush thicket' (or perhaps to PT **čEke-t*?); Tat. *čɛkɛn* 'corn cob' (< Chuv.?); Bashk. *sɛkɛn* 'corn cob' (< Chuv.?); Kirgh. *čeken* 'рогоз широколистый'; KKalp. *šigin* 'weed growing on rice fields, куриное просо', *šigildik* 'reed'; Khak. *səgen* 'dry grass'; Chuv. *čakan* 'reedmace'.

◊ VEWT 111, EDT 415, Рас. ФиЛ 277, Егоров 316. Chuv. *čakan*, despite Дмитриева 1997, 52-53 and Rona-Tas, is not connected with **jeken* 'reed' (v. sub **dék´à*). Cf. other grass names: Chuv. *čiken kurъkə* 'geranium' (according to Ашм., grass helping from colics - Дмитриева 1997, 56); *śikka kurъkə* 'camomile' (according to Ашм. it hosts a plantlouse, to summon which the children say "śikka!" - Дмитриева 1988,51); Uygh. *čigä* 'plant fibre, wild hemp (VEWT), Yak. *sige* 'тальниковые стружки, лыко'. Tuva *sigen* 'hay' (Tuva), (Tof. 'grass') has an irregular s-, so perhaps should be regarded as borrowed from Khak.

PJpn. ***tùkúsi** horse-tail (хвощ): Tok. *tsùkushi*; Kyo. *tsùkúshì*; Kag. *tsukushí*.

PKor. ***sok-** horse-tail (хвощ): MKor. *soksai*, *soksăi*; Mod. *soksä*.

◊ Liu 464, KED 983.

‖ Mong. *čike-n* in names of plants may be a merger of this root and **č´ik´a* q.v. Kor. *soksăi* 'horse-tail' is hard to separate from Jpn. *tukusi* id.; most probably we are dealing with an assimilation here (*soksăi* < **čoksăi*).

✱**čʹi̯ŏkʹó** to agree, confirm: Tung. ***čixa**; Mong. ***čoku-**; Turk. ***čok-**; Jpn. ***tǝ̀nká-**.

PTung. ***čixa** 1 will, wish, agreement 2 to agree, to wish (1 воля, желание, согласие 2 соглашаться, желать): Man. *čiχa* 1, *čiχala-* 2; SMan. *čihalə-* 'to be fond of, like to' (1890); Ul. *tiχala-* 2; Nan. *čiχala-* 2; Orch. *čixala-* 2; Ud. *čāla-*, *čahala-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 390-391.

PMong. ***čoku-** to agree, confirm (соглашаться, подтверждать): WMong. *čoqu-* (L 199); Kh. *coxo-*; Bur. *soxom* (adverb); Ord. *ǯuxum* 'vrai'.

PTurk. ***čok-** 1 to pray 2 to sacrifice 3 to baptize 4 to worship 5 bailment, pledge (1 молиться 2 приносить жертву 3 креститься 4 поклоняться 5 порука, поручительство): Turkm. *čoqun-* 3; Uzb. *čǫqin-* 3, 1 (disapprovingly), 4; Uygh. *čoqun-* 3; Tat. *čuqɨn-* 3; Bashk. *suqɨn-* 3; Kirgh. *čoqun-* 3, 4; KKalp. *šoqɨn-* 3; Kum. *čoqun-* 3; Nogh. *šoqɨn-* 3; SUygh. *čoq et-* 1 (ЯЖУ); Khak. *čoɣɨn-* 1 (Sag.- R 2, 2014); Shr. *šoqta-* 'to besprinkle idols with an exclmation šoq!' R 4, 1024); Oyr. *čoɣɨr-* 2 (Lebed. R 3, 2014), *čoqto-* 'to besprinkle idols with an exclamation čoq!' (R 3, 2009); Chuv. *śъk* 5.

◊ VEWT 113-114, Егоров 328, Федотов 2, 426-427. Räsänen's attempt to explain the verb as "baptism through immersion" (linking Kypch. *čoqur* 'pit' and Taranchi *čoqur-* 'to sink' (R 3, 2007) appears unconvincing. The former word is derived from *čok-* 'to delve', and the latter should be corrected to *čökür-* according to more modern sources. The semantic transfer of a pagan ceremony to the Christian one seems quite natural in an islamicized society. The same root may be represented by the exclamation (made during a libation), Oyr. *čoq*!, Shor *šoq*!, and further - the approbatory exclamation Kirgh. *čok*!, Kaz. *šoq*! etc. Quite unlikely is the hypothesis of a loan from Hebrew (Y. Malov, quoted in Федотов). In fact, the meaning in Chuv. ('pledge') and the external parallels suggest that the religious component in the meaning of **čok-* is relatively late (having evolved after the separation of Bulgars): 'pledge' > 'sacrifice' > 'praying' > 'baptizing'. Turk. > Hung. *csök* 'sacrifice', see Gombocz 1912.

PJpn. ***tǝ̀nká-** to commit, fulfil, come to an agreement (совершать, достигать, приходить к соглашению): OJpn. *t(w)oga-*; MJpn. *tògá-*; Tok. *togé-*; Kyo. *togé-*.

◊ JLTT 769. Accent in Kagoshima is aberrant.

‖ A good common Altaic verbal root.

✱**čʹi̯ŏli (~ -e, *čʹi̯ā́lo)** grey, light: Tung. ***čolka**; Mong. ***čil- / *čel-**; Turk. ***čĀl**.

PTung. ***čolka** grey, white (of hair) (седой): Evk. *čolko*; Neg. *čolko*.

◊ TMC 2, 405. Cf. also **čul-* 'green, blue'.

PMong. ***čil- / *čel** 1 albino 2 clear, cloudless (1 альбинос 2 ясный, безоблачный): WMong. *čilbaŋ* 1 (L 182), *čil*, *čel* 2 (DO 703), *čilge-* 2; Kh. *čalbaŋ*, *čil*; Bur. *šalgar* 2; Kalm. *cel*, *čilgṛ* 2; Ord. *čilbaŋ* 1, *čil* 2.

◊ KW 426, 440.

PTurk. ***čĀl** grey, grey-headed (серый, седой): Karakh. *čal* (MK, KB); Tur. *čal*; Az. *čal*; Turkm. *čāl*; MTurk. *čal* 'having grey hair amid black hair' (Abush., Sangl.); Uzb. *čɔl* 'old man'; Krm. *čal*; Tat. *čal* 'grey hair'; Bashk. *sal*; Kirgh. *čal*; Kaz. *šal* 'old man'; KBalk. *čal*; KKalp. *šal*; Kum. *čal*; Nogh. *šal*; Khak. *čal*; Oyr. *čal*; Yak. *sālɨr* 'light-bay (horse); pepper-and-salt (hair)'.

◊ EDT 417, VEWT 96, TMN 2, 31, Аникин 640. Turk. > WMong. *čal*, Kalm. *cal*, Khalkha *cal būral* 'grey-haired, roan'; Russ. *чалый*.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**čʿi̯ŏl[m]i (~ -e, *čʿi̯ăl[m]o)** to hobble, tether: Tung. ***čulupkī-**; Mong. ***čilbur**; Turk. ***č(i)al-, *č(i)alma**.

PTung. ***čulupkī-** 1 to hobble (a dog) 2 dog-collar (1 привязывать (собаку) 2 собачий ошейник): Evk. *čulupkī-* 1, *čulupkīwun* 2; Evn. *čölipkin* 1, *čölipkin-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 413.

PMong. ***čilbur** bridle (уздечка): MMong. *čilbur* (HY 18, SH), *čolbor* (Lig.VMI), *čəlbur* (MA 403); WMong. *čilbuɣur*, *čulbuɣur* (L 182); Kh. *culbūr*; Kalm. *culwūr*; Ord. *čulbūr*; Dag. *šolbur* (Тод. Даг. 184); S.-Yugh. *čəlbūr*.

◊ KW 433-434, MGCD 581. Mong. > Oyr. *čɨlbɨr* etc.; > Man. *čilburi*, see TMN 1, 309-310, Doerfer MT 137, Rozycki 48.

PTurk. ***č(i)al-** 1 turban 2 noose, lasso 3 to plait, wrap 4 to bind by throwing the rope 5 to become entangled 6 to entangle 7 band, strap 8 to bind around, wrap around 9 to plait (1 тюрбан 2 аркан, лассо 3 заплетать, заворачивать 4 связывать захлестом, наметывать 5 заплетаться 6 запутать 7 тесьма, завязка 8 обвязывать, обматывать 9 плести): Tur. *čalma* 1; Gag. *čal-* 8, *čalma* 1; Az. *čalma* 1; Turkm. *čalma* 1, *čal-* 3, *čalšɨq* 'entangled (of a rope)'; MTurk. *čalma* 1, 'flask fastened to the saddle' (Pav. C., Sangl.), 'apron' (Pav. C.); Uzb. *čal-(mɔq)* 4, *čalma* 1; band, facing; Uygh. *čal-ma-š-* 5; Krm. *cal-* 8, *calma* 1, *calman* 'wattle'; Tat. *čal-* 4, *čalma* 1; Bashk. *salɨ-* 8, *salma* 1; Kirgh. *čal-* 4, *čalɣɨč* 7, *čalma* 2; Kaz. *šal-* 8; KBalk. *čalma* 1, *čal-* 9, *čalman* 'wattle'; KKalp. *šal-* 8; Kum. *čal-* 9, *čalma* 1; Nogh. *šalma* 1, *šaluw* 7; Khak. *salba* (Sag.) 'лычко для метания камней'; Oyr. *čalma* 2, dial. (Leb.) *čalɨ-* 6; Tv. *šalba* 2; Tof. *šalɨšqaq* 'criss-crossing'.

◊ EDT 420, VEWT 97, Лексика 395. Turk. > Mong. *čalma, salma* 'lasso', see TMN 4, 316-317, Щербак 1997, 163 (although the meaning 'lasso' is not widely spread in Turkic, Doerfer suggests that it may have been the original, pre-Islamic, meaning of the derivative **čal-ma*). Note Chuv. *čъ^{w}lɣa-* 'to entangle' - usually derived as a loanword < Tat. *čulɣa-* < PT **čog-la-*, but in this case one would rather expect *čulɣa-* - so the Chuv. form may actually reflect PT **čial-*. The root is attested late, but does not seem to be borrowed, or a specialized development of **čal-* 'hit, chop' (as suggested in TMN).

‖ A Western isogloss. The medial cluster is not quite secure (perhaps one should rather reconstructed *čʿi̯ŏli with different suffixes). It is interesting to mention MKor. *čjə́mpúr* 'horse's mudguards' (Nam 426) - perhaps a (somewhat distorted) loanword < Mong. *čilbur*.

✱**čʿi̯olu** crippled: Tung. ***čial-**; Mong. ***čile-**; Turk. ***čol-**; Jpn. ***tur-**; Kor. ***čərk**.

PTung. ***čial-** 1 to be unable 2 to choke 3 exhausted 4 to stumble (while going down the hill) (1 не мочь 2 застревать в горле, давиться 3 истощенный 4 спотыкаться (при спуске с горы)): Evk. *čelgek* 3, *čelē-* 4; Evn. *čelgъk-* 'break (limb)'; Man. *čili-* 2; Ul. *čīla-* 1; Nan. *čīla-* 1; Orch. *čīla-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 393, 420. The peculiar vocalism is best explained by supposing **čial-* Cf. also **čulug-* (TMC 2, 413) < **čialug-* (?).

PMong. ***čile-** to stiffen, get oedema (неметь, затекать, уставать): MMong. *čile-* 'erschöpft sein' (SH); WMong. *čile-* (L 182); Kh. *čile-*; Bur. *šelden* (adj.), *šele-* 'to peter', *šala-*; Kalm. *čilə-* 'become ill, powerless (of princes)'; Ord. *čile-*; Dong. *čɨla-*.

◊ KW 440, MGCD 570. Mong. > Yak. *sɨlaj-*, Dolg. *hɨlaj-* (see Stachowski 118).

PTurk. ***čol-** 1 crippled 2 to deteriorate, dwindle 3 defect 4 short-statured (1 калека (с дефектной рукой) 2 убывать, иссякать 3 порок, изъян 4 куцый, короткий): OTurk. *čoluq* (OUygh.) 1, *čol-* 2, *čolmaq* 3 (OUygh. late - Suv.); Karakh. *čoluq* (MK) 1; *čolquj* 'worn (of a sole), crippled (of an arm, hand)' (MK); Tur. *čolak*; *čolpa* 'unskilful, awkward'; Gag. *čolaq* 1; Az. *čolaG* 1; Turkm. *čolaq* 1; Khal. *čolaq* 'handless, lame'; MTurk. *čolaq* (Sangl.); Uzb. *čǫlɔq* 'handless, lame', *čǫltɔq* 4; 'bungler, unskilled person'; Uygh. *čolaq* 1, 4; Krm. *čolaq* (K) 1; Tat. *čulaq*; Bashk. *sulaq* 1; Kirgh. *čolu-* 'to pull out, pick out', *čolǯuj-* 'become curved, warp', *čoloj-* 'become short, limbless', *čoloq* 1, 4; Kaz. *šolaq* 4, *šoltɨj-* 'to shorten'; KBalk. *čolaq* 1; KKalp. *šolaq* 1, 4; Kum. *čolaq* 1; Nogh. *šolaq* 1; *šoltaŋ-la-* 'to move aside angrily'; Oyr. *čoltuq* 4; Tv. *šoluq* 'sensitive, huffish'.

◊ EDT 419-420, VEWT 115, TMN 3, 89, Дыбо 152. Turk. > Mong. *čolaq* (Щербак 1997, 113). The existing forms are derived from a verb **čol-* 'become defective' (cf. the attested OUygh. *čol-* and forms like Kirgh. *čolu-).*

PJpn. ***tur-** to have cramps (сводить судорогой): Tok. *tsur-*.

PKor. ***čərk** lame (хромой, с больными руками или ногами): MKor. *čərk*.

◊ Nam 422.

‖ Cf. also Kor. *čjəri-da* 'to be stiff (of limbs)', SKE 30, ОСНЯ 1, 203.

✱**čʿi̯opʿa (~ *čʿi̯apʿu)** a k. of clothing: Tung. ***čop-**; Mong. ***čuba**; Turk. ***čAp**.

PTung. ***čop-** a k. of overcoat (вид плаща): Evn. *čobaqa*; Sol. *čibkeǯa*.

◊ TMC 2, 388, 401.

PMong. ***čuba** overcoat (плащ, верхняя одежда): WMong. *čuba* (L 203); Kh. *cuv*; Bur. *suba*; Kalm. *cuwə* '(fur) coat' (KPC); Ord. *čuwa*.

◊ Mong. > Man. *čuba* id., KBalk. *čuba* 'corset' (but cf. also Gag. *čupak*). The traditional etymology (< Arab. *ǰubba*) is not plausible phonetically.

PTurk. ***čAp-** 1 a k. of cloak 2 lap, skirt 3 used clothing 4 bedding under the saddle 5 woman's gown 6 gown 7 gusset (in clothes) (1 род плаща 2 подол, фалда 3 старая, потертая одежда 4 подстилка под седло, чепрак 5 женский халат 6 халат 7 клин (в одежде)): Karakh. *čapɣut* 'a padded garment' (MK); Tur. *čaput* 3, *čaprak* 4; Gag. *čapraq* 4; Turkm. *čabɨt* 5, *čapan* 6, *čapɨ* 'ornamental trimming for clothes' lap'; Khal. *čabuɣ* 'trimmed section on a woman's tunic'; MTurk. *čapan* 1 (R; Pav. C. *jamaɣlɨɣ čapan* 'mended cloak'), *čabuq* 2 (Pav. C.), (OKypch.) *čapɣut* 3 (AH); Uzb. *čɔpɔn* 1; Uygh. *čapan* 1; Tat. *čapan* 1, *čapraq* 4, *čabu* 2; Bashk. *sapan* 6, *sabɨw* 2; Kirgh. *čabū* 7; *čapan* 6, *čapan-čapqɨt* 'upper clothes', *čopqut* 'quilted coat under armour; expensive costume'; Kaz. *šabu* 2, *šapan* 6; KKalp. *šabuw* 7, *šapan* 6, *šobɨt* 'used things', *šopqɨt* 'rags'; Kum. *čabɨw* 7, 2; Nogh. *šabuw* 'gusset-like front part of gown's laps'; Khak. *sabɨɣ* 7; Shr. *šabɨr* 6; Oyr. *čabu* 7; Tv. *šavɨɣ* 7; Tof. *šabɨɣ* 7.

◊ VEWT 99, EDT 396, TMN 3, 47, Аникин 643. Several derivations are clearly distinguishable: a) **čap-gut* 'upper clothes, garment' (with later development > 'used clothes'); b) **čap-rak* 'bedding under the saddle'; c) **čap-an* 'cloak, gown'; d) **čap-gu* 'lap, gusset' - all clearly related to each other.

‖ A Western isogloss; somewhat difficult - but necessary - to distinguish from **č´ep´à* 'rag' q.v.

✸**č´i̯op´è** water container, vessel: Tung. ***čup- / *čop-**; Mong. ***čöɣerüm**; Turk. ***čap-**; Jpn. ***tə̀pî (~ -ua-)**; Kor. ***č(j)apa-**.

PTung. ***čup- / *čop-** 1 pit, deep place 2 to submerge, dive (1 яма, глубокое место 2 погружаться, нырять): Evk. *čopkī*, *čuper* 1, *čopo-* 2; Neg. *čop tịk-* 2; Ork. *čubbe-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 408, 416.

PMong. ***čöɣerüm** pond (пруд, водоем): WMong. *čögerüm*, *čögerem*, *čögürüm* (L 201); Kh. *cõröm*; Bur. *sõrem*; Kalm. *cõrm̥* (KPC).

PTurk. ***čap-** 1 big vessel, barrel, pail 2 basin (1 большой сосуд, бочка, чан, кадка 2 бассейн, яма для стока воды): OTurk. *čopun* 1 (OUygh., late - Suv.); Tur. *čopul* 2; MTurk. *sapčaq* (AH) (OKypch.); Krm. *capcaq*, *čapčaq* 1; Tat. *čapčaq* 1; Bashk. *sapsaq* 1; Kirgh. *čapčaq* 1; KBalk. *čapčaq* 1; KKalp. *šapšaq* 'wooden vessel for shaking up milk'; Kum. *čapčaq* 1; Nogh. *šapšaq* 1; Khak. *saban*, *sapčax* 1; Shr. *šapčaq* 1; Oyr. *čapčaq* 1; Tv. *šopulaq* 'spoon'; Chuv. *śöpśe* 1; Yak. *sabaraj* 1.

◊ VEWT 99, ДТС 153, Егоров 223,Федотов 2, 148-149. Forms with -u- in the second syllable demonstrate vowel assimilation (*čopu-* < **čapu-*). External parallels strongly suggest that the word is not derived from **čap-* 'hit', but is an original noun.

PJpn. ***tə̀pî (~ -ua-)** gutter (желоб): Tok. *tói*; Kyo. *tòî*; Kag. *toí*.

◊ JLTT 548.

PKor. ***č(j)apa-** earthenware jar, bowl (глиняный кувшин): Mod. *čabägi*.

◊ KED 1379.

‖ A common derivative **čʹi̯opʹè-rV* is reflected in Mong. **čöγe-rü-m* and Evk. *čupe-r*; another suffixed form, **čʹi̯opʹè-kʹV* (originally diminutive) may be reconstructed on the basis of Evk. *čop-kī* and Kor. *čabä-gi*. The root must have denoted a big water container, perhaps both artificial and natural.

✸**čʹ[i̯o]ra** a k. of foliage tree: Tung. ***čuru-**; Mong. ***čara-su**; Turk. ***čar-**; Kor. ***čori-**.

PTung. ***čuru-** a k. of willow (вид ивы): Evk. *čurumkurē*; Neg. *čojomka*; Nan. *čoromqola*.

◊ TMC 2, 417.

PMong. ***čara-su** oak tree (дуб): WMong. *čarasu* (MXTTT); Kh. cars; Bur. *sarsa*; Dag. *carese* (MD 128).

PTurk. ***čar-** 1 plane tree 2 gooseberry 3 asp tree 4 a k. of poplar (1 платан 2 крыжовник 3 осина 4 вид тополя): Karakh. *čarun* (MK) 1; Uygh. *čarčaj* 2 (?); Kirgh. *čar terek* 4; Tv. *šarlan* 3.

◊ VEWT 110, EDT 430, Дмитриева 1972, 186.

PKor. ***čori-** oak tree (дуб): MKor. *čorićham-namo*; Mod. *čorićham-namu*.

◊ Liu 662, KED 1472.

‖ The vocalism is uncertain; it is possible that the TM form should be removed from here and compared with Jpn. **tùrù*, see notes to PA **čălu*. In such case a reconstruction **čʹaro* for the present root would be possible.

✸**čʹi̯ŭ[g]a** scarce, poor: Tung. ***čuki**; Mong. ***čukag**; Turk. ***čīgań**.

PTung. ***čuki** bad (плохой): Ul. *čuqana*; Nan. *čukī* (On.); Orch. *čuki*.

◊ TMC 2, 411.

PMong. ***čukag** scarce, poor, rare (редкий, бедный): WMong. *čuqaγ* (L 208); Kh. *čuxag*; Bur. *šuxag*; Kalm. *сихəγ*; Ord. *ʒuxaG*.

PTurk. ***čīgań** 1 poor 2 mischief 3 impolite, rough (1 бедный 2 беда, несчастье 3 грубый, неучтивый): OTurk. *čɨγań* (Orkh.), *čɨγaj* (OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *čɨγaj* (MK), *čɨγan* (MK - Argu) 1; Tur. *čɨγaj*, *čɨγan* (dial.) 1; MTurk. *čɨγaj* (R), *čɨγan* (R, Pav. C.) 1; Krm. *čɨjɨr* 2 (with an unexplained -r); Kum. *čɨγɨn* 3; Khak. *sāj* 2; Shr. *šāj* 2.

◊ VEWT 107, EDT 408-409, Лексика 334. Chuv. *čuxan* 'poor' may be of different origin (cf. an aberrant reflex of *g), cf. *čux* 'mediocre', *čuxъ* 'poor' (< **jok?)*.

‖ A Western isogloss, somewhat questionable phonetically. Unclear is -k- in TM and Mong. (*-g- would be expected). A possible solution is to reconstruct for all three subgroups a suffixed form *čʹi̯ugu-kV*.

✱**čʹi̯ugu** to tie up, bandage: Tung. ***čuga-**; Mong. ***čig**; Turk. ***čɨg-**.

PTung. ***čuga-** to fix, attach (приделывать, прикреплять): Ud. *čuga-*.

◊ TMC 2, 410. Attested only in Ud., but having possible external parallels.

PMong. ***čig** bandage, splint (бандаж, лубок): WMong. *čig* (L 179); Kh. *čig*.

PTurk. ***čɨg-** 1 to tie up (a parcel) 2 to sew (with small stitches) 3 parcel, pack 4 knot 5 to tie in a knot (1 увязывать (тюк, сверток) 2 шить (мелкими стежками), подшивать 3 узел (упаковка) 4 узел 5 завязать узлом): Karakh. *čɨɣ-* 1; Tur. *čɨkɨ*, *čɨkɨn* 3; Gag. *čɨqɨ* 3; Turkm. *čig-* 5, *čigin* 4; Khal. (*tīn* u) *čɨqɨn* 'small parcels in women's working room'; MTurk. *čik* 4 (Pav. C.), (OKypch) *čɨq-* 1 (AH); Uygh. *čig-* 5, *čigik* 4; Kirgh. *čije* 4; KKalp. *šije* 'tightly bound'; SUygh. *čig-*, *čik-* 5; Khak. *sɨɣ-la-* 2; Oyr. *či-de-* 2.

◊ EDT 405, VEWT 94. Forms apparently pointing to **čik-* most probably reflect a contraction of the suffixed form **čigɨ-k-*.

‖ A Western. isogloss; borrowing in Mong. is possible, but not very probable for semantic reasons.

✱**čʹi̯ù̀me (~ -i)** a k. of insect: Tung. ***čīme- (~š-,-ṻ-)**; Turk. ***čümeli**; Kor. ***čóm**.

PTung. ***čīme- (~š-,-ṻ-)** a k. of insect (насекомое (мухообразное с пестрыми крыльями)): Evk. *čīmečīldūn*; Ud. *cimgi* (Корм. 310).

◊ TMC 2, 395.

PTurk. ***čümeli** ant (муравей): OTurk. *čümeli* (OUygh.); Karakh. *čümeli* (MK - Chigil); MTurk. *čü/umadu* 'small ants' (Pav. C.); Uzb. *čumɔli*; Uygh. *čümälä* (R - Tar.); Tat. *čümöldü* (R - Bar.); Oyr. *čumalɨ*, dial. *čubalɨ*; Tv. *šɨmɨl* 'maggot'.

◊ EDT 423, VEWT 121, Лексика 184.

PKor. ***čóm** a k. of worm, teredo; poisonous insect, poison (червь-древоточец): MKor. *čóm*; Mod. *čom*.

◊ Liu 665, KED 1482.

‖ Лексика 184.

✱**čʹi̯úmu** round(ed) object: Tung. ***čumbu-**; Mong. ***čom-**; Turk. ***čɨmur**; Jpn. ***túmúnsí**.

PTung. ***čumbu-** 1 globe, sphere 2 rounded, swollen (of a mosquito) 3 (sleigh) arc (1 шар 2 раздувшийся (о комаре) 3 дуга (нарты)): Evk. *čumbukte* 1, *čumkilēptin* 2; Nan. *čembu-čembu* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 414.

PMong. ***čom-** 1 bouquet; bud 2 bud-shaped (1 букет; почка 2 имеющий форму бутона): WMong. *čomurlaγ*, (L 197) *čomurliγ* 1, *čombuγar*, *čombun* 2; Kh. *comorlog* 1, *combogor*, *combon* 2; Ord. *čomō̆-* 'avoir la forme de bouton de fleur'.

PTurk. ***čɨmur** 1 buds 2 lily 3 sphere, globe, fist (1 почки 2 лилия 3 шар, округлость, кулак): Oyr. *čomur* 2; Tof. *šomur* 1 (Рас. ФиЛ 89, 231); Chuv. *čъ^{w}mъ^{w}r* 3.

◊ The Chuvash form points to *-ɨ-. The root is very localized, but seems to be distinct from **čɨm-* / **čum-* 'top; stick with a knob' (although a contamination was of course possible).

PJpn. ***túmúnsí** hair-whorl (завихрение волос): OJpn. *tumuzi*; MJpn. *túmúzí*; Tok. *tsùmuji*; Kyo. *tsúmují*; Kag. *tsumují*.

◊ JLTT 556. Accent in Kagoshima is irregular.

‖ An expressive common Altaic root; both in Turkic and Japanese its reflexes may have partially coincided with the reflexes of **čʹĩmu* 'top, edge' q.v., but in Mongolian and TM they seem to be distinct.

✱**čʹi̯umu** seed, cone: Tung. ***čum- / *čim-**; Mong. ***čöme**; Turk. ***čɨm**.

PTung. ***čum- / *čim-** cone (of any fir tree) (шишка): Evk. *čuntī* (< **čum-nī*); Neg. *čimčukte*; Ul. *čimčikte*; Ork. *čipčikte*; Nan. *čimčikte*; Orch. *čimčikte*.

◊ TMC 2, 395, 414.

PMong. ***čöme** fruit stone, grain, seed (косточка, зерно, семя): WMong. *čöme*, *čömü* (L 202); Kh. *cöm*; Bur. *seme-* 'щелкать кедровые орехи'.

◊ Mong. > Evk. *čīme*, *čēme* etc. (see TMC 2, 421).

PTurk. ***čɨm** 1 turf 2 meadow 3 various kinds of grass (with seeds) (1 дерн 2 луг, лужайка 3 различные виды трав): Karakh. *čɨ/im* 1, *čimgen* 1, 2; Tur. *čimen* 2, *čim* 1; *čemen* 'тмин; пажитник'; Gag. *čim* 1, *čimen* 1, 2; Az. *čämän* 2, *čim* 1; Turkm. *čemen* 2, 'bundle, bouquet'; Khal. *čämän*, *čimän* 2 (< Pers.?); Uzb. *čaman* 2, *čim* 1; Uygh. *čim* 1, *čimän* 2; Kirgh. *čɨm* 1; *čemirček* 'травянистое растение со съедобным корнем' (cf. also *čɨmɨldɨq* 'повилика', *čɨmɨldɨrɨq*, *čɨmɨndɨq* (dial.) 'чина'); Kaz. *šɨm* 1; Nogh. *šɨm* 1; Khak. *čɨm-čolγaj* 'хлебенки (an edible bulbous plant'); Oyr. *čemene* 'потничная трава'; Chuv. *čemčem/n* 'горец, птичья гречишка' (Дмитриева-Саллонтаи VII, 49).

◊ The primary root is **čim* 'turf', whence **čim-gen* 'meadow', borrowed in Pers. *čaman* (see EDT 423; not vice versa, despite TMN 2, 99-100); but many of the modern forms meaning 'meadow' or 'bouquet' are already backloans from Persian.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**čʹi̯ŭpʹa (~ -u)** a k. of insect: Tung. ***čope-**; Mong. ***čubali**; Turk. ***čɨpɨn**.

PTung. ***čope-** 1 locust 2 larva (of insects) (1 саранча 2 личинка (насекомых)): Evk. *čepeder* 1; Ul. *čobị* 2; Nan. *čobị* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 401, 421.

PMong. ***čubali** ant (муравей): MMong. *čubali* (MA 136).

PTurk. ***čīpɨn** 1 fly 2 gad-fly 3 mosquito 4 bee (1 муха 2 овод 3 комар 4 пчела, шершень): Karakh. *čɨbɨn* 1, 3 (MK); Tur. *ǯibin* 1, 3; Az. *čibin* 1,2; Turkm. *čībɨn* 3; Uzb. *čibin* 3; Uygh. *čivin* 1,2; Tat. *čeben* 1, 2; Bashk. *seben-le-* 'to be annoyed by fly-bites (of animals)'; Kirgh. *čɨmɨn* 1,2; Kaz. *šɨbɨn* 1,2; KBalk. *čibin* 1,2; Kum. *ǯibin* 1,2; Oyr. (dial.) *čɨmɨn* 4.

◊ VEWT 110, EDT 838, TMN 3, 53, Лексика 186.

‖ An expressive Western isogloss.

✱**čʿi̯ŭpʿì** small, narrow: Tung. ***čip[u]-**; Mong. ***čüɣe-n**; Jpn. ***tìpì-sà-**; Kor. ***čòp-**.

PTung. ***čip[u]-** narrow (узкий): Evk. *čipikte*, *čipileme*; Evn. *čụpụtị*.

◊ TMC 2, 398.

PMong. ***čüɣe-n, -ken** small (in number), few (мало, немного): MMong. *čuejen* (HY 44), *čun* (MA); WMong. *čüge(ge)n*, (L 201:) *čögen*, *čögeken*, *čögüken*; Kh. *cȫn*; Bur. *šȫdej*; Kalm. *cȫ(k)n*; Ord. *čȫkön*, *čȫröm*; Dag. *čuēn* (Тод. Даг. 182); Dong. *čueGuan* (MGCD *čoɣuan*); Bao. *čoŋ*; S.-Yugh. *čȭ̄n*; Mongr. *ćōn* (SM 454), *ćōgwən* (SM 453).

◊ KW 432, 460, MGCD 577. In Bur. two roots are contaminated **čüɣe-n* 'few' and **öčü-* 'sm, little'. *šȫdej* means 'little', but *üsȫ(n)* - 'few'.

PJpn. ***tìpì-sà-** small (маленький): OJpn. *tip(j)isa-*; MJpn. *tìfìsa-*; Tok. *chīsá-*; Kyo. *chésa-*; Kag. *chī́sa-*.

◊ JLTT 842. Kagoshima has an irregular reflex; otherwise all dialects point to low tone.

PKor. ***čòp-** narrow (узкий): MKor. *čòp-*; Mod. *čop-*.

◊ Liu 665, KED 1482.

‖ Martin 249. Korean has a "verbal" low tone. In Turk. cf. perhaps Kirgh. *čɨpqa* 'strainer', *čɨpqala-* 'to strain'.

✱**čʿóga** ashes, glowing coals: Tung. ***čuguk (~ -b-)**; Turk. ***čōg, -ak**.

PTung. ***čuguk- (~ -b-)** 1 snuff 2 to burn (with fire) 3 to hiss (of glowing coals in contact with water) (1 нагар 2 обжечь (огнем) 3 шипеть (о раскаленных углях в соприкосновении с водой)): Evk. *čuke*, dial. *čuwukī* 1, *čuwkān-* 2; Neg. *čowixān* 3; Ud. *čauk-čuk* (expr.) 3.

◊ TMC 2, 410, 412.

PTurk. ***čōg** glowing heat, glowing coals (жар, тлеющие уголья): OTurk. *čoɣ* (OUygh.); Karakh. *čoɣ* (MK); Turkm. *čōg*; MTurk. *čoɣ* (Vamb.); Uzb. *čụɣ*; Uygh. *čoq*, *čoɣ*; Kirgh. *čoq*; Kaz. *šoq*; SUygh. *čoɣ*; Khak. *soɣ*; Shr. *šoɣ*; Oyr. *čoq*; Yak. *suos*; Dolg. *huos*.

◊ VEWT 113, 114, Лексика 366-367, EDT 405, Stachowski 113 (Yak. *suos* = Tur. *čogaš* 'sun heat'). Turk. > WMong. *čoɣ*, Kalm. *cog* (KW 429, TMN 2, 119, Щербак 1997, 113). Mong. > Yak. *čox*.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**čʿȍkʿa** to peck, gouge: Tung. ***čōk(i)-**; Mong. ***čoki-**; Turk. ***čok-**; Kor. ***čhǎ-**.

PTung. ***čōk(i)-** 1 to gauge 2 to stick into 3 to peck 4 to dig, delve (1 выдалбливать, вырезать 2 втыкать 3 клевать 4 копать, ковырять): Evk. *čōk-* 4; Evn. *čuq-* 4; Neg. *čok-* 1; Man. *čoki-* 2; Ul. *čoqi̯-* 3; Nan. *čoqi̯-* 3; Ud. *cugu* 'adze' (Корм. 311).

◊ See TMC 2, 403. Secondary vowel shortening in Nan.

PMong. ***čoki-** to strike, punish (бить, наказывать): MMong. *čoqoli'ul-* 'to overthrow' (SH); WMong. *čoki-* (L 196); Kh. *coxi-*; *coxi-lo-* 'клевать'; Bur. *soxi-*; Kalm. *cok-*; Ord. *ʒoki-*; Mog. ZM *čəqor* 'axe' (22-4a); Dag. *čoki-*; Mongr. *čugu-* 'клевать' (SM 440).

◊ KW 429.

PTurk. ***čok-** 1 to peck 2 to delve, dig 3 to pick at 4 to stab 5 to pick (eyes) 6 pitfall, delve (1 клевать 2 долбить, копать 3 ковырять 4 закалывать 5 выкалывать (глаза) 6 рытвина, углубление): OTurk. *čoq-* 4 (OUygh.); Karakh. *čoq-* 'to rush at the prey (of a bird)' (MK); Tur. *čoku-* 1, *čukur* 6; Gag. *čuqur* 6; Az. *čuxur* 6; Turkm. *čoq-* 1, *čuqanaq*, *čuxur* 6; MTurk. *čo/uqu-* (Sangl., Pav. C. (5)); *čuqur* 6 (Sangl.; starting with Old Kypch.); *čux-la-* 3 (MA 137); Uzb. *čuqi-* 1, *čuqu-la-* 2, 3, *čuqur* 6; Uygh. *čoqu-* 1; Krm. *čoq-* 'to sting', *čoγi-* 1 (K), *č/cuqu/ir* 6; Tat. *čuqi-* 1, *čoqi-* 2; Bashk. *suqi-* 1, *soqo-* 2, 3; Kirgh. *čoqu-* 1, *čuqu-* 3; Kaz. *šoqi-* 1, *šuqi-* 1, 3; KKalp. *šoqi-* 1, *šuqi-* 2, 3; Kum. *čoqu-* 1; Nogh. *šoqi-* 1, *šuqi-* 2, 3; Khak. *sox-la-* 1; Oyr. *čoqu-* 1, 3.

◊ VEWT 114, 119, EDT 406. Kypchak languages suggest a distinction between **čoki-* 'to peck' and **čuki-* 'to dig, delve', absent elsewhere, and possibly a result of interdialectal loans.

PKor. ***čhǎ-** to kick (бить, пинать): MKor. *čhǎ-*; Mod. *čha-*.

◊ Nam 447, KED 1562.

‖ EAS 64, KW 429, Дыбо 13, Doerfer MT 68. Martin 239 compares OJ *tuk-* which can belong here, too, but is an obvious merger of several roots.

✱**čʿòkʿe (~ -i̯u-)** cheek bone: Mong. ***čoku**; Turk. ***čügde**; Kor. ***čjókái**.

PMong. ***čoku** temple, sinciput (висок, темя): WMong. *čoqu* (L 199); Kh. cox; Bur. *soxo* 'forehead; (Okin.) temple'; Kalm. *coxə* (KPC); Dag. *čoko* (Тод. Даг. 181).

◊ Mong. > Man. *čoki*, see Doerfer MT 137; Kirgh. *čoqu* etc. (see TMN 3, 119).

PTurk. ***čügde** 1 the projecting bone behind the ear 2 back of head 3 back of axe (1 выступающая кость за ухом 2 затылок 3 обух топора): OTurk. *čügte* (OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *čügdei* (MK) 1; Turkm. *čüwde* 2, 3; Uzb. (dial.) *čüjdä* 2; Bashk. *šöjδä* 'papilla of the first neck vertebra, back side of blade'; Kaz. *šüjde* 2, 3; KKalp. *šüjde* 2; Nogh. *šüjde* 2, cerebellum; Chuv. *śivət*, *śütə* 'woman's plait' (Ашм.).

◊ EDT 414, Егоров 213, Федотов 2, 116 (both gloss the Chuv. word as obscure), Лексика 202.

PKor. ***čjókái** cheek (щека): MKor. *pó-čjókái* (a compound with *pó-* 'cheek').

◊ HMCH 199, Nam 261.

‖ Лексика 203. Cf. also notes to **čʿ[i̯a]kʿi*.

✱**čʿŏkʿi** to incline, sink: Tung. ***čoK[i]-**; Mong. ***čökü-**; Turk. ***čök-**; Jpn. ***tuku-(m)pap-**; Kor. ***čùk-**.

PTung. ***čoK[i]-** 1 to incline, bow 2 to squat (1 наклоняться, кланяться 2 сидеть на корточках): Evk. *čoko-* 2; Neg. *čoxi̯ti̯n-* 'свернуться клубком'; Man. *čuqu-* 1; Nan. *čoqčojgan* 'squatting' (On.)

◊ TMC 2, 411, 404. Cf. also **čūči-* 'to squat' (TMC 2, 418) < **čUk-či-* (?).

PMong. ***čökü-** to lose all hope, to be a beggar (терять надежду, быть нищим): WMong. *čökü-*, *čöküre-* (L 201); Kh. *cöxö-*, *cöxrö-*; Bur. *süxer-*; Kalm. *cökə-*, *cökṛ-*; Ord. *ǯöχörölči-*; Dag. *čakaral* 'утомление, усталость' (Тод. Даг. 180); Mongr. *ćugo* 'eclipse'.

◊ KW 431, 432.

PTurk. ***čök-** 1 to kneel down 2 to sink 3 to sit (1 опускаться на колени 2 оседать, тонуть 3 присесть, сесть на корточки): OTurk. *čök-* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *čök-* 1 (MK); Tur. *čök-* 1; Gag. *čök-* 1, 2, 3; Az. *čök-* 2; Turkm. *čök-* 1, 2; Sal. *čök-*, *čöx-* 1 (ССЯ); MTurk. *čök-* 1 (Sangl.); Uzb. *ču̯k-* 1, 2; Uygh. *čök-* 1, 2; Krm. *čök-*, *cok-* 1; Tat. *čük-* 1; Bashk. *sük/g-* 1, 2; Kirgh. *čök-* 1, 2; Kaz. *šök/g-* 1, 2; KBalk. *čök/g-* 1, 2, 3; KKalp. *šök/g-* 1, 2; Kum. *čök/g-* 1, 2, 3; Nogh. *šök/g-* 1, 2; SUygh. *čoGe-* 3; Shr. *šök-* 2; Oyr. *čögö-dö-* 1; Chuv. *śъk-* 'to fall', *śъ^{w}g-ъ^{w}n-* 1; Yak. *sügürüj-* 1.

◊ VEWT 117, TMN 3, 120-122, EDT 413-4, Егоров 205, Федотов 2, 90-91. Turk. > WMong. *čökü(le)-*, Kalm. *čökl-* (KW 444; TMN 2, 121, Щербак 1997, 113).

PJpn. ***tuku-(m)pap-** to squat (сидеть на корточках): MJpn. *tuku-baf-*; Tok. *tsukuba-*.

PKor. ***čùk-** 1 to die 2 to kill (**čùk-jo-*) 3 to bow, incline 4 to squat (1 умирать 2 убивать (**čùk-jo-*) 3 наклоняться 4 сидеть на корточках): MKor. *čùk-* 1, *skúr-* 3, *čùskɨ̀rí-* 4, *čùkjó-m* 'killing'; Mod. *čuk-* 1, *čugi-* 2, *k:ul(h)-* 3, *č:ugɨri-* 3, 4.

◊ Nam 433, 434, 63, KED 1503, 1504, 219, 1470, 1494.

‖ VEWT 117, KW 431 (without the Korean form), EAS 64, SKE 43, АПиПЯЯ 286. Despite Doerfer's (TMN 3, 122) criticism, the root is certainly common Altaic. In Mong. cf. also reduplicated forms: Khalkha *cogcojǯ sū-*, Bur. *sogsojžo hū-* 'to squat', *sogsogono-* 'to curtsey'. The original meaning must have been 'squat', 'kneel down' - whence 'incline, sink', and further metaphorical developments: 'lose hope', 'die'.

✱**čʿŏli (~ -e)** steppe: Tung. ***čulbi-**; Mong. ***čolid**; Turk. ***čöl**.

PTung. ***čulbi-** a small hill (небольшой холм): Evk. *čulbikān*.

◊ TMC 2, 413. Attested only in Evk., with possible parallels in Turk. and Mong.

PMong. ***čolid** area with many small lakes (местность, покрытая мелкими озерами): WMong. *čolid* (L 197); Kh. *coĺd*.

PTurk. ***čöl** steppe, desert (степь, пустыня): OTurk. *čölig* 'name of a country' (Orkh.); Tur. *čöl*; Az. *čöl*; Turkm. *čöl*; MTurk. *čöl* (Abush., Sangl.); Uzb. *čụl*; Uygh. *čöl*; Krm. *čöl*; Bashk. *sül* 'desert'; Kirgh. *čöl*; Kaz. *šöl*; KKalp. *šöl*; Kum. *čöl*; Nogh. *šöl*; SUygh. *čöl* (ЯЖУ); Khak. *söl*; Oyr. *čöl*; Tv. *šöl* 'field, plaza'; Tof. *šöl* 'steppe, desert'.

◊ VEWT 117, TMN 3, 122-123, EDT 420. Turk. > WMong. *čöl* 'desert' (because of uncertainty of OT *čölig* doubted by Clark 1977, 135).

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**čʿóme** together, all: Tung. ***čuŋnu**; Mong. ***čöm**; Jpn. ***təmə**.

PTung. ***čuŋnu** all, entirely (весь, все, целиком): Neg. *čuŋnu*; Ul. *čuŋnu*; Nan. *čuŋnu*; Ud. *čoŋno*.

◊ TMC 2, 415.

PMong. ***čöm** all, entirely (весь, целиком): WMong. *čöm* (L 202); Kh. *cöm*; Bur. *süme*; Kalm. *cöm*; Ord. *čöm*.

◊ KW 432. Mong. > Chag. *čö/om* 'tout entier; tous' (Pav.C.) .

PJpn. ***təmə** together (вместе): OJpn. *tomo*; MJpn. *tómó*; Tok. *tomó*, *tómo*; Kyo. *tómò*; Kag. *tómo*.

◊ JLTT 549. Most sources point to high tone in the first syllable (except the aberrant Tokyo variant *tómo).*

‖ A not quite clear phonetic development in TM; perhaps one has to reconstruct **čʿóŋme*, with cluster simplification in Mong. and with dissimilation **čuŋmu* > **čuŋnu* in TM.

✱**čʿomi (~ -e)** stack, to stack: Tung. ***čum-**; Mong. ***čomu-**; Turk. ***čömele**.

PTung. ***čum-** 1 to put into a stack 2 a wood stack (1 собирать в кучу 2 поленница): Evk. *čumče-* 1, *čumče* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 414. Attested only in Evk. (Evk. > Yak. *čömčöx*, not vice versa), but having probable Turkic and Mongolian parallels.

PMong. ***čomu-** 1 to collect, stack 2 haystack (1 собирать, складывать в стог 2 стог): WMong. *čomu-ru-* 1, *čomuɣ* 2 (L 197); Kh. *comro-* 1, *comog* 2; Bur. *somo* 1, *somō* 2; Kalm. *coməɣ* 'cone hillock'; Mongr. *čumoG* 'petite tente' (SM 440), *ćomboG* 'tas, meule' (SM 454).

◊ KW 430.

PTurk. ***čömele** stack, haystack (стог, копна): Uygh. *čömülä*; Krm. ? *čömel* 'więzy'; Tat. *čümɛlɛ*; Bashk. *sümälä*; Kirgh. *čömölö*; Kaz. *šömele*; Chuv. *śəʷmel*.

◊ Егоров 210, Федотов 2, 108, Мудрак Дисс. 137.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**čʿòmu (~ -i̯o-)** to cram, stop up: Jpn. ***tùm-**; Kor. ***čǎm-, *čǎm-**.

PJpn. ***tùm-** to be crammed, to cram (быть впихнутым, впихивать): OJpn. *tum-*; MJpn. *tum-*; Tok. *tsúm-*, *tsúme-*; Kyo. *tsùm-*, *tsùmè-*.

◊ JLTT 774, 775.

PKor. ***čǎm-** to be closed, shut; to hide, submerge (быть закрытым; прятать, погружать): MKor. *čǎm-*; *čǎmǎ-tì-*, *čǎm(ki)-* 'to soak, submerge'; Mod. *čam-gi-*, *čam-gɨ-*.

◊ Nam 413, 417, KED 1395, 1396.

‖ A Kor.-Jpn. isogloss; Western parallels may have merged with **šŏmo* 'to dive, scoop' q.v.

✱**čʿopʿi (~ -e)** dregs, dirt: Tung. ***čupa**; Mong. ***čöb**; Turk. ***čöp**.

PTung. ***čupa** dregs, grounds; porridge (гуща, осадок; каша): Evk. *čupa*.

◊ TMC 2, 415.

PMong. ***čöb** dirt, dregs (грязь, осадок): WMong. *čöb* (L 200); Kh. *cöv*; Bur. *süb*; Kalm. *cöb*; Ord. *cöb caG* "dirty time" = 'time of war, hunger etc.'.

◊ KW 431.

PTurk. ***čöp** 1 dregs, impurity, rubbish 2 stick, small branch, straw 3 penis 4 grass, hay (1 мусор 2 палочка, веточка, соломинка 3 penis 4 трава, сено): OTurk. *čöb*, *čöbik* 1 (OUygh. Budd.); Karakh. *čöb* 'dregs of wine; any piece of noodles'; *čübek* 3 (MK; with Kypch. phonology *šöbik* 'огрызок от фрукта'); Tur. *čöp* 1, 2, 3; Gag. *čöp*, *čep* 'gag in a barrel', *čepkä* 'grapevine, wine dregs', *čepel* 'dirty'; Az. *čöp* 2; Turkm. *čöp* 2; Sal. *čöp* 'weed, grass'; MTurk. *ču/üb* 2 (Pav. C.), 1 (Sangl.); Uzb. *čụp* 1, 2; Uygh. *čöp* 'grass; noodles'; Krm. *čöp* 1, 4; Tat. *čüp* 1, *čübek* 'oakum, combings'; Bashk. *süp* 1, 'weed'; Kirgh. *čöp* 4; 'afterbirth'; *čöbögö* 'dregs after boiling butter'; Kaz. *šöp* 1, 4; KBalk. *čöb* 2, 4; KKalp. *šöp* 1, 4; Kum. *čöp* 1, 'weed; lot'; Nogh. *šöp* 1, 2; Shr. *šöp* 1, *šöbek* 'hemp straw'; Oyr. *čöp* 1; 4; afterbirth'; Chuv. *śüpə* 1; 'newborn child'.

◊ VEWT 118, EDT 394, 396, Егоров 323, Федотов 2, 148. Turk. > Russ. Siber. *čup* 'dregs', see Аникин 677.

‖ A Western isogloss; Mong. may be < Turkic.

✱**čʿòrV** pike: Tung. ***čōr-**; Mong. ***čurukai**; Turk. ***čortan**.

PTung. ***čōr-** 1 pike 2 young fish (1 щука 2 рыбья молодь): Man. *čurχu* 2; Sol. *sōraldī* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 113, 400. The Manchu form is regarded as a mongolism by Rozycki, but (unlike Evk. *čirukaj* 'pike') is more probably a genuine cognate.

PMong. ***čurukai** pike (щука): MMong. *čuraqa* (SH); WMong. *čurqai*, (L 207:) *čuruqai*; Kh. *curxaj*; Bur. *surxaj*; Kalm. *curxə*.

◊ KW 434. Mong. > Evk. *čirukai*, see Doerfer MT 131. Cf. also Kalm. *cordəg* 'young pike' (KW 430) - possibly a Turkism.

PTurk. ***čortan** 1 eel 2 pike (1 угорь 2 щука): Tur. *čortan* 1; Turkm. *čortan* 2; Uzb. *čṛtan* 1; Tat. *čurtan* 2; Bashk. *sortan* 2; Kirgh. *čorton* 2; Kaz. *šortan* 2; KKalp. *šortan* 2; Kum. *čortan* 2; Nogh. *šortan* 2; Khak. *sortan* 2; Shr. *šortan* 2; Oyr. *čorton* 2; Tv. *šortan* 2; Chuv. *śъʷrdan*, *śъʷrtan* 2; Yak. *sordoŋ* 2; Dolg. *hordoŋ* 2.

◊ VEWT 116, Лексика 178, Stachowski 108.

‖ KW 434, Лексика 178. A Western isogloss.

✱**čʹùgù** bundle: Mong. ***čug-**; Turk. ***čug**; Jpn. ***tùkà**; Kor. ***čok**.

PMong. ***čug-** 1 together 2 to bind together (1 вместе 2 связывать): WMong. *čuɣ* 1, *čuɣla-* 2 (L 205), *čuɣčala-* 'accumuler'; Kh. *cug*, *cugla-*; Bur. *sug*; Kalm. *cuG*, *cuɣlə-*; Ord. *čugla-* 's'assembler'; S.-Yugh. *čoG*; Mongr. *ćoG* (SM 453), *ćuʒolo-* 'entasser, amonceler, se rassembler' (SM 460).

◊ KW 433, MGCD 580. Mong. > Oyr. *čuq* etc. (VEWT 119).

PTurk. ***čug** 1 bundle 2 to bind, pack, wrap (1 связка 2 связывать, упаковывать, обматывать): OTurk. *čuɣ* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *čuɣ* 1, *čuɣ-la-* 2 (MK); Tur. (dial.) *čuɣ* 1; Az. *čulɣa-* 2; MTurk. *čuɣ* 'yoke' (Pav. C.), *čulɣa-* 2 (Sangl.); Uzb. *čulɣa-* 2; Krm. *čulɣa-* 2; Tat. *čolɣa-* 2; Bashk. *sɨw* 'placenta', *solɣa-* 2; Kirgh. *čū* 1, (South.) *čuq* 'swaddle' (**čuguk*), *čulɣa-* 2; Kaz. *šuw-maq* 1, *šulɣaw* 'портянки'; KBalk. *čulɣa-* 2; KKalp. *šuw-maq-la-* 2, *šulɣa-n-* 'обертываться портянками'; Nogh. *šuw-maq* 1; Khak. *sulɣa-* 2; Shr. *šu* 1 (R), *šulɣa-* 2; Oyr. (dial.) *čū* 1, *čū-la-* 2 (R); Tv. *šuɣla-* 'to cover (with a blanket)'; Yak. *sū* 'wrapper', *sū-lā-* 2; Dolg. *hū-lā-* 2.

◊ VEWT 119, EDT 405, 407, Stachowski 114.

PJpn. ***tùkà** bundle (связка): OJpn. *tuka*; *tuka-na-* 'to bundle'; MJpn. *tùkà*, *tùkà-nè*.

◊ JLTT 554.

PKor. ***čok** women's hairdo (женская прическа, узел): MKor. *čok*; Mod. *č:ok*.

◊ Nam 430, KED 1477.

‖ Korean **čok* should be explained as a contraction < **čʹugu-kʹV*, with a frequent suffixed -k.

✱**čʹukV (~ -o-)** to jump, trot: Tung. ***čuKe-rē-**; Mong. ***čogi-**; Kor. ***čhú-**.

PTung. ***čuKe-rē-** to move warily; to jump cautiously (осторожно передвигаться; осторожно прыгать): Evk. *čukerē-*.

◊ TMC 2, 412. Attested only in Evk., but having probable parallels in Mong. and Kor.

PMong. ***čogi-** to trot (not very swiftly) (скакать, бежать (не слишком быстро)): WMong. *čogi-* (L 196); Kh. *cogi-*; Bur. *sojor-*; Ord. *čogi-*.

PKor. ***čhú-** to dance (танцевать): MKor. *čhu-*; *čhú-m* 'dance' (n.); Mod. *čhu-*.

◊ Liu 701, KED 1629.

‖ Korean has a frequent vowel loss between a stop and a fricative.

✸**čʿúkʿi (~ -i̯u-)** a k. of fish: Turk. ***čüke**; Kor. ***čòkɨ́i**.

PTurk. ***čüke** sterlet (стерлядь): Tat. *čökɛ*, dial. (KCTT) *čükä*; Bashk. *sögä*; Chuv. *śъʷga*.

◊ VEWT 121, Федотов 2, 152. A local Volga region word; cf. however Turkm. *čüj balɨk* 'pike', lit. 'nail-fish' - which may be a reanalysis of the original root.

PKor. ***čòkɨ́i** gilthead fish (Collichthys fragilis); porgy (sea bream) (вид рыбы): MKor. *čòkɨ́i*, *čjokɨi*; Mod. *čogi*.

◊ Nam 427, 432, KED 1470.

‖ A Turk.-Kor. isogloss.

✸**čʿuli** to grow less, shrink: Tung. ***čulbi-**; Mong. ***čölü-**; Turk. ***čülik-**; Kor. ***čūr-**.

PTung. ***čulbi-** to starve, become lean (худеть, истощаться): Evk. *čulbi-*.

◊ TMC 2, 413. Attested only in Evk., but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***čölü-** to diminish, deteriorate (уменьшаться, ухудшаться): WMong. *čölüi-* (L 202); Kh. *cölij-*.

◊ Cf. also WMong. *čuluid-* id.

PTurk. ***čülik-** to become shabby (становиться потрепанным, заношенным): Karakh. *čülik-* (*čülük-*) (MK); Tur. (dial.) *čil* 'little'; Turkm. *čül-čaGa* 'little children', *čülpe* 'small child'; MTurk. *čüle-* 'être alteré' (Pav. C.); Kirgh. *čölük-* 'to be exhausted, weakened'; Khak. *sülek-* 'to wear unusual clothes'.

◊ VEWT 121, EDT 420.

PKor. ***čūr-** 1 to shrink, grow less 2 to starve, be famished (1 уменьшаться, сокращаться 2 голодать): MKor. *čuri-hi-* 1 (tr.), *čūri-* 2; Mod. *čūl-* 1, *čūri-* 2.

◊ Liu 670, KED 1496, 1508.

‖ SKE 44.

✸**čʿupa** grey: Tung. ***čub-rī-**; Mong. ***čabidar**; Turk. ***čubar**.

PTung. ***čub-rī-** green, blue, yellow (зеленый, синий, желтый): Evk. *čūri-n,-rin*; Evn. *ču̯ṛu̯ńa*; Neg. *čojīn*; Sol. *su̯rī*, (Ивановский) *čuɣurin*.

◊ The root is probably **čub-*; see TMC 2, 417-418.

PMong. ***čabidar** yellowish (of horse's color) (желтоватый, игреневый (о масти)): MMong. *čabdar* (MA); WMong. *čabidar* (L 155); Kh. *caódar*; Bur. *sabidar*; Kalm. *cäwdṛ* (KPC); Ord. *čawidar* 'robe de cheval: alezan à crinière et queue blanches'; Dag. *čebdəg*; S.-Yugh. *čabdar*.

◊ MGCD 554.

PTurk. ***čubar** variegated (пестрый): Tat. *čuwar*; Kirgh. *čār*.

◊ VEWT 118-119. Note however that most of the forms listed in VEWT actually reflect PT **čopur* (v. sub **šopʿé*), so the root **čubar* appears to be very late and local.

‖ A Western isogloss. KW 431, Poppe 26, 48. Mong. > late MTurk. *čabdar* (see Щербак 1997, 202), Evk. *čabidar* etc., see Doerfer MT 101, Rozycki 41.

✱**čʿupʿV** through: Tung. ***čup-**; Mong. ***čoɣu**.

PTung. ***čup-** 1 through and through, completely 2 to pull out (1 насквозь, совершенно 2 выдергивать): Evk. *čup* 1, *čuptū-* 2; Evn. *čöptъre* 1, *čụptъl-* 2; Neg. *čop* 1, *čoptụ-* 2; Ul. *čụp* 1, *čụptụǯi-* 2; Ork. *tụp*, *čụp* 1, *tụptụllị-* 2; Nan. *čop* 1; Orch. *čop* 1, *čụppụ-* 2; Ud. *čofu* 1; Sol. *sụttā-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 415-416.

PMong. ***čoɣu** 1 through and through, completely 2 to pierce, make a hole 3 to be pierced (1 насквозь, совершенно 2 протыкать, делать отверстие 3 продырявиться): WMong. *čoɣu* 1, *čoɣul-* 2 (L 195), *čoɣuru-* 3; Kh. *cō* 1, *cōlo-* 2; Bur. *sōlgo* 'ice-hole, прорубь', *sōnog* 'hole'; Kalm. *cōl-* 2 (KPC); Ord. *čōl-* 2; Mog. *čōlō*; ZM *čɔ̄lɔ̄* 'hole, window' (14-4b); Dag. *čōro-* 3 (Тод. Даг. 182); Bao. *čolə-*, *čorə-* 2; S.-Yugh. *čūl-*; Mongr. *ćōli-* (SM 454), *čōlə-* (Huzu) 2.

◊ MGCD 573, 574.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss (but cf. also Tuva *šuptu* 'all' < TM?). See PKE 38 (although Kor. *čōi* hardly belongs here).

D

✸**dǎgá** near; to follow: Tung. ***daga**; Mong. ***daɣa-ri-**; Turk. ***jạgu-**; Jpn. ***dánká-**; Kor. ***ta(h)-**.

PTung. ***daga** 1 near 2 soon 3 for a short time (1 близкий 2 вскоре 3 ненадолго): Evk. *daga* 1; Evn. *dā-lị* 1; Neg. *daɣa* 1; Man. *da-rtaj* 2; SMan. *d́aritī*, *dartai* 'at once, instantaneously' (2689); Jurch. *di-ɣa-sa* (681) 1; Nan. *da-ptị* 3; Ud. *dā-saʹ* 1 (Корм. 226); Sol. *daga* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 187-188.

PMong. ***daɣa-ri-** to pass; to hit in passing, offend (проходить мимо; задевать): MMong. *daʹari-* (SH, HYt); WMong. *daɣari-* (L 218); Kh. *dajra-*; Bur. *dajra-*; Kalm. *dā̄r-*; Ord. *dāri-*; Dag. *dāri-*; S.-Yugh. *dār-*; Mongr. *dāri-* 'rencontrer en chemin, dire en passant' (SM 45).

◊ KW 83, MGCD 191, TMN 1, 318. Mong. > Chag. *dari-*; Yak., Dolg. *tārij-* (Kał. MEJ 28, Stachowski 219); Man. *dari-* id. The original meaning is 'to pass closely' (not 'hit', pace Doerfer).

PTurk. ***jạgu-** 1 to draw near 2 near (1 приближаться 2 близкий): OTurk. *jaɣu-* (OUygh.) 1, *jaɣuq* (Orkh.) 2; Karakh. *jaɣu-* (MK, KB) 1, *jaɣuq* (MK) 2; Tur. *javuk* 2; Az. *javɨ-* 1 (dial.), *jowuG* 2; Turkm. *jovu-* 1 (dial.), *jowuq* 2; MTurk. *javu-* (Pav. C.) 1, *javuq* (Abush.) 2; Uzb. *jɔvuq* 2; Tat. *jawuq*, *juwɨq* (dial.); Kirgh. *ǯū-* 1, *ǯūq* 2; Kaz. *žuw-* 1, *žuwɨq* 2; KBalk. *žuwuq*, *zuwuq*; KKalp. *žuw-* 1, *žuwɨq* 2; Kum. *juwuq* 2; Nogh. *juwɨ-* 1; Oyr. *jū-*, *d́u-* 1, *jūq*, *d́ūq* 2; Tv. *čōq* 2; Chuv. *śɨvъx* 2; Yak. *čugas* 2; Dolg. *hugas*, *čugas* 2, *hugahā-* 1.

◊ ЭСТЯ 4, 62-63, EDT 898, 901, Stachowski 75, 110.

PJpn. ***dánká-** soon after, before long (вскоре, немного спустя) : MJpn. *jágáte*; Tok. *yàgate*; Kyo. *yàgàté*; Kag. *yagáte*.

◊ JLTT 570. The accent in Kagoshima is aberrant, otherwise all dialects point to high tone.

PKor. ***ta(h)-** following (следующий): Mod. *tai-m*.

◊ KED 388.

‖ EAS 51, 91, 92, KW 72, Poppe 22, Doerfer MT 241, АПиПЯЯ 15, 26-27, 71, 278, Дыбо 12. Closed vowel in Turkic is unexpected (*jag- would be a normal reflex).

✱**dǎgì** enemy, alien: Tung. ***dagu-r**; Mong. ***dajin**; Turk. ***jagɨ**; Jpn. ***(d)ìkùsà**; Kor. ***tōi**.

PTung. ***dagu-r** 1 friend 2 Daghur 3 allied kin (1 друг 2 дагур(ы) 3 союзный род): Evk. *doɣor*, *daɣor* 1; Evn. *doɣō* 1; Man. *daχur* 2; Nan. *doχa* 1, 3; Sol. *daɣṷr* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 189, 211, 212. Neg., Oroch, Ul., Orok *doχa* 'allied kin' < Nan. (which itself may be historically a Manchurism). TM > WMong. *daɣur*, Dag. *dagur*, *daur* (Тод. Даг. 134), Yak. *doɣor*, Dolg. *dogo*, *dogor* (Stachowski 81).

PMong. ***dajin** war (война): MMong. *dai'jin*, *dai'jisun* (SH), *dāin* 'enemy' (IM), *dain* (MA); WMong. *dajin* (L 222); Kh. *dajn*; Bur. *daj(n)*; Kalm. *dā̄n*; Ord. *dā̄n* 'war; enemy'; Dag. *dain*, *daisan* (Тод. Даг. 134, MD 132); S.-Yugh. *dain*.

◊ KW 83, MGCD 192. Mong. > Man. *dain* etc., see Doerfer MT 115, Rozycki 54.

PTurk. ***jagɨ** enemy, war (враг, война): OTurk. *jaɣɨ* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *jaɣɨ* (MK); Tur. *jaɣɨ*; Az. *jaɣɨ*; Turkm. *jaɣɨ*; Khal. *jaɣɨ*; MTurk. *jaɣɨ* (Houts.); Uzb. *jɔw*, (dial.) *jaw, jāɣɨ*; Uygh. *jaw, jaɣɨ*, *jäɣɨ* (dial.); Tat. *jaw*; Bashk. *jaw*; Kirgh. *ǯō*; Kaz. *žaw*; KBalk. *ǯaw*, *žaw*, *zaw*; KKalp. *žaw*; Kum. *jaw*; Nogh. *jaw*; SUygh. *jaɣɨ*; Khak. *čā*; Shr. *čā*; Oyr. *jū, ḱu*; Tv. *čā*; Chuv. *śu* 'heathen'; Yak. *sɨa-kār* 'rogue, villain'.

◊ VEWT 178, ЭСТЯ 4, 55-56, Лексика 561, Федотов 2, 129 (?).

PJpn. ***(d)ìkùsà** warrior, war (воин, война): OJpn. *ikusa*; MJpn. *ìkùsà*; Tok. *ikusá*; Kyo. *ìkúsà*; Kag. *ikusá*.

◊ JLTT 423. Kyoto points to **ìkúsà*, all other forms - to **ìkùsà*.

PKor. ***tōi** barbarian (варвар): MKor. *tōi*; Mod. *twē*.

◊ Nam 161, KED 496.

‖ EAS 50, 88, KW 83, Владимирцов 267, Дыбо 7, 15. Borrowing in Mong. from Turk. (TMN 4, 101-102, Щербак 1997, 121) is impossible. A suffixed form **dagi-gu* (**dagi-u*) accounts for labialization in the second syllable (in TM, Jpn. and, originally, in Kor.).

✱**dagV** shoulder bone, back: Tung. ***daga-**; Mong. ***dajira / *daɣari**; Turk. ***jagɨr, *jagrɨn**.

PTung. ***daga-** hip, hip bone, shoulder bone (бедро, бедренная кость, плечевая кость): Evk. *daɣańa*; Neg. *daɣańa*; Man. *dabsi* 'shoulder'; Ork. *dāna*.

◊ TMC 1, 184, 188. TM > Dag. *dagan* (Тод. Даг. 134).

PMong. ***dajira / *daɣari** 1 withers 2 abrasion, sore on back of animal (1 холка 2 ссадина на спине животного): MMong. *da'ari* 1 (SH), *dari* 2 (MA); WMong. *dajira* 1 (L 222: *dajir* 2), *daɣari* 2 (L 218); Kh. *dajr* 1, 2; Bur. *dāri*, *dajr* 2; Kalm. *dā̄rə* 1; Ord. *dāri* 2; Dag. *dāre* (MD 131), *dāri*, *dāŕ* (Тод. Даг. 135), *dār* 2,; Dong. *daru-san* 2; S.-Yugh. *dārə* 2; Mongr. *dārə*, *dāri* (SM 45) 2.

◊ KW 83, MGCD 182. Mong. > Evk. *daɣarin* etc., see Poppe 1966, 190, Doerfer MT 76.

PTurk. ***jagɨr, *jagrɨn** back, shoulderblade (спина, лопатка): Tur. *jaɣrɨ*, dial. *jaɣɨr*, *jaɣrɨ*; Turkm. *jaɣɨrnɨ*; *jaɣɨrɨn*, *jaɣrɨn* (dial.); Sal. *jaɣrə* (Kakuk); MTurk. *jaɣrɨn* (Pav. C., AH, Ettuhf.); Uzb. *jaɣrin*; Tat. *jawɨrɨn*, *jawɨrnɨ*, *ǯawɨr* (dial.); Bashk. *jawɨrɨn* (dial.); Kum. *jawrun*; Nogh. *jawɨrɨn*.

◊ VEWT 178, ЭСТЯ 4, 65-67, Дыбо 139-141, Лексика 242.

‖ Владимирцов 318, Колесникова 1972a, 89-91. A Western isogloss. Despite Щербак 1997, 121 Mong. is not < Turk. Turk. **jagɨr* represents in fact a merger of two different original roots (see **ńeka*). See also TMN 4, 177-178 (with unconvincing criticism).

✱**dáku** coverlet: Tung. ***dakan-**; Turk. ***jogurgan**; Jpn. ***dúká**.

PTung. ***dakan-** 1 to cover 2 coverlet, mat (1 покрывать 2 покрывало, подстилка): Ul. *daqan-* 1, *daqanča(n)* 2; Ork. *daqan-* 1, *daqapta* 2; Nan. *daqa-* 1, *daqača* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 191.

PTurk. ***jogurgan** blanket (одеяло): OTurk. *joɣurqan* (OUygh.); Karakh. *joɣurqan* (MK); Tur. *joɣan*; Gag. *joɣan*; Az. *joɣan*; Turkm. *joɣan*; Sal. *joɣan*; Khal. *joɣān*; MTurk. *joɣan* (Ettuhf.), *juɣan* (Houts.), *jawurqan* (MA); Uygh. *jo(r)tqan*; Krm. *joɣan*; Tat. *juɣan*; Bashk. *juɣan*; Kirgh. *ǯūrqan*; KBalk. *ǯuwuɣan*, *ǯūɣan*, *žuwuɣan*, *zuwuɣan*; Kum. *jowuɣan*; Nogh. *jurqan*, *juwɨrqan*; Khak. *čoɣan*; Oyr. *ḑūrqan*; Tv. *čōɣan*; Yak. *suoɣan*; Dolg. *huorgan*, *suorgan*.

◊ EDT 907, VEWT 205, ЭСТЯ 4, 225-226, Stachowski 112.

PJpn. ***dúká** floor (пол): OJpn. *juka*; MJpn. *júká*; Tok. *yùka*; Kyo. *yúká*; Kag. *yúka*.

◊ JLTT 579. Cf. Kor. *jò* 'cushion, mattress' < Jpn.?

‖ Cf. also Bur. *dagadxa* 'unworked leather, leather mat'. Turk. -o- must be a result of secondary narrowing in a polysyllabic word < **jagu-rgan*.

✱**dǎkʿì** follow, near: Tung. ***daxa-**; Mong. ***daka-, *daga-**; Turk. ***jAk-ɨn**; Jpn. ***tìkà-**.

PTung. ***daxa-** to follow, obey (следовать, подчиняться): Neg. *daxaw-*; Man. *daχa-*; SMan. *dahə-* (1181); Jurch. *tai-xa* (360); Ul. *daχaṷ-*; Ork. *daχṷrị-*; Nan. *daχa-*; Orch. *daχu-*; Ud. *dahala-* (-li-) 'to agree' (Корм. 226).

◊ TMC 1, 191.

PMong. ***daka-, *daga-** to follow (следовать за к.-л.): MMong. *daqa-* (HY 33, SH); WMong. *daɣa-* (L 216); Kh. *daga-*; Bur. *daxa-*; Kalm. *daxə-*; Ord. *daGa-*; Dag. *daga-* (Тод. Даг. 134), *dahe* (MD 131); Dong. *daGa-*; Bao. *daGa-*, (MGCD) *degə-*; S.-Yugh. *taʁa-* (MGCD *daʁā-*); Mongr. *daGā-* (SM 38).

◊ KW 72, MGCD 189. The variant with -g- is obviously a result of later assimilation < **daka-*.

PTurk. ***jAk-** 1 to come near 2 near 3 to come near to each other, pass 3 good (1 приближаться 2 близкий 3 приближаться, подходить 4 хороший): OTurk. *jaq-* (OUygh.) 1, *jaqɨn* (OUygh.) 2, *jaqɨš-* (OUygh.) 3; Karakh. *jaq-* (MK, KB) 1, *jaqɨn* (MK) 2, *jaqɨš-* (MK) 3, *jaχšɨ* (MK) 4; Tur. *jakɨn* 2, *jakɨš-* 3, *jakšɨ* 4; Gag. *jaqɨn* 2, *jaqɨš-* 3; Az. *jaxɨn* 2, *jaxšɨ* 4; Turkm. *jaq-* 1, *jaqɨn* 2, *jaGšɨ* 4; Sal. *jaχɨn* 2, *jaχšɨ* 4; MTurk. *jaqɨn* (MA) 2, *jaχšɨ* 4 (MA); Uzb. *jaqin* 2, *jaxši* 4; Uygh. *jaq-* 1, *jeqin* 2, *jaqši* 4; Krm. *jaqɨn* 2, *jaqšɨ* 4; Tat. *jaqɨn* 2, *jaxšɨ* 4; Bashk. *jaqɨn* 2, *jaqšɨ* 4; Kirgh. *ǯaqɨn* 2, *ǯaqšɨ* 4; Kaz. *žaqɨn* 2, *žaqsɨ* 4; KKalp. *žaqɨn* 2, *žaqsɨ* 4; Nogh. *jaqɨn* 2, *jaxšɨ* 4; SUygh. *jahGɨn* 2, *jaxš(i)* 4; Khak. *čaɣɨn* 2, *čaxsɨ* 4; Tv. *čɨɣī* 'close to'; Tof. *čɨ'xa-* 'to press to'.

◊ VEWT 178, 180, EDT 896-9, 901, 904, 908-9, ЭСТЯ 4, 63-64, 81, 84, TMN 4, 179.

PJpn. ***tìkà-** near (близкий): OJpn. *tika-*; MJpn. *tìkà-*; Tok. *chiká-*; Kyo. *chíka-*; Kag. *chiká-*.

◊ JLTT 842.

‖ KW 73, ОСНЯ 1, 215-216, Doerfer TMN 4, 105 (with some unsubstantial criticism), MT 241, АПиПЯЯ 15, 26-27, 71, 278. Despite Doerfer MT 142, TM is hardly borrowed from Mong.

✱**dǎla** wave, deep place: Tung. ***dal-**; Mong. ***dalaj**; Turk. ***dāl-**; Jpn. ***dara**.

PTung. ***dal-** 1 overflow, inundation 2 small wave, jet (1 наводнение, половодье 2 струя, рябь, волны): Neg. *dalan* 1; Man. *dol-čin* 2; Ul. *dala(n)* 1; Nan. *dalã* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 193, 214. Rozycki 61 proposes Man. *dolčin* < Mong. *dolgijan* (v. sub **čalu*), which is hardly possible.

PMong. ***dalaj** sea, ocean (море, океан): MMong. *dalai* (HY 3, SH), *dalai* (MA); WMong. *dalai* (L 224); Kh. *dalaj*; Bur. *dalaj*; Kalm. *dalā̆*, *dalā*; Ord. *dalā̆*; Dag. *dalai* (Тод. Даг. 134: *daĺē* MD 132); S.-Yugh. *dalī*; Mongr. *dalī*, *dalə* (SM 41).

◊ KW 73, MGCD 193, 633. Mong. > Evk. *dalai* (Doerfer MT 125); Chag. *dalaj* etc., see TMN 1, 325, VEWT 130).

PTurk. ***dāl-** 1 to sink 2 ocean (1 погружать(ся) 2 море, океан): OTurk. *taluj* 2 (Orkh., OUygh.); Tur. *dal-* 1; Gag. *dal-* 1; Turkm. *dāl-* 1 (dial.); MTurk. *tal-*, *dal-* 1; Krm. *dal-* 1; Tat. *tal-* 1 (dial.); Tv. *tal-* (Castr.) 'swim'.

◊ ЭСТЯ 3, 133-134 (to be separated from **Tal-* 'to faint'); EDT 502 (the Chinese etymology of OT *taluj* seems hardly plausible: the compound MC *dâj-lwi* is not attested, and we would expect **Tajluj*, not **Taluj* anyway).

PJpn. ***dara** sea bottom, deep place (морское дно, глубокое место): OJpn. *jara*.

‖ Владимирцов 368, Doerfer MT 125. Despite TMN 1, 325, EDT 502 Mong. cannot be < Turkic (initial d- cannot be explained). See notes to **ťȍle*.

✱**dala (~ -e-)** a k. of building: Mong. ***dal**; Jpn. ***da**.

PMong. ***dal** warm shelter for large cattle (хлев, стойло): WMong. *dal* (L 223); Kh. *dal*; Bur. *dal*; Kalm. *dalə* (KPC).

PJpn. ***da** house (дом, комната): OJpn. ja; MJpn. *já*; Tok. *yá*; Kyo. *yà*; Kag. *yà*.

◊ JLTT 569. RJ has the "right upper" dot and the original accent is not quite clear.

‖ Street 1985, 640. A Mong.-Jpn. isogloss.

✱**dàli** to roast, burn: Tung. ***dalga-**; Mong. ***dölü**; Jpn. ***(d)ìr-**; Kor. ***tàr-**.

PTung. ***dalga-** to roast (жарить): Evk. *dalga-*; Evn. *dalgat-/č-*; Neg. *dalga-*; Ul. *ʒalGa-*; Ork. *dalda-*; Nan. *dalGa-*; Sol. *dalga-* 'to burn'.

◊ TMC 1, 193-194.

PMong. ***dölü** flame (пламя): WMong. *dölü*, *döli* (L 267); Kh. *döl*; Bur. *düle(n)*.

◊ Mong. > Yak., Dolg. *tölön* (Stachowski 228).

PJpn. ***(d)ir-** to roast, fry (жарить): OJpn. *ir-*; MJpn. *ìr-*; Tok. *ír-*; Kyo. *ìr-*; Kag. *ìr-*.

◊ JLTT 698.

PKor. ***tàr-** to roast, burn (жарить, жечь): MKor. *tàr-hí-*; Mod. *tāl-* 'be hot, burned'.

◊ Liu 200, KED 403.

‖ EAS 1, 124, SKE 252. Korean has a usual verbal low tone; Mong. **dölü* < **deli-w* (from an earlier **deli-w*). On a possible Turkic reflex see under **ʒi̯ale*.

✱**dàli** glue; to glue, stick: Tung. ***dāl-bu-**; Mong. ***ʒil-**; Turk. ***jẹli-m**.

PTung. ***dāl-bu-** to glue, stick to (клеить, прилипать): Evk. *dalbu-*; Evn. *dālbu-*; Neg. *dālbụ-*; Man. *dalu-*; Ul. *darpụ-*; Nan. *dālpo-*; Ud. *dagbu-*.

◊ Cf. also Evk. *dāl-* 'to stick to, be boring' (which probably reflects the original suffixless stem **dāl(a)-*). See TMC 1, 192.

PMong. ***ʒil-** fish glue (рыбий клей): MMong. *ʒil-sün* (MA); WMong. *ʒilaγan*; Kalm. *ʒalān* 'Schleim'; Bao. *ʒilsoŋ* 'glue'; Mongr. *ʒulsə* 'glue'.

◊ KW 107, MGCD 555.

PTurk. ***jẹli-m** glue (клей): OTurk. *jelim* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jelim* (MK); Tur. *jilim*; Turkm. *jelim*; MTurk. *jelim* (Ettuhf.), *jilim* (AH); Uzb. *jelim*; Uygh. *jelim*; Tat. *ʒilem*; Bashk. *jelem*; Kirgh. *ʒelim*; Kaz. *želim*; KBalk. *jelim*, *ʒelim*, *želim*; KKalp. *želim*; Nogh. *jelim*; SUygh. *jilɨm*; Shr. *čelim*; Oyr. *jelim*, *ḱelim*; Chuv. *śiləm*; Yak. *silim*; Dolg. *hilim*.

◊ EDT 928-929, VEWT 196, ЭСТЯ 4, 179-180, TMN 4, 189, Stachowski 103.

‖ ЭСТЯ 4, 180. A Western isogloss. Turkic must have a secondary narrowing *e > *ẹ here (in a disyllabic structure?).

✱**dalo** sweet, tasty: Tung. ***dal-di**; Turk. ***j[ɨ]l-ɨnčga**; Kor. ***tǎr-**.

PTung. ***dal-di** tasty, sweet (вкусный, сладкий): Evk. *dalli*, *daldi*; Evn. *dalrъ*; Neg. *dalịgdị̄*.

◊ TMC 1, 195.

PTurk. ***j[ɨ]l-ɨnčga** tasteless food (пресная пища): Karakh. *jɨlɨnčɣa* (MK).

◊ EDT 931.

PKor. ***tǎr-** sweet (сладкий): MKor. *tǎr-*; Mod. *tal-*.

◊ Nam 140, KED 403.

‖ SKE 253, EAS 51. In Turk. *-a- would be expected; Karakh. *jɨlɨnčga* is probably an assimilation < **jalɨnčga*.

✱**dalpʹV (~ -e-, -p-)** to shake, sway: Mong. ***delbe- / *dalba-**; Turk. ***jelpi- / *jalpɨ-**.

PMong. ***delbe- / *dalba-** to shake, sway, wave (качать, трясти): MMong. *dilbu-* 'to fan' (MA 213); WMong. *delbegene-*, *delbelǯe-*, *dalbalǯa-* (L 225, 247); Kh. *delbegne-*, *delbelʒe-*, *dalbalʒa-*; Bur. *dalba-* 'махать, развеваться'; Kalm. *delwlzə-*, *dalwlzə-*; Dag. *delebure* 'fan' (MD 136).

◊ KW 75, 87. A Mong. origin is probable for Oyr. *talbi-*, Turk. *tal(a)bi-*, *dalabi-* etc. (see EDT 493), although one should note that the derivatives *talpɨn-* and *talpɨr-* are already attested in MK.

PTurk. ***jelpi- / *jalpɨ-** 1 to flap, winnow 2 to shake, sway 3 fan (1 махать, веять 2 трясти, качать 3 веер, опахало): Karakh. *jelpit-* 1 (caus.) (MK); Tur. *jelpaze* 3; Az. *jelpik* 3; Turkm. *jelpe-* 1; MTurk. *jelpi-* (Sangl.); Uzb. *jelpi-* 1; Uygh. *jälpü-* 1; Krm. *jelpi-* 1; Tat. *ǯilpe-* 1; Bashk. *jelpe-* 1; Kirgh. *ǯelpi-*, *ǯelbire-* 1; Kaz. *želpi-* 1; KKalp. *želpi-* 1; Kum. *jelpi-* 1; Nogh. *jelpi-* 1; Khak. *čelbe-*, *čalbra-* 2; Oyr. *jelbi-*, *ḱelbi-* 1, *jalbra-* 2; Tv. *čelbi-*, *čelwi-* 1; Yak. *salbɨrā-* 2.

◊ EDT 920, VEWT 182, 196, ЭСТЯ 4, 182. Derivation from **jel* 'wind' is highly improbable (at the most we can speak of a secondary contamination of roots).

‖ KW 87. An expressive Turk.-Mong. isogloss, tending to merge (both in Turk. and Mong.) with the reflexes of **delpʹa* 'flat, broad' ("to shake, flatter (of flat objects)"). One cannot exclude that a merger indeed took place, and the original shape of the root had been **dalV* (~ -e-) without the *-pʹ-: cf. WMong. *dalaji-* 'to brandish, swing' (see TMN 1, 328-329), dele- 'to wave, flap (wings)'; Karakh. *jalŋu* 'flip-flap, the swing' (EDT 930), see SKE 258.

✱**dǻlV (~ -ē-)** nape, withers: Mong. ***dalaŋ**; Turk. ***jāl**; Kor. ***tər-mi**.

PMong. ***dalaŋ** counter, withers, nape of neck (of animals) (загривок, холка): WMong. *dalaŋ* (L 224); Kh. *dalaŋ*; Bur. *dalan*; Kalm. *dalŋ*

(KPC); Ord. *dalaŋ* 'long hill'; Mog. ? *dallanä* 'to carry on the shoulders' (Ramstedt 1906).

◊ Mong. > Evk. *dalaŋ* etc., see Poppe 1974, 121, Doerfer MT 96, Rozycki 54.

PTurk. ***jāl** mane, counter, scruff (холка, грива): Karakh. *jal* (MK); Tur. *jal* (dial.); Az. *jal*; Turkm. *jāl*; Khal. *jāl*; MTurk. *jal* (AH); Uzb. *jɔl*; Uygh. *jal*; Krm. *jal*; *jalda-* 'to swim grasping the horse's counter; to swim'; Tat. *jal*; Bashk. *jal*; Kirgh. *ǯal*; Kaz. *žal*; KBalk. *ǯal*; KKalp. *žal*; Kum. *jal*; Nogh. *jal*; Shr. *čal*; Oyr. *jal*, *d́al*; Tv. *čal*; Yak. *sāl*.

◊ Дыбо 220-222, EDT 916, ЭСТЯ 4, 85-86, 93-94 (for **jāl-da-*), Лексика 146-147.

PKor. ***tər-mi** counter, scruff (затылок, загривок, шиворот): Mod. *təlmi*.

◊ KED 449.

‖ KW 73, Poppe 97, Дыбо 306, Лексика 147; TMN 4, 106 ("...unklar"). The root seems to be distinct from *dḗlì (*dḗjlì) q.v.

✸**dǎĺà (~ -o)** to close, hide: Tung. ***dal(i)-**; Mong. ***dal-**; Turk. ***jaĺ-**; Jpn. ***dàsìrə̀**; Kor. ***tjə́r**.

PTung. ***dal(i)-** to close (закрывать): Evk. *dal(i)-*; Man. *dali-*; SMan. *dali-* 'to defend' (794); Ul. *dālị-*; Nan. *dālịa-*.

◊ See TMC 1, 192. TM > Dag. *dali-* (Тод. Даг. 134). Length in Ul. and Nanai is not clear.

PMong. ***dal-** hidden, secret (тайный, спрятанный): MMong. *dalda* 'Schirm, Schutz' (SH), *dalda*, *daldadu* (MA 138); WMong. *dalda* (L 225); Kh. *dald*; Bur. *dalda*; Kalm. *daldə*; Ord. *dalda*; Dag. *dalda* (Тод. Даг. 134; MGCD *dalida*), *dalede* (MD 132); S.-Yugh. *dalda*.

◊ KW 73, MGCD 195. Mong. > late MTurk. *dalda* (see ЭСТЯ 3, 138-139, Щербак 1997, 203), Sol., Nan. *dalda* etc. (see Doerfer MT 18, Rozycki 54).

PTurk. ***jaĺ-** to close, hide (закрывать(ся), прятать(ся)): OTurk. *jaš-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jaš-* (MK); Az. *jaš-* (dial.); Turkm. *jaš-*; MTurk. *jaš-* (AH); SUygh. *jas-*; Yak. *sas-*.

◊ VEWT 192, ЭСТЯ 4, 160-161. Very widely spread are also the derivatives **jaĺɨn-*, **jaĺɨr-*, see ibid.

PJpn. ***dàsìrə̀** shrine, enclosure for worship of deities (храм): OJpn. *jasiro*; MJpn. *jàsìrò*; Tok. *yáshiro*; Kyo. *yáshìrò*; Kag. *yashiró*.

◊ JLTT 574. Accent in Tokyo is irregular.

PKor. ***tjə́r** temple (храм): MKor. *tjə́r*; Mod. *čəl*.

◊ Nam 155, KED 1441. Kor. > OJ *tera* (**tiárà*), see JLTT 545.

‖ EAS 51, KW 73, Владимирцов 365, Poppe 22-23, 77, Дыбо 12, Miller 1970, 127, Street 1980, 297, JOAL 86. Despite Doerfer MT 18, PTM **dali-* cannot be borrowed from Mong.

✸**dàma** ill, sick, bad: Tung. ***dam-**; Turk. ***jAman**; Jpn. ***dàm-**.

PTung. ***dam-** 1 old, worn out 2 to act as an aggressor (1 ветхий, старый 2 выступать зачинщиком): Nan. *dambịča-* 2; Ud. *dāmpihi-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 195.

PTurk. ***jAman** 1 bad, wicked 2 sickness, inflammation (1 плохой, скверный 2 болезнь, воспаление): OTurk. *jaman* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *jaman* 1 (MK); Tur. *jaman* 1; Az. *jaman* 1; Turkm. *jaman* 1, 2; Sal. *jaman* 1; MTurk. *jaman* (AH) 1; Uzb. *jɔmɔn* 1; Uygh. *jaman* 1; Krm. *jaman* 1; Tat. *jaman* 1; Bashk. *jaman* 1; Kirgh. *šaman* 1; Kaz. *žaman* 1; KBalk. *aman* 1; KKalp. *žaman* 1; Kum. *jaman* 1; Nogh. *jaman* 1; SUygh. *jaman* 1; Oyr. *jaman*, *ďaman* 1, 2.

◊ VEWT 184, EDT 937, ЭСТЯ 4, 109. Cf. Yak. *simija* 'lie, deceit'. The meaning 'bad disease' is attested already in Old Turkic.

PJpn. ***dàm-** to be ill, sick (болеть): OJpn. jam-; MJpn. *jàm-*; Tok. *yám-*; Kyo. *yám-*; Kag. *yám-*.

◊ JLTT 785. RJ and Tokyo point to **jàm-*; the tonally aberrant Kyoto and Kagoshima reflexes may have been influenced by the literary language.

‖ Despite SKE 75 there is no reason at all to suppose a Chinese origin of the Turkic form (MC *ja-mạn* 'savage, barbarian' is too distant semantically; the usage of PT **jAman* for a bad disease, sickness is very close to Japanese and may suggest that the original meaning of the root was 'ill(ness), sick(ness)').

✱**dȁmù** only: Tung. ***dāmu**; Jpn. ***dùmài**.

PTung. ***dāmu** 1 only, merely 2 perhaps, rather (1 только, единственно 2 может быть, пожалуй): Evk. *dāmukte* 2; Man. *damu* 1; SMan. *damə* 1 (2970); Nan. *damụ* 1 (may be < Manchu).

◊ TMC 1, 195.

PJpn. ***dùmài** ever (usually with negation) (когда-либо, только (обычно с отрицанием)): OJpn. *jume*; MJpn. *jùmé*; Tok. *yúme*, *yumé*; Kyo. *yúmè*; Kag. *yumé*.

◊ JLTT 579. Modern dialects point also to a variant **dùmài*.

‖ An interesting TM-Jpn. isogloss. It is perhaps worth noting the particle *jamu* mentioned by MK for contexts like "sen baryɨl jamu" 'go, will you' (see EDT 934).

✱**dȁŋkʿV (~ t-)** blame, guilt: Tung. ***daŋ-**; Jpn. ***tènká**.

PTung. ***daŋ-** to blame, rebuke (упрекать, делать выговор): Neg. *daŋǯaxan-*; Man. *daŋsi-*; Ul. *daŋsụ-*; Nan. *daŋsị-*.

◊ TMC 1, 196.

PJpn. ***tènká** guilt (вина): OJpn. toga; MJpn. *tògá*; Tok. *tóga*; Kyo. *tógà*; Kag. *togá*.

◊ JLTT 547. Accent in Kyoto is irregular (perhaps influenced by the Tokyo pronunciation).

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss.

✱**dà̀pà** to cross (a mountain): Tung. ***dāb-***; Mong. ***daba-***; Jpn. ***dàmà***.

PTung. ***dāb-*** to cross (a river) (переправляться): Evk. *dāw-*, *dāɣ-*; Evn. *daw-*; Neg. *daw-*; Man. *dō-*; SMan. *dau-* (1219); Ul. *daụ-*; Ork. *dāụ-*; Nan. *dā(w)-*; Orch. *dau-*; Ud. *dau-*.

◊ TMC 1, 187 (the words in 185-186, e.g. Man. *daba-*, *dabaGan*, are < Mong., cf. Doerfer MT 38, Rozycki 52).

PMong. ***daba-*** cross (a mountain) (переваливать (через гору)): MMong. *daba-*, *daba'an* (SH); WMong. *daba-* (L 211); Kh. *dava-*; Bur. *daba-*; Kalm. *daw-*, *dawān*; Ord. *dawa-*; Dag. *dawa-*, *dau-*, *dawā* (n.) (Тод. Даг. 134, MD 133); Dong. *dava-*; S.-Yugh. *dawa-*; Mongr. *dawā-* (SM 47).

◊ KW 80, MGCD 184. All languages also reflect the derivate **daba-ɣan* 'mountain pass'. Mong. > Chag. *taban* 'mountain pass' (see Щербак 1997, 203).

PJpn. ***dàmà*** mountain (гора): OJpn. jama; MJpn. *jàmà*; Tok. *yamá*; Kyo. *jámà*; Kag. *jamá*.

◊ JLTT 571.

‖ KW 80, Poppe 23, 45, JOAL 85, 86, Murayama 1962, 108, АПиПЯЯ 15, 104, 109 (with an explanation of Jpn. -m-: **dàmà* < **dàpa-(ga)n* = Mong. *dabaɣan*), 276.

✱**dari (~ t-)** to freeze: Tung. ***dar-***; Mong. ***dereji-***; Jpn. ***(d)ita-***.

PTung. ***dar-*** 1 icedrift 2 snow crust 3 water flowing over ice (1 торос 2 наст 3 вода, текущая поверх льда): Evk. *dar* 1, *darkin* 2, 3; Nan. *darχol* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 198. Cf. also Yak. *tarɨn* 'frazil' - possibly from some TM source.

PMong. ***dereji-*** to become stiff, freeze stiff (замерзать, застывать): WMong. *dereji-* (L 253); Kh. *derij-*.

PJpn. ***(d)ita-*** to freeze, freeze stiff (замерзать, застывать): MJpn. *ita-*.

‖ The root is not widely represented, but seems to be well reconstructable for PA.

✱**dărV(mV)** back, waist: Tung. ***darama***; Mong. ***dere(me)***; Turk. ***jarɨn***.

PTung. ***darama*** waist, back (поясница, спина): Evk. *darama*; Evn. *darъm*; Neg. *dajama*; Man. *dara*, *darama*; SMan. *darəmə* (95); Ul. *darama*; Ork. *darama*; Nan. *darama*; Orch. *dāma;* Ud. *dāma*; Sol. *darama*.

◊ TMC 1, 198. TM > Dag. *daram*, *darma* (Тод. Даг. 135); > Dolg. *darama* (Stachowski 77).

PMong. ***dere(me)*** pillow, cushion (подушка): MMong. *dere* (HY 21, SH), *dirǎ* (MA); WMong. *dere* (L 253), *derem-deg*; Kh. *der(en)*; Bur. *dere*; Kalm. *derə*, *derm-deg*; Ord. *dere*; Dag. *derbe* (Тод. Даг. 136; MGCD *dereb*, MD 136: *derebe*); *dareme* 'back' (MD 133);; S.-Yugh. *dere*; Mongr. *dere* (SM 52), (MGCD *dəre*).

◊ KW 89, MGCD 218.

PTurk. ***jarɨn** shoulder, shoulderblade (плечо, лопатка): OTurk. *jarɨn* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jarɨn* (MK); SUygh. *jarɨn*; Khak. *čarɨn*; Shr. *čarɨn*; Oyr. *jarɨn*, *ďarɨn*; Tv. *čarɨn*; Chuv. *śorъm*; Yak. *sarɨn*; Dolg. *sarɨn*, *sannɨ*.

◊ EDT 970, ЭСТЯ 4, 66, Лексика 242, Дыбо 139-141, Федотов 2, 142, Stachowski 209. Forms going back to **jagrɨn* are due to a merger with **jagɨr* (v. sub **dagV*).

‖ A Western isogloss. Somewhat different in Дыбо 305, Лексика 242; for Turkic cf. also PTM **dīre* 'shoulderblade' (TMC 1, 205).

✱**dasa** to regulate, govern: Tung. ***dasa-**; Mong. ***das-**; Turk. ***jAsa-**; Kor. ***tàs-**.

PTung. ***dasa-** to govern, regulate (править, управлять): Man. *dasa-*; SMan. *dasə-* (1039).

◊ TMC 1, 201. Man. > Dag. *dasa-* 'to correct, govern' (Тод. Даг. 135).

PMong. ***das-** to get accustomed (привыкать): WMong. *das-*, *dasu-* (L 236, 237); Kh. *das-*; Kalm. *das-*; Ord. *das-*; Dag. *dasūn* 'sweet' (Тод. Даг. 135); S.-Yugh. *dasanna-* (MGCD 188).

◊ KW 79.

PTurk. ***jAsa-** 1 to determine, govern 2 to create (1 определять, управлять 2 создавать): Tur. *jasa-* 1; Turkm. *jasa-* 2; Sal. *jasa-* 2; MTurk. *jasa-* 1 (Ettuhf., Pav. C., Abush.) 1, 2; Uzb. *jasa-* 2; Uygh. *jasa-* 2; Krm. *jasa-* 1, 2; Tat. *jasa-* 1, 2; Bashk. *jaha-* 1, 2; Kirgh. *ǯasa-* 1, 2; Kaz. *žasa-* 2; KKalp. *žasa-* 2; Kum. *jasa-* 2; Nogh. *jasa-* 2; Khak. *čaza-* 2; Shr. *čaza-* 2; Oyr. *jaza-*, *ďaza-* 1, 2; Tv. *čaza-* 2.

◊ VEWT 191, ЭСТЯ 4, 150-152. The verb has been also read in the Kül-Tegin inscription (8th c.), but Clauson (EDT 974) contests the reading. Turk. > Mong. *ǯasa-* id. (KW 468), whence Evk. *ǯasa-* etc., see Doerfer MT 61; TMN 4, 92-96, EDT and Щербак 1997, 204, however, regard the Turkic forms as Mongolisms).

PKor. ***tàsǎr-** 1 to govern, regulate 2 to improve, order, correct (1 управлять, регулировать 2 улучшать, упорядочивать, исправлять): MKor. *tàsǎr-* 1, *tàsk-* 2; Mod. *tasɨri-* 1, *tak*:- 2.

◊ Liu 194, 202, KED 386, 392.

‖ Lee 1958, 107 (TM-Kor.). The combination of meanings in Mong. here is suspiciously similar to PA **čiǎtu* (> Mong. *dadu-*); so one may wonder if Mong. **das-* is not actually a derivative of *dad- (**dad-s-*). In that case the form should be removed from the present etymology.

✱**dǎsi** a flat cover: Tung. ***dasi-**; Mong. ***dasinga**; Turk. ***jAs-**; Kor. ***tìsài**.

PTung. ***dasi-** to cover (покрывать, закрывать): Evk. *das-*; Evn. *das-*; Neg. *das-*; Man. *dasi-*; Ul. *dasị-*; Ork. *dasị-*; Nan. *dasị-*; Orch. *dasi-*; Ud. *dahi-* (*dai-*) (Корм. 226).

◊ TMC 1, 200-201.

PMong. ***dasinga** board (доска, полка): WMong. *dasiŋγa* (L 236); Kh. *dašinga*.

PTurk. ***jAs-** flat and broad (широкий и плоский): Karakh. *jasɨ* (MK); Tur. *jassɨ*; Gag. *jasɨ*; Az. *jastɨ*; Turkm. *jasɨ*; MTurk. *jassɨ* (AH, Ettuhf.); Uzb. *jassi*; Tat. *jassɨ*, *jastɨ*; Bashk. *jaϑɨ*; KBalk. *ʒassɨ*; Kum. *jassɨ*.

◊ VEWT 191, EDT 973-974, ЭСТЯ 4, 153-154, 155-156 (see there the list of other derivatives of the root **jAs-*), Лексика 98.

PKor. ***tìsài** tile (черепица): MKor. *tìsài*.

◊ Nam 179. The word is not attested in modern dictionaries, but KED 920 mentions a bound noun -sä 'roof tile', attested in compounds *ok-sä*, *maŋ-sä* and *pət-sä*. It is quite probable that this -sä is a later contraction < **tsä* < *tisai*.

‖ The Turk. form can also be derived from **nese* 'to flatten, make even' q.v.

✱**dè̀** to lie: Tung. ***dē-**; Mong. ***de-b-**; Turk. ***jạt-**; Jpn. ***dàntə̀-r-**.

PTung. ***dē-** 1 to lie 2 bed 3 decking (1 лежать 2 постель 3 настил): Man. *dedu-* 1; SMan. *dudu-* 1 (522); Jurch. *dedu-rie* (355) 'to lie, to sleep'; Ul. *deduxu* 3; Ork. *deduxi* 3; Nan. *dederi* 3; Orch. *dē* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 227, 230.

PMong. ***de-b-** 1 to lay, put, spread, bed 2 saddle cushion 3 mat, rug (1 класть, подстилать, 2 подушка седла 3 подстилка): MMong. *debusger* (HY 23) 2, *däbos-* (IM), *dibǎs-* 1, *dĭbisgǎr* 2 (MA), *debsgər* 2 (LH); WMong. *debʒije* 3, *debsi* 2 (L 239: *debse*); Kh. *devʒē* 3, *devs(en)*, *devsger* 2; Bur. *debdi-* 1, *debhe(n)* 2; Kalm. *dewsə-* 1 KPC 191, *dewsə* 2; Ord. *dewes-* 1; Dag. *debseg* 2, *deuse-* 1; Bao. *dēsə-* 1; S.-Yugh. *debse* 2, *debsger* 3; Mongr. *dēsəgu* 3, *d(w)ēsə-* , *debse-* (Minghe) 1.

◊ KW 90, MGCD 209.

PTurk. ***jạt-** to lie, to sleep (лежать, спать): OTurk. *jat-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *jat-* (MK); Tur. *jat-*; Gag. *jat-*; Az. *jat-* 1, 2; Turkm. *jat-*; Sal. *jaht-*; Khal. *jat-*; MTurk. *jat-* (MA); Uzb. *jɔt-*; Uygh. *jat-*; Krm. *jat-*; Tat. *jat-*; Bashk. *jat-*; Kirgh. *ʒat-*; Kaz. *žat-*; KBalk. *žat-*; KKalp. *žat-*; Kum. *jat-*; Nogh. *jat-*; SUygh. *jat-*; Khak. *čat-*; Shr. *čat-* (R); Oyr. *ďat-*; Tv. *čɨ't-*; Tof. *čɨ't-*; Yak. *sɨt-*; Dolg. *hɨt-*.

◊ VEWT 192, EDT 884, ЭСТЯ 4, 156-158, Stachowski 120.

PJpn. ***dàntə̀-r-** to spend the night (ночевать): OJpn. *jador-*; MJpn. *jàdor-*; Tok. *yadóru*; Kyo. *yádór-*; Kag. *yadór-*.

◊ JLTT 784. The form seems to be derived from **dá* 'room, house', but the tone contradicts it (all dialects except Kagoshima point to **dà(n)tàr-*).

‖ One of the common Altaic monosyllabic verbal roots. Note dental suffixation (probably **dē-ta-*) reflected in PT, TM and Jpn.

✱**debí (~ ʒ-)** bad, to suffer: Mong. ***ʒib-**; Turk. ***jAb-**; Jpn. ***(d)impi-r-**; Kor. ***jàbúi-**.

PMong. ***ʒib-** aversion, disgust, indignation (отвращение, негодование): WMong. *ʒibegüü*, *ʒebegüü* (L 1048); Kh. *ʒivū(n)*, *ʒevū(n)*; Bur. *zebū(n)* 'arrogant, proud'.

◊ Mong. > Evn. *ǯöbēnŋъ* 'austere, serious' (TMC 1, 266).

PTurk. ***jAb-** 1 bad, coarse, wicked 2 to become bad, weak 3 heavy, difficult, severe 4 tasteless, insipid (1 плохой, грубый 2 ухудшаться, слабеть 3 тяжелый, трудный, суровый 4 пресный, безвкусный): OTurk. *jabɨz* 1 (Orkh.), *javɨz* 1 (OUygh.), *javɣan* 1 (OUygh.), *jablaq* (Orkh.) 3, *javlaq* (OUygh.) 3; Karakh. *javrɨ-* 2, *javra-* 'to become rough, coarse', *javɨz* 1, *javɣan* 1, *javlaq* 3 (MK); Tur. *javuz* 1, *javan* 4; Gag. *javan* 4; Az. *javan* 4; Turkm. *jovuz* 1, 3, *juwan* 4 (dial.); MTurk. *javlaq* (R) 'very' , *javuz* (Ettuhf., AH) 1; Uzb. *jɔwuz* 1, *jōɣan* 4 (dial.); Uygh. *javuz* 1; Tat. *jawɨz* 1; Bashk. *jawɨð-* 1; Kirgh. *ǯūɣan* 4; Kaz. *žawɨz* 1; KKalp. *žawɨz* 1; SUygh. *jus* 1; Khak. *čaɣban* 4; Yak. *suos* 3.

◊ VEWT 176, EDT 879, 881-882, ЭСТЯ 4, 47-48, 51. Turk. > WMong. *ǯabqai*, *ǯabaɣan* (KW 468), whence again some Turkic forms (Kirgh. *ǯabɨq* etc., see ЭСТЯ 4, 9-10). One could perhaps also note Kaz. *žawra-*, Uzb. *ǯɔwra-* 'to suffer from cold, shiver' (ЭСТЯ 4, 20) which may be = Karakh. *javra-*, *javrɨ-* and thus should not be compared to Mong. *daɣara-* (despite KW 82).

PJpn. ***(d)impi-r-** to oppress (угнетать): MJpn. *ibir-*; Tok. *ibir-*.

PKor. ***jə̀búi-** to get emaciated, haggard (истощаться, становиться изможденным): MKor. *jə̀'úi-*, *jə̀'ói-*; Mod. *jəwi-*.

◊ Liu 563, KED 1165.

‖ Finch 1987, 17 (Jpn.-Mong.). One of the few exceptional cases of *ǯ- > *j- in Kor. (cf. **ǯa* 'eight').

✱**debV** young (of birds or animals): Tung. ***debere**; Mong. ***deɣü**; Turk. ***jabrɨ**.

PTung. ***debere-n** young (of birds) (птенец): Man. *deberen*; SMan. *devərəxən* 'puppy, young' (2179); Ul. *deuru(n)*; Ork. *dewre(n)*; Nan. *deuruẽ*.

◊ TMC 1, 239.

PMong. ***deɣü** younger sibling (младший брат или сестра): MMong. *de'u* (HY 28, SH); WMong. *degü*, (L 246:) *degüü*; Kh. *dū̄*; Bur. *dū̄*; Kalm. *dū̄*; Ord. *dū̄*; Mog. *döün*; Dag. *deu* (Тод. Даг. 136, MD 136); Dong. *ǯiao*, *ǯiau*; Bao. *dəu*, *du*; S.-Yugh. *dū̄*; Mongr. *dū̄* (SM 56), *dū*.

◊ KW 106, MGCD 242. Mong. > Man. *deo* etc., see Poppe 1966, 192, Doerfer MT 117, Rozycki 59.

PTurk. ***jabrɨ** young of birds and animals (детеныш птиц и животных): Tur. *javru*, *javrɨ*; Gag. *javru*; MTurk. *javrɨ* (Ettuhf.); Chuv. *śъ^{w}vъ^{w}r*, *śurъ*.

◊ VEWT 176, ЭСТЯ 4, 53, Лексика 168-169, TMN 4, 220, Федотов 2, 140-141.

‖ Poppe AU 105, Дыбо 9, Лексика 169. A Western isogloss.

✱**d[é]gì** feather, wing: Tung. ***dekte-**; Mong. ***ʒiɣür**; Turk. ***jüg**; Jpn. ***(d)íká**.

PTung. ***dekte-** 1 feather 2 wing (1 перо 2 крыло): Evk. *dektenne* 1, 2; Evn. *detle* 1, 2; Neg. *detele* 1; Man. *detxe* 1, 2; SMan. *detəxə* 1 (2294); Ul. *dektekte* 1; Ork. *dektekte* 1; Nan. *degdece* 1; Orch. *dektese* 1, 2; Ud. *dektehe* 1, 2; Sol. *dettele* 1, 2.

◊ TMC 1,231.

PMong. ***ʒiɣür** wing (крыло): MMong. *ʒəu'ur* (HY 15), *ʒi'ur* (SH), *ʒebūr* (Lig.VMI); WMong. *ʒigür* (L 1053); Kh. *žigṻr* < lit.; Bur. *žegṻr* < lit.; Ord. *ʒigṻr* < lit.; Mongr. *ʒār*, *ćār*, *sār*.

◊ KW 114.

PTurk. ***jüg** feather (перо): Karakh. *jüg* (MK, KB); Tur. *jüg*, *jüv* (dial.), Osm. *jüg*; Khak. *čüg*; Tv. *čüg*.

◊ EDT 910, Лексика 150. Räsänen (VEWT 211b) confuses this root with **juŋ* 'wool', but they are certainly unrelated (although may tend to contaminate).

PJpn. ***(d)íká** kite (out of paper) (бумажный змей): MJpn. *ika*, *ika-nobori*.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 44, 287, Лексика 150. Labialization in PT is probably secondary (**jüg* < **jegü* < **jegi-gü*, cf. the Mong. form).

✱**dègni** needle, thorn, arrow: Tung. ***dēŋgu**; Mong. ***ʒeɣü-wün**; Turk. ***(j)igne**; Jpn. ***(d)inka**.

PTung. ***dēŋgu** 1 cross-bow 2 arrow (1 самострел 2 стрела): Ul. *dēŋgure* 1; Ork. *dēŋgure* 1; Nan. *dēŋgure* 1; Orch. *deŋgu* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 234.

PMong. ***ʒeɣü-wün** needle (игла): MMong. *ʒou'un* (HY 20), *ʒe'u* (SH), *ʒūn* (IM); WMong. *ʒegün* (L 1044: *ʒegüü*, *ʒeü*, *ʒegün*); Kh. *ʒṻn*; Bur. *zṻ(n)*; Kalm. *zṻn*; Ord. *ʒṻ*; Mog. *ʒöwn* (Ramstedt 1906); Dag. *ʒū*, (Тод. Даг. 143) *ʒeu*; Dong. *ʒun*; Bao. *ʒuŋ*; S.-Yugh. *ʒṻn*; Mongr. *ʒū* (SM 94), *ʒū*.

◊ KW 485, MGCD 465.

PTurk. ***(j)igne** needle (игла): OTurk. *jiŋne* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jigne* (MK); Tur. *ijne*; Gag. *īnä*; Az. *ijnä*; Turkm. *igne*, *iŋne*; Khal. *īnä* (< Az.); MTurk. *igne* (Бор. Бад., Pav. C.); Uzb. *ignä*; Uygh. *ignä*, *jiŋnä*, *jignä*; Krm. *ijne*; Tat. *inä*; Bashk. *ĭnä*; Kirgh. *ijne*; Kaz. *ĭjna*; KBalk. *ijne*; KKalp. *ijne*; Kum. *ine*; Nogh. *ijne*; SUygh. *jiŋne*; Khak. *iŋe*; Shr. *ingä*; Oyr. *ijne*; Tv. *ine*; Yak. *inne*, *iṅe*; Dolg. *iŋne*, *iṅe*, *inne*.

◊ EDT 110, VEWT 169, ЭСТЯ 1, 367-369, Лексика 106.

PJpn. ***(d)inka** thorn, bur (шип): Tok. *igá*; Kyo. *ìgâ*; Kag. *íga*.

◊ JLTT 421. The word is not attested in OJ, and the modern accentuation is controversial: Tokyo and Kagoshima point to **(d)ínkà*, while Kyoto rather to **(d)ìnkâ*.

‖ Владимирцов 196. Mong. **ʒeɣü-γün* must go back to **ʒiɣe-γü-n*.

✱**dȅkà** to burn: Tung. ***deg-ʒe-gi-**; Turk. ***jak-**; Jpn. ***dák-**; Kor. ***thǎ-**.

PTung. ***deg-ʒe-gi-** to burn (жечь): Evk. *ʒegdī-*; Evn. *ʒegde* 'burned place'; Neg. *ʒegdī-*; Man. *dejʒi-*; SMan. *deʒi-*, *diʒi-* (483); Jurch. *ʒeh-din-ku* (686); Ul. *ʒegdečiwu*; Ork. *degde-*; Nan. *ʒegdi-*; Orch. *ʒegdi-*; Ud. *ʒegdi-*.

◊ A causative form derived from PTM **degʒe-* 'to burn', see TMC 1, 281-282.

PTurk. ***jak-** 1 to burn (tr.) 2 light, ray 3 to produce fire (1 жечь 2 свет, луч 3 высекать огонь): Karakh. *jaq-* 1 (MK); Tur. *jak-* 1; Gag. *jaq-* 1; Az. *jax-* 1; Turkm. *jaq-* 1, *jaɣtɨ* 2; Khal. *ja:q-* 1; MTurk. *jaq-* 1 (Abush.); Uzb. *jɔq-* 1, *jɔɣdu* 2; Uygh. *jaq-* 1; Krm. *jaq-* 1; Tat. *jaɣ-* 1, *jaqtɨ* 2; Bashk. *jaq-* 1, *jaqtɨ* 2; Kirgh. *ʒaq-* 1; Kaz. *žaq-* 1; KKalp. *žaq-* 1, *žaqtɨ* 2; Kum. *jaq-* 1; Nogh. *jaq-* 1; Tof. *ča'q-* 3; Chuv. *śot- 1, śo-dъ* 2; Yak. *saq-* 1.

◊ VEWT 180, TMN 4, 201-202, EDT 897, ЭСТЯ 4, 62, 81-82, Федотов 2, 146, Лексика 362. This stem should be distinguished from **jan-* 'to burn (intr.)'.

PJpn. ***dák-** to burn (tr.) (жечь): OJpn. *jak-*; MJpn. *ják-*; Tok. *yàk-*; Kyo. *ják-*; Kag. *jáT*.

◊ JLTT 784.

PKor. ***thǎ-** to burn (гореть, жечь): MKor. *thǎ-* (*itr.*), *thǎi'ó-* (tr.); Mod. *tha-* (*itr.*), *thäu-* (tr.).

◊ Nam 456, 457, KED 1684, 1697.

‖ Martin 227, JOAL 90-94, АПиПЯЯ 35-36, 90, 279. Korean has a usual vowel reduction between a stop and a fricative.

✱**dék´à** a k. of reed or bamboo: Tung. ***deke-**; Mong. ***dek-**; Turk. ***jEken**; Jpn. ***tákái**; Kor. ***tái**.

PTung. ***deke-** 1 a k. of willow 2 rope made from it 3 bush 4 tree (1 тальник 2 канат из тальниковых прутьев 3 куст 4 дерево): Neg. *dekke* 1, *dexen* 2; Jurch. *do-ɣo* (115) 4; Ul. *deke(n)* 2, *deksu(n)* 3; Ork. *deksu(n)* 3; Nan. *dē* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 231.

PMong. ***dek-** a k. of grass (вид травы): Kalm. *dekm* 'Leinpflanze'.

◊ KW 85.

PTurk. ***jEken** a k. of grass, reed (вид травы, тростника): OTurk. *jigen* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jigen* (MK); Turkm. *jeken*; MTurk. *jekän* (R.), *jigän* (AH); Uzb. *jäkän*; Uygh. *jekän*; Tat. *jegɛn* (dial.), *ʒikɛn*; Bashk. *jekän*; Kirgh. *ʒeken*; Kaz. *ʒeken*; KBalk. *zegen*; KKalp. *ʒiken*; Nogh. *jeken*; Oyr. *jeken*, *jekken*, *d́ēken*.

◊ EDT 913, VEWT 195, ЭСТЯ 4, 172-173. Turk. > Mong. *ʒeken*, *ʒege-sün* (KW 472, Щербак 1997, 123); Hung. *gyékény* (MNyTESz 1, 1125).

PJpn. ***tákái** bamboo (бамбук): OJpn. take; MJpn. *táké*; Tok. *tàke*; Kyo. *táké*; Kag. *táke*.

◊ JLTT 539.

PKor. ***tái** bamboo (бамбук): MKor. *tái*; Mod. *tä*.

◊ Liu 204, KED 418.

‖ Martin 225, Whitman 1985, 188, 215, Дыбо 11. The tone incongruence between Kor. and Jpn. should be explained by contraction in Kor.; however, the zero reflex in Kor. is somewhat strange (one would at least expect **tahi*).

✱**dekʿV (~ -k-)** harness, hook: Tung. ***deken**; Turk. ***jEk-**.

PTung. ***deken** last pair of dogs in the team (последняя пара собак в упряжке): Ul. *deke(n)*; Nan. *dekẽ*.

◊ TMC 1, 231.

PTurk. ***jEk-** to harness (запрягать): Krm. *jek-*, *jik-*; Tat. *ǯik-*; Bashk. *jek-*; Kirgh. *ǰek-*; Kaz. *žek-*; KBalk. *žek-*; KKalp. *žek-*; Kum. *jek-*; Nogh. *jek-*; Oyr. *jek-*, *d́ek-*.

◊ VEWT 195, ЭСТЯ 4, 172.

‖ Дыбо 12. A Turk.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**dȅlì** mane; collar: Tung. ***delü-n**; Mong. ***del**; Turk. ***jēl**; Jpn. ***(d)iárì**.

PTung. ***delü-n** mane (грива): Evk. *delin*; Man. *delun*; SMan. *delən*, *dulun* (2281); Nan. *derbini* (?).

◊ TMC 1,232. The Nan. form may be < Mong. (Bur. *delben).*

PMong. ***del** mane, crest (грива, холка): MMong. *del* (HY 15, SH), *dīl-* (IM), *dil* (MA); WMong. *del* (L 247); Kh. *del*; Bur. *delben*; Kalm. *del*; Ord. *del*; Dag. *dēlbur* (Тод. Даг. 136) *delin* (MD 136); S.-Yugh. *del*.

◊ KW 74, 85, MGCD 212.

PTurk. ***jēl** 1 mane 2 feather (1 грива 2 перо): OTurk. *jel* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *jel* 1 (MK); Tur. *jele* 1; Gag. *jelä* 1; Az. *läläk* 2; Turkm. *jelek* 2; Khal. *jälāk* 2; Krm. *lelek* 2; SUygh. *ǰeĺɨ* 1; Khak. *čilen* 1; Tv. *čel* 1; Tof. *čel* 1; Chuv. *śilɣe* 1; Yak. *siel* 1.

◊ VEWT 181, TMN 4, 188-189, EDT 916, ЭСТЯ 4, 85-86 (confused with **jāl*, v. sub **dā́lV*), Лексика 147, 566. The Oghuz name of 'feather' (*jelek* / *lelek*, see ЭСТЯ 4, 179) is probably derived from this root; perhaps also **jel-ke* 'back of head (including the neck)', see VEWT 196, ЭСТЯ 4, 181.

PJpn. ***(d)iárì** collar (воротник): MJpn. *eri*; Tok. *erí*; Kyo. *érì*; Kag. *éri*.

◊ JLTT 393.

‖ EAS 52, KW 74, 85, Poppe 22, 75, АПиПЯЯ 72, 287, Лексика 147; TMN 4, 106 ("...unklar"). TM is hardly < Mong., despite Doerfer MT 76, Rozycki 58. The diphthong in Jpn. may indicate PA **dé́jlì*. Cf. **dā́lV*.

✱**dȅlpʿà** flat, wide: Tung. ***delpi-n**; Mong. ***dalba-**; Turk. ***jalpɨ**; Jpn. ***tàpìra**.

PTung. ***delpi-n** wide, roomy (широкий, просторный): Man. *delfin*.

◊ TMC 1, 233. Attested only in Manchu, but having quite probable external parallels.

PMong. ***dalba-** to be flat and wide (быть плоским и широким): MMong. *dalba-ru* (SH); WMong. *dalbaji-* (L 225); Kh. *dalbaj-*; Bur. *dalba-*; Kalm. *dalwā-*.

◊ KW 75.

PTurk. ***jalpɨ** 1 broad, flat 2 blade, paddle 3 shallow (1 широкий, плоский 2 лист, лопасть 3 мелкий): Karakh. *jalbɨ* 1 (MK); Tur. *jalpɨk* 1; Gag. *jalpaq* 1; Turkm. *jalpa* 2, *jalpaq* 1, 3; MTurk. *jalpaq* 1 (Pav. C.); Uzb. *jɔlpɔq* 1; Uygh. *jalpaq* 1; Krm. *jalpaq* 1; Tat. *ʒɛlpɛk* 1; Bashk. *jalpaq* 1; Kirgh. *ʒalpaq* 1; Kaz. *žalpaq* 1; KKalp. *žalpaq* 1; Kum. *jalpaq* 1; Nogh. *jalpaq* 1; Khak. *čelbax*, *nalpax* 1; Oyr. *jalbaq*, *d́albaq* 1; Tv. *čalbaq* 1; Tof. *čalbaq* 1; Yak. *salbax* 2; Dolg. *halbax* 'span; foot'.

◊ EDT 919, VEWT 182, ЭСТЯ 4, 14, 100-101, Stachowski 94. This root should be distinguished from **japur-gak* 'leaf' and from **jalpɨ-* / **jelpi-* 'to shake, sway'.

PJpn. ***tàpì-ra** flat, even (плоский, ровный): OJpn. *tapjira*; MJpn. *tàpìrá*; Tok. *tàira*, *tairáka*; Kyo. *tàìrá*; Kag. *taíra*.

◊ JLTT 538. Tokyo and Kagoshima point rather to **tápírá*.

‖ VEWT 183, KW 75 (Turk.-Mong.), Цинциус 1984, 8, АПиПЯЯ 71, 287. Mong. has also a front vowel variant *delbe* 'flatness', *delbeger* 'broad, wide', *ʒilbigar* id.

✱**dȅlpʹi** to burst, break: Tung. ***delpe-**; Mong. ***delbe-**; Turk. ***deĺ-**; Jpn. ***timpə-**.

PTung. ***delpe-** to split (раскалываться, трескаться): Evk. *delpe-rge-*, *delpe-m-*; Evn. *depčerge-*; Neg. *detpejkin-*; Sol. *delpe-*.

◊ TMC 1, 233.

PMong. ***delbe-** to burst, break through (лопаться, разрываться): WMong. *delbe-le*, -re- (L 247, 248); Kh. *delbere-*, -le- (Tr.); Bur. *delber-*, *delbel-* (Tr.); Kalm. *delwḷ-*; Ord. *delbel-*.

◊ KW 87.

PTurk. ***deĺ-** to make holes (продырявливать): Karakh. *teš-* (MK); Tur. *deš-*; Gag. *deš-*; Az. *deš-*; MTurk. *teš-* (Sangl., Abush.); Uzb. *teš-*; Uygh. *täš-*; Krm. *teš-*; Tat. *tiš-*; Bashk. *tiš-*; Kirgh. *teš-*; Kaz. *tes-*; KBalk. *teš-*; KKalp. *tes-*; Kum. *teš-*; Nogh. *tes-*; Khak. *tis-*; Oyr. *teš-*; Tv. *deš-*; Tof. *deš-*; Yak. *tes-*; Dolg. *tes-*.

◊ VEWT 476, EDT 559, ЭСТЯ 3, 210-212, TMN 2, 657, Stachowski 221.

PJpn. ***timpə-** to become worn down, out (изнашиваться, приходить в упадок): MJpn. *tib(u)-*; Tok. *chibi-*.

◊ JLTT 767. PJ accent not clear.

‖ Poppe 44 (Mong.-Tung.), Дыбо 13. Despite Doerfer MT 64, the TM form is hardly borrowed from Mong.

✱**depo (~ -b-)** wet, soak: Tung. ***deb-**; Mong. ***debte-**; Turk. ***jębi-**.

PTung. ***debe-** 1 paste, fool 2 to paint 3 paint (1 пастила, кисель 2 красить 3 краска): Evk. *dewe-* 2; Evn. *dewe-* 2; Neg. *dewekse* 3; Man. *debse* 1; Ul. *dewekse* 3; Ork. *dewē-* 2; Orch. *dewukse*, *dewekse* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 227, 228.

PMong. ***debte-** to soak, become wet (мокнуть): WMong. *debte-*, *debtü-* (L 239); Kh. *devte-*; Bur. *debte-*; Kalm. *deptə-*; Ord. *debte-*; Mog. ZM *debtäl-* ʿto make fall into the water' (15-3a); Dag. *debte-* (Тод. Даг. 135), *derte-*; S.-Yugh. *debtē-*; Mongr. *təbdē-*, *tudē-* (SM 427).

◊ KW 88, MGCD 210. Cf. MMong. (SH) *debul-* 'to boil'.

PTurk. ***jębi-** to become wet, soak (мокнуть): Karakh. *jebe* 'dampness' (MK); Uzb. *ivi-*; Uygh. *ivi-*; Krm. *jibi-*, *ibi-*; Tat. *ǯebe-*; Bashk. *jebe-*; Kirgh. *ǯibi-*; Kaz. *žibi-*; KKalp. *žibi-*; Kum. *jibi-*; Nogh. *jibi-*; Shr. *čibi-*; Oyr. *ḱibi-*; Chuv. *śəʷve* 'whey'; Yak. *sibīn-* 'fresh'.

◊ EDT 872, VEWT 202, ЭСТЯ 4, 196-197. Except Uzb., Uygh., Chuv. and possibly Yak. all languages actually reflect **ję̨p-* (**jip-*); the Inlaut stop may be a result of secondary gemination, or reflect a merger with some other root. Original voiced *-b- (> -v-), however, is well preserved in the derivative **ję̨biĺ(č)* 'wet' (Karaim *jüvüš*, Tat. *jüwiš*, Bashk. *jĭvĭš*). Turk. > Kalm. *ǯī-* 'durchnäßt werden' (KW 114; although phonology is somewhat strange: one would rather expect Kalm. *ǯiw-).*

‖ KW 88. A Western isogloss.

✱**děpʿa (~ *t-)** soft, fluffy: Tung. ***dep-**; Kor. ***tàpók-**.

PTung. ***dep-** 1 fluffy, furry 2 squirrel's nest 3 rot, soft (1 мягкий, пушистый 2 беличье гнездо 3 гнилушка): Evk. *debdirin* 1; *depe*, *depe-me* 3; Evn. *debuli* 1; Neg. *depe-depe ōjī* 1; Ork. *deberūli* 1; Nan. *debǯini* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 227, 236.

PKor. ***tàpòk-** thick, luxurious (густой, пышный): MKor. *tàpòk-*; Mod. *tabok-*, *taborok-*.

◊ Nam 130, KED 385.

‖ An expressive TM-Kor. isogloss.

✱**déru (~ -ŕ-)** to shake, sway: Tung. ***der(gi)-**; Mong. ***derbe-**; Jpn. ***dúr-**.

PTung. ***der(gi)-** 1 to shiver, tremble 2 to sway (1 дрожать, трястись 2 развеваться): Evk. *dergi-*, *deriŋ-* 1; Man. *dergiše-* 2; Ul. *derǯi-* 1, *dēremneči-* 1; Nan. *dergi-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 237.

PMong. ***derbe-** to sway, swing (махать, колыхаться): MMong. *derbel-* (SH); WMong. *derbe-* (L 252); Kh. *derve-*; Bur. *derbelze-*; Kalm. *derwə-*; Ord. *derwe-*.

◊ KW 90.

PJpn. ***dúr-** to shake, sway (качать(ся), махать): MJpn. *jur-*; Tok. *yùr-*; Kyo. *yúr-*; Kag. *yúr-*.

◊ JLTT 788.

‖ Cf. also PTM **deri(n)-* 'jump, run'.

✱**deŕa (~ -o)** to flatten, flat: Mong. ***daru-**; Turk. ***jạŕ-**; Kor. ***tàrì-**.

PMong. ***daru-** to press down (прижимать, припечатывать): MMong. *daru-* (HY 39, SH), *dāra-* (IM), *daru-* (MA); WMong. *daru-* (L

233); Kh. *dar-*; Bur. *dara-*; Kalm. *dar-*; Ord. *daru-*; Mog. *daru-* (Ramstedt 1906), *dōru-*; Dag. *dara-* (Тод. Даг. 135), *dare-* (MD 132); Dong. *daru-*; Bao. *da(r)-*; S.-Yugh. *dārə-*; Mongr. *dāri-* (SM 45).

◊ KW 77, MGCD 201.

PTurk. ***jạź-, *jạźɨ** 1 flat 2 steppe, flat ground 3 to spread, spread out, flatten folds (1 плоский 2 степь, плоская почва 3 расстилать, расправлять складки): OTurk. *jaz-* 3 (OUygh.) *jazɨ* 1,2 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *jaz-* 3 (MK, KB), *jazɨ* 2 (MK); Tur. *jazɨ* 2; Gag. *jaz-* 3; Az. *jazɨ* 2 (dial.); Turkm. *jaz-* 3, *jazɨ* 2; MTurk. *jaz-* 3 (Pav. C.), *jazɨ* 2 (Ettuhf., AH); Uzb. *jɔz-* 3; Uygh. *jaz-* 3, *jazi*, *jezi* 2 (dial.); Tat. *jaz-* 3; Bashk. *jaδ-* 3; Kirgh. *ʒaz-* 3, *ʒazɨ* 1, 2; Kaz. *žaz-* 3, *žazɨ* 2 (dial.); KKalp. *žaz-* 3; Kum. *jaz-* 3; Nogh. *jaz-* 3, *jazɨ* 2 (dial.); SUygh. *jaz-* 3; Khak. *čazɨ* 2; Oyr. *jas-*, *ďas-* 3, *jazɨ*, *ďazɨ* 1, 2; Tv. *čas-* 3; Yak. *sɨhī* 2.

◊ VEWT 194, EDT 983, 984, ЭСТЯ 4, 69-70, 73, Лексика 97.

PKor. ***tàrì-** to iron (утюжить): MKor. *tàrì-*; Mod. *tari-*.

◊ Nam 129, KED 383. Cf. also Mod. Kor. *taru-* 'to tan, make pliant' (KED 382).

‖ SKE 257, 258.

✱**dible** hem: Tung. ***dilbi-**; Mong. ***dewel**; Turk. ***jEl(b)-**.

PTung. ***dilbi-** 1 to make facing 2 hem, hemming 3 skin (for a coat) 4 raincoat, umbrella (1 подшивать (подол) 2 кант, окантовка 3 шкура (на парку) 4 накидка от дождя, зонтик): Evk. *dilbikte* 3; Neg. *ʒilbu-* 1; Man. *ʒilbi-* 1, *ʒilbi(n)* 2; *delbin* 2; Ul. *deli-ku* 4.

◊ TMC 1, 206, 232.

PMong. ***dewel** fur coat; list, facing (меховое пальто, тулуп; окантовка, облицовка): MMong. *dejel* (HY 22), *de'el-ün* (*ʒaxa*) (HY 23), *de'el* (SH), *dil* (IM), *dil* (MA), *dəbəl* (LH); WMong. *degel*, *debel* (L 238), *degelen*, *degelei* (L 243); Kh. *dēl*; Bur. *degel*; Kalm. *dewḷ*, *deglē*; Ord. *dēl*; Dag. *debel*, *dēl* (Тод. Даг. 135); Mongr. *dēr* (SM 51), *del* (Huzu).

◊ Mong. > Man. *dexelen* etc. (see Doerfer MT 61), Chag. *dägälä*; > MKor. *təkirəi* (Lee 1964, 193). KW 85, 90. A variant of the same stem is probably WMong. *dülei*, Khalkha *dülij* 'raincoat'. Bur. > Russ. Siber. *dygýl*, see Аникин 192-193.

PTurk. ***jEl(b)-** a k. of short coat (вид короткой куртки): Tur. *jelek*; Az. *jeläk*, *jelän* (dial.); Turkm. *jelek* (dial.), *jelbegej*; MTurk. *jeläk* (Pav. C., Бор. Бад.); Uzb. *ʒeläk*; Krm. *jelek*; Tat. *ʒilɛn*, *ʒilbɛgɛj*; Bashk. *jelän*, *jelbägäj*; Kirgh. *ʒelek*, *ʒelbegej*, dial. *ʒelegej*; Kaz. *ʒelek*, *ʒeleŋ*, *ʒelbegej*, *ʒelegej*; KKalp. *ʒelek*, *ʒeleŋ*, *ʒelbegej*; Kum. *jelbegej*; Nogh. *jeleŋ*.

◊ VEWT 196, ЭСТЯ 4, 177, 178.

‖ KW 85, EAS 174 (with several misquoted forms), TMN 1, 328. A Western isogloss. Some rather strange variants coexist within Mong. and TM, and archaic interborrowing is not excluded; it is also possible that the root should be reconstructed as **dible*, to account for the development in Mong. Another possibility is comparing the Mong. forms (at

least part of them) with Evk. *lipêre* ʽa k. of winter clothesʼ, Tuva *čüvür* ʽtrousersʼ (?).

✱**dijV (~ *t-)** tar, to melt: Tung. ***dī**; Jpn. ***(d)í-**; Kor. ***tī-**.

PTung. ***dī** pitch, tar (вар, смола): Orch. *dī*; Ud. *dī*.

◊ TMC 1, 202.

PJpn. ***(d)í-** to cast (лить (металл)): OJpn. *i-* ; MJpn. *í-*; Tok. *ì-*; Kyo. *í-*; Kag. *í-*.

◊ JLTT 698.

PKor. ***tī-** to forge, to cast (ковать, отливать (из металла)): MKor. *tī-*.

◊ Nam 178.

‖ An Eastern isogloss.

✱**dile** udder: Tung. ***dilba**; Mong. ***deleŋ**; Turk. ***jęlin**.

PTung. ***dilba** diaphragm; breast (диафрагма, брюшина; грудь): Evk. *dilba*; Evn. *dịlbъ*; *delbe* ʽпахʼ; Neg. *dịlba*; Ul. *dịlba* ʽwomen's breast coverʼ; Ork. *ǯịlịa* ʽnippleʼ; Nan. *ǯịlba* ʽwomen's breast coverʼ; Ud. *digba* ʽstomach cavityʼ (Корм. 227); Sol. *dilva*.

◊ TMC 1, 206, 232.

PMong. ***deleŋ** udder (вымя): WMong. *deleŋ* (L 249); Kh. *deleŋ*; Bur. *delen*; Kalm. *deləŋ*; Ord. *deliŋ*; Dag. *delīn*; Dong. *ǯielien*; S.-Yugh. *deleŋ*; Mongr. *dəlaŋ*, *diliŋ* (SM 55).

◊ KW 86, MGCD 213. Mong. > Evk. *deleŋ* etc., see Doerfer MT 99, Rozycki 58.

PTurk. ***jęlin** udder (вымя): Karakh. *jelin* (MK); Tur. *jelin*; Gag. *jelin*; Az. *jelin*; Turkm. *jelin*; MTurk. *jelin* (R., Буд.), *jilin* (AH); Uygh. *jelin*, *jilim*, *žilim*; Tat. *ǯilen*; Bashk. *jelen*; Kirgh. *ǯelin*; Kaz. *želin*; KBalk. *jelin*, *ǯelin*, *želin*; KKalp. *želin*; Kum. *jelin*; Nogh. *jelin*; Oyr. *jelin*, *ďeli*; Chuv. *śilə*; Yak. *silin*.

◊ EDT 930, ЭСТЯ 4, 180-181, Лексика 148.

‖ Poppe 22, 76, Лексика 148 (with lit.). A Western isogloss. Despite Щербак 1997, 123 Mong. cannot be borrowed < Turk.

✱**dile (~ t-, -Í-)** a k. of insect or worm: Tung. ***dilu-kē**; Mong. ***dele-**; Kor. ***tīroŋ**.

PTung. ***dilu-kē** fly (муха): Evk. *dilkēn*; Evn. *diliken*; Neg. *dirkēn*; Man. *derxuwe*; SMan. *durəwē*, *duruwū* (2256); Ork. *ǯiĺokto*; Nan. *ǯiluekte*; Sol. *dilxẽ*, *dilukẽ*.

◊ TMC 1, 207.

PMong. ***dele-** 1 beetle 2 midge (1 жук 2 мошка): WMong. *delegči* 1 (L 248); Kh. *delegč* 1, *delenč* 2; Kalm. *delənč* 2 (KPC).

PKor. ***tīroŋ** worm, earth-worm (червь, земляной червь): MKor. *tiroŋʼi*, *tirjoŋ*, *tirjoŋʼi*; Mod. *čīrəŋi*.

◊ Liu 260, KED 1529.

‖ A common derivative *dile-kV (-kʿV) is reflected in Mong. *dele-g- and TM *dilu-kē.

✱**dǐlo** year; sun, sun cycle: Tung. ***dilačā**; Mong. ***ʒil**; Turk. ***jɨl**; Jpn. ***tàsì**; Kor. ***torč**.

PTung. ***dilačā** sun (солнце): Evk. *dilačā*; Neg. *dilača*.

◊ TMC 1, 206.

PMong. ***ʒil** cycle year (год, годовой цикл): MMong. *ʒil* (SH, HYt), *ʒīl* (LH); WMong. *ʒil*; Kh. *žil*; Bur. *žel*; Kalm. *ʒil*; Ord. *ʒil*; Mog. *ʒil* 'time' (Weiers); Dag. *ʒil* (Тод. Даг. 143), *ʒile* (MD 178); S.-Yugh. *ʒəl*; Mongr. *ʒir*, *ʒur* (SM 92), (MGCD *ʒil*).

◊ KW 109, MGCD 444. Mong. > Dolg. *ʒɨl* (Stachowski 92, 118).

PTurk. ***jɨl** year (год): OTurk. *jɨl* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *jɨl* (MK); Tur. *jɨl*; Gag. *jɨl*; Az. *il*; Turkm. *jɨl*; Sal. *jel*; MTurk. *jɨl* (MA), il (Pav. C.); Uzb. *jil*; Uygh. *jil*; Krm. *jɨl*; Tat. *jɨl*; Bashk. *jɨl*; Kirgh. *ʒɨl*; Kaz. *žɨl*; KBalk. *žɨl*; KKalp. *žɨl*; Kum. *jɨl*; Nogh. *jɨl*; SUygh. *jil*; Khak. *čil*; Shr. *čɨl*; Oyr. *ďɨl*; Tv. *čɨl*; Tof. *čɨl*; Yak. *sɨl*; Dolg. *hɨl*.

◊ VEWT 200, EDT 917, ЭСТЯ 4, 275, Лексика 70-71, Stachowski 118.

PJpn. ***tàsì** year (год): OJpn. *tosi*; MJpn. *tòsì*; Tok. *toshí*; Kyo. *tóshì*; Kag. *toshí*.

◊ JLTT 551.

PKor. ***torč (-s)** anniversary (cycle) (полный год, годовщина): MKor. *tors*; Mod. *tot* [*tols*], *tol*.

◊ Liu 230, KED 478.

‖ EAS 52, KW 109, Владимирцов 171, Martin 246, ОСНЯ 1, 220, JOAL 119, АПиПЯЯ 31, 88, 278-279, Дыбо 11, Лексика 71. Mong. may be < Turk. (see TMN 4, 251, Щербак 1997, 124). The Eastern form go back to a suffixed *dǐlo-čʿV.

✱**dilu** juice, resin: Tung. ***dilgu**; Mong. ***ʒilij**; Turk. ***jülük / *juluk**.

PTung. ***dilgu** tree juice (древесный сок): Evk. *dilgu*; Evn. *dịlgụs*; Neg. *dịlgụksa*; Ul. *ʒêlčụma*; Ork. *ʒịlụ*; Nan. *ʒịlkõ*; Orch. *duguksa*.

◊ TMC 1, 207.

PMong. ***ʒilij** rosin, colophony (канифоль, смола): WMong. *ʒilij* (MXTTT); Kh. *ʒilī*; Bur. *želī*.

PTurk. ***jülük / *juluk** juice (сок): Oyr. *juluq*, *ďuluq*, *jülük*; Tv. *čuluq*.

◊ VEWT 212, EDT 927-928, ЭСТЯ 4, 266, Лексика 263-264. The root should be distinguished both from *jilik and from *julɨŋ (v. sub *làlè, *dilu), although all three tend to contaminate.

‖ Дыбо 10. A Western isogloss. One wonders if the root is not actually derived (as *dij-lu) from *dijV 'tar, to melt' q.v.

✱**dilu** brain: Tung. ***dili**; Mong. ***ǯiluɣa / *ǯulaj**; Turk. ***julɨŋ / *jülüŋ**.

PTung. ***dili** 1 head 2 horn foundation (1 голова 2 основание рогов): Evk. *dil*, *del* 1; Evn. *dịl* 1; Neg. *dịl* 1; Man. *ǯili* 2; Ul. *dịlị* 1; Ork. *ǯịlị* 1; Nan. *ǯịlị* 1; Orch. *dili* 1; Ud. *dili* 1; Sol. *dẹli*, *dil(i)* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 205-206. The comparison with Mong. *ǯiluɣa*, Turk. **jular* 'halter' (EAS 52, KW 114, Poppe, 23) is hardly acceptable.

PMong. ***ǯiluɣa / *ǯulaj** 1 brain 2 sinciput, fontanelle (1 мозг 2 темя): MMong. *ǯ[o]llā* 1 (IM); WMong. *ǯiluɣa* (Schmidt) 1, *ǯulai*, *ǯula* 2 (L 1078); Kh. *ʒulaj* 2; Bur. *zulaj* 2; Kalm. *zulā* 2 (KPC); Ord. *ǯulā̃* 2; Dag. *ǯol* 2 (Тод. Даг. 144), *ǯole* 'the temple (of the head)' (MD 179).

PTurk. ***julɨŋ / *jülüŋ** marrow, spinal marrow (костный мозг, спинной мозг): Karakh. *julun* (MK); MTurk. *jülün* (MA), *julun* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *jülüŋ* (dial.); Uygh. *julun* (dial.); Bashk. *jɨlɨm*, dial. *jelen*, *jelem*, *jolon*; Kirgh. *ǯülün*, *ǯulun*; Kaz. *žulɨn*; KKalp. *žulɨn*; Nogh. *julɨn*; Khak. *čələŋ*; Shr. *čɨlɨŋ*; Oyr. *jülün*, *ḑülüŋ*; Tv. *čün*; Yak. *sülün*; Dolg. *hünńü*.

◊ EDT 930, ЭСТЯ 4, 266, Лексика 263, Stachowski 115.

‖ Дыбо 314, Лексика 263. A Western isogloss; but cf. notes to **maṅa*.

✱**diŋe** to win: Tung. ***diŋe-**; Mong. ***dejil-**; Turk. ***jẹŋ-**.

PTung. ***diŋe-** to press; to win (давить; побеждать): Ud. *diŋe-*.

◊ TMC 1, 207. Attested only in Ud., but having probable Turk. and Mong. parallels.

PMong. ***dejil-** to win (побеждать): WMong. *dejil-*, *dejile-* (L 246); Kh. *dijl-*; Bur. *dīle-*; Kalm. *dīl-*; Ord. *dīl-*.

◊ KW 92.

PTurk. ***jẹŋ-** to win (побеждать): Karakh. *jeŋ-* (MK); Tur. *jen-*; Gag. *jen-*; Az. *jen-*, *jin-* (dial.); Turkm. *jeŋ-*; Khal. *jeŋg-*; MTurk. *jeŋ-* (Ettuhf.); Uzb. *jeŋ-*; Uygh. *jäŋ-*; Krm. *jeŋg-*, *jeń-*; Tat. *ǯiŋ-*; Bashk. *jeŋ-*; Kirgh. *ǯeŋ-*; Kaz. *žeŋ-*; KBalk. *ǯeŋ-*; KKalp. *žeŋ-*; Kum. *jeŋ-*; Nogh. *jeŋ-*; Khak. *čiŋ-*; Shr. *neŋ-*, *neg-*; Oyr. *jeŋ-*, *ḑeŋ-*; Chuv. *śən-*.

◊ EDT 942, ЭСТЯ 4, 187, Лексика 576. Ramstedt's hypothesis of **jeŋ-* being derived from **jeg-* 'better, top' could be accepted, but the Ud. parallel *diŋe-* makes it questionable. We prefer to regard -ŋ- here as the root consonant.

‖ KW 92. A Western isogloss. The Turkic and Mong. forms are no doubt related, but Ramstedt treats them both as derived from **deg-* 'top'. Since we divide the traditional reconstruction of the latter root into **dị̀ge* and **tēga* (q.v.), such a derivation seems less plausible. The Ud. form *diŋe-*, albeit isolated in TM, also supports deriving Turk. **jẹŋ-* and Mong. *dejil-* from a separate root.

✱**dísa** to guard, preserve: Tung. ***disu-**; Mong. ***ǯise-**; Jpn. ***jásí-nap-**.

PTung. ***disu-** to guard, preserve (защищать): Evk. *disut-*; Evn. *disut-*; Neg. *disut-*; Nan. *ǯīsun-*.

◊ TMC 1, 208.

PMong. ***ǯise-** to guard; to prepare (сторожить; готовить(ся)): WMong. *ǯise-*, *ǯese-* (L 1047, 1063); Kh. *ʒese-*; Bur. *zehe-*; Kalm. *zesə-*; Mongr. *ʑīsəle-* 'faire attention, garder, veiller à' (SM 93).

◊ KW 473.

PJpn. ***jási-nap-** to feed, take care of (кормить, растить, заботиться о): OJpn. *jasinap-*; MJpn. *jásínaf-*; Tok. *yàshina-*; Kyo. *yáshíná-*; Kag. *ya-shiná-*.

◊ JLTT 785.

‖ A good common Altaic verbal root.

✱**di̯ági (~ -i̯o-)** fish: Mong. ***ǯiɣa-**; Jpn. ***(d)íwuá**; Kor. ***thi**.

PMong. ***ǯiɣa-** fish (рыба): MMong. *ǯiqasun* (HY 12, SH), *ǯixuči* 'fisher' (HY 30), *ǯanγāṣu* (IM), *ǯiγasun*, *ǯiqasuni* (Partit.) (MA); WMong. *ǯiγasu(n)* (L 1050); Kh. *ʒagas*; Bur. *zagaha(n)*; Kalm. *zaγъsn̥*; Ord. *ǯaGasu*; Dag. *ǯagas*, *ǯaus* (Тод. Даг. 141), *ǯause* (MD 176); Dong. *ǯaGasun*; Bao. *ǯil(G)asoŋ*; S.-Yugh. *ǯaγasən*; Mongr. *ʑaGasə* (SM 78).

◊ KW 463, MGCD 423. -g- is probably secondary (< **ǯigag-*?); with *-γ- cf. **ǯiγarčag* 'косяк рыб' (Khalkha *ʒārcag).*

PJpn. ***(d)íwuá** fish (рыба): OJpn. *iwo*; MJpn. *íwó*; Tok. *ùo*; Kag. *íwo*.

◊ JLTT 563.

PKor. ***thi** fish (a suffix in fish names) (рыба (суффикс в назв. рыб)): MKor. *kàmó-thì* etc.; Mod. *kamul-či* 'eel', *sam-či* 'mackerel' etc..

‖ АПиПЯЯ 100, 275, Дыбо 46, Лексика 178, Vovin 2000. TM **ǯoji* (in fact **ǯobi*) 'Salmo lenoc' (compared in some of the above sources) has a precise match in WMong. *ǯebege* and has to be separated; see **ǯi̯abo*. The Jpn. form could also belong there phonetically, but the close match with Kor. *thi* makes its derivation from **di̯ági* more plausible.

✱**di̯ā́no (~ *di̯ṓne)** flat surface, land: Tung. ***dunse**; Mong. ***denǯi**; Turk. ***jān**.

PTung. ***dunse** 1 earth 2 land 3 wood, taiga (1 земля 2 суша 3 тайга): Evk. *dunne*, *dunde* 1; Evn. *dōmŋe*, *dōnde* 2; Ul. *duente* 3; Nan. *duente* 3; Ud. *dühö* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 224.

PMong. ***denǯi** terrace (between the steppe and the river bank) (терраса (между равниной и речным берегом)): WMong. *denǯi*, (L 252:) *deŋǯi*; Kh. *denʒ*; Kalm. *denʒ*; Ord. *denǯi*; Dag. *denǯi* 'small hill, mound' (MD 136).

◊ KW 88.

PTurk. ***jān** side (сторона): OTurk. *jan* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *jan* (MK); Tur. *jan*; Gag. *jan*; Az. *jan*; Turkm. *jān*; Sal. *jan*; Khal. *jān*; MTurk. *jan* (Bor.Bad, Abush.); Uygh. *jan*; Krm. *jan*; Tat. *jan*; Bashk. *jan*; Kirgh. *ǯan*; Kaz. *žan*; KBalk. *ǯan*, *žan*, *zan*; KKalp. *žan*; Kum. *jan*; Nogh. *jan*; SUygh. *jan*; Khak. *nan*, *čan*; Shr. *čan*; Oyr. *jan*, *ďan*; Tv. *čan*; Chuv. *śom*.

◊ VEWT 184, EDT 940, ЭСТЯ 4, 113, 118-119, TMN 4, 120, Федотов 2, 135. The word has an anatomical meaning ('hip') in old sources, but the meaning 'side' is also attested and must be more archaic, to judge from external evidence; the more abstract meaning in Chuvash ('vicinity') also supports 'side' as the original meaning.

‖ A Western isogloss. The meaning 'side' in Turkic is easily deducible from 'land' (cf. Russ. страна - сторона).

✱**dia̯ri** a small animal (flying squirrel): Tung. ***ʒ(i)arami (~ d-)**; Mong. ***ʒirke**; Turk. ***jar- / *jer-**; Jpn. ***(d)ìtàti**; Kor. ***tǎràmí**.

PTung. ***ʒ(i)arami (~ d-)** otter (выдра): Ork. *daramị(n)*.

◊ TMC 1, 198. An isolated Orok word, but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***ʒirke** chipmuck (Tamias sibiricus Laxmann) (Gomb.) (бурундук): WMong. *ʒirke* (MXTTT); Kh. *žirx*; Bur. *žerxi*; Kalm. *ʒirxə* (KPC).

◊ Not from Evk. *ʒeleki* 'ermine', pace Аникин 184.

PTurk. ***jar- / *jer-** bat (летучая мышь): Karakh. *jersgü*, *jerise* (MK Chigil); Tur. *jarasa*, *jarasɨk*; Gag. *jarasa*; Az. *jarasa*; Turkm. *jarasa* (dial.), *jarɣānat*; Sal. *jeresen*; MTurk. *jarasa* (AH), *jar-qanat* (Ettuhf.); Uzb. *jər-qanɔt*; Krm. *jeri qanatɨ*; Tat. *jar-qanat*; Bashk. *jar-ɣanat*; Kirgh. *ʒar-ɣanat*; Kaz. *žar-qanat*; KKalp. *žar-ɣanat*; Kum. *jar-qanat*; Nogh. *jar-ɣanat*; Khak. *čar-xanat*; Oyr. *jar-ɣanat*, *ďar-ɣanat*; Tv. *ča'sqɨ*; Chuv. *śara-śerźi*; Yak. *sarī kɨnat*.

◊ EDT 972, VEWT 189, TMN 4, 143, ЭСТЯ 4, 140-141, Лексика 168. The word is etymologically difficult because of the unclear suffix *-sa / *-se attested in early forms and some of the modern reflexes. In most modern languages the word is folk-etymologically rebuilt as **jari-Kiajnat* 'film-wing' (or 'naked sparrow' in Chuv.).

PJpn. ***(d)ìtàtì** Mustela itatsi itatsi, kolinsky (колонок, ласка): OJpn. *itati*; MJpn. *ìtàti*; Tok. *ìtachi*, *itachí*; Kyo. *ítàchì*; Kag. *itachí*.

◊ JLTT 427. Tokyo reflects a tone variation between **(d)ìtàtì* and **(d)ìtátí*.

PKor. ***tǎràmí** flying squirrel (белка-летяга): MKor. *tǎràmí*; Mod. *taram-čwi*.

◊ Nam 135, KED 382.

‖ Лексика 168. Low tone in Jpn. does not correspond to Kor. (but cf. different dialectal variants). The root must have denoted some small rodent, possibly a flying squirrel (which could explain the meaning 'bat' in Turkic). One should also mention PM **ʒaraɣa* 'hedgehog, porcupine' = Karakh. *jarpuz* 'mongoose', possibly derived from the same root. A different etymology of the Turkic word (comparing it with Evk. *ńarbakin* 'naked' and deriving from a **ńarV* 'naked skin', see Stachowski 1999) seems less likely to us.

✱**dia̯ò̀ge** good, better: Mong. ***ʒaɣa**; Turk. ***jęg-**; Jpn. ***dà-**; Kor. ***tjōh-**.

PMong. ***ʒaɣa** good, well (ладно, хорошо): MMong. *ʒa'arin* (SH) 'omen'; WMong. *ʒaɣa*, (L 1022: *zaɣa-bala* 'for certain'); Kh. *ʒā*; Bur. *zā*; Kalm. *zā*, *zā̈*, *ʒā̈*; Ord. *ʒā*; Dag. *ʒē*, *ʒā* (Тод. Даг. 143), *ʒē* (MD 176); Dong.

ǯa; S.-Yugh. *ǯa*; Mongr. *ʒāri* 'signe par lequel la divinité manifeste sa volonté' (SM 83), *ʒē-le-* 'consentir' (SM 87).

◊ KW 469, MGCD 416.

PTurk. ***jẹg-*** 1 better 2 upper part, surface (1 лучше, лучший 2 верх, поверхность): OTurk. *jeg* 1 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *jeg* 1 (MK); Tur. *jeɣ*, *jej* 1; Az. *jeg* (dial.) 1; Turkm. *jeg* 1; MTurk. *jik* 1 (AH); Chuv. *śi*, *śije* 2.

◊ EDT 909-910, VEWT 194, ЭСТЯ 4, 165-166, TMN 4, 184-185, Федотов 2, 115-116.

PJpn. ***də̀-*** good (хороший): OJpn. *jo-*; MJpn. *jò-*; Tok. *í-*, *yó-*; Kyo. *ȅ*; Kag. *yò-*.

◊ JLTT 845.

PKor. ***tjōh-*** good (хороший): MKor. *tjōh-*; Mod. *čō-* [*čōh-*].

◊ Nam 162, KED 1488.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 103, 275. Despite the meaning of the Chuvash form ("up") the Turk. root should be rather compared with this Korean and Japanese data than with Mong. *degde-* 'rise' etc. (see VEWT 194 with literature). On the latter root see under **tēga*. The Mong. vocalism in **ǯaɣa* is somewhat aberrant: it is probably a result of early vowel assimilation < **ǯiɣa* (the variants *ǯiɣa-* and *ǯaɣa-* in WMong. interchange frequently).

✱**dio̯ktʹV (~ t-)** socks, stockings: Tung. ***dokta***; Mong. ***degtej***.

PTung. ***dokta-n*** socks, stockings (носки, чулки): Evk. *dokton*; Evn. *dōtъn*; Neg. *dokton*; Ul. *doqto(n)*; Ork. *doqto(n)*; Nan. *doqto(n)*.

◊ TMC 1, 213.

PMong. ***degtej*** fur stockings (унты, меховые чулки): WMong. *degtei*; Kh. *degtī* (Амаржаргал).

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**dio̯úblu (~ -a)** a k. of predator: Tung. ***dolbi***; Mong. ***ʒilar***; Turk. ***jolbars***.

PTung. ***dolbi*** fox (лиса): Man. *dobi*; SMan. *d́ovi* (2207); Jurch. *dolbi* (153) , *do-bi* (151).

◊ TMC 1, 211.

PMong. ***ʒilar*** cat (кошка): WMong. *ǯilar* (MXTTT); Kh. *ǯalar*.

◊ Sukhebaatar derives the word from Tib. *byi* la 'cat', but the final -r is hard to explain.

PTurk. ***jolbars*** panther, leopard, tiger (пантера, леопард, тигр): OTurk. *jolbars* (OUygh.: Suv.); Turkm. *jolbars*; MTurk. *jolbars* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *jo̯lbars*; Uygh. *jolbars*; Tat. *julbarɨs*; Bashk. *julbarɨɜ*; Kirgh. *ǯolbars*; Kaz. *žolbarɨs*; KKalp. *žolbarɨs*; Nogh. *jolbarɨs*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 4, 219, *Лексика* 157. The Turkic form is analysed as 'road panther' which is most probably a folk etymology (under the influence of the borrowed bars 'panther'): even if one takes *jol* with a secondary late attested meaning 'line, stripe', shortness of -o- in Turkm. contradicts the etymology (**jōl* 'road' has a long vowel).

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**dḭŭlgu (~ -a)** a k. of foliage tree: Tung. ***dulgikta**; Mong. ***dolugana**; Turk. ***jɨlgun**.

PTung. ***dulgi-kta** alder (ольха): Evk. *dulgik*; Evn. *döktъ*; Orch. *dug-gimtu*; Ud. *dugumpe* (Корм. 228), *duɣumne*.

◊ TMC 1, 222.

PMong. ***dolugana** hawthorn, mayflower (боярышник): WMong. *doluɣana*, *doluɣuna*, *dolunu* (L 260); Kh. *dolōgono*; Bur. *dolōgono*; Kalm. *dolānə*.

◊ KW 94. Mong. > Yak. *doloɣon* etc. (see TMN 4, 315, ЭСТЯ 3, 269-270, *Лексика* 123-124).

PTurk. ***jɨlgun** tamarisk (тамариск): Karakh. *jɨlɣun* (MK); Tur. *ɨlɣɨn*; Az. *julɣun*; Turkm. *jɨlɣun*, *jɨlɣɨn*; MTurk. *jɨlɣɨn* (Houts.), *julɣun* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *julɣun*; Uygh. *žulɣun*; Kirgh. *šɨlɣɨn*, *šɨlɣam*; Kaz. *žɨŋɣɨl*; KKalp. *žɨŋɣɨl*; SUygh. *julɣum*, *jolɣam*.

◊ VEWT 165, 200, EDT 926, ЭСТЯ 4, 277-278, *Лексика* 134. Kaz. > Russ. dial. džen-gil', see Аникин 183-184.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**dḭùlu** warm: Tung. ***dūl-**; Mong. ***dulaɣan**; Turk. ***jɨli-g**; Jpn. ***dù**.

PTung. ***dūl-** to warm (of sun) (пригревать (о солнце)): Evk. *dūl-*; Evn. *dṵ̄l-*.

◊ TMC 1, 221.

PMong. ***dulaɣan** warm (теплый): MMong. *dula'an* 'hot, sunheat' (HY 6); WMong. *dulaɣan* (L 272); Kh. *dulān*; Bur. *dulān*; Kalm. *dulān*; Ord. *dulān*; Dag. *dulān* (Тод. Даг. 138, MD 138); S.-Yugh. *dulān* (MGCD *dəlān*).

◊ KW 101-102, MGCD 237.

PTurk. ***jɨli-g** warm (теплый): OTurk. *jɨlɨɣ* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jɨlɨɣ*, *ɨlɨɣ* (MK); Tur. *ɨlɨk*; Gag. *ɨlɨ*; Az. *ilɨG* 'warmish'; Turkm. *jɨlɨ*; Sal. *jili*; MTurk. *ɨlɨq*, *jɨlɨq* (Abush., Бор. Бад.); Uzb. *iliq*; Uygh. *ilman*; Krm. *jɨlɨ*; Tat. *šɨlɨ*; Bashk. *jɨlɨ*; Kirgh. *šɨluu*; Kaz. *žɨlɨ*; KBalk. *žɨlɨ*; KKalp. *žɨllɨ*; Kum. *jɨlɨ*; Nogh. *jɨlɨ*; SUygh. *ilɨɣ*; Khak. *čɨlɨɣ*; Shr. *čɨlɨ-* (v.); Oyr. *ḱɨlu*; Tv. *čɨlɨɣ*; Tof. *čɨlɨɣ*; Yak. *sɨlās*; Dolg. *hɨlās*.

◊ Derived from **jili-* 'to be warm'. See VEWT 200, EDT 919, 925, ЭСТЯ 4, 275-276, *Лексика* 21, Stachowski 118.

PJpn. ***dù** warm water (теплая вода): OJpn. *ju*; MJpn. *ju*; Tok. *yú*; Kyo. *yŭ*; Kag. *yù*.

◊ JLTT 578.

‖ EAS 51, KW 102, Владимирцов 174, Poppe 23, 75, JOAL 85, ОСНЯ 1, 221-222, Murayama 1962, 108, АПиПЯЯ 51, 72, 284, Дыбо 11, Лексика 21. Despite Щербак 1997, 124, Mong. cannot be explained as a Turkic loanword, and despite Doerfer MT 72 the TM and Mong. forms should be regarded as genuinely related. Note that several forms reflect an original derivative **di̯ūl(u)-gV* (Turk., Mong. and Jpn. **dù* < **di̯ul-gu*).

✸**di̯upʿú** wing, fin: Mong. ***ǯiber**; Jpn. ***tumpasa**.

PMong. ***ǯiber** 1 fish fin 2 wing (1 рыбий плавник 2 крыло): WMong. *ǯiber* (L 1048) 1; Kh. *ǯiver* 1; Bur. *žeber* 2; Kalm. *ǯiwṛ* (KPC) 1, 2.

PJpn. ***tumpasa** wing (крыло): OJpn. *tubasa*; MJpn. *túbásà*; Tok. *tsúbasa*; Kyo. *tsùbásà*; Kag. *tsubasá*.

◊ JLTT 552. Accent not quite clear: modern dialects point rather to **tùmpásà.*

‖ JOAL 98. A Mong.-Jpn. isogloss; cf. perhaps Tuva *čakpa* (< **japka*) 'fin'.

✸**dȍ (~ t-)** inside, middle: Tung. ***dō**; Mong. ***do- / *du-**; Kor. ***tắi**.

PTung. ***dō** inside (внутренность): Evk. *dō*; Evn. *dō*; Neg. *dō(n)*; Man. *do*; SMan. *do-, d́o-* (2586-2589); Jurch. *do-lo* (600); Ul. *dō*; Ork. *dō*; Nan. *dō*; Orch. *dō*; Ud. *dō* (Корм. 227); Sol. *dō-*.

◊ TMC 1, 209-210.

PMong. ***do- / *du-** 1 inside 2 middle, mediocre 3 middle (1 внутри 2 средний, посредственный 3 середина): MMong. *dotora* (HY 50), *dotona* (SH) 1, *dutar*, *dutură* (MA) 1, *dunda* (HY 50, SH) 2, *dumda*, *donda* (IM), *dundă* (MA) 3; WMong. *do-tur(a)* 1 (L 265), *du-li* 2, *du-mda* 3 (L 273); Kh. *dotor* 1, *duĺ* 2, *dund* 3; Bur. *dosō* 1, *dunda* 3; Kalm. *dotṛ* 1, *dundə* 3; Ord. *dotor* 1, *dunda* 3; Mog. *dotōna* 1, *dunda* 3; ZM *dotana* (4-3a) 1, *donda* (9-1b) 3; Dag. *duatar*, *dotor* 1, *duanda* 3, *duande* (MD 137) 3; Dong. *tudoro*, *sudoro* 1, *dunda* 3; Bao. *dorə*; S.-Yugh. *hdoro* 1, *dunda* 3; Mongr. *turo* (SM 434), *šduro*, tudor (SM 427) 1, *dunda* (SM 64) 3.

◊ KW 97,102, MGCD 227, 237. Mong. *du-li* > Evk. *dulin* etc., see TMC 1, 222-223; Doerfer MT 20; Rozycki 63.

PKor. ***tắi** place, inside (место, внутренность): MKor. *tắi*; Mod. *te*.

◊ Nam 147, KED 454.

‖ TMC 1, 210, Rozycki 61. One of the few monosyllabic roots in PA.

✸**dṓn(e)kʿV** withers, back: Tung. ***doŋka**; Mong. ***döŋ(ge)**; Turk. ***jōnak**; Kor. ***tɨ̀ŋ**.

PTung. ***doŋka** saddle (for children or horses) (седло (детское; конское)): Evk. *doŋqa*.

◊TMC 1, 216. Attested only in Evk. and rather problematic. It matches phonetically Evn. dōŋqъn, Nan. dōŋqo (On.) 'place where wild birds roost', derived in TMC 1, 211 from *dō- 'to sit down'. Let us note, however, that the verb means exclusively 'sit down (of birds), roost', so the meaning 'saddle' is hardly derivable from it. We may well be dealing with a secondary semantic contamination in Nan. and Evn.

PMong. ***döŋ(ge)** 1 neck cangue 2 prop, support (1 шейная колодка 2 подпорка): WMong. *döŋge* 1, *döŋ* 2 (L 267, 268); Kh. *döngö* 1; Bur. *dünge* 1; Kalm. *döŋ* 2; Ord. *döŋgö* 1; Dag. *duŋgu* (MGCD 229).

◊ KW 99.

PTurk. ***jōnak** saddleblanket (потник): Karakh. *jonaq* (MK); Turkm. *jōna*; MTurk. *jona*, *juna* (Houts., Pav. C.); Kaz. *žona* (dial.); KKalp. *žona*; SUygh. *junaq*; Oyr. *jonoq*; Tv. *čonaq*.

◊ VEWT 206, 211, EDT 949, ЭСТЯ 4, 222-223, Лексика 543.

PKor. ***tɨŋ** back (спина): MKor. *tɨŋ*; Mod. *tɨŋ*.

◊ Liu 255, KED 546.

‖ The Kor. word is alternatively compared with Mong. *tüŋke* 'muscles of the back' (SKE 268, EAS 49, 120) - but we were unable to find the word in available sources.

✱**dōre** to go, walk, approach: Tung. ***dūrē-**; Mong. ***dürbe-**; Turk. ***jori- / *jüri-**; Jpn. ***dǿr-**.

PTung. ***dūrē-** 1 to walk, wander (off) 2 to run 3 to leap, gallop (1 идти пешком, бродить 2 бежать 3 прыгать, скакать): Evk. *dūrē-* 1, *dūrēŋi-*3; Evn. *ǯūre-nǯid-* 1; Neg. *dūjē-* 1; Man. *ǯura-* 1; SMan. *ǯura-* 'to start, to set out, to leave' (1173); Nan. *duere-* 1; Ul. *duere-* 1; Ork. *dūruŋu-* 3; Orch. *due-*, *duwe-* 1; Ud. *due-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 226, 277, 278. Variants with *ǯ-* are not quite clear.

PMong. ***dürbe-** to run (in panic) (бежать (в панике)): MMong. *durbe-* (SH, HYt); WMong. *dürbe-*, (L 281) *dürbi-*; Kh. *dürve-*.

PTurk. ***jori- / *jüri-** to walk (ходить): OTurk. *jori-* (Orkh., OUygh.), *jüri-* (Orkh.); Karakh. *jor(ɨ)-* (MK, KB), *jüri-* ~ *jöri-* (KB); Tur. *jürü-*; Gag. *jörü-*; Az. *jeri-*, *jürü-*; Turkm. *jör(e)-*; Sal. *jür-*; MTurk. *jüri-* ~ *jöri-* (MA), *jürü-* (AH, Ettuhf.); Uzb. *jur-*; Uygh. *žür-* (*jür-*), *jörü-*; Krm. *juru-*, *jürü-*; Tat. *jörü-*, *jör-*; Bashk. *jörö-*; Kirgh. *ǯür(ü)-*; Kaz. *žür-*; KBalk. *žür(ü)-*; KKalp. *žür-*; Kum. *juru-*, *jürü-*; Nogh. *jür(ü)-*; SUygh. *jor-*, *ǯor-*, *jör-*, *jür-*; Khak. *čör-*; Shr. *čör-*; Oyr. *ǵor-*; Tv. *čor(u)-*; Tof. *čoru-*; Chuv. *śüre-*; Yak. *sɨrɨt-*; Dolg. *hɨrɨt-*.

◊ VEWT 207, 213, EDT 957-8, ЭСТЯ 4, 229-231, TMN 4, 217-218, Stachowski 120. Clauson regards both forms together, but notes that *jori-* is attested earlier than *jür(i)-*.

PJpn. ***dǿr-** to approach (приближаться, подходить): OJpn. *jor-*; MJpn. *jór-*; Tok. *yòr-*; Kyo. *yór-*; Kag. *yór-*.

◊ JLTT 787.

‖ EAS 52, АПиПЯЯ 284, Дыбо 13. The frequently compared with Turk. WMong. *ǯorči-* 'to ride, wander' (see KW 476, Владимирцов 187, VEWT 207), is most likely a loanword (*ǯorči-* < **ǯorti-*, from the Turk. derived form **jor(ɨ)t-* (ЭСТЯ 4, 226-227); cf. also **jorɨga* 'pedestrian; ambler' (ЭСТЯ 4, 225) > WMong. *ǯiruɣa*, see VEWT 207, KW 115, TMN 4, 152, whence Yak., Dolg. *ǯoruo*, see Kał. MEJ 23, 35, Stachowski 91)),

**jori-* > WMong. *ǯori-* 'to head (somewhere)' (KW 478; hence Man. *ǯori-*, see Doerfer MT 115); see Щербак 1997, 125. Note that Doerfer's criticism (TMN 4, 219-220) of the Tung.-Turk. comparison is unacceptable. However, an archaic opposition of two roots (with *d- and *ǯ-) cannot be excluded: besides a peculiar variation **jori-/ *jüri-* in PT note also the tonal mismatch between PT **dūr-* and PJ **dór-*.

✱**dòru** rule, permission: Tung. ***dora(n)**; Mong. ***dura-**; Turk. ***jor-**; Jpn. ***dùrù-**.

PTung. ***dora-n** law (закон): Man. *doron*; SMan. *dorən* 'official rank'(1047); Jurch. *doro-un* (255); Ul. *doro(n)*; Ork. *doro(n)*; Nan. *dorõ*; Orch. *doro(n)*.

◊ TMC 1, 216-217. Borrowing from Mong. *töre* is excluded, despite Rozycki 62.

PMong. ***dura-** 1 will, intent; 2 wish, desire, liking 3 to wish, love (1 воля, намерение 2 желание, симпатия 3 любить; желать): MMong. *durat-* 'to hope, consider' (HY 33), *durala-* 3 (HYt), *dura(n)* (SH), *dura(n)* (MA) 1; WMong. *dura* (L 274) 1; Kh. *dur* 1,2, *durla-* 3; Bur. *dura(n)* 1, *durla-* 3; Kalm. *durṇ* 1; Ord. *dura* 1; Mog. *dɔrɔn* 2 (Weiers); ZM *dorɔ̄n* (5-5a) 1; Dag. *duar* (Тод. Даг. 137) 1, *duare* 1, *duarele-* 3 (MD 138); Dong. *duran* 1; S.-Yugh. *dura* 1; Mongr. *durān* (SM 66) 1.

◊ KW 103, MGCD 238.

PTurk. ***jor-** to explain, interpret (a dream) (толковать (сон)): Karakh. *jor-* (MK, KB); Tur. *jor-*, *jora-*; Turkm. *jor-*; MTurk. *jor-* (AH, Pav. C.); Uygh. *ǯoru-*; Krm. *jor-*, *jora-*; Tat. *jura-*; Bashk. *jura-*; Kirgh. *ǯoro-*, *ǯoru-*; Kaz. *žor-*; KKalp. *žori-*; Nogh. *jori-*.

◊ EDT 955, VEWT 208, ЭСТЯ 4, 223-224. Turk. > Mong. *jor-* (Щербак 1997, 125). The root should be distinguished from **jõr-* 'to untie, release' (Yak. *süör-*, OT *jör-*) - the latter is different both phonetically and semantically, although it can, through contamination, also attain the meaning 'to interpret' (thus in MK and OUygh.).

PJpn. ***dùrù-** 1 to be allowed 2 to allow (1 быть разрешенным 2 разрешать, позволять): OJpn. *jurus-* 2; MJpn. *jùrù-* 1, *jùrùs-* 2; Tok. *yurús-* 2; Kyo. *yùrùs-*; Kag. *yùrùs-*.

◊ JLTT 788.

‖ An interesting common Altaic root, with the original meaning reconstructable perhaps as 'interpretation (of desires or intentions)' and thus 'permission, rule'.

✱**dòru** weak, slack, emaciated: Tung. ***duru-**; Mong. ***doru**; Turk. ***jor-**; Jpn. ***dùrù-**.

PTung. ***duru-** to become worn out, old (одряхлеть): Man. *duru-*.

◊ TMC 1, 225. Attested only in Manchu, but having reliable external parallels.

PMong. ***doru** weak, feeble, emaciated (слабый, истощенный): WMong. *doru*, *dorui* (L 263); Kh. *dor, doroj*; Bur. *doroj*; Kalm. *dorū*; Mongr. *durī*.

◊ KW 96, MGCD 226.

PTurk. ***jor-** to tire, tired (уставать, усталый): Tur. *jor-*, *jorul-*, *jorɣun*; Gag. *jorul-*, *jorɣun*; Az. *jor-*, *jorul-*, *jorɣun*; Turkm. *jor-*, *jorɣun*; MTurk. *jorul-* (Ettuhf., AH), *jorɣun* (Pav. C.); Krm. *jorul-*, *jorɣun*; Kum. *jorul-*.

◊ VEWT 207, ЭСТЯ 4, 223.

PJpn. ***dùrù-** slack, languid, quiet (вялый, расслабленный, спокойный): OJpn. *juru-*, jura-; MJpn. *jùrù-*; Tok. *yurú-*; Kyo. *yúrù-*; Kag. *yurú-*.

◊ JLTT 845.

‖ The root is homonymous with **dòru* 'rule, permission', but hardly has anything in common with it etymologically.

✱**dorVkV** a k. of badger: Tung. ***d[o]riken**; Mong. ***dorugun**; Turk. ***jorukan**.

PTung. ***d[o]rike-** 1 lynx 2 a k. of bear 3 wild boar (1 рысь 2 вид медведя 3 дикая свинья): Evn. *deriken* 2; Neg. *dejexe* 1; Man. *dorGori* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 230, 237, 217.

PMong. ***dorugun** badger (барсук): MMong. *dūrqan* (LH); WMong. *doroɣon*, *doruɣu(n)*, *doroɣu* (L 262, 263); Kh. *dorgo*; Bur. *dorgon*; Ord. *dorGo*.

◊ Mong. > Evk. *dorokon* etc., see Doerfer MT 39, Rozycki 62.

PTurk. ***jorukan** 1 badger 2 suslik (1 барсук 2 суслик): Khak. *čoraxa* (Radl.); Oyr. *joroqon* (Radl.).

◊ VEWT 207. Turk. > WMong. *ǰoruɣan*, *ǰoruqan*, Kalm. *zorɣən*, *zorxən* (KW 476).

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**dubi (~ t-)** skilled, accustomed: Tung. ***dub-**; Mong. ***düj**.

PTung. ***dub-** to get accustomed (привыкать, приучаться): Evk. *dū-*; Evn. *dụ̄-*; Man. *dubi-*; Jurch. *tu-bi-ba tei-bew* 'fixed habits' (784).

◊ TMC 1, 217-218.

PMong. ***düj** 1 skill, dexterity 2 to be right or correct (1 умение, сноровка 2 быть верным, правильным): WMong. *düi* 1, *düi-* 2 (L 279); Kh. *düj* 1, *düj-* 2; Bur. *düj* 1.

◊ Despite Lessing ibid., *düji-* is hardly < Chinese.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**dǔle** night: Tung. ***dolba**; Mong. ***düli-**; Jpn. ***duà, *duà-rû**.

PTung. ***dolba** night (ночь): Evk. *dolbonī*; Evn. *dolbъ̣*; Neg. *dolbon*; Man. *dobori*; SMan. *d́ovərə* 'night, evening' (2661); Jurch. *dol-wo* (78); Ul. *dolbo*; Ork. *dolboni*; Nan. *dolbo*; Orch. *dobbo*; Ud. *dogbo*; Sol. *dolbo*.

◊ TMC 1, 213-214.

PMong. ***düli-** to spend the night (without sleep) (проводить ночь (без сна)): WMong. *düli-* (L 280); Kh. *düle-*; Kalm. *dül-*; Ord. *düli-*; Dag. *dule-* (MD 139).

◊ KW 105. Mong. > Man. *duli-* etc., see TMC 1, 223, Rozycki 63.

PJpn. ***duà, *duà-rû** night (ночь): OJpn. *jwo(ru)*; MJpn. *jò(rú)*; Tok. *yóru*; Kyo. *yòru*; Kag. *yorú*.

◊ JLTT 575, 577.

‖ Murayama 1962, 108, АПиПЯЯ 71, 97, 276 (but the Turkic parallels listed there should be rejected). PJ *duà reflects a suffixed form < *dŭl(e)-gV (-bV).

✱**dū́li** mad, crazy: Tung. ***dulbu-**; Mong. ***dülei**; Turk. ***jū̄l-**; Kor. ***tor**.

PTung. ***dulbu-** 1 stupid, dumb 2 deaf (1 глупый 2 глухой): Evk. *dulbu-n* 1; Evn. *dụlbụr* 1; Man. *dulba* 1; Ork. *dụl-dụl* 1; Nan. *dulbi* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 221-222.

PMong. ***dülei** deaf (глухой): MMong. *dulaiji* (HY 49), *dolä* (IM), *duläi* (MA), *dūli* (LH); WMong. *dülei* (L 280); Kh. *dülij*; Bur. *dülij*; Kalm. *dülē*; Ord. *dülī*; Dag. *dulī* (Тод. Даг. 138, MD 139); Dong. *dulei*; Bao. *dəli*; S.-Yugh. *delī-*; Mongr. *dulī* (SM 64).

◊ KW 105, MGCD 244. Mong. > Kaz. *dülej* etc. (ЭСТЯ 3, 324-325).

PTurk. ***jū̄l-** 1 to be mad, crazy 2 anger 3 to be sexually excited (1 сходить с ума 2 гнев 3 быть в состоянии полового возбуждения): Oyr. *d́ül-* 1; Chuv. *śilə* 2; Yak. *sū̄l-* 3.

◊ VEWT 213, ЭСТЯ 4, 33. Chuv. > Hung. *gyűlöl* 'be angry'. Forms like Kirgh. *ǯölü-*, Uygh. *ǯölü-* 'to go mad, speak in one's sleep' are obviously < Mong. *ǯeγüle-*, but the Chuv. and Yak. forms, as well as the Oyr. form *d́ül-* seem to be archaic.

PKor. ***tor** wicked, base, wild (дикий, грубый): Mod. *tol*; *tul-* 'stupid; clumsy'.

◊ KED 478, 509, 510.

‖ SKE 272, Lee 1958, 108.

✱**dure (~ t-, -ŕ-, -i)** to burn, set fire: Tung. ***dur-**; Mong. ***dür-**.

PTung. ***dur-** 1 to burn, blaze, flame 2 to set fire (1 гореть, пылать 2 разводить огонь): Evn. *dur-* 1; Man. *dobu-* 2; Ul. *durǯegdeli-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 211, 224-225. Man. *dobu-* < **dur-bu-* = Evn. *durъb-*.

PMong. ***dür-** to blaze, flame (вспыхивать, пылать): WMong. *dürbelǯe-* (L 281); Kh. *dürelʒe-*, *dürsxij-*; Bur. *dürge-*, *düre-*; Kalm. *dürwə-*; Mog. *dürgä-*, *dürü-* (Ramstedt 1906).

◊ KW 106.

‖ Poppe 22. Мудрак Дисс. 185. A Mong.-Tung. isogloss, but despite Doerfer MT 147, hardly a loanword in TM.

✱**dŭŕi** ring: Tung. ***dur-**; Mong. ***dörü**; Turk. ***jüŕ-**.

PTung. ***dur-** 1 a k. of bracelet 2 stirrup 3 saddle (for children) (1 вид браслета 2 стремя 3 седло (детское)): Evk. *durēki* 2; Ork. *dūrēke* 3; Nan. *durǯi* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 217, 225. The word for 'stirrup' (cf also Sol. *durēŋki* id., see TMC 1, 226) may be a Mongolian borrowing, see Doerfer MT 126.

PMong. ***dörü** 1 ring in bull's nose 2 stirrup (1 кольцо в носу у быка 2 стремя): MMong. *doro'e* (HY 18), *dorebči* (SH) 1, *durā̄* (IM) 2; WMong. *dörü* 1, *dörüge* 2 (L 269); Kh. *dör* 1, *dörō̄* 2; Bur. *düre* 1, *dürō̄* 2;

Kalm. *dör* 1, *dörē* 2; Ord. *dörö* 1, *dörõ* 2; Dag. *durēŋǵ* 2 (Тод. Даг. 138 *durēŋgi*); S.-Yugh. *durē* 2; Mongr. *durō* (SM 67), *durōm* 'anneau, boucle' (MGCD 230).

◊ KW 99, MGCD 230.

PTurk. ***jüŕ-*** 1 finger ring 2 joint 3 stirrup (**üŕeŋgü* < **jüŕeŋgü*) (1 кольцо (на палец) 2 сустав (пальцевый) 3 стремя): Karakh. *jüzük* 1 (MK), *üzeŋü* 3 (KB); Tur. *jüzük* 1, *üzengi* 3; Gag. *jüzük*, *üzük* 1; Az. *üzük* 1; Turkm. *jüzük* 1, *üzeŋŋi* 3; MTurk. *jüzük* 1 (AH, Ettuhf.), *üzük* 1 (Pav. C., Abush.); Uzb. *uzuk* 1; Uygh. *üzük* 1; Krm. *jüzük*, *üzük*, *ezik*, *izik* 1; Tat. *jözek* 1; Bashk. *jöδök* 1; Kirgh. *ʒüzük* 1; Kaz. *žüzik* 1; KBalk. *ʒüzük*, *züzük* 1; KKalp. *žüzik* 1; Kum. *jüzük* 1; Nogh. *jüzik* 1; Khak. *čüstük* 1; Shr. *čüstük* 1; Oyr. *jüstük*, *ďüstük* 1; Tv. *čü'stük* 1, *čüs* 2; Chuv. *śəʷrəʷ* 1, *jъrana* 3; Yak. *sühüöx* 2, *iheŋe* 3; Dolg. *hühüök* 2.

◊ EDT 986, VEWT 214, TMN 2, 146,147-148, ЭСТЯ 1, 623-625, 4, 260, 261-262, Егоров 212, Лексика 548-549, Stachowski 115. Turk. > Hung. *gyűrű* (see Lig. MNyTK 77-79). The reason of *j- > 0- in the PT name of "stirrup" (< *"ring-formed") is unclear (irregular change in a long form?).

‖ KW 99, Poppe 23, Лексика 549. A Western isogloss.

E

✱**é** that (deictic root): Tung. ***e-**; Mong. ***e-ne**; Turk. ***ạ(-n)**; Jpn. ***á-**; Kor. ***ā-mò**.

PTung. ***e-** this (этот): Evk. *er*, *eri*; Evn. *er*; Neg. *ej*; Man. *ere*; SMan. *erə* (2881); Jurch. *e(r)se* (854); Ul. *ej*; Ork. *eri*; Nan. *ei*; Orch. *ei*; Ud. *eji*; Sol. *er*.

◊ TMC 2, 460-462.

PMong. ***e-ne** this (этот): MMong. *ene* (SH, HYt), *enɛ* (IM), *inǎ* (MA); WMong. *ene* (L 316); Kh. *ene*; Bur. *ene*; Kalm. *enə*; Ord. *ene*; Mog. *enä*; ZM *ena* (13-6a); Dag. *ene* (Тод. Даг. 139); Dong. *ene*; Bao. *ene*, *ine*; S.-Yugh. *ene*; Mongr. *ne*.

◊ KW 122, MGCD 262.

PTurk. ***ạn-** that (*obl.cases*) 2 here, look (part.) (тот (основа косв. падежей) 2 вот, тут): OTurk. *an-ta* (loc.), *aŋ-ar* (dat.) (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *an-da* (loc.), *oŋ-a* (dat.) (MK, KB); Turkm. ana 2; Sal. *an-dɨ* (loc.), *aŋ-a* (dat.); Khal. *ärä* 'that side' (vocalism under influence of *bärä* 'this side'); MTurk. *an-da* (loc.), *aŋ-a* (dat.) (Babur); Krm. *an-da* (loc.), *an-ar* (dat.); Tat. *an-da* (loc.), *aŋ-a* (dat.), *an-ar* (dat.) (Mish.); Bashk. *an-ta*, *an-da* (loc.), *aŋ-a* (dat.); Kirgh. *an-ta* (loc.), *a-(ɣ)a* (dat.); KBalk. *an-da* (loc.), *aŋ-ɣa* (dat.); SUygh. *a* (nom.); Khak. *an-da* (loc.), *a-ɣaa* (dat.); Shr. *an-da* (loc.), *a-(ɣ)a* (dat.); Oyr. *an-da* (loc.), *o-(ɣ)o* (dat.); Tv. *ɨn-da* (loc.), *a(ŋ)-a* (dat.); Tof. *ɨn-da* (loc.), *a(ŋ)-a* (dat.); Chuv. *on-da* (loc.), *ъʷn-a* (dat.); Yak. *ana-rā* 2.

◊ VEWT 19, EDT 165, ЭСТЯ 1, 147-150, 157. In OT and most modern languages the root a(n)- acts as an oblique stem for ol 'that' (as well as a deriving stem for pronominal adverbs). Only in SUygh. *a-* is the direct stem.

PJpn. ***á-** that (тот): MJpn. *a-*; Tok. *à-re*, *à-no*; Kyo. *áre*.

◊ JLTT 376.

PKor. ***ā-mò** someone, some (кто-то, некоторый): MKor. *ātò* (cf. also *ònɨ* 'some, someone', *àrǎm* 'oneself'); Mod. *ātu*.

◊ Nam 337, KED 1072.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 111-112, 277; EAS 126, KW 122, АПиПЯЯ 56, 292, Doerfer MT 21, Rozycki 70.

✱**e** not: Tung. ***e-**; Mong. ***e-se**.

PTung. ***e-** not (не (отрицательный глагол)): Evk. *e-*; Evn. *e-*; Neg. *e-*; Jurch. *ej-xe* (476), *esi(n)-in* (710); Ul. *e-*; Ork. *e-*; Nan. *e-*; Orch. *e-*; Ud. *e-*; Sol. *e-*.

◊ TMC 2, 432.

PMong. ***e-se** not (не): MMong. *ese* (SH, HYt), *ise* (IM), *is(ă)* (MA); WMong. *ese* (L 333); Kh. *es*; Bur. *ehe*; Kalm. *es*; Ord. *ese*; Mog. *sa, sɛ;* ZM *eϑϑä* (27-7a); Dag. *es* (Тод. Даг. 140); Dong. *ese*; Bao. *se*; Mongr. *sə, sī*.

◊ KW 128, MGCD 272.

‖ Poppe 65, KW 128, ОСНЯ 1, 265, АПиПЯЯ 44, 291. A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**èbà** to join, meet: Tung. ***ebu-re-**; Mong. ***aɣu-lʒa-**; Turk. ***ab-**; Jpn. ***àp-**; Kor. ***àbór-**.

PTung. ***ebu-re-** 1 to meet 2 to wait (1 встречать 2 ждать): Ul. *eurečі-* 1, 2; Nan. *ērūče-* 1, 2.

◊ TMC 2, 471.

PMong. ***aɣu-lʒa-** to meet, join (встречаться, объединяться): MMong. *a'ulʒa-*, *a'ulča-* (SH), *a'ulʒa-* (HYt) 'to have an audience of a khan'; WMong. *aɣulʒa-* (L 17); Kh. *ūlʒa-*; Bur. *ūlza-*; Kalm. *ūlzə-*; Ord. *ūlʒa-*; Dag. *aulʒi-* (Тод. Даг. 122), *auleʒi* (MD 116).

◊ KW 454, MGCD 663, TMN 1, 169. A variant with h- is attested in the Leiden manuscript (*hawulʒarin* 'present'), but this is certainly not the reason for reconstructing **haɣu-lʒa-* - against the overwhelming weight of other Middle Mong. sources and Dagur; it should be rather compared with Mongr. *fūla-* 'offrir, sacrifier' (105) (further perhaps to **hab* 'sorcery' q. v. sub **p'ăp'a).*

PTurk. ***ab-** to crowd, come together (собираться, встречаться): OTurk. *av-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *av-* (MK, KB).

◊ EDT 4, 10, ДТС 69.

PJpn. ***àp-** to meet, join, fit, agree (встречать; соединяться, подходить): OJpn. *ap-*; MJpn. *àf-*; Tok. *á-*; Kyo. *à-*; Kag. *à-*.

◊ JLTT 679.

PKor. ***àbór-** to unite, join (объединять, соединять): MKor. *à'ór-*; Mod. *auli-*, *əuli-*.

◊ Nam 340, KED 1076, 1134.

‖ SKE 12, Martin 234, Ozawa 167-168. An attempt of Doerfer (TMN 1, 173) to disprove Ramstedt's etymology (by supposing *h- in Mong.) is unsuccessful. Korean has a low tone, typical for the verbal subsystem.

✱**ĕbà** to winnow, fan: Tung. ***ebiri-**; Turk. ***ebis-**; Jpn. ***apu-**.

PTung. ***ebiri-** to shuffle, hoard (сгребать, смахивать): Evn. *ewerge* 'two-paddled oar'; Nan. *ebiri-*.

◊ TMC 2, 433.

PTurk. ***ebi-s-*** to winnow, blow (веять): Karakh. *evüs-* (MK); Tur. *evis-*; Az. *äs-*; Turkm. *övüs-*, *ös-*; Khal. *häp(i)s-*, *häs-*; Chuv. *avъs-*.

◊ EDT 15, VEWT 49, ЭСТЯ 1, 553-554. Cf. also **epki-n* 'cool wind, gust of wind' (Лексика 42). The form *es-*, attested already in MK (see EDT 240, ЭСТЯ ibid.) is possibly a contraction of **ebs-*.

PJpn. ***apu-*** to blow, fan (раздувать, обвевать): MJpn. *afu-r-*, *afu-t-*; Tok. *aór-*; Kyo. *áór-*; Kag. *aór-*.

◊ JLTT 676. Accent not quite clear: Kyoto and Tokyo point to **àpùr-*, but Kagoshima - to **ápúr-*.

‖ The root is not widely represented, but seems quite reliable. A derivative **ěbà-rV* is reflected in Nan. *ebiri-* = OJ *apu-t-*, *apu-r-*.

✱**éba(-ku)** marshmallow, hollyhock: Tung. ***ebke-***; Mong. ***(h)abuga***; Jpn. ***ápúpi***; Kor. ***à'ók***.

PTung. ***ebke-*** 1 heather 2 a k. of plant 3 hawthorn (1 вереск 2 вид растения 3 боярышник): Evk. *ebkemkirē* 1; Neg. *epkexin* 2; Ul. *ewxexi* 2; Ork. *ewxexi* 2; Nan. *opokta* 3; Orch. *ewxexi* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 22, 433.

PMong. ***(h)abuga*** marshmallow (пастушья сумка): WMong. *abuɣa* (MXTTT); Kh. *avga* (MXTTT).

◊ Mong. > Man. *abuχa* (*ilχa*) id.

PJpn. ***ápúpi*** hollyhock (шток-роза): OJpn. *apupji*; MJpn. *áfúfi*; Tok. *àoi*; Kyo. *áói*; Kag. *aói*.

◊ JLTT 382.

PKor. ***à'ók*** marshmallow (алтей аптечный или лекарственный (Althaea officinalis)): MKor. *à'ók*; Mod. *auk*.

◊ Nam 340, KED 1076.

‖ Lee 1958, 105 (Man.-Kor.).

✱**ȅbè** to carry on the back: Tung. ***ebe-***; Mong. ***eɣüre-***; Jpn. ***ə̀p-***; Kor. ***ə̀p-***.

PTung. ***ebe-*** carry (on oneself) (переносить): Evk. *ewe-*; Nan. *i̯warị-* 'to unload'; Orch. *ewugi-* 'to bring', *iwa-dala-* 'to put a person on one's shoulder (in play)'.

◊ TMC 1, 295, 2, 436.

PMong. ***eɣüre-*** to carry on the back (нести на спине): MMong. *u'ur-* (SH); WMong. *eɣüre-* (L 301: *egür-*, *ügür-*); Kh. *ū̄re-*; Kalm. *ū̄r-*; S.-Yugh. *orɣu-*; Mongr. *urgu-*.

◊ KW 461, MGCD 686.

PJpn. ***ə̀p-*** to carry on the back (нести на спине): OJpn. *op-*; MJpn. *òf-*; Tok. *ò-*; Kyo. *ò-*; Kag. *ó-*.

◊ JLTT 743. Tone is controversial: RJ and Kyoto < **ə̀p-*, but Tokyo and Kagoshima < **ə́p-*.

PKor. ***ə̀p-*** to carry on the back (нести на спине): MKor. *ə̀p-*; Mod. *əp-*.

◊ Liu 554, KED 1149.

‖ Martin 238. Korean has a verbal low tone.

✱**ebí** to be weak, to wither: Tung. ***ebe-**; Jpn. ***impu-sia-**; Kor. ***ə̀bí-**.

PTung. ***ebe-** 1 weak 2 to yield, be submitted 3 foolish, obstinate 4 lax, tarrying (1 слабый 2 уступать, подчиняться 3 глупый, упрямый 4 медлительный, расслабленный): Evk. *ewe-ǯekin* 'едва-едва'; Man. *ebe-ri*, *ebi-lun* 1; Ul. *ebe-le* 3; Ork. *ebe-le* 4; Nan. *ebe-ri-* 2; Orch. *ebe-le* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 436. Some forms (esp. those in -ri) may be borrowed from Mongolian (see under **apo*), while the Ul. and Orok forms may be < Manchu (because of -b- instead of the expected -w-).

PJpn. ***i(m)pu-sia-** in bad spirits, bad-mooded (в дурном настроении, расстроенный): OJpn. *ibuse-*; MJpn. *ibuse-*.

◊ JLTT 829.

PKor. ***ə̀bí-** 1 to be exhausted, hungry 2 to lack, be insufficient (1 быть истощенным, голодным 2 недоставать, не хватать): MKor. *ə̀'uí-* 1, *ə̄psìwɨ́-*, *ə̄ps-* 2; Mod. *ə̄p-* [*ə̄ps-*].

◊ HMCH 95, Nam 369, KED 1150.

‖ PKE 59. An Eastern isogloss. Cf. **àpo.*

✱**èbla** egg: Tung. ***(x)elū-**; Mong. ***(h)eɣülde**; Turk. ***o(bɨ)l-duruk**; Kor. ***árh**.

PTung. ***(x)elū-** 1 to hatch 2 egg (1 высиживать яйца 2 яйцо): Evk. *elū-* 1; Evn. *olŋa* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 15, 448. Cf. also Evk. *elī-mektekēn*, Sol. *ēluxē* 'newborn child'.

PMong. ***(h)eɣülder** breed (порода): WMong. *egülder* (L 300); Kh. *ǖlder*; Bur. *ǖlter*.

PTurk. ***o(bɨ)l-duruk** milt, roe (молоки, икра): Tur. *oɣulduruk* 'womb, ovary'; Turkm. *ovulduruq*; MTurk. *oɣulduruq* (R - ShS); Uzb. *ɔvuldɨrɨq* (dial.); Tat. *uwuldɨq*; Bashk. *ɨwɨldɨrɨq* (dial.); Kirgh. *ulduruq*; Kaz. *ulduruq*, *üldürük*; Chuv. *vəʷlǯəʷ*.

◊ VEWT 358. Usually derived from **ogul* 'son', which is rather dubious for external reasons. See Мудрак Дисс. 146. Дыбо 156.

PKor. ***árh** egg (яйцо): MKor. *ár* (*árh-*); Mod. *al*.

◊ Nam 346, KED 1088.

‖ In Turk. **obɨl-duruk* probably < **abɨl-duruk* with secondary narrowing in a long wordform. Kor. **árh* reflects a suffixed **èbla-gV*.

✱**ebo** enough, big: Tung. ***ebi-**; Mong. ***(h)öɣ- / *(h)öb-**; Kor. ***ò'ǻ-**.

PTung. ***ebi-** 1 enough 2 to be satiated 3 greedy 4 to eat greedily (1 достаточно 2 насыщаться, наедаться): Evk. *uwi-* 2; Man. *ebi-* 2; Jurch. *oh-pih-leh* 2; Ul. *ebiri-* 4, *ebe-su(n)* 3; Nan. *ebe-sũ* 3; Orch. *eburi* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 243, 433.

PMong. ***(h)öɣ- / *(h)öb-** 1 huge, big 2 complete, whole (1 громадный, большой 2 весь, целиком): WMong. *ögelei* 1 (L 631), *öb-či* 2 (L 627); Kh. *ŏlij* 1, *övč* 2.

PKor. ***ò'ǎ-** whole, complete (целый, быть целым): MKor. *ò'ǎ-n*, *ò'ǎr-*.

◊ Nam 381.

‖ Cf. PJ **ərə-* 'big' which may reflect a merger of this root with **ěp'o* q.v.

✱**ebVrV** worm, snake: Tung. ***ūre**; Turk. ***ebren**; Jpn. ***bərətì (~ -ua-)**.

PTung. ***ūre** 1 worm 2 snake (1 червь (дождевой) 2 змея): Evk. *ūre* 1; Neg. *uje* 1; Ul. *were(n)* 2; Ud. *wē* (Корм. 219), *uje*.

◊ TMC 1, 132; 2, 289.

PTurk. ***ebren** snake (змея): Tur. (Osm.) *evren* 'dragon', cf. mod. 'heaven vault' (< 'snake-rainbow' ?); Gag. *ievrem* 'fiery snake'; MTurk. MKypch. *ewren* 'adder' (Houts.); Chuv. *vəʷre śəlen* 'dragon' (lit. 'hot snake'), *vereni* (Bulg.).

◊ EDT 14.

PJpn. ***bərətì (~ -ua-)** big snake (большая змея): OJpn. *woroti*; MJpn. *wòròtì*, *wòròdì*; Tok. *órochi*; Kyo. *óròchì*; Kag. *oróchi*.

◊ JLTT 512. Accent in Tokyo and Kagoshima is aberrant.

‖ The Turkic form strongly suggests that PJ **bərətì* is a contraction of a longer **əbərətì*.

✱**ébǯo** to see, understand: Tung. ***eǯe-**; Mong. ***üǯe-**; Turk. ***ȫ(j)-**.

PTung. ***eǯe-** to understand, remember (понимать, запоминать): Man. *eǯe-*; SMan. *eǯə-* 'to memorize' (1866); Ul. *eǯe-*; Ork. *ede-mu-*; Nan. *eǯe-*; Orch. *eǯe-*; Ud. *egǯe-*.

◊ TMC 2, 439. TM > Dag. *eǯi-* (Тод. Даг. 138).

PMong. ***üǯe-** to see (видеть): MMong. *uǯe-* (HY 32, SH); *uǯɛ-* (IM), *uǯä-*, *huǯä-* (MA); WMong. *üǯe-* (L 1014); Kh. *üǯe-*; Bur. *üze-*; Kalm. *üz-*; Ord. *üǯi-*; Mog. *üǯä-*; ZM *ouž* (5-4b); Dag. *uǯi-* (Тод. Даг. 170, MD 231), *uǯ-*; Dong. *uǯe-*; Bao. *nǯe-*; S.-Yugh. *eǯe-*; Mongr. *uʒ́a-* (SM 465), *uʒ́e-*.

◊ KW 460, MGCD 331, 689.

PTurk. ***ȫ(j)-** to think, understand (думать, понимать): OTurk. *ö-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *ö-* (MK); Yak. *üöj-*.

◊ EDT 2-3, VEWT 368. Derived is probably **ȫ-g* 'thought', **ȫg-re-* 'to learn' (see ЭСТЯ 1, 496-498, 501-502, Stachowski 198, 252).

‖ A Western isogloss. The medial cluster with *-b- should be reconstructed in order to account for labialization in Turk. and Mong. However, the Turkic form may be alternatively compared with Mong. *ojun* 'thought' - if the latter is not related to PT **ōd* 'thought' (as suggested by Владимирцов 285 and supported in Мудрак Дисс. 103).

✱**éča** early, morning: Tung. ***esī**; Jpn. ***àsâ**; Kor. ***àčhǎm**.

PTung. ***esī** now, just now, not long ago (сейчас, только что, недавно): Evk. *esī*; Evn. *esi-me*; Neg. *esī*; Man. *esi* 'yes, certainly'; Ul. *esi*; Ork. *esi*; Nan. *esi*; Orch. *esi*; Ud. *esi*; Sol. *eśī*.

◊ See TMC 2, 467-468.

PJpn. ***àsâ** morning (утро): OJpn. *asa*; MJpn. *àsà*; Tok. *ása*; Kyo. *àsâ*; Kag. *asá*.

◊ JLTT 384.

PKor. ***àčhǎm** morning (утро): MKor. *àčhǎm*; Mod. *ačhim*.

◊ Nam 342, KED 1077/

‖ Martin 236. An Eastern isogloss.

✱**ēčʿo** be weak, exhausted: Tung. ***eče-**; Turk. ***ạ̄č**; Jpn. ***ətər-**; Kor. ***əč-**.

PTung. ***eče-** to feel constrained (чувствовать стеснение): Ul. *ečise-*; Nan. *ečisi-*.

◊ TMC 2, 471.

PTurk. ***ạ̄č** hunger (голод): OTurk. *ač* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *ač* (MK); Tur. *ač*; Gag. *āč*; Az. *aǯ*; Turkm. *āč*; Khal. *āč*, *ɔ̄ču-*; MTurk. *aǯ* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *ɔč*; Uygh. *ač*; Krm. *ač*; Tat. *ač*; Bashk. *as*; Kirgh. *ač*; Kaz. *aš*; KBalk. *ač*; KKalp. *aš*; Kum. *ač*; Nogh. *aš*; Khak. *as*; Shr. *aš*; Oyr. *ač*; Tv. *aš*; Chuv. *vɨźъ*; Yak. *ās*; Dolg. *ač-čɨk* 'hungry'.

◊ EDT 17, VEWT 3, ЭСТЯ 1, 208-209, Stachowski 28.

PJpn. ***ətər-** 1 to be worse 2 to become weak (1 быть хуже, уступать 2 слабеть): OJpn. *otor-* 1, *ot(w)or(w)op-* 2; MJpn. *òtòr-* 1, *òtòròf-* 2; Tok. *otór-* 1, *otoroé-* 2; Kyo. *ótór-* 1, *ótóróé-* 2; Kag. *otór-* 1, *òtòròè-* 2.

◊ JLTT 743. The Kagoshima accent in *otór-* is irregular (probably under literary influence).

PKor. ***əč-** to be in disorder, confusion (быть в беспорядке, смятении): MKor. *əčɨ́rəp-* (-w-) 2; Mod. *əǯirəp-* (-w-).

◊ Nam 365, KED 1136.

‖ The parallel seems reliable despite tone discrepancy between Turk.-Tung., on the one hand, and Kor.-Jpn., on the other.

✱**ěda** thing, goods: Tung. ***idegē (/*e-)**; Mong. ***aǯi- / *ada-**; Turk. ***ed**.

PTung. ***idegē (/*e-)** thing (вещь): Evk. *ideγē;* Nan. *idẽ* 'reason' (On.)

◊ Cf. also Il. *egdekē* 'clothes'. TMC 1, 298.

PMong. ***aǯi- / *ada-** 1 household 2 work (1 домашнее хозяйство 2 работа): WMong. *aǯi* 1, *aǯil* (L 61) 2; Kh. *aǯ* 1, *aǯil* 2; Bur. *ažal*, *adal* 2; Kalm. *aǯəl* 2; Ord. *aǯi* 2; Dag. *aǯil* (Тод. Даг. 118).

◊ KPC 29.

PTurk. ***ed, *ed-gü** 1 thing, goods 2 good, excellent 3 good action, benefit (1 вещь, добро, имущество 2 хороший, отличный 3 благодеяние): OTurk. *ed* 1 (OUygh.), *edgü* 2; Karakh. *eδ* 1, *eδgü* 2 (MK, KB);

Tur. *iji* 2; Turkm. *ejgi-lik* 3; Sal. *ī* 1; Tat. *ige*, *ijge*; Kirgh. *ijgi-lig* 3; KBalk. *igi,izgi* 1; Nogh. *ijgi* 1; Tv. *eki* 2; Tof. *e'kki* 2; Yak. *ütüö* 2; Dolg. *ötüö* 2.

◊ ЭСТЯ 1, 245-247, 248-249, 329-330, VEWT 35-36, EDT 33, 51, Stachowski 201. PT **ed-gü* is derived from PT **ed* 'thing, goods' (*Лексика* 326) (> Mong. *ed,* MMong. (SH etc.) *ed,* see Щербак 1997, 113). Mong. *edege-* 'to feel better, recover' (Dag. *edge-)* is also possibly < Turkic.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**ēda** silly, evil: Tung. ***ēde-**; Mong. ***ada**; Turk. ***Ada**; Jpn. ***ántá**.

PTung. ***ēde-** 1 silly 2 defect, shortcoming (1 глупый 2 недостаток, увечье): Man. *eden* 2; Ul. *ede(n)* 1; Nan. *ēdẽ* 1; Orch. *ede* 1; Ud. *ēde* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 439. Man. > Dag. *eden* (Тод. Даг. 138).

PMong. ***ada** devil, evil spirit (злой дух): MMong. *ada* (HYt); WMong. *ada* (L 9); Kh. *ad*; Bur. *ada*; Kalm. *adə*; Ord. *ada*.

◊ Mong. > Kirgh. *ada* (KW 1).

PTurk. ***Ada** 1 danger 2 to endanger (1 опасность 2 подвергать опасности): OTurk. *ada* (*tuda*) 1, *adart-* 2 (Orkh., OUygh.); Shr. *aza* 'name of an evil spirit' (Верб.); Tv. *adam* 'dashing, extraordinary'; Yak. *ataɣastā-* 'to insult'.

◊ EDT 40, 68.

PJpn. ***ántá** useless, vain (бесполезный, напрасный): MJpn. *ada*; Tok. *adá*; Kyo. *ádà*; Kag. *adá*.

◊ JLTT 376. The word is usually confused etymologically with **áta* 'foe', which seems, however, to have a different origin. Modern accentuation points to **ántá*, but it may be secondary because of this confusion.

‖ Mong. may be < Turk., see EDT 40, Щербак 1997, 94. The Jpn. high tone seems to contradict the TM length, but it may be secondary, see above.

✱**ědV** host, husband: Tung. ***edī-**; Mong. ***eʒen**; Turk. ***Edi**.

PTung. ***edī-** husband (муж): Evk. *edī*; Evn. *edi*; Neg. *edī*; Ul. *edi(n)*; Ork. *edi*; Nan. *eʒi*; Orch. *edi*.

◊ TMC 2, 437-438. Despite Doerfer MT 18, the root cannot be a Mong. loanword - unlike forms like Evk., Man. *eʒen* 'host', obviously recent borrowings (cf. Rozycki 67).

PMong. ***eʒen** host (хозяин): MMong. *eʒen* (HY 27, SH), *äʒinu* (IM), *iʒä̆-lä-* (MA); WMong. *eʒen* (L 336); Kh. *eʒen*; Bur. *ezen*; Kalm. *ezn̥*; Ord. *eʒin*; Mog. *eʒän*; ZM *eižän* (9-8a); Dag. *eʒin* (Тод. Даг. 138, MD 142); Dong. *eʒen*; Mongr. *nǯēn* 'l'individu en lui-même, propre, séparément, famille' (SM 267), *rǯi-le-* 'se rendre maître de, usurper, ravir' (SM 312).

◊ KW 129-130.

PTurk. ***Edi** host (хозяин): OTurk. *edi* (*idi*) (OUygh.); Karakh. *iδi* (MK); Tur. *ije*, *ɨs*, *is*; Az. *jijä*; Turkm. *eje*; MTurk. *eje* (Бор. Бад., Abush.), *ije* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *äjä* (dial.); Krm. *ije*, je; Tat. *ijä*; Bashk. *ĭjä*; Kirgh. *ē*; Kaz. *ĭje*; KBalk. *ije*; KKalp. *ije*; Kum. *jeje*; Nogh. *ije*; SUygh. *ise*; Khak. *ē*; Shr. *ē*; Oyr. *ē*; Tv. *ē* (< Oyr. or Khak.); Yak. *ičči*; Dolg. *ičči*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 1, 237-241, TMN 2, 176, EDT 41, Лексика 324-325, Stachowski 122. Some forms (Tur. *ıs*, is, Yak. *ičči* etc.) go back to a suffixed **ede-si*; the Khak. and Shor forms should be explained as a haplology of the same form.

‖ EAS 97, KW 130, Poppe 53, 105, Цинциус 1972a, 49-52, Дыбо 6. A Western isogloss. Despite Щербак 1997, 114, Mong. is hardly borrowed from Turk. Doerfer's (TMN 2, 177-178) doubts in the validity of the etymology are hardly grounded: all forms are easily explained if we suppose a protoform like **edije*. The form can be in fact an old derivative of **eda* 'thing, household' (q. v., cf. Poppe UJb XIII, 114, 120).

✱**ége̋a** to rise, lift: Tung. ***ek-se-**; Mong. ***(h)ag-sa-**; Turk. ***(i)āg-**; Jpn. ***á(n)ká-**.

PTung. ***ek-se-** 1 to carry, take with smb. 2 to put, preserve (1 нести, везти; держать при себе 2 положить, оставить на сохранение): Evk. *ekse-* 1; Ork. *ekse-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 443-444.

PMong. ***(h)ag-sa-** to raise, put up (поднимать; прицеплять к поясу): WMong. *aγsa-* (L 14); Kh. *agsa-*; Bur. *ahā-*.

PTurk. ***(i)āg-** to rise (подниматься): OTurk. *aɣ-* (Yen., OUygh.), *aɣ-tur-* (*caus*.) (Orkh.); Karakh. *aɣ-* (MK, KB); Gag. *ā-* 'to vaporize'; Turkm. *āɣ-* 'to overflow'; MTurk. *aɣ-*; Bashk. *awa-la-* (of the sun).

◊ EDT 77, ЭСТЯ 1, 68-70. ЭСТЯ is probably right in distinguishing the roots **(i)āg-* (*a:γ-* I) 'to rise' and **iāg-* (a:ɣ II) 'to turn over, fall', although the former is only sparsely represented in modern languages, having for the most part dissolved within the reflexes of the latter. In OT the stems *aγ-* 'to rise' and *aγna-* 'to tumble, roll on one's back' are quite clearly distinct.

PJpn. ***á(n)ká-** 1 to raise 2 give (1 поднимать 2 давать): OJpn. *aga-* 1; MJpn. *ágá-* 1; Tok. *àge-* 1, 2; Kyo. *ágé-* 1, 2; Kag. *agé-* 1, 2.

◊ Also intrans. **ánká-r-* 'to rise'. See JLTT 674, 675.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 275; Miller 1981, 869. Cf. **i̯ā̋ga*.

✱**ĕgi (~ -e, -a)** to bend: Tung. ***ege-**; Mong. ***eɣe-**; Turk. ***eg-**; Kor. ***ə̀i-**.

PTung. ***ege-** 1 to encircle, surround, go round 2 ring (1 окружать 2 кольцо): Evk. *eγe-l-* 1; Neg. *eg-di* 2; Ul. *eje-* 1; Ork. *eji-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 437.

PMong. ***eɣe-** 1 outstanding corner 2 ring, ear-ring (1 выступающий угол 2 кольцо, серьга): MMong. *e'emek* 2 (SH); WMong. *egeg* 1, *ege-meg* 2 (L 297, 298); Kh. *ēg* 1, *ēmeg* 2; Bur. *ēmeg* 2; Kalm. *ēg* 1, *ēməg* 2; Ord. *ēg*, *nēg* 1 *ēmek*, *ēmük* 2.

◊ KW 130. Mong. > Yak. *iämäx*, Shor *äkpäk* etc.

PTurk. ***eg-** to bend (гнуть): OTurk. *eg-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *eg-* (MK); Turkm. *eg-*; Khal. *äj-*, *äjri*; Chuv. *av-*, *aj-*; Yak. *iex-*; Dolg. *iek-*.

◊ EDT 99, VEWT 37, ЭСТЯ 1, 330-332, Егоров 19, Stachowski 122 (Yak. *iex-* < **eg-ik-*).

PKor. ***ə̀i-** to surround, encircle (окружать): MKor. *əi'uə-*; Mod. *e-u-*.

◊ Nam 371, KED 1159.

‖ KW 130, SKE 51.

✱**egmV** shoulder, collarbone: Tung. ***emu-ge**; Mong. ***eɣem**; Turk. ***egin**.

PTung. ***emuge** collarbone (ключица): Ork. *emo-te*; Nan. *emue-čen* 'lower part of thorax' (On.); Ud. *emuge*.

◊ Дыбо 252, TMC 2, 437.

PMong. ***eɣem** shoulder, collarbone (плечо, ключица): MMong. *egem*, *egan* (*egam*) (SH), *igem* (LH); WMong. *egem* (L 298); Kh. *egem*; Bur. *ēm*; Kalm. *ēm*.

◊ KW 130. Mong. > Evk. *eγem*, see Doerfer MT 125. The word reveals a peculiar variation of -g- and -ɣ-: the Khalkha form *egem* may be a literary hypercorrection, but the Secret History also has -g-, not -'-, contradicting the reconstruction **eγem* based on Bur. and Kalm. Perhaps one should reconstruct **egm(e)* for Proto-Mong., to account for this unusual reflexation.

PTurk. ***egin** shoulder (плечо): OTurk. *egin* (OUygh.); Karakh. *egin* (MK); Tur. *eγin*, *ejin* 'back'; Az. *äjin* 'body'; Turkm. *egin* (dial.); MTurk. *egin* (Abush., Pav. C.), in (Pav. C.) 'back'; Uzb. *egin*; Krm. *īn*, in; Kirgh. *ijin*; Kaz. *ĭjĭn*; KKalp. *ijin*; Nogh. *ijin*; SUygh. *igen*; Khak. *iŋnĭ*; Shr. *äŋin*, *egini*; Oyr. *ijin*; Tv. *eγin*; Chuv. *avъn*, an; Yak. *ien*.

◊ EDT 109, VEWT 37, ЭСТЯ 1, 225-227, Егоров 26, Лексика 239, Федотов 1, 42-43.

‖ KW 130, Владимирцов 321, Poppe 60, Колесникова 1972a, 92-93, Дыбо 307, Лексика 240. A Western isogloss. Despite Щербак 1997, 114, Mong. is not < Turk. May be derived from **ĕgi* 'to bend' q. v. Doerfer (TMN 2, 192) protests against the Turk.-Mong. comparison, but restricts himself to "einigen grundsätzlichen Bemerkungen" (a loan theory would have to explain Turk. *-n > Mong. -m).

✱**ḗgó** big, many: Tung. ***egdi**; Mong. ***aɣu-**; Turk. ***ḕg-id-**; Jpn. ***ənki-rə**; Kor. ***ə̀'uí-**.

PTung. ***egdi** 1 big 2 many (1 большой 2 много): Evn. *eγdъ* 1; Neg. *egdi* 2; Ul. *egdi* 2; Ork. *egǯi* 2; Nan. *egǯi* 2; Orch. *egdi* 2; Ud. *egdi* 2; Sol. *egdūγ* 1.

◊ See TMC 2, 359-360.

PMong. ***aɣu-** 1 large, wide, vast 2 very (1 обширный, широкий 2 очень): MMong. *a'ue* (HY 53, SH), *āw*, *aw* (MA 108, 371) 1; WMong. *aγuu*, *uu* (L 18), *aγudam* (L 16) 1, *aγui* (L 16) 2; Kh. *agū*, *ūdam*, *ūǯim* 1, *agū*, *aguj* 2; Bur. *ū*, *ūžam* 1; Kalm. *aγū*, *ū* 1; Ord. *ūǯim* 1; Mog. *эγui* 1 (Weiers); ZM *ōγu(n)* (13-1) 1; Dag. *au* 1 (Тод. Даг. 122, MD 116); Dong. *aGui*, *aγui* 1, *uida*; Bao. *ū* 1; S.-Yugh. *aγui*, *ūǯim*; Mongr. *ṻ* (SM 462), *au* (Minghe) 1.

◊ KW 3, 453, MGCD 96, 547, 661, 662.

PTurk. ***ḕg-id-** 1 to grow, bring up 2 high, raised up 3 huge (1 растить, воспитывать 2 высокий, поднятый 3 огромный): OTurk. *igid-*,

egid- 1, *ediz* (< **ēdgiŕ*) 2 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *igiδ-* 1, *eδiz* 2 (MK); Turkm. *ǟgirt* 3; Yak. *īt-* 1; Dolg. *īt-* 1.

◊ EDT 73, 103, VEWT 36, 169, ЭСТЯ 1, 224-225, Stachowski 131.

PJpn. ***ənki-rə** wide and spacious (обширный и просторный): OJpn. *ogjiro*.

◊ JLTT 504.

PKor. ***ə̀'uí-** to be broad, wide, extensive (быть широким, протяженным): MKor. *ə̀'uí-*.

◊ Nam 364.

‖ EAS 73, VEWT 169, SKE 62, 59, АПиПЯЯ 291. Korean has *ə-* instead of the expected *ă, because the latter cannot stand in Anlaut. A derivative of the same root may be MKor. *ón* 'hundred' (< **ēgo-nV*).

✱**egVrV** to twist, spin: Mong. ***eɣere-**; Turk. ***egir-**; Kor. ***ə̀rɨ̀**.

PMong. ***eɣere-** to spin (крутить, прясть): WMong. *egere-* (L 299); Kh. *ēre-*; Bur. *ēre-*; Kalm. *ēr-*; Ord. *ēre-*; Dag. *ēr-* (Тод. Даг. 140; MGCD *ēre-*).

◊ KW 131, MGCD 248.

PTurk. ***egir-** to twist, spin (крутить, прясть): Karakh. *egir-* (MK); Tur. *ejir-*; Az. *äjir-*; Turkm. *egir-*; Sal. *iɣer-*; Khal. *häjir-*; MTurk. *egir-* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *jigir-*; Uygh. *jiger-*, *igir-*; Krm. *ijir-*; Tat. *ir-* (dial.); Kirgh. *ijir-*; Kaz. *ijir-*; KBalk. *ijir-*; KKalp. *ijir-*; Kum. *ijir-*; Nogh. *ijir-*; Khak. *īr-*; Shr. *īr-*, *egir-*; Oyr. *ijir-*; Tv. *ēr-*; Chuv. *avъr-la-*; Yak. *īr-is-* 'спутаться о лесках'; *ieregej* 'humming-top'; Dolg. *ieregej* 'drill'.

◊ EDT 112, ЭСТЯ 1, 227-231, TMN 2, 192, Федотов 1, 27, Stachowski 122. The Chuv. form reflects a partial merger with **ebir-* (v. sub **i̯ə̆pV).*

PKor. ***ə̀rɨ̀** spool (катушка): MKor. *ə̀rɨ̀*; Mod. *əlle*.

◊ Nam 360, KED 1144.

‖ KW 131, Владимирцов 194. Despite TMN 2, 193, Щербак 1997, 114, Mong. is hardly borrowed from Turk. The stem may be derived from **ĕ̆gi* 'to bend' q.v.

✱**éjá (~ -o)** to be afraid: Mong. ***aju-**; Turk. ***Ej-men-**; Jpn. ***ájá-**.

PMong. ***aju-** 1 to be afraid 2 fear, danger, risk (1 бояться 2 страх, риск): MMong. *aju-* (HYt, SH), *āj-*, *aj-* (MA 96) 1, *ajl* (MA 223) 2, *oja-* 1, caus. *ajula-* (IM 433); WMong. *aji-*, *aju-* 1, *ajul* 2; Kh. *aj-*, *ajū-* 1, *ajūl* 2; Bur. *aj-* 1; Kalm. *ǟ-* 1; Ord. *ǟ-* 1; Mog. *aī-*; ZM *a'i-* (6-3a); Dag. *aj-* 1 (Тод. Даг. 118, MD 111), *aidaGan* 2; Dong. *aji-* 1, *ajiGu* 2; Bao. *ai-* 1; Mongr. *aji-* 1 (SM 17), *ajəgu* 2.

◊ KW 25.

PTurk. ***Ej-men-** to be shy, timid, afraid (смущаться, робеть, пугаться): OTurk. *ejmen-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *ejmen-* (MK); Tur. *imen-*; Az. *ejmän-* (dial.); Turkm. *ejmen-*; MTurk. *ejmen-* (Abush., Pav. C.); Uzb.

ijmän-; Uygh. *äjmän-*; Krm. *emen-*; Tat. *imän-*; Kirgh. *ijmen-*; Kaz. *ĭjmen-*; KKalp. *ijmen-*; Nogh. *ijmen-*; Oyr. *ijmen-*.

◊ VEWT 10, EDT 273, ЭСТЯ 1, 249-251. Turk. > WMong. *ajman-* (Щербак 1997, 96); but Mong. **aju-* can be hardly regarded as a Turkism.

PJpn. ***ájá-** 1 to be afraid, feel anxiety 2 dangerous (1 бояться 2 опасный): OJpn. *aja-bum-* 1; MJpn. *ájá-búm-* 1, *ájá-fú-* 2; Tok. *ayabúm-* 1, *àyau-* 2; Kyo. *áyábúm-* 1, *áyáù-* 2; Kag. *ayabúm-* 1, *ayáu-* 2.

◊ JLTT 679, 826.

‖ Poppe 66, АПиПЯЯ 79.

✱**ḗjba** to hurry: Tung. ***ebV-**; Mong. ***(h)abad**; Turk. ***ēb-**; Jpn. ***áwá-tá-**.

PTung. ***ebV-** 1 to surpass 2 hurriedly, quickly (1 перегонять 2 быстро, торопливо): Man. *ebuxu sabuχu* 2; Jurch. *ewu-ro* (362) 2; Ork. *ebessun-* 1; Nan. *ebe-saba* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 433. The Orok and Nan. form may be < Manchu (or influenced by Manchu), judging from the preservation of -b-.

PMong. ***(h)abad** at once, instantly (сразу, мгновенно): WMong. *abad* (L 2); Kh. *avd*; Bur. *abahār*; Ord. *awun*.

◊ Despite Mostaert *awun* cannot be connected with ab- 'to take'.

PTurk. ***ēb-** 1 to hurry 2 quick (1 спешить 2 быстрый): OTurk. *evük* (OUygh.) 2; Karakh. *ev-* (KB) 1, *evek* 2 (MK, KB); Tur. *ev-* 1; Turkm. *ǟv-* 1; MTurk. *ev-* (MA, IM, Qutb., Houts.); Khak. *ibek* 2; Shr. *ibek* 2; Chuv. *avaš-* 1; *avъk* 'moment; quick'.

◊ EDT 4, 8-9, VEWT 34, Егоров 19 (Федотов 1, 25-26 - differently).

PJpn. ***áwá-tá-** to hurry, scurry (спешить, суетиться): MJpn. *awata-*, RJ *áfátú*; Tok. *àwate-*; Kyo. *áwáté-*; Kag. *awaté-*.

◊ JLTT 679.

‖ Ozawa 8, Дыбо 12. Medial *-j- has to be reconstructed to account for lack of spirantization in Mong. and for -w- (not -p-) in Jpn. Note a similar dental suffixation in Mong. and Jpn.

✱**ĕju (~ -o)** to speak, cry, sound: Tung. ***ejē-**; Mong. ***aji-**; Turk. ***ạj-ɨt-**; Kor. ***òi'ó-**.

PTung. ***ejē-** 1 to ask, desire 2 demand (n.) 3 to envy (1 просить, желать 2 требование, просьба 3 завидовать): Evk. *ejē* 2, *ejēt-* 1; Evn. *ejet-* 1,3; Neg. *ejēt-* 1; Nan. *ējueči-* 3; Orch. *eječi-* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 442.

PMong. ***aji-** 1 sound, voice 2 to cry, speak loudly; to recite 3 melody, tune (1 звук, голос 2 кричать, болтать 3 мелодия): WMong. *ai* 1 (L 19), *aji-la-*, *aji-da-* 2 (L 20: *ajilad-* 'to perceive; to recite; to say'), *aja* 3 (L 22); Kh. *ajlda-* 2; Bur. *ajlada-* 2; Kalm. *ǟ* 1, *ǟl-,ǟd-* 2; Ord. *ajalGa* 3; Dag. *aila-* 2 (Тод. Даг. 119, MD 111); Mongr. *ajaŋ* 3.

◊ KW 25. Mong. *ajalγu* 'tune, tone' (L 23) > Chag. *ajalγu* etc. (VEWT 11, TMN 1, 195-196).

PTurk. ***ạj-ɨt-** 1 to say 2 to prescribe, tell 3 to ask, demand 4 to concern (1 говорить 2 указывать, предписывать 3 просить 4 касаться ч.-л.): OTurk. *ajɨt-* 3 (OUygh.), *ajɨ-* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *aj-*, *ajɨt-* 1 (MK), *ajɨt-* 3 (KB); Tur. *ait-* 4; Turkm. *ajt-* 1; Khal. *hāj-* 1; MTurk. *aj(ɨ)t-* 1; Uzb. *ajt-* 1; Uygh. *ejt-* 1; Tat. *ɛjt-* 1; Bashk. *äjt-* 1; Kirgh. *ajt-* 1; KBalk. *ajt-* 1; KKalp. *ajt-* 1; Nogh. *ajt-* 1; Khak. *ajt-* 1 (dial.), *ajɨt-* 'sing'; Tv. *ajɨt-* 2; Tof. *ajɨt-* 2; Chuv. *ɨjt-* 3; Yak. *ɨj-* 2, *ɨjɨt-* 3; Dolg. *ɨjɨt-* 3.

◊ VEWT 10, ЭСТЯ 1, 99-100, 111-112, Егоров 342, EDT 268-9, Stachowski 259. PT **ạjɨt-* is derived from **ạj-* 'to point out, prescribe'. Before the 11th c. it had only a causative meaning; the meaning 'say, tell' developed later.

PKor. ***òi'ó-** to recite (декламировать): MKor. *òi'ó-*; Mod. *weu-*.

◊ Nam 387, KED 1223.

‖ KW 4, 25, Владимирцов 282, Poppe 67, АПиПЯЯ 286.

✱**ĕka (~ -o)** bad, weak: Tung. ***eke**; Mong. ***(h)egel**; Turk. ***ek-**; Jpn. ***àk-**.

PTung. ***eke** 1 to decrease 2 bad, low 3 weak 4 evil (1 уменьшаться 2 плохой, низкий 3 слабый 4 зло, злой): Man. *eḱe-* 1, *exe* 4; SMan. *eki-* 1 (2864), *exə* 4 (2508); Jurch. *exebe* (341) 2; Ul. *ekeči(n)* 3; Ork. *ekkē* 3; Nan. *ekečī* 3; *exele* (Kur-Urm.) 2.

◊ TMC 2, 444.

PMong. ***(h)egel** low, uneducated, not very good (низкий, необразованный, не очень хороший): WMong. *egel* (L 297); Kh. *egil*; Bur. *egēlej*; Kalm. *egl*; Ord. *egel*, *egēn*.

◊ KW 117.

PTurk. ***ek-** 1 to decrease, be insufficient 2 common, ordinary, low class; fault, faulty (1 уменьшаться, быть недостаточным 2 обычный, низкородный; недостаток, недостаточный): OTurk. *egsü-* 1, *egil* 2 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *egsü-* 1 (MK); Tur. *eksi-*, *eksil-* 1, *eksik* 2; Gag. *jisil-* 1; Az. *äskik* 2; Turkm. *egis-*, *egsil-* 1, *egsik* 2; MTurk. *eksü-* 1 (Abush.), *öksü-*, *öksül-* 1 (Pav. C.), *öksük* 2 (Abush., Pav. C.); Uygh. *ögsü-* 1 (dial.); Krm. *eksil-* 1, *eksik* 2; Kirgh. *öksü-* 1, *öksük* 2; Chuv. *iksəl-* 1, *jəksek* 2.

◊ ЭСТЯ 1, 257-258, Егоров 77, Мудрак Дисс. 199; EDT 106, 117. The Chuv. Anlaut is not quite clear (*iksəl-* < **jəksəl-*?; one of the cases with prothetic j-, so the openness / closedness of the vowel in PT remains unknown); Федотов 1, 193 derives Chuv. *jəksik* from PT **jek* (v. sub **l̀àkʿè*), but this is phonetically impossible.

PJpn. ***àk-** to be bored, satiated (пресыщаться, наскучивать): OJpn. *ak-*; MJpn. *àk-*; Tok. *akí-*; Kyo. *àkì-*; Kag. *àkì-*.

◊ JLTT 675.

‖ Дыбо 12. Mong. may be < Turk.

✱**èkˊá** to paw, hit with hooves: Tung. ***ekte-**; Mong. ***(h)agsa-**; Turk. ***agsa-**; Jpn. ***ànkà-k-**.

PTung. ***ekte-** 1 to paw, hit with hooves (of a horse); to rough-house 2 to faint (1 бить копытами; буянить 2 падать в обморок): Man. *ekte-* 1; Ud. *ektine-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 444.

PMong. ***(h)agsa-** 1 to have fits, convulsions 2 to fling fiercely 3 to chafe, behave nervously (of a horse); to rough-house 4 feeling of weariness (from physical labour) (1 биться в судорогах 2 яростно бросаться 3 горячиться (о лошади); буянить 4 чувство усталости, разбитости от физического труда): WMong. *aɣsur-*, *aɣsa-* 1; Kh. *agsra-*, *agsči-* 3, *agsga* 4; Bur. *agšan* ˊfrolic, prankish'; Kalm. *agsra-* 3, *agsag* 'wild'; Ord. *agsur-* 2 *agsum* 'яростный, пылкий, необузданный'.

◊ KW 5. Mong. > Evk. *aksa-* 'to be insulted, grudge', Evn. *ās-*, Neg. *aksa-*, Ul. *aqsa-*, Orok *aqsa-*, Nan. *aqsa-*, Oroch *aksa-* id., Man. *aqšula-* 'to curse' (TMC 1, 25).

PTurk. ***agsa-** 1 to hobble, limp 2 lame (1 хромать 2 хромой): Karakh. *axsa-* (MK) 1, *aqsaq*, *aɣsaɣ* (MK) 2; Tur. *aksa-* 1; Az. *axsa-* 1; Turkm. *aGsa-* 1; Uzb. *ɔqsa-* 1; Tat. *aqsa-* 1; Bashk. *aqha-* 1; Kirgh. *aqsa-* 1; Kaz. *aqsa-* 1; KBalk. *axsa-*, *asxa-* 1; KKalp. *aqsa-* 1; Kum. *aqsa-* 1; Nogh. *aqsa-* 1; SUygh. *axsa-* 1; Khak. *axsa-* 1; Tv. *asqa-* 1; Yak. *axsɨm* 2.

◊ EDT 95, ЭСТЯ 76. Turk. > Mong. *asag* '(animal) lameness'.

PJpn. ***ànkà-k-** to paw (the air); struggle, strive (бить копытами (о лошади); напрягаться): OJpn. *agak-*; MJpn. *àgàk-*; Tok. *agák-*; Kyo. *ágák-*; Kag. *àgàk-*.

◊ JLTT 674. Usually analysed as a compound **asi* 'foot' + **kak-* 'scrape', which is probably a folk-etymological explanation.

‖ KW 5. Both Turkic and Mongolian languages have also a derivative meaning 'rampage, rage, raging': Karakh. *aχsuŋ*, *axsum* (MK), *aqsun* (QB), Chag. *aqsum*, *axsum*, Az. *aqsɨn*, Kirgh. *aqsɨm* etc.; WMong. *aɣsum*, Khalkha *agsaŋ*, Bur. *agsam*, Ord. *agsum* (DO 7) 'wild, raging', Khalkha *agsam* 'rampage'. Doerfer (TMN 2, 90) supposes a loanword in Turk. < Mong.; Shcherbak (1997, 103) - vice versa; the final decision is still unclear.

✱**ěkˊà (~ -o)** elder sister: Tung. ***eKe / *keKe**; Mong. ***eke, *egeče**; Turk. ***eke**; Jpn. ***kaka**; Kor. ***kjə̄-čìp**.

PTung. ***eKe / *keKe** 1 woman, wife 2 elder sister (1 женщина 2 старшая сестра): Evk. *ekīn* 2; Evn. *ekъn* 2; Neg. *exe* 1, *exīn* 2; Man. *xexe* 1; SMan. *xexə* 1 (833, 924); Jurch. *xexe-e* (299) 1; Ul. *ēqte* 1; Ork. *ekte* 1; Nan. *ekte* 1; Orch. *eki* 2; Ud. *exi(n)* 1, 2; Sol. *xexe* 1.

◊ See TMC 1, 480; 2, 443 (cf. a similar parallelism in the words for "man" and for "elder brother").

PMong. ***eke, *egeče** 1 mother 2 elder sister (1 мать 2 старшая сестра): MMong. *eke* (HY 28, SH), *äke* (IM), *ikă̄* (MA) 1, *ekči* (HY 28), *egeči* (SH), *igäǯi* (MA) 2; WMong. *eke* 1 (L 305), *egeči* 2 (L 297); Kh. *ex* 1, *egč* 2; Bur. *exe* 1, *egeše* 2; Kalm. *ekə* 1, *egəčə*, *ekčə* 2; Ord. *eke* 1, *egeči* 2; Dag. *eg* 1, *egči*, *ekē* 2 (Тод. Даг. 138, 139); MGCD: *ekči*, *ekē* 2; *egeči*, *ekē* 2, *ehe* 1 (MD 142); Dong. *eGečə* 2; S.-Yugh. *hge* 1, *əɣeči* 2; Mongr. *kaʒ́i* (SM 194) 2, *āʒ́ī* (SM 2) 2.

◊ KW 118, TMN 1, 190, MGCD 254, 274. Mong. > Chag. *egäči*, see Щербак 1997, 203.

PTurk. ***eke** elder sister (старшая сестра): OTurk. *eke* (OUygh.); Karakh. *eke* (MK); *ege-t* 'female servant of bride' (MK); Turkm. *ekeǯi*; Chuv. *akka*.

◊ VEWT 38, ЭСТЯ 1, 222-224, TMN 1, 190, 2, 91-92, EDT 100, 102, Егоров 23.

PJpn. ***kaka** mother (мать): MJpn. *kaka*; Tok. *o-kā́-san*; Kyo. *ò-kȁ-sán*; Kag. *o-kā-sán*.

PKor. ***kjə̄-čìp** woman (женщина): MKor. *kjə̄čìp*; Mod. *kjēǯip*.

◊ Nam 42, KED 132. Historically a compound (*'woman' + 'house, family'), with *čip* 'house' in the second part.

‖ EAS 91, KW 118, Poppe 55, VEWT 38, АПиПЯЯ 292, Цинциус 1972a, 29-31, Дыбо 6. The root is (like most other kinship terms) a "nursery word", but very well attested in all branches, so - despite Doerfer TMN 1, 190-191 - all forms cannot be explained as borrowings (although some later interactions were of course possible, e.g. Mong. *egeče* may - because of its irregular -g- and meaning coinciding with Turkic - be a later Turkic loanword).

✸**éli** sufficient: Tung. ***ele-**; Mong. ***el-**; Jpn. ***ír-**; Kor. ***ər-**.

PTung. ***ele-** 1 enough 2 to have enough, be satiated (1 довольно, достаточно 2 удовлетвориться, насытиться): Evk. *elī*, *ele* 1, *elekče-* 2; Evn. *elъkъn* 1; Neg. *ele* 1; Man. *ele-* 2; Jurch. '*o-le-he-huŋ* 'content, happy'; Ul. *ele* 1, *ele-* 2; Ork. *ele* 1, *ele-* 2; Nan. *elē* 1, *ele-* 2; Orch. *ele* 1, *ele-* 2; Ud. *ele* 1, *ele-* 'to complete'; Sol. *aĺe-ćáu*, *eĺlećáu* 'I am full, I have had enough'.

◊ TMC 2, 448-449.

PMong. ***el-** 1 all, every kind of 2 abundance, abundant (2 весь, всевозможные 2 обилие, обильный): WMong. *ele* 1 (L 308), *eldeb* 1 (L 307), *elbeg* 2 (L 306); Kh. el, *eldev* 1, *elbeg* 2; Bur. *eldeb* 1, *elbeg* 2; Kalm. *elɛ̄də*, *eldəb* 1, *elwəg* 2.

◊ KW 119, 120. Mong. > Yak. *elbē-*, *elbex*, Dolg. *elbek* (Kał. MEJ 16, Stachowski 44), Chuv. *ilpek* (Róna-Tas 1971-1972).

PJpn. ***ír-** to need (нуждаться): MJpn. *ír-*; Tok. *ìr-*; Kyo. *ír-*; Kag. *ír-*.

◊ JLTT 698. The verb is homonymous with **ír-* 'enter', but probably quite different etymologically.

PKor. ***ər-** enough, sufficiently, nearly (достаточно, почти): MKor. *əru*, *əro*; Mod. *əl-čhu*.

◊ Nam 360, KED 1146.

‖ KW 119, Lee 1958, 108 (TM-Kor.), Rozycki 68. Despite Doerfer MT 20, TM *ele is hardly < Mong. (a particle in Mong. vs. a widespread verb in TM).

✱**ḗlV** peace: Tung. ***elke**; Mong. ***el**; Turk. ***ēl**.

PTung. ***elke** peaceful, silent (тихий, осторожный): Evk. *elke*; Neg. *elke*; Man. *elxe*; SMan. *eləxə* 'leisurely' (2956); Ul. *erke*; Ork. *erke*; Nan. *elke*; Orch. *ekke*; Ud. *eke*.

◊ TMC 2, 447-448. TM > Dag. *elke* (Тод. Даг. 139).

PMong. ***el** 1 peaceful 2 relatives (1 мирный 2 родственники): MMong. *el* (SH); WMong. *el* 1 (L 306), *elgen* 2; Kh. *el* 2; Bur. *eldin*; Kalm. *el*.

◊ KW 118.

PTurk. ***ēl** 1 peace 2 people, country (1 мир 2 народ, страна): OTurk. *el* 2 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *el* 1, 2 (MK); Tur. *il, el* 2; Gag. *iel* 2; Az. *el* 2; Turkm. *īl* 2; MTurk. *il* (AH), *el* (Abush., Pav. C.) 2; Uzb. *el* 2; Uygh. *il, äl* 2; Krm. *el* 2; Tat. *il* 2; Bashk. *il* 2; Kirgh. *el* 2; Kaz. *el* 2; KBalk. *el* 2; KKalp. *el* 2; Kum. *el* 2; Nogh. *el* 2; Khak. *il* 2; Oyr. *el* 2; Chuv. *jal* 2; Yak. *il* 2.

◊ EDT 121-122, VEWT 39, TMN 2, 194, ЭСТЯ 1, 339-343, Егоров 352, Лексика 316. The meaning "peace" attested in MK is probably the most archaic (cf. the external parallels; typologically cf. also Slavic *mirъ 'peace' > 'world'), suggesting a development *'peace' > 'peaceful people, realm, country'.

‖ EAS 145, KW 118, Poppe 76, ОСНЯ 1, 268, Rozycki 68. A Western isogloss (in fact, basically Turk.-Tung., since Mong. may be < Turk., see TMN 2, 200; Clark 1980, 43 on Mong. *elči* < Turk. *ēl-či*).

✱**ĕlV(-kʿV)** deer: Tung. ***(x)elkēn**; Mong. ***ili**; Turk. ***elik**.

PTung. ***(x)elkēn** 1 wild deer 2 domestic deer (1 дикий олень 2 домашний олень): Evk. *elkēn* 1; Evn. *iēlken*, *elken* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 448.

PMong. ***ili** new-born deer (новорожденный олененок): MMong. *ele'ut* 'a k. of camel' (SH); WMong. *ili* (L 407), *eli*; Kh. *il*; Bur. *eli*; Kalm. *ilə*.

◊ KW 206. Cf. also **il-gi(n)* 'goat skin' (KW 207).

PTurk. ***elik** roebuck, wild goat (косуля (общее назв. и самка)): OTurk. *elik* (OUygh. - YB); Karakh. *elik* (KB); Tur. *elik* (dial.); MTurk. (MKypch.) *elik* (Houts., AH); Bashk. *ilek*; Kirgh. *elik*; Kaz. *elik*; KKalp. *elik*; Khak. *ilək*; Shr. *elik*; Oyr. *elik*; Tv. *elik*; Tof. *elik*; Yak. *elik* 'чубарый олень'.

◊ EDT 142, VEWT 40, ЭСТЯ 1, 265-266, Лексика 153.

‖ KW 207, ОСНЯ 1, 273, Лексика 153, 389. A Western isogloss.

✱**ḗlpo** to cover: Tung. ***elbe-, *eldu-**; Mong. ***(h)olbug**; Turk. ***ēĺü-**; Jpn. ***ə́sə́p-**.

PTung. ***elbe-, *eldu-** to cover (a tent), tent cover (покрывать (чум), покрышка (чума)): Evk. *elbe-*; *ellun*, *eldun*; Evn. *ēlrimi*, *ēlde*; Neg. *elbe-*; Man. *elbe-*; Ul. *elbene* 'sail'; Nan. *elbẽ* 'roof'; Orch. *ebbe-*; Ud. *egbe-*; Sol. *eldũ*.

◊ TMC 2, 445, 448.

PMong. ***(h)olbug** cushion for sitting (подушка для сидения): WMong. *olbaγ*, (L 608) *olbuγ*; Kh. *olbog*; Bur. *olbog*; Ord. *olboG*.

◊ Mong. > Tuva *olbuq* id., see TMN 2, 111, Yak. *olbox*, Dolg. *olbok* (Stachowski 191). In Mong. the word also means 'quilted jacket worn under armour' and in this meaning is borrowed in Turkic (Kirgh. *olpok* etc.) and TM (Manchu *olbo* etc.), see Doerfer TMN 2, 111, Rozycki 167 (somewhat differently Аникин 414).

PTurk. ***ēĺü-** 1 to cover 2 (door) curtain > door (1 покрывать 2 (дверной) занавес > дверь): Karakh. *ešü-* 1, *ešik* / *ešük* 2 (MK); Tur. *ešik* 2; Gag. *ješik* 2; Az. *ešik* 2; Turkm. *īšik* 2; Khal. *ḗšük* 2; MTurk. *išik* 2 (AH, IM), *išük* (IM), *ešik* 2 (Abush., Pav. C.); Uzb. *ešik* 2; Krm. *ešik* 2; Tat. *išĭk* 2; Bashk. *išĭk* 2; Kirgh. *ešik* 2; KBalk. *ešik* 2; KKalp. *esik* 2; Kum. *ešik* 2; Nogh. *esik* 2; Khak. *īzĭk*, *ĭzĭk* 2; Shr. *ežik* 2; Oyr. *ežik* 2; Tv. *ežik* 2; Chuv. *algъ*, *alъk* 2.

◊ EDT 256, 260, TMN 2, 183-184, Егоров 24, ЭСТЯ 1, 396-398, Лексика 511-512, 517.

PJpn. ***ə́sə́p-** to cover (покрывать): OJpn. *os(w)op-*; MJpn. *osof-*; Tok. *òso-*; Kyo. *ósó-*; Kag. *osó-*.

◊ JLTT 743 (homonymous with 'attack' and 'suppress' - obviously a secondary confusion with derivatives of **ə́s-* 'push, press').

‖ PKE 46-47, Street 1980, 287, Дыбо 15, Лексика 512. Mong. **(h)olbug* < **(h)albug*, with a frequent labial attraction.

✱**ḗlV** to scratch, rake, row: Tung. ***elbe-s-**; Mong. ***ele-**; Turk. ***ēĺ-**.

PTung. ***elbe-s-** to swim, bathe (плыть, плавать, купаться): Evk. *elbes(kēt)-*; Neg. *elbesi-*; Man. *ebiše-*; SMan. *efəšə-*, *efəsə-* (2301); Ork. *ulbesi-*; Nan. *elbusi-*; Orch. *ebbesi-*; Ud. *egbesi-*; Sol. *elbeš̌ī-* 'to wade'.

◊ TMC 2, 445. The original meaning of the root was probably 'to scrape, rake up', cf. Evn. Arm. *ēlbi-* 'to rake up' (TMC 2, 445).

PMong. ***ele-** to rub off, be rubbed off, to wear out (стирать, стираться): MMong. *el-* (HY 38), *ēlä-* (IM), *ilä-* (MA); WMong. *ele-* (L 308); Kh. *ele-*; Bur. *ēle-*; Kalm. *el-*; Ord. *ele-*; Dong. *elie-*; Bao. *elə-*; Mongr. *ilē-* (SM 191).

◊ KW 119, MGCD 257.

PTurk. ***ēĺ-** 1 to dig 2 to tear, rip open 3 to row 4 to swim 5 to throw away (1 копать 2 рвать 3 грести 4 плавать 5 выкидывать): Tur. *eš-* 1; Az. *eš-* 2; Turkm. *ijš-gek* 'oar'; Khal. *häšü-*; MTurk. *eš-* 1 (Abush.); Tat. *iš-* 2; Kirgh. *eš-* 1; Khak. is- 3; Tv. *ešti-* 4, *eš-* 3; Tof. *eš-*, *e'hit-* 3; Chuv. *alt-* 1; Yak. *es-*, *is-* 5.

◊ VEWT 51, EDT 255-6, ЭСТЯ 1, 315-316, Мудрак Дисс. 95. Chuv. *iš-* 'to row; to swim; to demolish, tear' is evidently borrowed from Tat. (as opposed to the genuine *al-t-*). Khal. h- is unclear here (external evidence clearly points to *0-).

‖ A Western isogloss. See KW 119, Poppe 78, 126, VEWT 51 (Turk.-Mong.), АПиПЯЯ 287, Дыбо 14.

✱**ĕĺʒu** donkey: Tung. ***eji-ken**; Mong. ***elʒigen**; Turk. ***eĺgek**.

PTung. ***eji-ken** donkey (осел): Neg. *ejxe*; Man. *ejxen*; SMan. *eixen* (2218); Jurch. *oh-hen*; Ul. *ejxe*; Nan. *ejxe*.

◊ TMC 2, 447.

PMong. ***elʒigen** donkey (осел): MMong. *elʒigan* (HY 9), *ūlʒige* (IM), *ilʒigen* (LH), *ilʒigän* (MA); WMong. *elʒige(n)* (L 311); Kh. *ilʒig*, *ilʒgen*; Bur. *elžege(n)*; Kalm. *elʒŋne*, *ēlʒŋnə*; Ord. *elʒige(n)*; Mog. *elʒiɣōn* (Ramstedt 1906); Dong. *enʒeɣe* (Тод. Дн.); Bao. *nʒige* (Тод. Бн.).

◊ KW 119. Mong. > Oyr. *älʒigän.*

PTurk. ***eĺgek** donkey (осел): OTurk. *ešgek* (OUygh.); Karakh. *ešgek*, *ešjek* (MK); Tur. *ešek*; Gag. *iešek*; Az. *eššäk*; Turkm. *ešek*; MTurk. *ešek* (Бор. Бад., Abush., Pav. C.); Uzb. *ešäk*; Uygh. *ešäk*; Krm. *ešek*; Tat. *išäk*; Bashk. *išäk*; Kirgh. *ešek*; Kaz. *esek*; KBalk. *ešek*; KKalp. *ešek*; Kum. *ešek*; Nogh. *ešek*; Oyr. *eštek*; Chuv. *ažak*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 1, 317-318, TMN 2, 65, EDT 260.

‖ KW 119, Владимирцов 323, Poppe 86. A Western isogloss. The phonology of the word strongly resists all attempts to regard it as an interlingual borrowing (Turk. > Mong. > TM, see, e.g., Rozycki 67), as well as attempts to derive it from Armen. *eš* etc.

✱**ema (~ -o)** to come: Tung. ***eme-**; Mong. ***amada-**.

PTung. ***eme-** to come, reach, arrive (приходить, прибывать): Evk. *eme-*; Evn. *em-*; Neg. *eme-*; Nan. *eme-*; Orch. *emegi-* 'to return'; Ud. *eme-*.

◊ TMC 2, 452.

PMong. ***amada-** to meet smb., cross one's way (поджидать на пути, идти навстречу): WMong. *amada-* (L 35); Kh. *amda-*; Bur. *amada-*; Kalm. *amd-* (KPC 40); Ord. *amada-*.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss. Cf. perhaps also Karakh. *öme* 'guest, foreigner'.

✱**ȅma (~-o)** to stay, be left, leave: Tung. ***emē-n-**; Jpn. ***àmà-**.

PTung. ***emē-n-** to leave (оставлять, покидать): Evk. *emēn-*, *emē-*; Evn. *emēn-*; Neg. *emēn-*; Orch. *imene-*; Ud. *imen-*; Sol. *emēn-*.

◊ TMC 2, 453.

PJpn. ***àmà-** 1 plenty 2 all 3 to stay, be left (1 повсюду, в изобилии 2 весь 3 оставаться): OJpn. *amane-* 1, *ama-r-* 3; MJpn. *àmànè-* 1, *àmà-r-* 3; Tok. *amanéku* 1, *amár-* 3; Kyo. *ámánékú* 1, *ámár-* 3; Kag. *amanekú* 1, *àmàr-* 3.

◊ JLTT 676.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 279. A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss. Cf. perhaps also MKor. *mə̀mír-* 'to stay, remain' (< **Vmə-mɨr-*, with a rather usual Korean loss of initial vowel?).

✱**ȅme** woman, female: Tung. ***emV**; Mong. ***eme**; Turk. ***eme**; Jpn. ***mía**; Kor. ***ámh**.

PTung. ***emV** 1 mother-in-law 2 female 3 female deer, elk (1 теща, свекровь 2 самка 3 самка оленя, лося): Evk. *emugde*, *umigde* 3; Evn. *ömiri* 3; Neg. *umigde* 3; Man. *emile* 2, *emeke* 1; SMan. *eməxə* 1 (926); Nan. *emxe* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 268, 451-452.

PMong. ***eme** 1 woman 2 wife (1 женщина 2 жена): MMong. *eme* 1, *emege* (HY 29), *emegu'un* 2 (HY 30, SH), *emä* (IM), *imä̆* (MA) 1; WMong. *eme* 1 (L 311); Kh. *em* 1, *emgen* 2; Bur. *eme* 1; Kalm. *emə* 1; Ord. *eme* 1, *emegen* 'old woman'; Mog. ZM *emmä* (9-6b); Dag. *emgun*, *emeg* 1, 2 (Тод. Даг. 139), *eme* (MD, 143) 1,2; Dong. *eme* 1; Bao. *eme* 1; S.-Yugh. *eme* 1; Mongr. *imu* (: *xara* ~) 'nom que la jeune fille se donne devant ses parents le jour de son mariage' (SM 192), *mugen* 'femme âgée' (SM 245).

◊ KW 121, MGCD 259. Mong. *emegčin* 'female' > Yak. *emēxsin*, Dolg. *emēksin* (Kał. MEJ 45, Stachowski 45).

PTurk. ***eme** 1 female 2 old woman (1 самка 2 старуха): Karakh. *oma* (MK "Tibetan") 1 (?); Tur. dial. *eme* 2; Az. dial. *ämä* 2; Kirgh. *eme* 2; Chuv. *ama* 1.

◊ VEWT 42, ЭСТЯ 220, Егоров 25, EDT 156 (a "nursery" word, spread also in other Altaic languages).

PJpn. ***mía** 1 woman 2 female (1 женщина 2 самка): OJpn. *mje* 1; MJpn. *mé* 1; Tok. *me-sú* 2; Kyo. *mé-sù*; Kag. *me-sú*.

◊ JLTT 474, 476. Although modern dialects point to **mià-sù*, RJ has explicitly *mé* with a high tone.

PKor. ***ámh** woman, wife, female (женщина, жена, самка): MKor. *ám* (*ámh-*); Mod. *am*.

◊ Nam 348, KED 1093.

‖ EAS 116, Цинциус 1972a, 20-27, Menges 1984, 265, АПиПЯЯ 89, 279. In Jpn. cf. also *omo* 'mother' (see Ozawa 61, Murayama 1962, 110, Miller 1985a, 82); in MKor also *ámí* 'mother' (see Martin 236). Jpn. *mia* represents a relatively rare case of a loss of initial vowel in Japanese.

✱**èmi (~ a-, *ime)** to avoid, taboo: Mong. ***emiɣe-**; Turk. ***emge-**; Jpn. ***ìm-**.

PMong. ***emiɣe-** to be timid, shy away (робеть, смущаться): MMong. *emi'e-* (SH); WMong. *emije-* (L 313); Kh. *emē-*; Bur. *emē-*; Kalm. *emē̆-*; Ord. *emē-*.

◊ KW 121. Mong. > Man. *ejme-* id.

PTurk. ***emge-** 1 to suffer, be tortured 2 bother, worry, pains (1 страдать, подвергаться пыткам 2 хлопоты, мучение, труд): OTurk. *emge-* (OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *emge-* 1, *emgek* 2 (MK); Tur. *emen-* 1, *emek* 2; Az. *ämäk* 2; Turkm. *emgen-* 1, *emgek* 2; MTurk. *emgen-* (AH, Pav. C) 1, *emgek* (AH, Abush.), *emek* (Pav C.) 2; Uzb. dial. *emgɛk* 2; Uygh. dial. *ɛmgɛn-* 1, *ɛmgɛk* 2; Krm. *emgen-* 1, *emgek* 2; Tat. *imgɛn-* 1, *imgɛk* 2; Bashk. *imgɛn-* 1, *imgɛk* 2; Kirgh. *emgek* 2; Kaz. *eŋbek* 2; Nogh. *embek* 2; Tv. *eŋbek* 'chronic illness'; Chuv. *aman-* 1, *amak* 'illness'; Yak. *emek* 'decrepit'.

◊ EDT 159, VEWT 42, ЭСТЯ 1, 272-275, 25-26. Turk. > Mong. *emge-* (Щербак 1997, 114).

PJpn. ***ìm-** to avoid, taboo (избегать, подвергать табу): OJpn. *im-*; MJpn. *ìm-*; Tok. *ím-*; Kyo. *ìm-*; Kag. *ím-*.

◊ JLTT 697. The accent in Kagoshima is irregular.

‖ KW 121.

✱**emo** front: Tung. ***ume- / emu-**; Mong. ***emü-**; Turk. ***ömgen**.

PTung. ***ume- / emu-** one (один): Evk. *итӣп*; Evn. *ötъп*; Neg. *emen*; Man. *emu*; SMan. *emə* (2734); Jurch. *emu* (636); Ul. *ụm*; Ork. *итӣke*; Nan. *emu(n)*; Orch. *om*; Ud. *omo*; Sol. emũ.

◊ TMC 2, 270-272. The old meaning was probably 'front', cf. TM **ume-* 'Adam's apple', 'neck foundation' (TMC 2, 273), **omko-ta* / **emko-ta* 'forehead' (TMC 2, 17); **emker* 'bank, shore', Orok *emiγe* 'edge' (TMC 2, 450).

PMong. ***emü-** front, South (перед, юг): MMong. *emune* (HY 50, SH), *итипä*, *ätипä* (MA), *итепе* (LH); WMong. *emü-ne* (L 314-315); Kh. *ömnö*; Bur. *ümene* (Alar.); Kalm. *ömnə*; Ord. *ömönö*; Dag. *emel* (Тод. Даг. 139), *emele* (MD 143); Dong. *melie*; Bao. *məltə śaŋ*, *mələ*; S.-Yugh. *ölmõ*; Mongr. *mešə*, *mani* 'autrefois, jadis, anciennement' (SM 237, 231).

◊ KW 295, MGCD 544. Cf. also *em-ǯi-* 'to make or sew a hem'.

PTurk. ***ömgen** upper part of breast (верхняя часть груди): Karakh. *ömgen* (MK); Kirgh. *ömgök*; Khak. *öŋmen*.

◊ Дыбо 137-138, EDT 159, ЭСТЯ 1, 537, Лексика 271.

‖ EAS 117, Владимирцов 154, SKE 54, Дыбо 307, Лексика 271. A Western isogloss. The vocalic reconstruction is somewhat uncertain: because of variation in PTM it is not quite clear whether Mong. has a secondary delabialization or Turkic has a secondary labialization. PA **ome* is also possible.

✱**emV (~ *ami)** to suck: Mong. ***em-kü-**; Turk. ***em-**.

PMong. ***em-kü-** to swallow, bite, chew (глотать, кусать, жевать): MMong. *emgu-gu* / *omgu-gu* 3 (SH); WMong. *emkü-* (L 313); Kh. *ömxö-*; Bur. *ümxe-*; Kalm. *ümkə-*; Ord. *uŋku* 'bouchée'; Dag. *unku-*, *umku-*, *enku-* (Тод. Даг. 140); Mongr. *uŋkwā* 'bouchée' (SM 475); *xaŋgu-* (SM 157).

◊ KW 457.

PTurk. ***em-ig, *em-ček** 1 breast (fem.) 2 to suck 3 nipple (1 грудь (жен.) 2 сосать 3 сосок): OTurk. *emig* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *ẹm-* 2 (MK), *ẹmig* 1 (MK); Tur. *em-* 2, *emʒik* 1; Az. *ämʒäk* 3; Turkm. *em-* 2, *emʒek* 1; Khal. *äm-* 2; MTurk. *ẹm-* 2 (Pav. C.), *emček* 1 (Abush.); Uzb. *emčak* 1; Uygh. *äm-* 2, *ämčäk* 1; Tat. *im-* 2, *imčɛk* 1; Bashk. *imsäk* 1; Kirgh. *emček* 1; KKalp. *emšek* 1; Nogh. *emšek* 1; SUygh. *emɨɣ* 1; Khak. *em-* 2, *imʒek* 1; Tv. *em-* 2, *emig* 1; Tof. *em-* 2, *emij* 'udder'; Chuv. *ə^{w}m-* 2; Yak. *em-* 2, *emīj* 1; Dolg. *emij* 1.

◊ VEWT 41-2, EDT 158-9, ЭСТЯ 1, 271-272, Егоров 63, Лексика 273-274, Stachowski 45. PT **em-ig* and **em-ček* (the latter form is first attested in the 13th c.) are derived from **em-* 'to suck'.

‖ A Turko-Mongolian isogloss. One is tempted to suppose lost *pʿ- and to unite this root with TM **pemu-*, Jpn. **pàm-* (see **pèma*). This is, however, hardly possible, because both Middle Mongolian and Dagur have 0- here (while Mongor x- can easily be secondary in front of a voiceless stop). A possible solution would be a loss of *h- (< *pʿ-) in Proto-Mongolian (or even Proto-Turko-Mongolian) under the influence of a phonetically close "nursery" word, *ĕme 'mother, female' q.v.

✱**emV(ŋV)** saddle, belt: Tung. ***emu-l**; Mong. ***emeɣe-l**; Turk. ***ḕdŋe-r**.

PTung. ***emu-l** 1 quiver ornated with horse's hair 2 hoop of shaman's drum 3 belt 4 horse or deer pack 5 pack strap (1 колчан, расшитый конским волосом 2 обруч шаманского бубна 3 пояс 4 вьючная сумка (часть ниже завязок) 5 вдержка на сумке-торсуке): Evk. *ōmu* 1, *umul* 3, *ōmi* 5, *emin* 4, *emi-lge* 4; Neg. *ūm* 2; Ul. *omali* 3; Ork. *ụmụl* 3; Nan. *omol* 3; Orch. *umu* 3, *omoɣo* 3; Ud. *umu* 3; Sol. *omul* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 18, 266, 269.

PMong. ***emeɣel** saddle (седло): MMong. *eme'el* (SH), *ämäl* (IM), *imäl* (MA), *imēl* (LH), *jemējil* (Lig.VMI); WMong. *emegel* (L 312); Kh. *emēl*; Bur. *emēl*; Kalm. *emɛ̄l*; Ord. *emēl*; Mog. *emōl*, *jamāl*; ZM *jämäl* (22-8a); Dag. *emēl* (Тод. Даг. 139), *emele* (MD 143); Bao. *emel*; S.-Yugh. *emel*, *emēl*; Mongr. *imer* (SM 192), (MGCD) *imel*.

◊ KW 121, MGCD 259. Mong. > Evk. *emeɣen* etc. (TMC 2, 452), see Poppe 1966, 190, Doerfer MT 21; cf. also Jurch. *eŋ-em-meir* 'saddle' (226) preserving archaic phonology.

PTurk. ***ḕdŋe-r** saddle (седло): Karakh. *eδer* (MK); Tur. *eyer*; Gag. *jēr*; Az. *jähär*; Turkm. *ejer*; Sal. *eŋer* (Kakuk); MTurk. *ẹger*; Uzb. *egar*; Uygh. *egə(r)*; Krm. *jer*; Tat. *ijɛr*; Bashk. *ejär*; Kirgh. *ēr*; Kaz. *er*; KBalk. *ijer*; KKalp. *jer*; Kum. *er*; Nogh. *ijer*; SUygh. *ezer*; Khak. *izer*; Shr. *ezer*; Oyr. *ēr*; Tv. *ezer*; Tof. *e'zer* (Рас. ФиЛ 183); Chuv. *jəner*; Yak. *ɨŋīr*; Dolg. *ɨŋīr*.

◊ EDT 63, VEWT 36, ЭСТЯ 1, 241-242, 658-659, Лексика 539, Stachowski 261. Reflexes of the cluster are complicated by borrowings: e.g. Tuva, Tof. is < Khak. Turk. **edŋer-čak* 'pack saddle' > MMong. *iŋɣirčaq*, WMong. *jaŋɣirčaq* id. (TMN 2, 128-129, Щербак 1997, 164, Аникин 88).

‖ Мудрак Дисс. 102, Лексика 539. A Western isogloss. The Turkic form should be explained as a contraction < **emŋe-der* (**emŋe-* = Mong. *emeγe-*).

✱**ḗna(kV)** middle, width: Tung. ***(x)ene-kū̄**; Mong. ***eŋ**; Turk. ***ēn**; Jpn. ***nàká**; Kor. ***ánh**.

PTung. ***(x)ene-kū̄** sheath, scabbard (ножны, футляр): Evk. *enekī*; Evn. *eńki*; Neg. *enexī*.

◊ TMC 2, 455.

PMong. ***eŋ** breadth, width (ширина): WMong. *eŋ* (L 317); Kh. *eŋ*; Bur. *en(g)*; Kalm. *eŋ*; Ord. *eŋ*; Mongr. *aŋ* 'largeur des étoffes, la chaîne d'un tissu' (SM 9).

◊ KW 122, MGCD 261.

PTurk. ***ēn** breadth, width (ширина): Karakh. *en* (MK, KB); Tur. *en*; Az. *en*; Turkm. *īn*; Khal. *hän*, *hǟn*; Uzb. *en*; Uygh. *än*; Krm. *en*; Tat. iŋ; Bashk. *iŋ*; Kirgh. *en*; Kaz. *en*; KBalk. *en*; KKalp. *en*; Kum. *en*; Nogh. *en*; Khak. *in*; Oyr. *en*; Chuv. *an*; Yak. *ien*; Dolg. *ien*.

◊ EDT 165, VEWT 43, ЭСТЯ 1, 352, Егоров 26, Stachowski 122.

PJpn. ***nàká** middle (середина): OJpn. *naka*; MJpn. *nàká*; Tok. *náka*; Kyo. *nàká*; Kag. *naká*.

◊ JLTT 491.

PKor. ***ánh** middle, inside (середина, внутренность): MKor. *án* (*ánh-*); Mod. *an*.

◊ Nam 345, KED 1081. Cf. also dial. *anak* id. (KED 1068).

‖ VEWT 43, Martin 234. Note a common Altaic derivation in *-kV, reflected in all languages except Turkic; for TM we suppose a semantic development 'sheath' < 'receptacle' < 'inside, middle'. Jpn. has lost the first vowel in this archaic trisyllabic structure, and Kor. has rising tone also due to contraction.

✱**ènŋù** young of an ungulate: Tung. ***(x)enŋe-**; Mong. ***unagan**; Turk. ***ạnkaj**; Jpn. ***ùmà**.

PTung. ***(x)enŋe-** young of deer, horse (one year old) (олененок, жеребенок (годовалый)): Evk. *eŋnekēn*; Evn. *ēnken*; Neg. *eŋnexēn*.

◊ TMC 2, 457.

PMong. ***unagan** foal up to one year old (жеребенок до года): MMong. *unuxan* (HY 9), *unəγa* 'осленок' (IM), *unaγan* (MA 153); WMong. *unaγa(n)* (L 875); Kh. *unaga*; Bur. *unaga(n)*; Kalm. *unəγṇ* (KPC); Ord. *unaGa(n)*; Dag. *unek* 'kid' (Тод. Даг. 171); S.-Yugh. *naGan*; Mongr. *naGa* (SM 254).

◊ MGCD 674. Mong. > Evk. *unukān* etc., see Doerfer MT 104, Rozycki 218. Associating **una-ga(n)* with *una-* 'to fall, drop' is most certainly a folk etymology. -gan is a widely spread suffix in animal names (*daγa-ga(n)* 'colt', *qura-ga(n)* 'lamb' etc.); the usage of *una-gan* as 'having certain characteristics from birth' is also easily explainable: cf. phrases

like *unaγan ǯiruγa* 'a horse able to travel at an amble since birth', lit. 'foal-ambler' = 'fast ambler since foalhood'.

PTurk. ***ạnkaj** young of ungulates (less than 1-year-old) (детеныш копытных животных (до года)): Oyr. *anaj*; Tv. *anaj*, Todzh. *a'naj*; Tof. *anhaj*; Yak. *ɨŋāx* 'young of ungulates and bears'.

◊ Рассадин 154.

PJpn. ***ùmà** horse (лошадь): OJpn. *uma*; MJpn. *ùmà*; Tok. *umá*; Kyo. *úmà*; Kag. *umá*.

◊ JLTT 561.

‖ All forms reflect a suffixed **ènŋù-kV*. A certain phonetic problem is raised by u- in Mong.; one has to assume PM **unu-gan* (cf. the early TM loans: Evk. *unukān* 'foal', Sol. *unuxū* 'kid'; see on it Poppe 1974, 128) with vocalic assimilation from earlier **anu-gan*. Otherwise the etymology seems quite plausible, and appears to explain the Jpn. form better than the usual theory of Chinese borrowing (neither MC *mạ́*, nor OC *mrāʔ* can explain the initial *um-* in Japanese).

✱**enu (~ -o)** to beware, attention: Tung. ***(x)en-te-**; Mong. ***(h)an-**; Turk. ***anu-**.

PTung. ***(x)en-te-** 1 to beware 2 attentively, slowly (1 быть осторожным 2 внимательно, медленно): Evn. *ente-* 1, *ēntukukēn* 2; Man. *entexeme* 'always, eternally'.

◊ TMC 2, 454. Man. > Dag. *entegem* (Тод. Даг. 140).

PMong. ***(h)an-** 1 to pay attention 2 vigorous 3 attentive 4 to aim at 5 to beware (1 обращать внимание 2 энергичный, сильный 3 внимательный 4 нацеливаться 5 быть осторожным, остерегаться): WMong. *aŋqa-* 1 (L 46: *aŋqar-*), *anuγu-* 2,3, ana- 5 (L 42); Kh. *anxa-* 1, *anūr* 3, *anūxan* 2, ana- 5; Bur. *anxar-* 1, *anda-*, *anžar-* 'to notice'; *andadag* 'very sensitive'; Kalm. *aŋxər-* 1; Ord. *anug-* 4.

◊ KW 12.

PTurk. ***anu-** 1 ready, certain 2 to get ready (1 готовый, уверенный 2 готовиться): OTurk. *anu-* (OUygh.) 2, *anuq* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *anu-* (MK), *anut-* (caus.) (KB, MK) 2, *anuq* 1 (MK, KB); Tur. dial. *anɨk* 1; Turkm. *anɨq* 2; MTurk. *anut-* (caus.) (Qutb) 2, *anuq* (IM, Qutb) 1; Uzb. *ɛniq* 2; Uygh. *eniq*; Krm. *anɨq* 1; Tat. *anɨq* 1; Bashk. *anɨq* 1; Kirgh. *anɨq* 1; Kaz. *anɨq* 1; KKalp. *anɨq* 1.

◊ EDT 171, 179, 182, ЭСТЯ 1, 151-152.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**ḗnV** pain, sickness: Tung. ***enū-**; Mong. ***ene-ri, -l-**; Turk. ***ēn-**.

PTung. ***enū-** 1 illness, pain 2 to feel pain, be sick (1 болезнь, боль 2 болеть, испытывать боль): Evk. *enū* 1, *enūt-* 2; Evn. *en* 1, *en-* 2; Neg. *enux* 1, *enū-* 2; Man. *en seme* 'groan'; Ul. *enū* 1, *enu-* 2; Ork. *enu-* 2, *enū* 1; Nan. *enusi-* 2, *enū* 1; Orch. *enu-* 2; Ud. *ene* 1; Sol. *enūn-* 2, *enexū* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 454-455.

PMong. ***ene-ri, -l-*** 1 to feel pity, compassion 2 to suffer (1 жалеть, сострадать 2 страдать): MMong. *eneri-kui* (HY 40), *eneri-* (MA) 1; WMong. *eneri-* 1, *enel-* 2 (L 317); Kh. *enere-* 1, *enele-* 2; Bur. *enel-* 2; Kalm. *enḷ-* 2; Ord. *enel-* 2; Mog. ZM *inäl* 'lament, complain' (4-8b).

◊ KW 122.

PTurk. ***ēn-*** 1 to suffer 2 to be abashed, distressed 4 colic 5 to grizzle, slug 6 (birth) pains, labours 7 impatience 8 drag, disturbance 9 flaw, fault 10 obtuse, absent-minded 11 to torture, offend (1 страдать 2 растеряться, прийти в замешательство 4 колика 5 капризничать, нежиться 6 потуги, родовые схватки 7 нетерпение 8 обуза, помеха 9 упущение, промах 10 рассеянный, бестолковый 11 мучить, обижать): OTurk. *enegü* 4 (OUygh.); Karakh. *enčik-* 'to lose feelings' (MK, KB), *enegü* 4 (MK), *enit-* (AH) 2; Tur. *inʒi-* 1; Gag. *enʒek* 'newborn'; Az. *inʒi-* 1; Khal. *ịnʒi-* 1; MTurk. *entük-* 1; Uzb. *entik-* 1; Uygh. *inʒik* 6; Krm. *inʒɨt-*, *inčit-* 11 (T); Tat. *intek-* 1, *enʒe-le-* 5; Bashk. *intek-* 1, *inte-* 11; Kirgh. *ente-le-* 2, *entik-* 'to suffer from dyspnoea', *enȫ* 10; KBalk. *inʒi-* 1; Kum. *inʒi-* 1; Nogh. *enew* 4; Oyr. *enči* 6, *enčik* 7; Chuv. *andъx-* 1, 7, *anzux* 'dumb, sclerotic person'; Yak. *enn'e-lik* 8, *enči* 9.

◊ EDT 174, 184, ЭСТЯ 1, 283, Егоров 29. Doerfer (Khal.) suggests Arabic origin, which is quite improbable. Vowel length is suggested by the voiced -ʒ- of the suffix in several languages.

‖ KW 122, Poppe 69. A Western isogloss. Despite Doerfer MT 47, TM cannot be borrowed from Mong.

✱**eńa** sin, bad behaviour: Tung. ***eńe-***; Mong. ***ende-***; Turk. ***(i)ańɨg***; Kor. ***āń-***.

PTung. ***eńe-*** to sin (грешить): Ul. *eńe-*; Ork. *en(n)e-*.

◊ TMC 2, 456.

PMong. ***ende-*** to be mistaken (ошибаться, заблуждаться): MMong. *ende-* (SH); WMong. *ende-*; Kh. *ende-*; Bur. *ende-*; Kalm. *endəgdə-*; Ord. *endegdel* 'fault, mistake'; Dag. *ende-* (Тод. Даг. 139); S.-Yugh. *eŋdē-*.

◊ KW 122, MGCD 261. Mong. > Evk. *ende-* etc., see Doerfer MT 111, Rozycki 69.

PTurk. ***(i)ańɨg*** sin, evil (грех, зло): OTurk. *ańɨγ* (Orkh., OUygh.), *ajɨγ* (OUygh.); Karakh. *ajɨγ* (MK); Yak. *ajī*; Dolg. *ańī*.

◊ VEWT 20, EDT 182, ЭСТЯ 1, 113, Stachowski 34.

PKor. ***āń-*** to rob, steal (грабить, похищать): MKor. *ās-*, *āń-* (*àńă-*); Mod. *at- [as-]*.

◊ Nam 350, KED 1096.

‖ The root must have denoted "bad behaviour" in general, whence all the attested meanings: "mistake", "sin", "robbery".

✱**ĕńa** mother, elder sister: Tung. ***eńi-**; Turk. ***ana / *eńe**; Jpn. ***ánái**; Kor. ***ə̀ńí**.

PTung. ***eńi-** mother, female (мать, самка): Evk. *eńin*; Evn. *eńin*; Neg. *eńin*; Man. *eńen*; Jurch. *enin* (283); Ul. *eń-*; Ork. *enin*; Nan. *eńin*; Orch. *ene*, *eńi*; Ud. *eńi(n)*; Sol. *enē*, *enĩ*.

◊ TMC 2, 456.

PTurk. ***ana / *eńe** mother (мать): OTurk. *ana ~ ene* (OUygh.); Karakh. *ana ~ ene* (MK); Tur. *ana*; Gag. *ana*; Az. *ana*; Turkm. *ene*; Sal. *ana*; MTurk. *ana* (Pav. C.); Uygh. *ana*; Krm. *ana*; Tat. *ana*; Bashk. *inä*; Kirgh. *ene*; Kaz. *ene*, *ana*; KBalk. *ana*; KKalp. *ene*, *ana*; Kum. *ana*; SUygh. *ana*; Khak. *inä*; Oyr. *ene*; Tv. *iĩe*; Chuv. *ańne*; Yak. *iĩe*; Dolg. *ińe*.

◊ EDT 169-170, VEWT 19, 44, TMN 2, 130, ЭСТЯ 1, 278-281, Егоров 28, Лексика 298-299, 300-301, Stachowski 127.

PJpn. ***ánái** elder sister (старшая сестра): OJpn. *ane*; MJpn. *ane*; Tok. *àne*; Kyo. *áné*; Kag. *áne*.

◊ JLTT 382.

PKor. ***ə̀ńí** mother (мать): MKor. *ə̀ńí*; Mod. *əi*.

◊ Nam 363, KED 1134.

‖ Цинциус 1972a, 27-29, АПиПЯЯ 78. A "nursery word" (like most kinship terms), but no doubt archaic.

✱**eńa** a k. of vessel: Tung. ***eńukē**; Mong. ***ajaga(n)**; Turk. ***ańak**.

PTung. ***eńukē** a big kettle (большой котел): Neg. *eńi*; Ul. *eńue*; Ork. *enue*, *enuɣe*; Nan. *eńue*; Orch. *eneiŋki* 'birch box for dishes'.

◊ TMC 2, 455.

PMong. ***ajaga(n)** cup (чашка): MMong. *ajaqa* (HY 19, SH, LH), *ajaɣa* (IM 433, MA 108); WMong. *ajaɣa(n)*; Kh. *ajaga(n)*; Bur. *ajaga*; Kalm. *āɣə*; Ord. *ajaGa*; Dag. *ajaga* (Тод. Даг. 118); Dong. *jiGa*, *iɣa*; Bao. (*a*)*jiGə*; Mongr. *jaGa* (SM 486).

◊ KW 20. TMN 2, 171.

PTurk. ***ańak** 1 pot, cup 2 hole; mouth 3(river) mouth (1 сосуд, чашка 2 отверстие; рот 3 устье (реки)): OTurk. *ajaq* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *ajaq* 1 (MK); Tur. *ajak* 3; Az. *ajak* 3; Turkm. *ajaq* 3; MTurk. *ajaq* 1 (Pav. C.); Uzb. *ɔjɔq* 1, 3; Uygh. *ajaq* 1; Krm. *ajaq* 1; Bashk. *ajaq* 1; Kirgh. *ajaq* 1; Kaz. *ajaq* 1; KBalk. *ajaq* 1, 3; KKalp. *ajaq* 3; Kum. *ajaq* 1; Nogh. *ajaq* 1; SUygh. *ajaq* 1; Khak. *ajax* 1; Shr. *ajaq* 1; Oyr. *ajaq* 1; Tv. *ajaq* 1, 3; Yak. *aĩax* 1, 2; Dolg. *ańa*, *ańak* 2.

◊ VEWT 11, ЭСТЯ 1, 105, TMN 2, 171-2, EDT 270, Stachowski 34. Turk. > Mongor *ajaG* 'paquet' (SM 16), ZM *ajõq* (14-2a); > Russ. Siber. *aják* (Аникин 104).

‖ Владимирцов 293. A Western isogloss. Mong. may be < Turk. (TMN 2, 171, Щербак 1997, 95-96).

✱**ēŋa(kʿV)** chin, jaw: Tung. ***(x)eŋge**; Turk. ***ēŋ**; Jpn. ***ánk-**.

PTung. ***(x)eŋge** beak (клюв): Man. *eŋge*.

◊ TMC 2, 457. Attested only in Manchu, but having probable parallels in Turkic and Mongolian.

PTurk. ***ēŋ** 1 cheeks 2 jaw, chin (1 щеки 2 челюсть, подбородок): Karakh. *eŋ* 1, *eŋek* 1, 2 (MK); Tur. *enek* 2; Az. *äŋ* 2; Turkm. *ǟŋ* 'lower jaw', *eŋek* 2; MTurk. *eŋek*, *enek* 2 (Abush., Pav. C.); Uzb. *engäk* 2; Uygh. *iŋäk* 2; Tat. *ijäk* 2; Bashk. *ĭjek* 2; Kirgh. *ēk* 2; Kaz. *ĭjek* 2; KKalp. *ijek* 2; Nogh. *ijek* 2; SUygh. *iŋek* 2; Khak. *ek* 2; Shr. *ēk* 2; Oyr. *ēk* 2; Chuv. *ana* 2; Yak. *iŋ* 2.

◊ EDT 166, 183, VEWT 45, ЭСТЯ 1, 284-285, Лексика 218-219, Федотов 1, 45.

PJpn. ***ánk-** 1 gills 2 jaw, chin (1 жабры 2 челюсть, подбородок): OJpn. *agji*, *agjitopji*; MJpn. *ágì*, *ágító*; Tok. *agó* 2, *agito* 1,2; Kyo. *àgô* 2; Kag. *ágo* 2.

◊ JLTT 377. RJ, Tokyo and Kagoshima point to **á(n)kV̀* (the root ending is somewhat hard to reconstruct), but Kyoto has an unexpected circumflex tone.

‖ One could also reconstruct **ēna(kV)* - in which case cf. Kor. *anɨm* 'jowl, meat of the cheek' (KED 1068).

✸**eŋsV** shoulder, back part: Turk. ***eŋse**; Kor. ***ə̀skə́i**.

PTurk. ***eŋse** back of the neck (задняя часть шеи): Tur. *ense*; Gag. *jensä*; Turkm. *jeŋse*; MTurk. *eŋse*, *äŋsä* (Ettuhf.); Uzb. *ensä*; Krm. *eŋse*, *ense*; Kirgh. *eŋse*; Kaz. *eŋse*; KKalp. *eŋse*; Kum. *eŋse*; Nogh. *eŋse*; Oyr. *eŋze*; Chuv. *ənze*, *jənze*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 4, 190-191, Егоров 65, Лексика 237-238.

PKor. ***ə̀skə́i** shoulder (плечо): MKor. *ə̀skə́i*; Mod. *ək:ä*.

◊ Nam 369, KED 1121.

‖ A Turk.-Kor. isogloss. For the Turk. form cf. alternatively TM **pisa* (see Лексика 239).

✸**ēŋV** to think, understand: Tung. ***eŋē-**; Mong. ***aɣuda-la-**; Turk. ***āŋ, *āŋ-la-**; Jpn. ***ə̀mə̀-p-**.

PTung. ***(x)eŋē-** to peer, investigate (заглядывать, разведывать): Evn. *eŋēli-*, *eŋēt-*.

◊ TMC 2, 458. Attested only in Evn., but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***aɣuda-la-** to search, investigate, rummage (искать, рыться в чем-л.): WMong. *aɣudala-* (L 16); Kh. *ūdla-*; Bur. *ūdal-*; Kalm. *ūdḷ-*; Ord. *ūdala-*; Mog. *audɔl-* (Weiers); ZM *oudal* (24-9a) 'investigation'.

◊ KW 454.

PTurk. ***āŋ, *āŋ-la-** 1 to understand 2 intelligence 3 to hear 4 to discern (dial.) (1 понимать 2 разум, ум 3 слышать 4 различать (диал.)): OTurk. *aŋla-* (OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *aŋla-* (MK, KB) 1; Tur. *anla-* 1; Az. *anla-* 1; Turkm. *āŋla-* 1, *āŋ* 2; Khal. *aŋla-* 1 (< Az.); MTurk. *aŋ* 2, *aŋla-* 1 (San.); Uygh. *aŋla-* 3; Tat. *aŋ-ɣar-* 1; Kirgh. *aŋ* 2; SUygh. *aŋna-* 3; Khak. *aŋdɨ-* 'to look attentively'; Chuv. *ъʷn* 2; Yak. *aŋlā-* 4.

◊ VEWT 20, TMN 2,130, EDT 165, 186, ЭСТЯ 1, 153-154. WMong. *aŋ-šira-* 'to know, understand' < Turkic Siberian languages (*aŋ-sɨra-* with the affix of incomplete verb quality); WMong. *aŋqar-* < Turk. **āŋ-gar-*.

PJpn. ***ə̀mə̀-p-** to think (думать): OJpn. *omop-*; MJpn. *òmòf-*; Tok. *omó-*; Kyo. *ómó-*; Kag. *òmò-*.

◊ JLTT 741.

‖ ЭСТЯ 1,154 (Turk.-Mong.), АПиПЯЯ 286. The Jpn. word poses some problems: its accent does not correspond to Turkic length, and if we reconstruct **ēŋo* (as required by Jpn. **ə-*), PT should have a closed **ạ̄*. It is worth while therefore to consider other explanations of Jpn. **ə̀mə̀-p-*: e. g. compare it with Mong. *ojun* 'thought' and reconstruct a separate protoform like **uńo*.

✱**ȅŋV** cloud, darkness: Tung. ***ēŋ-**; Mong. ***eɣüle**.

PTung. ***ēŋ-** 1 to disappear, become invisible 2 to close eyes; to miss (a sight) 3 to go down (of sun, moon, stars) 4 shady, unlit place (1 скрываться из виду 2 закрывать глаза; упускать (из виду) 3 заходить (о солнце, луне, звездах) 4 затененное, неосвещенное место): Evk. *ēŋ-* 1; Evn. *ēŋut-* 2; Orch. *eŋgi-* 3; Ud. *ēŋigi-* 3; Nan. *eŋmiẽ* (On.) 4

◊ TMC 2, 457, 458.

PMong. ***eɣüle** cloud (облако): MMong. *e'ulen* (HY 1, SH), *ulät* (IM), *iulän* (MA); WMong. *egüle(n)* (L 300); Kh. *ṻl(en)*; Bur. *ṻle(n)*; Kalm. *ṻlṇ*; Ord. *ṻle*, *üjle*; Dag. *eulen* (Тод. Даг. 141, MD 146); Dong. *olien*; Bao. *ōloŋ*, *uloŋ*; Mongr. *ulin*, *uliŋ*, *uloŋ* (SM 470).

◊ KW 461, MGCD 685.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**ə́po** to hunt, kill: Tung. ***wā- (= *ebā-)**; Mong. ***aba**; Turk. ***Āb**; Jpn. ***ə́p-**.

PTung. ***wā- (= *ebā-)** to kill (убивать): Evk. *wā-*; Evn. *wā-*, *mā-*; Neg. *wā-*; Man. *wa-*; SMan. *vā-* (739); Jurch. *wa-du-lar* (459); Ul. *wāwṵ*; Ork. *wā-*; Nan. *wā-*; Orch. *wā-*; Ud. *wā-*; Sol. *wā-*.

◊ TMC 1, 127-129. TM > Dag. *wātā-* (Тод. Даг. 129).

PMong. ***aba** hunt, chase (охота): MMong. *aba* (SH), *abači* 'hunter' (HY 30), *abala-* 'to hunt' (IM); WMong. *aba* (L 2); Kh. *av*; Bur. *aba*; Kalm. *awə*; Ord. *awa*; Dag. au; Mongr. *bārdi-*, *wārdi-* 'lutter, se mesurer à la lutte' (SM 21, 481).

◊ KW 19, TMN 1, 107. Mong. > Man. *aba* etc., see Doerfer MT 115, Rozycki 9.

PTurk. ***Āb** hunt, chase (охота): OTurk. *ab* (Orkh.), *av* (OUygh.); Karakh. *av* (MK); Tur. *av*; Gag. *av*; Az. *ov*; Turkm. *āv*; MTurk. *aw* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *ɔv*; Uygh. *aw*, dial. *ō*; Krm. *av*; Tat. *aw*; Kirgh. *ū*; Kaz. *aw*; KBalk. *uw*; Kum. *aw*, *haw*; Nogh. *aw*.

◊ EDT 3, VEWT 1, ЭСТЯ 62-64, TMN 2, 131, Лексика 417-418.

PJpn. ***ə́p-** to follow, chase (преследовать, гнаться за): OJpn. *op-*; MJpn. *óf-*; Tok. *ò-*; Kyo. *ó-*; Kag. *ó-*.

◊ JLTT 743.

‖ KW 19, Poppe 46, 97. Cf. Manchu *ebte ǵaxun* 'hunting bird' (perhaps preserving the original shape of the root **eb(a)-*, that has elsewhere been irregularly reduced to **ewā-* > **wā-*). Despite TMN 1, 107, 2, 131, Щербак 1997, 94, there is no reason for assuming Turk. > Mong.

✱**ĕpˊa** mother, elder sister, aunt: Tung. ***ebke**; Mong. ***ebej**; Turk. ***apa**; Jpn. ***pàpà**.

PTung. ***ebke** grandmother, aunt, elder brother's wife (бабушка, тетка, жена старшего брата): Evk. *ewekē*; Neg. *ewexē*; Ul. *ewke*; Ork. *ewe(n)*; Nan. *euke*; Orch. *euke*.

◊ TMC 2, 433.

PMong. ***ebej** mother (мать): WMong. *ebei*; Kh. *evij* 'female otter'; Bur. *ebɨ* (Dial.); Kalm. *ewə*; Dag. *ewē* (Тод. Даг. 138).

◊ KW 129.

PTurk. ***apa** mother, elder sister, aunt (мать, старшая сестра, тетя): OTurk. *apa* (Yen.); Karakh. *epe* ~ *apa* (Oghuz=Qarluq Türkmen, MK); Tur. *aba* (Ank.), dial. *apa*; Turkm. *apa*, *afa* (dial.); MTurk. *apa* 'elder sister' (Sangl.); Uzb. *эра*; Uygh. *apa*; Krm. *apaj* (Q); Tat. *apa*; Bashk. *apa*; Kirgh. *apa*; Kaz. *apa*; KBalk. *aba*; KKalp. *apa*; Kum. *abaj*, *apaj*; Nogh. *aba*; Shr. *abiče* (< *aba-eče*); Oyr. *abune* (< *aba-ene*); Tv. *ava*; Tof. *aba*.

◊ EDT 5, ЭСТЯ 1, 158-159, ССЯ 290-291, Лексика 300, 301, TMN 2, 3, Аникин 90. Front row variants (Tur. eve, Kaz. *ebej*, Yak., Dolg. *ebe* etc., see ЭСТЯ 1, 220-221, Stachowski 42) are recent and may have a Mong. origin.

PJpn. ***pàpà** mother (мать): OJpn. papa; MJpn. *fàfà*; Tok. *háha*; Kyo. *háhà*; Kag. *háha*.

◊ JLTT 386. The accent in Tokyo and Kagoshima is irregular.

‖ Цинциус 1972a, 32-37, Poppe 43. One of the rather widely spread nursery kinship words.

✱**épˊá** breast, rib: Mong. ***eb-**; Jpn. ***ámpárá**; Kor. ***əp-**.

PMong. ***eb-** 1 breast 2 bosom (1 грудь 2 пазуха): MMong. *ebur* 2, *ebuže'un* (HY 46, SH), *emčon* (IM), *ibču-tu* (MA) 1; WMong. *ebür*, *öbür* (L 628) 2, *ebčigü(n)* (L 285) 1; Kh. *öwör* 2, *öwčǖ(n)* 1; Bur. *über* 2, *übsǖ(n)* 1; Kalm. *öwṛ* 2, *öpcǖn*, *öpčǖn* 1; Ord. *öwör* 2, *öbčǖ* 1; Mog. *ebčǖn*; ZM *ebčoun* (2-8b); Dag. *eur* 1 (Тод. Даг. 176 *xeur* - with a strange x-), *erčū* (Тод. Даг. 140) 2; Dong. *ečen* 2; Bao. *vɛr* 1, *ɛbčoŋ* 2; S.-Yugh. *wər* 1, *χöžǖn* 2; Mongr. *wer*, *ur*, *j(w)ər*, *jer* (SM 492), *ujer* (Huzu) 1, *śʒ̄ṝ* 'poitrine, poitrail' (SM 391), *śižau* 2.

◊ KW 303, 298. MGCD 537, 539. Mong. > Evk. *owur*, see Poppe 1966, 197, Doerfer MT 127.

PJpn. ***ámpárá** rib (ребро): Tok. *àbara(bone)*; Kyo. *ábárá(bóné)*; Kag. *abara(bóne)*.

◊ JLTT 376.

PKor. ***əp-** beef brisket, breast of ox (грудинка, мясо на груди скота): Mod. *ərčin*.

◊ KED 1150.

‖ Lee 1958, 108 (Mong.-Kor.); a loanword in Kor. < Mong. is not excluded.

✱**epˊò** bread, food: Tung. ***epe**; Mong. ***aɣag / *haɣag**; Turk. ***Epej**; Jpn. ***əpə-mənə**; Kor. ***páp**.

PTung. ***epe** baked bread, cake (печеный хлеб, пирог): Evk. *ewedi*; Man. *efen*; SMan. *efən* 'Manchu bread' (364); Ul. *epe(n)*; Nan. *epẽ*; Sol. *ouo ~ uɣon ~ eweń*.

◊ TMC 2, 436.

PMong. ***aɣag / *haɣag** bran (отруби): WMong. *aγaγ* (L 12: *aγa*); Kh. *āga*; Bur. *āgaha(n)*, *āha(n)* 'oatmeal'; Ord. *āG*; Dag. *āhe* (MD), *āga*, *xāg* (MGCD 90, Kuribayashi 175).

PTurk. ***Epej** baked bread (печеный хлеб): Tat. *ipi*; Bashk. *äpäj*.

◊ Forms like *epmek* may belong here but contaminated with **etmek* (v. sub **ite)*.

PJpn. ***əpə-mənə** food (пища, еда): OJpn. *op(w)omono*.

◊ JLTT 509. The analysis of the word as "big thing" is obviously a folk etymology: cf. the same root also in a verbal derivative OJ *op(w)o-k-* 'to eat greedily'.

PKor. ***páp** food (пища): MKor. *páp*; Mod. *pap*.

◊ Liu 370, KED 734.

‖ The Kor. form (perhaps also the Dagur form with x-) reflect an expressive reduplication.

✱**ĕpˊo** big: Mong. ***aba-**; Turk. ***Ap / *Ep**; Jpn. ***ə̀pə̀-**; Kor. ***opɨ-**.

PMong. ***aba-** huge (огромный): MMong. ? *aburin eme* 'principal wife' (SH, Козин); WMong. *abarγa*, (L 6: *aburγu*, *aburγa*); Kh. *avraga*; Bur. *abarga*; Kalm. *awrGə*; Dag. *auruhe* 'big fish (probably sturgeon' (MD 116) (?).

◊ KW 20. Mong. > Yak., Dolg. *oburgu* (Kał. MEJ 16, Stachowski 188); > Russ. dial. *абарга* 'рыба калуга' (Аникин 71).

PTurk. ***Ap / *Ep** emphatic strengthening particle (эмфатическая усилительная частица): Karakh. *ap / ep* (MK); Tur. *ap* (XIV c.), *apačɨk* 'quite, completely'; Az. *apǯɨG* 'however'; Kirgh. *apej* 'an emphatic interjection'.

◊ EDT 3.

PJpn. ***ə̀pə̀-** big; many (большой; много): OJpn. *opo-*; *opo(ki)-*; MJpn. *òfò-*; *ofo(ki)-*; Tok. *ṓ-*; *ōkí-*; Kyo. *ȍ-*; Kag. *ȍ-*.

◊ JLTT 838.

PKor. ***opɨ-** plentiful (обильный, многочисленный): Mod. *obut-hada* [*obus-*], *obɨt-hada*.

◊ KED 1201.

‖ SKE 174, Martin 239, АПиПЯЯ 102 (with literature), 274. Cf. also **ebo* (Jpn. reflects a merger of these two roots).

✱**épʿV** grandfather: Tung. ***epu**; Mong. ***ebü-gen**; Kor. ***ə̀p-**.

PTung. ***epu** 1 elder sister's husband 2 grandfather, elder relative 3 bear 4 father's elder brother (1 муж старшей сестры 2 дед, старший родственник 3 медведь 4 старший брат отца): Neg. *epo*, *epa* 4; Man. *efu* 1; SMan. *efū* 1 (905); Ork. *ēpi* 2, *epeke* 2, 3; Orch. *epere* 2, 4.

◊ TMC 2, 459.

PMong. ***ebü-ge-** 1 old man, grandfather 2 ancestor (1 старик, дед 2 предок): MMong. *ebugan* 1, *ebuge(n)* 1,2 (SH); WMong. *ebügen* 1, *ebüge* 2 (L 290); Kh. *övgön* 1, *övög* 2; Bur. *übge(n)* 1; Kalm. *öwgṇ* 1, 2; Ord. *öwögö(n)* 1, 2; Dag. *eukē* 'elder sister's husband'.

◊ KW 302. Mong. *ebügen* > Chag. *äbügän* etc., see TMN 1, 109-111.

PKor. ***ə̀p-** 1 father 2 parents (1 отец 2 родители): MKor. *ə̀pí* 1, *ə̀pə̀ńí* 2; Mod. *əbi* (arch.), *abi*, *abəǰi* 1, *əbəi* 2.

◊ Nam 361, 362, KED 1074, 1130, 1131.

‖ SKE 3, Poppe 103. Cf. **ápʿa.*

✱**ĕra** to be: Tung. ***eri-**; Mong. ***ere-**; Turk. ***er-**; Jpn. ***àr-**.

PTung. ***eri-** 1 to breathe 2 breath 3 soul (1 дышать 2 дыхание 3 душа): Evk. *erī-* 1, *erīn* 2, 3; Evn. *eri-* 1, erin 2; Neg. *ejī-* 1, *ejgen* 2, 3; Man. *erge-* 'to rest', *ergen* 2, 3; SMan. *erəxən* 'breath, life' (39, 693, 2965); Jurch. *erin-he* (= *erhen*) (517); Ul. *ersi-* 1, *erge(n)* 2; Ork. *er(i)-* 1; Nan. *erisi-* 1, *ergẽ* 2; Orch. *egge* 3; Ud. *ege* 2, 3, dial. *eje* 2; Sol. *ergē* 'life'.

◊ TMC 2, 464.

PMong. ***ere-ɣül** healthy, sober (здоровый, трезвый): MMong. *iläur* (MA 152), *elor* (IM 437), *ileur* (LH); WMong. *ere-gül*, *ele-gür*; Kh. *erṻl*; Bur. *erṻl*; Kalm. *erṻl*; Ord. *erṻl*.

◊ KW 128. Mong. > Oyr. *elṻr* etc. (VEWT 41).

PTurk. ***er-** to be (aux.) (быть (вспом.)): OTurk. *er-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *er-* (MK, KB); Tur. *i-*; Gag. *i-/ir-*; Az. *i-*; Turkm. *er-*; Sal. *ir-* (Kakuk 182); Khal. *är-* (D. GCh 182); MTurk. *er-* (Abush.); Uzb. *e-, er-ür* (fut.); Uygh. e-; Krm. *e-*; Tat. *i-* (*i-ken* (perf.) 'it appears', *i-meš* (evident.) '...says that it is'); Bashk. *i-*; Kirgh. *e-*; Kaz. *e-*; KBalk. *e-*; KKalp. *e-*; Kum. *e-*; Nogh. *e-*; SUygh. *er-*; Khak. *i-*; Shr. *e-*; Oyr. *e-*; Tv. *e-/ir-*; Yak. *e-/er-*; Dolg. *e-/er-*.

◊ EDT 193-194, VEWT 46, ЭСТЯ 1, 218-220, Stachowski 42, 46. The verb frequently occurs as *e-*, without the final -r- (see ibid.).

PJpn. ***àr-** to be (быть): OJpn. *ar-*; MJpn. *àr-*; Tok. *ár-*; Kyo. *àr-*; Kag. *àr-*.

◊ JLTT 677.

‖ Cf. Mong. **a-* (MMong. *a-)* a defective auxiliary verb. This, together with the frequent absence of -r- in Turkic paradigms, may speak in favour of reconstructing monosyllabic **er* for PA.

✱**ḗra** rough: Mong. ***ar-**; Turk. ***Ērig**; Jpn. ***árá-**; Kor. ***ar-**.

PMong. ***ar-** 1 to become dry, hard 2 dry, hard, thick 3 to be rough, shaggy (1 засыхать, черстветь 2 густой, сухой, черствый 3 быть грубым, шершавым): WMong. *arɣu-* 1 (L 51: *arɣa-*), *arɣu* 2, *arǯiji-*, *arǯaji-* (L 55) 3; Kh. *arga-* 1, *argū(n)* 2, *arǯī-*, *arʒaj-* 3; Bur. *arga-* 1, *argūn* 2, *arzaj-* 3; Kalm. *arzā-* 3; Ord. *arǯi-*, *arǯā̆-* 3; Dag. *arbəi-* (MGCD); Mongr. *rǯī-* (MGCD), *(a)rʒə̄-* (SM 13, 311), *rʑī-* 3.

◊ KW 16, MGCD 118.

PTurk. ***Ērig** rough, large (грубый, крупный): OTurk. *erig* (OUygh.) 'wild'; Karakh. *erig* (MK) 'lively, energetic'; Tur. *iri*; Az. *iri*; Turkm. *īri*; MTurk. *iri* (Бор. Бад.), *irik* (Бор. Бад., Pav. C.), *erig* (Qutb.); Uzb. *jirik*; Uygh. *irik*, *jirik*; Krm. *iri*; Tat. *ĭrĭ*; Bashk. *ĭrĭ*; Kirgh. *iri*; Kaz. *iri*; KKalp. *iri*; Nogh. *iri*.

◊ EDT 221, 222, ЭСТЯ 1, 371-372. Modern languages reveal a secondary vowel narrowing. Turk. > Hung. *öreg.*

PJpn. ***árá** rough (грубый): OJpn. *ara-*; MJpn. *árá-*; Tok. *àra-*; Kyo. *árà-*.

◊ JLTT 825.

PKor. ***ar-** bare, naked, stripped to essentials (голый, простой): MKor. *ar-*; Mod. *al-*.

◊ Liu 526, KED 1088.

‖ Martin 225 (Kor.-Jpn.)

✱**ḗre (~ -i)** early: Tung. ***erü-n**; Mong. ***er-te**; Turk. ***ḕr**; Kor. ***ìrì-**.

PTung. ***erü-n** time (время): Evn. *eri*; Neg. *ejun*; Man. *erin*; SMan. *erin* (2648); Jurch. *erin* (89); Ul. *eru(n)*; Ork. *eru(n)* / *eri(n)*; Nan. *erĩ*; Orch. *erū(n)*; Ud. *ēli(n)*; Sol. *erĩ̄*.

◊ TMC 2, 463-4. TM > Dag. *erin* (Тод. Даг. 140).

PMong. ***er-te** early (рано, ранний): MMong. *erte* (HY 76), *erde* (SH), *ärtä* (IM), *irtă* (MA); WMong. *erte(n)* (L 331); Kh. *ert(en)*; Bur. *erte*; Kalm. *ertə*; Ord. *erte*; Mog. *irte*; Dag. *erte*, *erde* (Тод. Даг. 140) 'early; morning', *erete* (MD 145) long ago, anciently; early; morning'; Dong. *ečie*; Bao. *ete*; S.-Yugh. *rde*; Mongr. *šde* (SM 372).

◊ KW 126, MGCD 269. Mong. > Evk. *erte* etc., see Doerfer MT 76, Rozycki 70.

PTurk. ***ḕr** 1 early 2 early in the morning 3 tomorrow 4 (morning sun) > sunny mountain slope (1 рано 2 рано утром 3 завтра 4 (утреннее солнце) > солнечный склон горы): OTurk. *[ir ~ er* 4, *er-kenin,]* *erte* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *erte* 2 (MK); Tur. *er, erte* 2; Gag. *ierte* 'next day'; Az. *ertä* 2; Turkm. *īr* 1, *erte* 2; MTurk. *er* 1 (Bud.), *erte* 2 (Abush., Pav. C.); Uzb. *erta* 2; Uygh. *ä(r)tä* 'morning'; Krm. *erte* 2; Tat. *irtä* 2; Bashk. *irtä* 2;

Kirgh. *erte* 2; Kaz. *erte* 2; KBalk. *ertte* 2; KKalp. *erte* 2; Kum. *ertä* 2; Nogh. *erte* 2; SUygh. *erte* 2; Khak. *irte* 'morning'; Oyr. *erte* 2; Tv. *erte* 2; Chuv. *ir* 3; Yak. *erde* 1; Dolg. *erčin* 1.

◊ EDT 202-203, VEWT 46, ЭСТЯ 1, 302-306, 369-370, Егоров 70, Лексика 79, Stachowski 47.

PKor. ***ìrɨ̀-** early (ранний): MKor. *ìrɨ̀-*; Mod. *irɨ-*.

◊ Nam 400, KED 1326.

‖ EAS 146, KW 126, VEWT 46, SKE 69, Poppe 106, Menges 1984, 267, Дыбо 11, Лексика 79. Cf. perhaps also MKor. *jət* 'now' (< **jər-t* = Mong., Turk. **erte*?); Lee 1958, 108 also draws MKor. *əri* 'time, season', *ərɨn* 'quickly', which we were unable to identify. Borrowing in Mong. from Turk. (Щербак 1997, 116) is hardly plausible: the *-tʿV suffix in this case must be Common Altaic. The etymology is still quite valid, despite all attempts of Doerfer (TMN 4, 257-259). Cf. also Turk. **er-k-* 'early; ancient' = Mong. *argi-* 'to be old, ancient, mature'.

✱**érga (~ -u)** a k. of box, enclosure: Tung. ***(x)erge**; Mong. ***(h)ergi-neg**; Turk. ***erge**; Kor. ***ə̀rí**.

PTung. ***(x)erge** a k. of box (вид ящика): Evk. *erge*.

◊ TMC 2, 462. Attested only in Evk., but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***(h)ergi-neg** 1 cupboard (standing close to the door) 2 enclosure (for sheep, calves) (1 буфет (стоящий около двери) 2 загон (для овец, телят)): WMong. *ergineg* 1 (L 325); Kh. *eregneg* 1; Bur. *ergeneg* 1,2; Kalm. *ergənəg* 1; Ord. *ergenek* 1.

◊ KW 124.

PTurk. ***erge** 1 part of the yurt close to the door 2 threshhold 3 stairs (1 часть юрты рядом с дверью 2 порог 3 лестница): MTurk. *irgene* 'smth. belonging to the tent' (Sangl.); Kirgh. *ergilček* 1; Kaz. *erge*, *irge* 1; Khak. *irkən* 2; Oyr. *irge* 2; Chuv. *argъ* 'lap'; Yak. *ergene*, *ergine* 3.

◊ VEWT 47, Федотов 1, 56-57.

PKor. ***ə̀rí** enclosure (загон, огороженное место): MKor. *ə̀rí*; Mod. *əri* (arch.).

◊ Nam 361, KED 1128.

‖ VEWT 47. The Turkic forms are attested late and those ending in -ne may actually be < Mong.; however, the Oyr. and Kaz. forms can hardly be explained as loans.

✱**èrì** a k. of fruit: Mong. ***üril**; Turk. ***erük**; Jpn. ***ìtàpi**; Kor. ***ɨrɨm**.

PMong. ***üril** plum (слива): WMong. *üril* (L 1013); Kh. *öröl* 'wild apple'; Kalm. *örḷ* 'wild pear'.

◊ KW 300. Cf. **ölir* (a different root, but liable to merger).

PTurk. ***erük** 1 plum 2 apricot (1 слива 2 абрикос): OTurk. *erük* 1, 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *erük* 1, 2 (MK); Tur. *erik* 1; Gag. *ierik* 1; Az. *ärik* 2; Turkm. *erik* 2; Sal. *örüx* 1; MTurk. *erük* (AH) 'peach', *örük* (Abush.) 1;

Uzb. *ọrịk* 2; Uygh. *ürük* 2; Krm. *erik* 1; Tat. *ŭrŭk* 2; Bashk. *ŭrŭk* 2; Kirgh. *örük* 2; Kaz. *orĭk* 2; KBalk. *erik* 1; KKalp. *erik* 2; Kum. *erik* 1.

◊ EDT 222, ЭСТЯ 1, 291-292.

PJpn. ***ìtàpi** Japanese fig (японская фига): OJpn. *itabji*; MJpn. *ìtàbì*, *ìtàbí*.

◊ JLTT 427.

PKor. ***ɨrɨm** clematis berries, *akebi* seed (плод акабии): Mod. *ɨrɨm*.

◊ KED 1285.

‖ ЭСТЯ 1, 292. In TM cf. perhaps Evk. dial. *erbeɣu* 'name of a shrub with yellow flowers, used instead of tea' (TMC 2, 462). Mong. **üril* 'plum' should be kept distinct from **ölir* 'small apple' (see under **ójle*); however, since the sequences -l-r and -r-l in Mong. are liable to metathesis, it is difficult to decide which protoforms are actually reflected in **üril* and **ölir*. In any case, labialization in Mong. is probably secondary here (either **üril* < **irü-l* or **ölir* < **elör* < **erö-l*).

✱**erka** to wrap, tie: Mong. ***arga-**; Turk. ***Arka-**; Kor. ***ə̀rk-**.

PMong. ***arga-** 1 string, cord 2 woven basket (1 веревка 2 плетеная корзина): MMong. *arqamǯi* (SH) *arɣā*, *arɣamči* (IM 432) 1, *āruq* (MA 113) 2; WMong. *arɣamǯi* 2, *aruɣ* 2; Kh. *argamǯ* 1, *arag* 2; Bur. *arag* 2; Kalm. *arəg* 2; Ord. *aruG* 2; Mog. ZM *ɔ̄ra* (13-3) 'fibre'; Dong. *areu* 2 (MGCD *arəu*); Bao. *aroG* 2 (MGCD *arGoŋ*); Mongr. *aruG* 2 (SM 14), *aroG* (MGCD).

◊ KW 13, MGCD 114, 115. Turkic origin of *arɣamǯi* was supposed by Doerfer TMN 1, 122, but without sufficient reasons (Chag. *arɣamǯi* etc. (see ЭСТЯ 1, 171-172) is certainly < Mong., see ibid.).

PTurk. ***Arka-** lasso, thick string (лассо, толстая веревка): Turkm. *arqān*; Uzb. *arkan* 1.

◊ VEWT 26, ЭСТЯ 1, 175-176. Turk. > WMong. *arqala-*, Kalm. *arxəl-* (KW 14).

PKor. ***ə̀rk-** to wrap, tie up (завязывать, заворачивать): MKor. *ə̀rk-*; Mod. *əlk-*.

◊ Nam 368, KED 1147.

‖ Cf. Nan. *erĩ* 'rope for binding up the yurt with ritual purposes' (TMC 2,463), suggesting that *-k- may be originally a suffix. Despite Щербак 1997, 162, Mongolian forms are hard to explain as borrowed from Turkic.

✱**ḗro** clean: Mong. ***ariɣ-**; Turk. ***ạrɨ-**; Jpn. ***áráp-**.

PMong. ***ar-** 1 clean 2 to clean 3 cloth for cleaning (1 чистый 2 чистить 3 платок (для чистки)): MMong. *arči-* 2, *aril-* 'to be clear' (SH), *ariun* 1, *orči-* 2, [*o*]*rčur* 3 (IM 433, 432), *ariun*, *āri-jun* 1, *arči-* 2, *arčiwur* 3 (MA 105, 106, 104, 178), *arilqa-* 1 (HYt); WMong. *ariɣun* (L 53) 1, *arči-* 2, *arčiɣur*, *alčiɣur* 3; Kh. *ariun* 1, *arči-* 2, *alčūr* 3; Bur. *aŕūn* 1, *arša-* 2, *aršūl* 3; Kalm. *ärŭn* 1, *arč-* 2, *alčūr* 3; Ord. *arūn* 1, *arči-* 2, *alčūr* 3; Mog. *orūn* 1; ZM *ɔ̄rūn* 1 'pure, clean' (11-3a); Dag. *arūn* (Тод. Даг. 122), *aren* 1 (MD 115),

arči- 2; Dong. *arun* 1, *ači-* 'полоть' 2, *anču* 3; Bao. *aruŋ* 1; S.-Yugh. *arūn*; Mongr. *arən*, *arin* (SM 11, 14) 1, *arili-* 'se purifier' (SM 14), *xaʒir* (SM 149) 3.

◊ KW 24, MGCD 119, 565. Mong. > Evk. *ariwūn*, see Poppe 1966, 189, Doerfer MT 125; > Chag. *arun*, see TMN 1, 129.

PTurk. ***ạri-*** 1 clean, pure, to be clean 2 to clean, purify (1 чистый, быть чистым 2 чистить): OTurk. *arɨɣ* (Orkh.), *ari-*, *arɨɣ* (OUygh.) 1, *arɨt-* (OUygh.) 2; Karakh. *ari-*, *arɨɣ* (MK, KB) 1, *arɨt-* (MK, KB) 2; Tur. *arɨ* 1, art- 2, Osm. *arɨt-* 'to wipe'; Az. dial. *arɨ* 1, *arɨt-* 2; Turkm. *arɨG* 1, art- 2; Khal. *arɨɣ* 1, *arut-* 2; MTurk. *arɨ-* (Abush.), *arɨɣ* (Abush., Sangl., Qutb), *arɨ* (Pav. C.) 1, *arɨt-* (Sangl., Qutb) 2; Uzb. dial. *ari-* 1; Uygh. *eriq* 1; Tat. *aru* 1; Bashk. *arɨw* 1; Kirgh. *arū* 1; Kaz. *aru* 1; KBalk. *arɨw* 1; KKalp. *aruw* 1; SUygh. *arɨɣ* 1; Khak. *arɨɣ* 1; Oyr. *aru* 1; Tv. *arɨɣ* 1, *arɨt-* 2; Chuv. *ɨrъ* 'good', *irt-* 'перебирать ягоды, очищать дерево от сучьев'; Yak. *ɨrās* 1, *ɨrɨt-* 'перебирать ягоды'; Dolg. *ɨras* 1.

◊ EDT 198, 213, VEWT 27, ЭСТЯ 1, 184-186, Мудрак Дисс. 182, Stachowski 261.

PJpn. ***áráp-*** to wash (мыть): OJpn. *arap-*; MJpn. *áráf-*; Tok. *àra-*; Kyo. *ará-*; Kag. *ará-*.

◊ JLTT 677.

‖ EAS 88, KW 24, Владимирцов 199, Poppe 79, Ozawa 170-171, Мудрак Дисс. 182. Cf. TM forms: Orok *ārŋa-* 'to clean (with a brush)' (TMC 1, 50), Evk. *ertikē-* 'clean up' (TMC 2, 465). Despite TMN 1, 129, Щербак 1997, 100, Mong. can hardly be regarded as borrowed < Turk.

✱**ērtʿa (~ -o)** to carry on back: Mong. ***ači-***; Turk. ***ạ̄rt-***.

PMong. ***ači-*** to load, carry on one's back (грузить, нести на спине): MMong. *ači-* (SH Козин), *ača'an* 'груз'(HY), ači'ā 'груз' (IM), *ači-* (MA); WMong. *ači-* (L 8); Kh. *ači-*; Bur. *aša-*; Kalm. *ači-* (KPC); Ord. *ači-*; Mog. *ači-* (Ramstedt 1906); Dong. *ači-*; Bao. *ače-* (Тод. Бн.); Mongr. *śʒā* (n.).

◊ MGCD 126. Mong. > Evk. *atiga*, Man. *ači-*, see Poppe 1966, 192, Doerfer MT 100, Rozycki 11.

PTurk. ***ạ̄rt-*** to load, carry on back (нагружать, нести на спине): OTurk. (?) *arč-* (OUygh. - USp.); Karakh. *arčɨ* 'saddle-bag' (MK; < *art-čɨ*?); Tur. *ard-* (dial.), = Osm.; Gag. *ārt-*; Uzb. *ɔrt-*; Uygh. *a(r)t-*; Bashk. *art-*; Kirgh. *art-*; Kaz. *art-*; KKalp. *art-*; Nogh. *art-*; SUygh. *art-*; Khak. *art-*; Shr. *arta-*; Oyr. *art-art-*; Tv. *art-*; Chuv. *ort-*; Yak. *ɨrt-*; Dolg. *ɨrdā-*.

◊ VEWT 27, EDT 201, Егоров 276, Федотов 2, 287, ЭСТЯ 1, 180-181. Chuv. *ort-* may be restructured after **ar-ka* 'back'.

‖ VEWT 27, KW 18. A Turko-Mongolian isogloss; in Turkic the root has partially merged with PT **ārt* 'back' (see sub **pʿi̯ōrí*).

✱**ĕrù (~ -ŕ-)** skin: Tung. ***eruke-**; Mong. ***ar[a]-su**; Jpn. ***ùrə̀kə̀ (/*i-; ~ -ua-)**.

PTung. ***eru-ke-** upper coat (шуба, кафтан): Evn. *irkenmi*; Ul. *eru(n)*, *erue(n)*; Orch. *erue*.

◊ TMC 1, 328, 2, 466.

PMong. ***ar[a]-su** skin (кожа): MMong. *arasun* (HY 15, SH), *arāṣu* (IM 432), *arasun* (MA 104); WMong. *arasu(n)*, *arisu(n)* (L 49); Kh. *aŕs(an)*; Bur. *arahan*, *arha(n)*; Kalm. *arsṇ*; Ord. *arusu*; Mog. *arōsun*; ZM *ɔ̄rɔ̄sun* (20-9); Dag. *arsa*, *aras* (Тод. Даг. 122); Dong. *arasun*; Bao. *arsoŋ*; S.-Yugh. *arsən*; Mongr. *arasə* (SM 11).

◊ MGCD 320. Cf. Mongor **(a)rāwa* 'hair, fur'. KW 14.

PJpn. ***ùrə̀kə̀ (/*i-; ~ -ua-)** scales; dandruff (чешуя; перхоть): MJpn. *uroko*, *ìrò̀kò̀*; Tok. *ùroko*, *úroko*; Kyo. *úrò̀kò̀*; Kag. *urokó*.

◊ JLTT 426. The modern Tokyo accent variants are not quite regular (pointing to **ùrə́kə́* or **ùrə̀kə́*).

‖ The TM and Jpn. forms reflect a common derivative **ĕrù-kV* (diminutive).

✱**ḗŕa** to go astray, mistake: Tung. ***er[e]-**; Mong. ***ereɣü**; Turk. ***āŕ-**; Jpn. ***ára-**; Kor. ***ə̀rjə́-b-**.

PTung. ***er[e]-** 1 bad 2 torture, torment 3 to torture 4 to be mistaken (1 плохой 2 пытка, мучение 3 мучить 4 ошибаться): Evk. *erū* 1, *ere-* 4; Man. *eru-n* 1; Ul. *eru-le-* 2; Nan. *erũ* 2; Sol. *erū* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 465-466. For all the forms except Evk. *ere-* borrowing from Mong. cannot be excluded (see Doerfer MT 39, Rozycki 71), thus the actual TM protoform could have been **ere-*.

PMong. ***ereɣü** torture, crime (пытка, преступление): MMong. *ere'u* (SH); WMong. *eregü(ü)* (L 321); Kh. *erṹ*; Bur. *erṹdelge*, *erṹde-* 'to torture'; Kalm. *erṹ*; Ord. *erṹ*; Dag. *erūle-* 'to torture' (MD 146), *erun*.

◊ KW 128, MGCD 269.

PTurk. ***āŕ-** 1 to go astray, lose one's way 2 to lose mind, go mad 3 to miss (1 сбиваться с пути 2 сходить с ума 3 упускать, промахиваться): OTurk. *az-* 1 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *az-* 1 (MK, IM); Tur. *az-* 1; Gag. *āz-* (Дмитриев 1955) 1; Az. *az-* 1; Turkm. *āz-* 1; Khal. *hāz-* 1; MTurk. *az-* (Sangl., Houts., Pav. C., Qutb) 1; Uzb. *ɔz-* 1; Uygh. *az-* 1; Krm. *az-* 1; Tat. *az-* 1; Bashk. *aδ-* 1; Kirgh. *az-* 1; Kaz. *az-* 1; KKalp. *az-* 1; Nogh. *az-* 1; SUygh. *az-* 1; Khak. *as-* 1; Shr. *as-* 1; Oyr. *as-* 1; Tv. *as-* 1; Chuv. *or-* 2; Yak. *ās-* 1, 3.

◊ EDT 279, VEWT 22, 33, 193, ЭСТЯ 1, 94-95, Федотов 2, 283.

PJpn. ***ára-** to behave violently, be in distress (быть бурным, буйствовать; быть заброшенным): OJpn. *ara-*; MJpn. *ara-*; Tok. *àre-*; Kyo. *áré-*; Kag. *àré-*.

◊ JLTT 677.

PKor. ***ə̀rjə́-b-** to be difficult, hard, in distress (быть трудным, находиться в затруднении): MKor. *ə̀rjə́p-* (-w-); Mod. *ərjəp-* (-w-).

◊ Nam 360, KED 1127.

‖ EAS 107, 145-146, SKE 56 (Mong.:Tung.:Kor.). Mong. and Turk. have also suffixed forms that may belong to the same root (with front / back vowel variation): cf. Mong. *arča-* 'to quarrel, argue'; *erüs-* 'to rival, compete'; Turk. **ersi-* 'mean, nasty' (see Дыбо 12); perhaps also Mong. **arila-* 'to disappear, vanish' (< '*to miss'), see MGCD 118.

✱**eŕmu** a k. of grass, wormwood: Mong. ***erme**; Turk. ***eŕen**; Kor. ***òrmí**.

PMong. ***erme** wormwood (Artemisia Sieversiana, Artemisia macrocephala) (полынь): WMong. *erme* (L 331); Kh. *erem*; Bur. *ürmehe(n)*, *ürmedehe(n)*; Kalm. *erm̥*; Ord. ?? *ērme* 'artemisia glauca Pall., d'apres Potanin'; Dag. *erem*.

◊ Mong. > Tat. *ärəm* etc., see KW 126, 127, Лексика 132-133. Cf. also (as Mong. loanwords): Man. *eremu* 'wormwood', Khak. *irben* 'богородская трава', Yak. *erbesin* 'названия грубых сортов трав'.

PTurk. ***eŕen** wormwood (полынь): Kaz. *izen* (R); Chuv. *arъm*.

◊ VEWT 48, Егоров 346, Федотов 1, 57-58. Turk. (Bulg.) > Hung. *üröm*, see Gombocz 1912.

PKor. ***òrmí** a k. of grass (вид травы): MKor. *òrmí*; Mod. *olmi-phul*.

◊ Liu 580.

‖ The root denotes wormwood, artemisia in Turkic and Mongolian; in Korean the meaning is not quite certain (probably some sort of shepherd's purse, Capsella bursa-pastoris). The phonetic match is precise, anyway, and the reconstruction seems reliable.

✱**ès[i]** to take care of: Tung. ***ēske-**; Mong. ***asara-**; Turk. ***es**; Jpn. ***ìsàma-**; Kor. ***às-kàb-, *às-kí-**.

PTung. ***ēske-** 1 to worry 2 to wait, beware 3 to praise 4 to curse (1 беспокоиться 2 ждать, быть начеку 3 славить, восхвалять 4 ругать, бранить): Evk. *ēksit-* 2, *eskē-* 3; Evn. *ēske-* 3; Neg. *eksit-* 2; Man. *esuḱe-* 4; SMan. *esəxinə-*, *isixinə-* (1468); Ul. *eksen-* 1, 2; Nan. *ekseči-* 2; Ud. *ehie-* 'to take care of'.

◊ TMC 2, 443, 468.

PMong. ***asara-** to take care of (заботиться): MMong. *asara-* (HY 40, SH), *asor-* (IM 433), *asăra-* (MA 107); WMong. *asara-* (L 56); Kh. *asra-*; Kalm. *asṛ-*; Ord. *asara-*; S.-Yugh. *asara-* (MGCD 122).

◊ KW 16. Mong. > Chag. *asra-* etc. (VEWT 29, TMN 1, 131, Щербак 1997, 199); > Chuv. *usra-* (Róna-Tas 1973-1974); > Man. *asara-* (Doerfer MT 136). Derivation < Turk. *aša-* 'to eat' (Rona-Tas 1975, 201-211, Clark 1980, 42) is quite improbable.

PTurk. ***es** 1 memory, mind 2 to pity, regret (1 память, рассудок 2 жалеть, сожалеть): OTurk. *es* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *es* 1 (KB), *esirge-* 2 (MK); Az. *äksi* (< *äs-ki*) 'clever'; Turkm. *es* 1; MTurk. *es* 1 (AH, KW); Uzb. *es* 1; Uygh. *äs* 1; Krm. *es* 1; Tat. *is* 1; Bashk. iʒ 1; Kaz. *es* 1; KBalk. *es* 1; KKalp. *es* 1; Kum. *es* 1; Nogh. *es* 1; Oyr. *es* 1; Chuv. *as* 1.

◊ EDT 252, VEWT 49, 50, ЭСТЯ 1, 310, Егоров 33, Федотов 1, 61. Turk. > WMong. *esi*, Kalm. *iš* 'allowing, etiquette'.

PJpn. ***ìsàma-** to admonish (увещевать): OJpn. *isama-*; MJpn. *ìsàma-*; Tok. *isamé-*; Kyo. *ísámé-*; Kag. *isamé-*.

◊ JLTT 699. Accent in Kagoshima is irregular, probably under literary influence.

PKor. ***às-kàb-, *às-kí-** 1 to be pitiful; to be precious, valuable 2 to spare, grudge; value, esteem (1 быть достойным сожаления; быть ценным, драгоценным 2 жалеть, завидовать; ценить, почитать): MKor. *às-kàp-* (-w-) 1, *às-kí-* 2; Mod. *ak:ap-* (-w-) 1, *ak:i-* 2.

◊ Nam 349, KED 1067.

‖ Дыбо 14. Vocalism is not quite certain (in Mong. one would rather expect a front *e-).

✱**eso** unripe, sour: Tung. ***esi-kin**; Mong. ***es-**; Turk. ***ẹsür-**; Jpn. ***àsì-**.

PTung. ***esi-kin** unripe (незрелый, неспелый): Evk. *esikin*; Evn. *esъkni*; Man. *esxun*; SMan. *usəxən*, *usuxun* (388); Jurch. (*h*)*osu-xun* (539).

◊ TMC 2, 468.

PMong. ***es-** 1 to pickle 2 sour milk, kumis (1 квасить 2 кислое молоко, кумыс): MMong. *esuk* 2 (HY 25, SH); WMong. *esüg* 2; Kh. *es-* 1, *ösög* 2; Bur. *ehē-* 1; Kalm. *is-* 1; Ord. *es-* 1, *üsük*, *esük* 2; S.-Yugh. *hsə-* 1.

◊ KW 210, MGCD 413.

PTurk. ***ẹsür-** to become drunk (пьянеть, напиваться): OTurk. *esür-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *esür-* (MK); Tur. *esri-*; Turkm. *esre-*; MTurk. *esri-* (AH); Uzb. *äsĭr-* (dial.); Krm. *esir-*; Tat. *isĭr-*; Bashk. *iðĭr-*; Kirgh. *esir-*; Kaz. *esĭr-*; KBalk. *esir-*; KKalp. *esir-*; Kum. *esir-*; Nogh. *esir-*; Khak. *izĭr-*; Shr. *ezir-*; Oyr. *ezir-*; Tv. *ezir-*; Chuv. *üzər-*; Yak. *itir-*; Dolg. *itiriktē-* 'to rejoice, have a feast'.

◊ EDT 251, VEWT 50, ЭСТЯ 1, 309-310, Stachowski 130.

PJpn. ***àsì-** bad (плохой): OJpn. *asi-*; MJpn. *àsì-*.

◊ JLTT 826.

‖ Cf. perhaps also (although semantically dubious) OJ *asa-* 'to fade'.

✱**ḗtʹa** to take care of, to deal with: Tung. ***ete-**; Turk. ***ēt-**; Jpn. ***átúkáp-**; Kor. ***àtáŋ**.

PTung. ***ete-** 1 to guard 2 to nurse (1 охранять 2 нянчить): Evk. *etejē-* 1, 2; Evn. *etu-* 1, *etij-* 2; Neg. *etew-* 1, *etixi-* 2; Ul. *eteu-* 1, *etexi-* 2; Ork. *etew-* 1, *etexi-* 2; Nan. *etū-* 1, *etexi-* 2; Orch. *etu-či-* 1; Ud. *eteu-si-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 470.

PTurk. ***ēt-** to organize, to make (устраивать, делать): OTurk. *et-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *et-* (MK); Tur. *et-*; Gag. *et-*; Az. *et-*; Turkm. *īdeg* 'keeping' ('присмотр'), *et-*; MTurk. *et-* (Abush., Pav. C.); Uzb. *et-*; Uygh. *et-*, *ät-*; Krm. *et-*; Tat. *it-*; Bashk. *it-*; Kirgh. *et-*; Kaz. *et-*; KBalk. *et-*; KKalp. *et-*; Kum. *et-*; Nogh. *et-*; SUygh. *et-*, *jet-*, *it-*; Khak. *it-*; Oyr. *et-*; Tv. *et-*; Chuv. *at-*.

◊ EDT 36-37, ЭСТЯ 1, 312-313, Дыбо Дисс. 56, Федотов 1, 67. Shortness in Turkm. *et-* is no doubt secondary: cf. the derivative *īdeg*, and also regular intervocalic voicing -t- > -d- in all Oghuz languages (pointing to original length), see EDT ibid.

PJpn. ***átúkáp-*** to take care of, deal with (заботиться, иметь дело с): OJpn. *atukap-* 'to worry'; MJpn. *átúkáf-*; Tok. *àtsuka-*, *atsuká-*; Kyo. *átsúká-*; Kag. *atsuká-*.

◊ JLTT 678.

PKor. ***àtáŋ*** to flatter (льстить): MKor. *àtáŋ-hǎ-*; Mod. *adaŋ-ha-*.

◊ Nam 335, KED 1069.

‖ Дыбо 15. Cf. also Mong. *atugaj* 'be! (imper.)' (MMong. *aduγai* 'er soll sein', SH). Cf. **it´a.*

✱**ĕt´è** elder relative: Tung. ***(x)eti-***; Mong. ***ečige***; Turk. ***Ata / *Ete***; Jpn. ***tətə, *ti***; Kor. ***àtǎ***.

PTung. ***(x)eti-*** 1 old man 2 father-in-law (1 старик 2 тесть, свекор): Evk. *eti-rkēn* 1, *etkī* 2; Evn. *eti-kēn* 1, *etki* 2; Neg. *eti-xen* 1, *etkī* 2; Sol. *etikkẽ* 1.

◊ See TMC 2, 469 (one should note that many forms listed there, like Man. *ečike* etc., are later mongolisms, see Doerfer MT 117, Rozycki 66).

PMong. ***ečige*** father (отец): MMong. *ečige* (HY 28, SH), *eče* (SH), *ičigä* (MA); WMong. *ečige* (L 292); Kh. *eceg*; Bur. *esege*; Kalm. *ecəgə*; Ord. *ečige*; Dag. *ečig* (Тод. Даг. 141) *ecihe* (MD 139).

◊ KW 129, TMN 1, 187.

PTurk. ***Ata / *Ete*** 1 father 2 uncle 3 ancestor (1 отец 2 дядя 3 предок): OTurk. *ata* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *ata*, *ataqɨ* 1 (MK); Tur. *ata* 3, dial. *ede* 2; Az. *ata* 1; Turkm. *ata* 'father's father'; MTurk. *ata* (Pav. C.) 1; Uzb. *ɔta* 1; Uygh. *ata* 1, 3; Krm. *ata* 3; Tat. *ata*, *eti* 1, *etkej* 2; Bashk. *ata* 1, 'male'; Kirgh. *ata* 1, 3; Kaz. *ata* 1; KBalk. *ata* 1; KKalp. *ata* 3; Kum. *ata* 1; Nogh. *ata* 1, 'male'; SUygh. *ata* 1; Khak. *ada* 1; Oyr. *ada* 1, 3; Tv. *a'da* 1.

◊ EDT 40, 48, VEWT 31, ЭСТЯ 1, 200-201, TMN 2, 5-6, 9, Лексика 294, 304.

PJpn. ***tətə, *ti*** 1 father 2 uncle (1 отец 2 дядя): OJpn. *ti* / *titi* 1, *wo-di* 2; MJpn. *toto*, *tìtí* 1, *wo-di* 2; Tok. *chichí*, *o-tō-san* 1, *òji* 2; Kyo. *chìchí*, *ò-tō-sàn* 1, *ójí* 2; Kag. *chichí*, *o-tō-sán* 1, *ójì* 2.

◊ JLTT 514, 547. Accent reconstruction is difficult because of irregular transformations and reduplications (a nursery word).

PKor. ***àtǎ*** man (мужчина): MKor. *àtǎ*.

◊ HMCH 212.

‖ Цинциус 1972a, 37-40. Poppe 51, 56, АПиПЯЯ 296, Дыбо 6; a weak attempt of disproving the etymology see in TMN 1, 188. A "nursery" word, represented in all Altaic subgroups. Ramstedt (KW 129) compares the Mong. form with Turk. **eči* / **eče* 'elder brother', but it is obviously closer related to **ata* (Mong. **eči-ge* = Turk. **ete-ke* / **ata-ka*). The form **ete-k´e*, reflected in Turkic, Mongolian and Tungus, is probably an archaic diminutive, and Doerfer's (TMN 2, 9) attempt to treat the

Turk. form as a compound *ata* 'Vater' + *äkä* 'älteres Geschwister' is certainly faulty.

✱**ètʿi (~ -t-)** thread, to quilt: Tung. ***etu- / *ute-**; Turk. ***Etek**; Jpn. ***ìtuá**.

PTung. ***etu- / *ute-** 1 to quilt, tuft 2 seam 3 quilted coat, lap 4 mitten lining 5 to put on, wear 6 upper clothes (1 стегать 2 шов 3 стеганая одежда, подол 4 подкладка рукавицы 5 надевать, носить 6 верхняя одежда): Evk. *uteme* 3, *uteptīn* 4; Evn. *ut-* 1, (All.) *etik* 6; Neg. *ute-* 1; Man. *etu-* 5, *etuku* 6; SMan. *utu-* 5 (199); *utuku* 'clothing, clothes, garb' (195); Jurch. *etu-xun* (846) 6; Ul. *uteče* 2, *utesu* 3; Ork. *utteuri* 3; Nan. *ute-* 1, *utesū* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 293, 295, 469.

PTurk. ***Etek** lap, edge of cloth (подол, край одежды): Karakh. *etek* (MK); Tur. *etek*; Gag. *ietek*; Az. *ätäk*; Turkm. *etek*; Khal. *hätäk*; MTurk. *etek* (Бор. Бад., Abush., Pav. C.); Uzb. *etäk*; Uygh. *etäk*; Krm. *etek*; Tat. *itäk*; Bashk. *itäk*; Kirgh. *etek*; Kaz. *etek*; KBalk. *etek*; KKalp. *etek*; Kum. *etek*; Nogh. *etek*; Khak. *idek*; Shr. *edek*; Oyr. *edek*; Tv. *e'dek*.

◊ EDT 50, VEWT 52, ЭСТЯ 1, 313.

PJpn. ***ìtuá** thread (нить): OJpn. *it(w)o*; MJpn. *ìtó*; Tok. *íto*; Kyo. *itó*; Kag. *itó*.

◊ JLTT 428.

‖ Дыбо 15.

G

✱**ga** to take; to put: Tung. ***ga-**; Turk. ***Ko-**; Kor. ***kà-**.

PTung. ***ga-** to take (брать): Evk. *ga-*; Evn. *ga-*; Neg. *ga-*; Man. *Gaj-*; SMan. *Gia-* (1402, 1538); Jurch. *ga-gwa-i* (399); Ul. *Ga-*; Ork. *Ga-*; Nan. *Ga-*; Orch. *ga-*; Ud. *ga-*.

◊ TMC 1, 133-134.

PTurk. ***Ko-** to put (класть): Tur. *ko-*; MTurk. *qo-* (Pav. C., IM); Krm. *qo-*; Chuv. *xɨv-*, *xu-*.

◊ VEWT 273, ЭСТЯ 6, 27-29. The root seems archaic, but in most languages (beginning with OT) was substituted by the synonymous **Kod-* (v. sub **k'ŏda*), being preserved only in Chag., Osm. and Chuv.

PKor. ***kà-** to take (брать): MKor. *kà-čí-*; Mod. *kažɨ-*, dial. *ka-*.

◊ Nam 8, KED 27, SKE 83.

‖ SKE 83, Lee 1958, 111, МССНЯ 356, ОСНЯ 1, 225. One of the few PA monosyllabic roots. The relation of the Turk. form is somewhat dubious (for semantic and phonetic reasons). One may conjecture that the original shape was PT **Ka-* - actually attested in OT, see EDT 578 - which was early substituted by **Ko-* under the influence of the more widespread **Kod-* and then disappeared altogether.

✱**gàč'ɨ (~ *gèč'a)** branch, bough: Mong. ***gač-**; Kor. ***káčí**.

PMong. ***gač-** 1 bough 2 spruce 3 noble fir (1 сук 2 ель 3 пихта): WMong. *γačura* 1, *γačiγur* 2 (L 342: *γačura*, *γačuura* 'spruce'); Kh. *gačūr* 2; Bur. *gasūr* 1, 2; Kalm. *γacūrə* 3.

◊ KW 147.

PKor. ***káčí** branch (ветка): MKor. *káčí*; Mod. *kažɨ*.

◊ Nam 7, KED 26.

‖ A Mong.-Kor. isogloss.

✱**gǎgtà** one of a pair: Tung. ***gagda**; Mong. ***gagča**; Turk. ***Kat**; Jpn. ***kàtà**.

PTung. ***gagda** one of a pair (один из пары): Evk. *gagda*; Evn. *gād*; Neg. *gagda*; Man. *Gaqda, Gaqta*; Nan. *GaGda*; Orch. *gagda*; Ud. *gagda*.

◊ TMC 1, 135.

PMong. ***gagča** single, alone (единственный): MMong. *qaxča* (HY 44, SH), *qaqčar* (*instr*., IM), *γaqča* (MA); WMong. *γaγča* (L 343), *γanča*; Kh. *gagcār*, *gagc*, *ganc*; Bur. *gansa*, *gagsa*; Kalm. *γakcə*; Ord. *gagča*, *ganča*; Dag.

ganči (Тод. Даг. 130), *gaškā(r)* (Тод. Даг. 131), *gančare*, *gašikare* (MD 148); Mongr. *xaʒaGār*, *śʒaGār* (*instr*.) (SM 148, 388).

◊ KW 141, MGCD 283. The variant *ɣanča* is not quite clear. Mong. > Ul. *Gaqsị*, Orok *Gaqsa*, Evn. *gasụn* (these forms should be kept distinct from the genuine PTM **gagda).*

PTurk. ***Kat** layer (слой): OTurk. *qat* (OUygh.); Karakh. *qat* (MK, KB); Tur. *kat*; Az. *Gat*; Turkm. *Gat*; MTurk. *qat* (Houts., AH, IM, MA); Uzb. *qɔt*, dial. *qɛt*; Uygh. *qat*; Tat. *qat*; Bashk. *qat*; Kirgh. *qat*; KKalp. *qat*; Kum. *qat*; Khak. *xat*; Oyr. *qat*; Tv. *qa't*; Chuv. *xut*; Yak. *xat* 'double, X times'; Dolg. *kat* 'X times'.

◊ VEWT 241, ЭСТЯ 5, 335-336, TMN 3, 419, Stachowski 140, Ашм. XVI, 250-255, Федотов 2, 371-372. The original meaning must have been "one of two layers" - as witnessed by the Yak. meaning and by external evidence.

PJpn. ***kàtà** one of two sides (одна из двух сторон): OJpn. *kata*; MJpn. *kàtà*.

◊ JLTT 442.

‖ Rozycki 85 (TM-Mong.). Despite Doerfer MT 51, TM cannot be borrowed from Mong. The Mong. form presents some difficulties: apart from the unclear variant **ganča*, the form **gagča* itself can only belong here if it is an irregular development < **gagči* < **gagti*, or if it is a contraction of a derived form **gagta-ča*. Note that Jpn. **kàtà* may also be derived from PA **kal(t)o* q.v.

✱**gǎjá** oar, boat pole: Tung. ***ga(j)-**; Turk. ***K(i)aj-guk**; Jpn. ***kàjí**.

PTung. ***ga(j)- / *gia-** 1 to pole (in a boat) 2 boat pole 3 oar (1 отталкиваться шестом (в лодке) 2 лодочный шест 3 весло): Evk. *ga-* 1, *ga-wun* 2, *gêwun* 3; Neg. *gawụn* 2, *gêwụl* 3; Man. *guwafu* 2; Ul. *Goa-* 1, *Gêụlị* 3; Ork. *Gō-pụ(n)* 2, *Gêwụl* 3; Nan. *Gōa-* 1, *Gịol* 3; Orch. *gau-* 1, *gau* 2, *giu* 3; Ud. *gau*, *gou* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 134, 144. On the PTM level one can reconstruct an opposition of **ga-bu-* 'boat pole' and **gia-bu-* 'oar', which must be earlier morphological or dialectal variants.

PTurk. ***K(i)aj-guk** boat, oar (лодка, весло): Karakh. *qajɣuq*, *qajɣɨq* (MK); Tur. *kajɨk*; Gag. *qajɨq*; Az. *GajɨG*; Turkm. *Gajɨq*; MTurk. *qajɨq* (MA, Pav. C.); Uzb. *qɛjiq*; Uygh. *qejiq*; Tat. *qajɨq*; Bashk. *qajɨq*; Kirgh. *qajɨq*; Kaz. *qajɨq*; KKalp. *qajɨq*; Kum. *qajɨq*; Nogh. *qajɨq*; Oyr. *qajɨq*; Yak. *xajɨk*, dial. *xojūk*.

◊ VEWT 233, ЭСТЯ 5, 212-213, TMN 3, 408-409 (derivation from **Kaj-* 'slide' is probably folk-etymological, cf. the external evidence).

PJpn. ***kàjí** oar (весло): OJpn. *kai*; MJpn. *kai*; Tok. *kái*; Kyo. *kàí*; Kag. *kaí*.

◊ JLTT 433.

‖ Murayama 1962, 107. An interesting common Altaic cultural term.

✱**gǎju** sorrow: Tung. ***gaja-**; Mong. ***gaj**; Turk. ***Kadgu**; Jpn. ***kùjà-**; Kor. ***kəi'əm**.

PTung. ***gaja-** 1 to have insomnia 2 to be possessed, demoniac (1 испытывать бессонницу 2 быть одержимым): Man. *Gajla-* 2; Ul. *Gajaǯu̯-* 1; Ork. *Gajaddi̯-* 1; Nan. *Gajaǯi̯-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 136.

PMong. ***gaj** sorrow, grief, woe (печаль, горе, несчастье): WMong. *γai* (L 344); Kh. *gaj*; Bur. *gaj*; Kalm. *gǟ*; Ord. *gǟ*; Dag. *gai* (Тод. Даг. 130).

◊ KW 149. Mong. > Man. Gaj ´impediment, obstacle' (see Rozycki 85).

PTurk. ***Kadgu** sorrow (печаль): OTurk. *qadγu* (OUygh.); Karakh. *qaδγu* (MK, KB); Tur. *kajγɨ*; Az. *Gajγɨ*; Turkm. *GajGɨ*; MTurk. *qajγɨ* (Qutb., Pav. C); Uzb. *qɛjγɨ* (dial.); Krm. *qajγɨ*; Tat. *qajγɨ*; Bashk. *qajγɨ*; Kirgh. *qajγɨ*; Kaz. *qajγɨ*; KKalp. *qajγɨ*; Kum. *qajγɨ*; Nogh. *qajγɨ*; Chuv. *xojγa*.

◊ VEWT 217, ЭСТЯ 5, 201-203, Федотов 2, 352-353.

PJpn. ***kùjà-** to be sorry (сожалеть, прискорбный, достойный сожаления): OJpn. *kuja-*; MJpn. *kùjà-*; Tok. *kuyashí-*; Kyo. *kúyáshì-*; Kag. *kuyashí-*.

◊ JLTT 834. Also PJ **kùjà-m-* 'to feel sorry, regret'.

PKor. ***kəi'əm** envy, covetousness (зависть): MKor. *kəi'əm*; Mod. *kejəm*.

◊ Liu 52, KED 109.

‖ Мудрак Дисс. 102. Cf. also Kalm. *gejǖn*, WMong. *gejeγün* 'grievous, gloomy' (perhaps < **gaju-gi-* with secondary fronting). Note the peculiar *-d- in PT, reflected as -j- (not -r-) in Chuv.: perhaps we should rather reconstruct **Kaj(i)-dgu* for early PT, with subsequent development either > **Kajgu* or > **Kadgu*.

✱**gajV** surprise: Tung. ***gaji-**; Mong. ***gajika-**; Turk. ***KAj-**.

PTung. ***gaji-** 1 to beckon 2 to show 3 index finger 4 small finger 5 to indulge, be enthralled (1 манить 2 указывать 3 указательный палец 4 мизинец 5 увлекаться): Evk. *gajīw-* 1; Man. *Gajsilabu-* 5; Ul. *Gajawču̯(n)* 3, *Gojsantu̯-* 5; Ork. *Gajaw* 4; Nan. *Gajaoči̯-* 2, *Gajaqoã* 4, *Gojsanto-* 5.

◊ TMC 1, 136, 158. On the semantic correlation "index finger" : "small finger" see Dybo 1995.

PMong. ***gajika-** to wonder, marvel (удивляться): MMong. *γiqa-*; *γai̯γamši* 'wonderful' (MA 173); WMong. *γajiqa-* (L 345); Kh. *gajxa-*; Bur. *gajxa-*; Kalm. *γǟxə-*; Ord. *Gǟχa-*; Dag. *gajga-* (Тод. Даг. 130), *gajhe-* (MD 147).

◊ KW 149, MGCD 279. Mong. > Kaz. *qajqa-* etc. (VEWT 222), Yak. *xajγā-*, Dolg. *kājgā-* 'to praise' (Stachowski 142); > Evk. *gajka-*, Man. Gajqa- etc., see TMC 1, 136, Doerfer MT 102, Rozycki 85.

PTurk. ***KAj-** to pay respect (относиться уважительно): OTurk. *qaj-* (Yenis., OUygh.); Karakh. *qaj-* (MK); Tur. *kajɨr-*; Kirgh. *qajɨš-*; Kaz. *qajɨs-*; Khak. *xaj-*; Tv. *xaj dēr* 'to still, pacify'.

◊ EDT 674, ЭСТЯ 5, 194.

‖ A Western isogloss; maybe the same root as **gǎ̆ju* ('sorrow' > 'surprise'?)

✱**gǎ́li** to hate, wild: Tung. ***galu-**; Mong. ***galʒaɣu**; Turk. ***K(i)al**; Jpn. ***kíráp-**.

PTung. ***galu-** to hate (ненавидеть): Evn. *galụt-*; Ul. *Galụ-*; Ork. *Galụ-*; Nan. *Galo-*; Orch. *galu-*; Ud. *galu-*.

◊ TMC 1, 138.

PMong. ***galʒaɣu** wild, rabid (дикий, бешеный): MMong. *qəlʒu* (LH); WMong. *γalʒaγu, γalʒiγu* (L 346); Kh. *galʒū*; Bur. *galzū*; Kalm. *γalzū*; Ord. *Galʒū*; Dag. *galʒō* (Тод. Даг. 130), *galeʒō* (MD 148); Bao. *Ganʒir-*; S.-Yugh. *Galʒū*; Mongr. *Garʒụ̄* (SM 119), *Galʒū*.

◊ TMN 1, 410, KW 142, MGCD 280.

PTurk. ***K(i)al** wild, rough (дикий, грубый): OTurk. *qal* (OUygh.); Karakh. *qal* (KB); Turkm. *Galdav*; MTurk. *qal* (CCum.); KBalk. *qaltaq*; Khak. *xal*; Shr. *qal*; Oyr. *qal*; Tv. *xal-mal*; Yak. *xal*.

◊ EDT 614, VEWT 224, ДТС 410.

PJpn. ***kíráp-** to hate (ненавидеть): OJpn. *kjirap-*; MJpn. *kíráf-*; Tok. *kìra-*; Kyo. *kírá-*; Kag. *kirá-*.

◊ JLTT 708.

‖ Mong. *gelme-* 'to be scared, afraid' is probably a variant reflex of the same root - despite KW 133, Poppe 25, АПиПЯЯ 18, Дыбо 14, all connecting it with TM **ŋēle-*.

✱**gǎlV** clear (of sky, weather): Tung. ***galu-**; Turk. ***K(i)alɨ-**.

PTung. ***galu-** clear (of sky, weather) (ясный (о небе, погоде)): Man. *GalGa*; Ul. *Galụ-Galụ bi*; Ork. *Gāl-*; Nan. *GalGa*.

◊ TMC 1, 138.

PTurk. ***K(i)alɨ-** 1 sky 2 to clear up (of sky) (1 небо 2 проясняться (о небе)): OTurk. *qalɨq* (OUygh.) 1; Karakh. (*kök*) *qalɨq* 1 (MK); Chuv. ? *jъl-* 'to shine, glitter'; Yak. *kilej-xalaj* 'shining', *xalɨn-* 2, *xallān* 'clear sky, good weather'; Dolg. *kallān* 1.

◊ VEWT 226, Лексика 60-61, Stachowski 135.

‖ VEWT 226, TMC 1, 138. A Turk.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**gaĺi** to contest: Tung. ***gali-**; Jpn. ***kisuap- (~ *kisəp-)**; Kor. ***kjəru-**.

PTung. ***gali-** to contest (состязаться): Man. *Galgi-*; Nan. *Galị-*; Orch. *gali-*; Ud. *galoa-*.

◊ TMC 1, 138.

PJpn. ***kisuap- (~ *kisəp-)** to contest (соревноваться): MJpn. *kisof-*; Tok. *kisó-*; Kyo. *kísó-*; Kag. *kisó-*.

◊ JLTT 709. PJ accent unclear: Tokyo points to low tone in the first syllable, Kagoshima - to high; the Kyoto accent is ambiguous, while the word is not attested in RJ.

PKor. ***kjəru-** to compete, contend (состязаться, соревноваться): Mod. *kjəru-*.

◊ KED 111.

‖ An Eastern isogloss.

✱**gămo** concubine, co-wife: Tung. ***gama**; Turk. ***Koma**; Kor. ***kòmá**.

PTung. ***gama** children of sisters (дети сестер, племянники): Ul. *Gamasụ*; Ork. *Gamasụ*; Nan. *Gamasõ*; Orch. *gama*, *gamasu*.

◊ TMC 1, 138.

PTurk. ***Koma** 1 concubine 2 wives of the same husband (1 наложница 2 жены одного мужа по отношению друг к другу): Tur. *kuma* 1, 2; MTurk. *quma* (Pav. C.) 1; Krm. *quma* 1; Tat. *quma* (Буд.) 1.

◊ Turk. > MMong. (MA, LHa) *quma* id. (although Doerfer TMN 1, 415 suggests the opposite direction of loan - which is dubious because of the isolated nature of the MMong. form).

PKor. ***kòmá** concubine (наложница): MKor. *kòmá*.

◊ Nam 46.

‖ Ramstedt (SKE 415) thinks of a loan Kor. > Turk., which is highly improbable (see TMN 1, 415); despite late attestation in Turkic the root may well be archaic. For TM one should suppose the original meaning "children of smb.'s concubine(s)".

✱**gănji (~ -i̯a-)** to explain, tell, say: Tung. ***g(i)aŋna-**; Mong. ***geɣe-**; Turk. ***geŋe-**.

PTung. ***g(i)aŋna-** 1 to explain 2 to set (a riddle) (1 объяснять 2 загадывать (загадку)): Man. *ǵaŋna-* 1; Ul. *GaŋGa-* 2; Ork. *GaŋGaŋ Gajawo-* 2; Orch. *gaŋga-* 2; Ud. *gaŋiŋa* 'riddle' (Корм. 220).

◊ TMC 1, 140 (the Manchu word is separated as a Chinese loanword, which is hardly the case).

PMong. ***geɣe-** to speak, say (говорить, сказать): MMong. *ke'e-* (SH, HYt), *kē-* (HYt), *gi-* (MA); WMong. *ge-* (L 372); Kh. *ge-*; Bur. *ge-*; Kalm. *ge-*, *gē-*, *gī-*; Ord. *ge-*; Mog. *ge-* (Ramstedt 1906); Dag. *geǯi* (MD 149-150) (quotation particle - converb from **ge-*); Bao. *ge-*; Mongr. *gi-* (SM 135).

◊ KW 132.

PTurk. ***geŋe-** 1 to advise 2 advice (1 советовать(ся) 2 совет): OTurk. *keŋeš* 2, *keŋeš-* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *keŋe-* 'to settle one's affairs with someone' (MK, KB), *keneš* 2, *keŋeš-* 1 (MK, KB); Tur. *gengeš-* 1 (dial.); Az. *gänäš-* 1 (dial.); Turkm. *geŋeš-* 1, *geŋeš* 2; MTurk. *keŋeš* 2, *keŋeš-* 1 (Abush., Sangl.); Uygh. *käŋäš-* 1 (dial.); Krm. *kenes*, *keneš* 2, *keneš-* 1; Tat. *kiŋäš* 2; Bashk. *käŋäš* 2; Kirgh. *keŋeš* 2, *keŋeš-* 1; Kaz. *keŋes* 2, *keŋes-* 1; KBalk. *kengeš* 'counsel'; KKalp. *keŋes* 2, *keŋes-* 1; Kum. *gengeš*

'counsel'; Nogh. *keŋes* 2; SUygh. *keŋes-* 1, *keŋis* 2; Oyr. *keŋeš-* 1 (Верб.); Chuv. *kanaš* 2, *kanaš-la-* 1.

◊ VEWT 253, EDT 727, 734, ЭСТЯ 3, 21-22, TMN 3, 613-614.

‖ Владимирцов 250, АПиПЯЯ 295, KW 132 (Turk.-Mong.). A Western isogloss.

✱**gàpʿá** protection, care: Mong. ***gabi-**; Jpn. ***kàmpà-**.

PMong. ***gabi-** 1 care, diligence, attention, merit 2 to care, strive 3 skilled, careful (1 забота, прилежание, внимание, заслуга 2 заботиться, стараться 3 умелый, заботливый): WMong. *γabija* 1, *γabija-* 2, *γabšiγai* 3 (L 340); Kh. *gavjān* 1, *gavšgaj* 3; Bur. *gabjā* 1, *gabšgaj* 3; Kalm. *gäwā̄* 'energy, efficiency'; Ord. *Gawijā* 1; Dag. *gabšigēn* 3; S.-Yugh. *gobtə* 1.

◊ KW 148, MGCD 275. See ЭСТЯ 5, 270-271 with an analysis of Mong. forms and Turkic loanwords. Mong. > Man. *gabsixan* (see Rozycki 84).

PJpn. ***kàmpà-** 1 to take care of, protect 2 one of ancient titles (1 заботиться, защищать 2 один из древних титулов): OJpn. *kabane* 2; MJpn. *kabane* 2; Tok. *kabane* 2, *kabá-* 1; Kyo. *kábá-* 1; Kag. *kàbà-* 1.

◊ JLTT 700.

‖ A Mong.-Jpn. isogloss. It is interesting to note the Old Turkic title *qapaγan* which may be = OJ *kabane* and Mong. *gabija(n)*.

✱**gàrá (~ -e-)** arm: Mong. ***gar**; Turk. ***Karɨ**; Jpn. ***kàtá**.

PMong. ***gar** hand, arm (рука): MMong. *qar* (HY 46, SH), *qār* (IM), *γar* (MA); WMong. *γar* (L 350); Kh. *gar*; Bur. *gar*; Kalm. *γar*; Ord. *Gar*; Mog. *γar*; ZM *γar* (2-9a); Dag. *gari*, *gaŕ* (Тод. Даг. 130, MD 148); Dong. qa; Bao. *xar*; S.-Yugh. *Gar*; Mongr. *Gar* (SM 118).

◊ KW 144-145, MGCD 284.

PTurk. ***Kar** 1 arm 2 forearm 3 shin-bone of animal 4 various measures of length (1 рука (верхняя часть) 2 предплечье 3 голенная кость животного 4 различные меры длины): OTurk. *qar* 1, *qarɨ* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *qarɨ* (MK) 1; Tur. *karu-ʒa* 1; Az. *gari* 3 (dial.); Turkm. *Garɨ* 3,4; Khal. *qarɨ* 4; MTurk. *qar* 1 (Vam.), *qarɨ* 1 (Abush.), 2 (Houts.), 4 (in all sources); Uzb. *qari* 1,4, *qara* 3 (dial.); Uygh. *qeri* 4, *qaja* 3 (dial.); Tat. *qarɨ* 1, *qara* 4 (dial.); Bashk. *qar* 3; Kirgh. *qar* 1, *qarɨ* 1; Kaz. *qar* 2, *qarɨ* 2, 3; KBalk. *qarɨ* 4; KKalp. *qar* 2, *qarɨ* 2, 4; Nogh. *qarɨ* 4; SUygh. *qar* 2; Shr. *qarɨ* 1; Oyr. *qarɨ* 1; Tv. *qɨrɨ* 2; Tof. *qɨrɨ* 2; Chuv. *xor* 2, 4; Yak. *xarɨ*, *xara* 2, 3.

◊ TMN 3, 461-2, ЭСТЯ 5, 278-283, Дыбо 160-164, Дыбо 1989, Лексика 246-247, Федотов 2, 361. The usage of **Karɨ* as a measure ('cubit') may seem natural, but in fact reflects a merger with a different root, see under **K(i)arɨĺ*. Turk. > Hung. *kar* 'arm', see Ligeti 1933, MNyTESz 2, 369.

PJpn. ***kàtá** shoulder (плечо): OJpn. *kata*; MJpn. *kàtá*; Tok. *káta*; Kyo. *kàtá*; Kag. *katá*.

◊ JLTT 442.

‖ KW 145, Владимирцов 391, Poppe 24 (Turk.-Mong.; but TM *ŋāla 'hand, arm' cannot belong here), Колесникова 1972a, 95-97; АПиПЯЯ 290, Дыбо 310-311, Лексика 247. Borrowing in Mong. < Turk. is quite improbable, despite Щербак 1997, 134 (even Doerfer in TMN 1, 207, 3, 461 describes the Turk.-Mong. match as "Zufall" - which in all his works is actually a synonym for "cognate").

✸**gari (~ -ŕ-, -o)** light: Tung. ***garpa**; Mong. ***gere-l**.

PTung. ***garpa** 1 ray 2 to shine (1 луч 2 светить): Evk. *garpa* 1, *garpa-* 2; Evn. *garpanŋъ̣* 1, *garpụ-* 2; Neg. *gatpa* 1, *gatpa-* 2; Ul. *Garpačị-* 2; Ork. *Galpa* 1, *Galpa-*, *Garpa-* 2; Nan. *Garpa-* 2; Orch. *gappa-* 2; Ud. *gakpa-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 142. The root also has the meaning 'shoot (from a bow)' in most languages. This was compared by Poppe (18, 44, 87) with Mong. *qarbu-* id. - but the phonological correspondence is quite irregular, both if we assume genetic relationship or borrowing (on Mong. *qarbu-* see under PA **kare*). The resemblance is therefore either simply accidental, or the meaning of TM **garpa-* 'to shine, "shoot rays"' was modified under Mongolian influence.

PMong. ***gere-l** beam, light (луч, свет): MMong. *gere*, *gerel* (HY 42, SH), *gerä* (IM); WMong. *gerel* (L 378); Kh. *gerel*; Bur. *gerel*; Kalm. *gerḷ*; Ord. *gere*, *gerel*; Dag. *gerel*; Dong. *gieren*; S.-Yugh. *gerel*; Mongr. *gərēl*, *gərē* (SM 134), *gergeʒa-* 'luire, briller' (SM 133).

◊ KW 134, MGCD 290, 292.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss; on a possible Jpn. match see under **gìle*. See also notes to **ŋȅra*.

✸**gǎ̀ŕ[à]** sharp edge: Tung. ***gara**; Turk. ***geŕ**; Jpn. ***kàtànà**; Kor. ***kárh**.

PTung. ***gara** bough, stick (сук, палка): Evk. *gara*; Evn. *gar*; Neg. *gaja*; Man. *GarGa; Garin* 'blade of a knife, edge of a sword'; SMan. *Garəhən* 'branch' (2134); Jurch. *gar* (758); Ul. *Gara*; Ork. *Gara*; Nan. *Gara*; Orch. *gā*; Ud. *gā*; Sol. *gar*, *gara*.

◊ TMC 1, 141, 142.

PTurk. ***geŕ** 1 notch of an arrow 2 aim (of a gun) (1 насечка на стреле 2 прицел (ружья)): Karakh. *kez* (MK) 1; Tur. *gez* 2; Gag. *kēz* 2; Az. *gäz* 1; Turkm. *gezlik* 'small knife'; MTurk. *kez* 'arrow shaft' (Abush., Pav. C.); Bashk. *kiδe* (dial.) 1; Kaz. *kez* 1; Tv. *kes* 1; Tof. *kes* 1.

◊ EDT 756, 760, VEWT 260, ЭСТЯ 5, 20-21, TMN 4, 2-4.

PJpn. ***kàtànà** knife (нож): OJpn. *katana*; MJpn. *kàtànà*; Tok. *kataná*, *katána*; Kyo. *kátànà*; Kag. *kataná*.

◊ JLTT 443.

PKor. ***kárh** knife, sword (нож, меч): MKor. *kár* (*kárh-*); Mod. *khal*.

◊ Nam 19, KED 1669.

‖ Martin 251 (Kor.-Jpn.), Lee 1958, 111 (Kor.-TM). Fronting in Turk. is unclear (**Kaŕ* would be normally expected). The Kor. word may also

reflect *kale q.v. (Joki 1963, 154); in any case, it actually reflects a suffixed form *gàŕ[a]-KV (cf. Man. GarGa) or *kale-kV.

✱**gȁŕV** wild goose: Tung. ***gār(u)a**; Turk. ***Kāŕ**.

PTung. ***gār(u)a** 1 owl 2 swan (1 сова 2 лебедь): Evk. *gāre* 1,2; Evn. *gār* 'a big mythical bird'; Neg. *gaja* 1; Man. *Garu* 2; Jurch. *gawr-un* (185) 2; Ul. *Goara(n)* 1; Orch. *garua* 1; Ud. *gā* 1.

◊ TMC 1,142-3.

PTurk. ***Kāŕ** goose (гусь): OTurk. *qaz* (OUygh.); Karakh. *qaz* (MK, KB); Tur. *kaz*; Gag. *qāz*; Az. *Gaz*; Turkm. *Gāz*; MTurk. *qaz* (Houts., AH, Pav. C.); Uygh. *ɣaz*; Tat. *qaz*; Bashk. *qaδ*; Kirgh. *qaz*; Kaz. *qaz*; KKalp. *ɣaz*; Kum. *qaz*; Nogh. *qaz*; Khak. *xas*; Shr. *qas*; Oyr. *qas*; Tv. *qas*; Chuv. *xor*; Yak. *xās*; Dolg. *kās*.

◊ EDT 679, VEWT 243, ЭСТЯ 5, 184, Лексика 171, Федотов 2, 361, Stachowski 143.

‖ EAS 113, Poppe 18, Цинциус 1972, 6, АПиПЯЯ 80, Лексика 171, TMN 3, 387 ("onomatopoetisch"). The Turk. form is probably contaminated with *Kās == TM *gasa 'crane, duck', which should explain the exceptional preservation of vowel length. See also comments to *ki̯ujilV and *gi̯ȁla.

✱**gaso (~ -i)** crane, aquatic bird: Tung. ***gasa**; Mong. ***geske**.

PTung. ***gasa** 1 crane 2 bird 3 swan 4 duck, water-bird 5 kite (1 журавль 2 птица 3 лебедь 4 утка, водоплавающая птица 5 коршун): Evk. *gasa* 1; Neg. *gasa* 3; Man. *Gasχa* 2; SMan. *Gasəhə* 2 (2172); Ul. *Gasa* 4; Ork. *Gasa* 4, 2, *Gasawaqqu* 5; Nan. *Gasa* 4; Orch. *gasa* 4; Ud. *gahä* 2, 4.

◊ TMC 1,143.

PMong. ***geske** fish-eagle (орел-рыболов): WMong. *geske*; Kalm. *geskə*.

◊ KW 135.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss. On a possible reflex in PT see under *gājrV; if PT *Kāŕ at least partially reflects the present root, it would be an argument to reconstruct PA *gāso with a long *ā. One should also note Kor. dial. *kesani* 'goose' (KED 109) - if it is not a derivative of PK *kàjú 'goose' (see under *kúja).

✱**găte** strong, very: Tung. ***gata- / *kada-**; Mong. ***küdür**; Turk. ***ged**; Jpn. ***kətə**.

PTung. ***gata- / *kada-** 1 strong, hard 2 daft, crafty 3 big, huge (1 сильный, крепкий 2 ловкий, умелый 3 большой, огромный): Evk. *gatakta* 2; Ork. *qadara* 3; Nan. *Gatoxõ* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 143, 360.

PMong. ***küdür** strong, hard (крепкий, сильный): WMong. *küdür* (L 497: *küder*); Kh. *xüder*; Bur. *xüder*; Kalm. *küdr*.

◊ KW 244.

PTurk. ***ged** very, extremely (очень, весьма): OTurk. *ked* (OUygh.); Karakh. *keδ* (MK, KB); Tur. *kej* (Osm.); Az. *gej*.

◊ EDT 700 (with a quite dubious hypothesis of borrowing < Sogd.).

PJpn. ***kətə** each, every (каждый, всякий): OJpn. *-goto* (ni); MJpn. *-goto* (ni); Tok. *-goto*.

‖ The root reveals some phonetic irregularities - probably because of contaminations with **kétʹo* 'much, many' and **kadi(rV)* 'strong, tough' q.v.

✱**gàtù** fur on animal's paws: Tung. ***gata-**; Mong. ***godu / *gudu-, *gutu-**; Jpn. ***kùtù**.

PTung. ***gata-** 1 hoof (of deer) 2 fur (1 копыто (оленя) 2 мех): Man. *Gatχuwa* 2; Ork. *Gataja* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 143, 144.

PMong. ***godu / *gudu-, *gutu-** 1 fur on animal's paws 2 shoe (1 мех на лапах животных 2 обувь, ботинок): MMong. *qudusun* (HY 22, SH) 2, *q[o]ṭāsun* (IM), *γutusun* (MA); WMong. *γodu* 1, *γutul* 2 (L 370) *γudasun*, *γudal*, *γutal* 2 (KW 152); Kh. *god(on)* 1, *gutas*, *gutal* 2; Bur. *godon* (pl. *godod*) 1, *gutal*, *gutaha(n)* 2; Kalm. *γosṇ* 2; Ord. *Gutul* 2; Dag. *gočōr* 2; Dong. *Gudusun* 2; Mongr. *Gudusə* (SM 124).

◊ The forms meaning 'fur on animal's paw' and 'shoe' are hard to distinguish (cf. voiced -d- in MMong. forms for 'shoe'), but the reason of devoicing is not quite clear.

PJpn. ***kùtù** shoe (обувь, ботинок): OJpn. *kutu*; MJpn. *kùtù*, *kùtú*; Tok. *kutsú*; Kyo. *kútsù*; Kag. *kutsú*.

◊ JLTT 467. Jpn. > Kor. *kudu* id.

‖ KW 152, SKE 128, Poppe 24, Ozawa 89-90, Miller 1986a, 55. The development 'fur on paws' > 'shoe' in Mong. and Jpn. may well have been independent, but one has also to reckon with a possibility of ancient borrowings (especially because of some phonetic irregularities in Mong.).

✱**gǎtʹa (~ -t-)** berry, to gather berries: Tung. ***gata-**; Turk. ***Kat-**; Jpn. ***kàtai**; Kor. ***kət-**.

PTung. ***gata-** 1 to gather berries 2 place of gathering berries (1 собирать ягоды 2 место сбора ягод): Ul. *Gātaw* 2; Ork. *Gata-* 1; Nan. *Gatao* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 143.

PTurk. ***Kat** 1 berry 2 blackberry (1 ягода 2 смородина): Karakh. *qat* (MK) 1; Tur. *kara-kat* 'chestnut' (dial.); Az. *Gara-γat* 2; Uzb. *qɔrɛ-γɛt* 2; Tat. *qara-γat* 2 (dial.); Bashk. *qara-γat* 2; Kirgh. *qara-γat* 1, 2; Kaz. *qat* 1; Khak. *xat* 1; Oyr. *qat* 'blackberry, bramble'; Tv. *qa't*, Todzh. *xat* 1.

◊ VEWT 241, ЭСТЯ 5, 332-333, Лексика 121.

PJpn. ***kàtai** provisions, food for travelling (провизия, запас пищи): OJpn. *kate*; MJpn. *kate*; Tok. *káte*, *katé*; Kyo. *kátè*; Kag. *katé*.

◊ JLTT 444. Without the RJ evidence it is somewhat difficult to reconstruct accent on the 2d syllable; however, all accent reflexes seem to point to low tone in the 1st syllable.

PKor. ***kàt-** 1 to gather 2 to gather harvest (1 собирать 2 собирать урожай): MKor. *kàt-* 1, *kàtú-* 2; Mod. *kət-* 1, *kədu-* 2.

◊ Liu 39, 47, KED 81, 95.

‖ Дыбо 10. Verbal low tone in Kor.

✱**gā́tʹì** to go, come: Mong. ***getül- / *gatul-**; Turk. ***gē(j)t-**; Jpn. ***kítá-r-**.

PMong. ***getül- / *gatul-** to cross over (переходить, пересекать): WMong. *getül-* (L 380), *γatul-* (L 354); Kh. *getle-*, *gatla-*; Bur. *getel-*, *gatal-*; Kalm. *getḷ-*, *γatḷ-*; Ord. *getül-*; Dag. *hedele-* (MD 158), *xedelgē-*, *xedlē-*.

◊ KW 135, 147, MGCD 288, 294.

PTurk. ***gē(j)t-** to go (away) (уходить): OTurk. *ket-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *ket/δ-* (MK, KB); Tur. *git-*; Gag. *get-*; Az. *get-*; Turkm. *git-*; Sal. *Gī/i-* (Kakuk); MTurk. *kẹt-* (Abush., Sangl., MA); Uzb. *ket-*; Uygh. *kät-*; Krm. *ket-*; Tat. *kit-*; Bashk. *kit-*; Kirgh. *ket-*; Kaz. *ket-*; KBalk. *ket-*; KKalp. *ket-*; Kum. *get-*; Nogh. *ket-*; Oyr. *ket-* (dial.); Chuv. *kajt-*.

◊ VEWT 258, EDT 701, ЭСТЯ 3, 39-40, 49-50. Vowel length can be reconstructed on indirect evidence (voicing -t- > -d- in forms like Az. *gediš* 'going away' etc.).

PJpn. ***kítá-r-** to come, arrive (приходить): OJpn. *kjitar-*; MJpn. *kítár-*; Tok. *kitár-*; Kyo. *kítàr-*; Kag. *kìtàr-*.

◊ JLTT 709. Usually treated as a fusion of **ki-* 'having come' + **itar-* 'arrive', which is most probably a folk etymology in the light of external evidence. Accent reflexes in modern dialects are somewhat aberrant.

‖ Because of the peculiar shape of the Turkic form one should perhaps reconstruct **gā́jtʹi*.

✱**gébó** shell, husk: Tung. ***gub- (~ *geb-)**; Mong. ***gawr-su**; Turk. ***Kạb-**; Jpn. ***kámpí**; Kor. ***kòbɨi**.

PTung. ***gub- (~ *geb-)** bud, flower button (бутон, головка цветка): Man. *gubsu*.

◊ TMC 1, 165. Cf. also Man. *Gubiri* 'name of a plant' (ibid.), *geferi* 'name of a plant' (TMC 1, 183).

PMong. ***gawr-su** 1 chaff, straw 2 feather (usually for writing) (1 солома, мякина 2 перо (обычно для письма)): WMong. *γaγursu* (L 344), *γuγursu* (L 365), *γuursu* (L 371), *γaursu* 1, 2; Kh. *gūrs(an)* 1, 2; Bur. *gūrha(n)* 2; Kalm. *γūrsṇ* 1, 2; Ord. *Gūrsu* 1; S.-Yugh. *gūrs* 'pipe' (MGCD 302); Mongr. *xū̱rʒə* (SM 185).

◊ KW 157. Mong. > Turk. *qavursun*, Kirgh. *qaursu* etc. (ЭСТЯ 5, 177).

PTurk. ***Kạb-** 1 bark 2 shell 3 husk 4 bran (1 кора 2 скорлупа 3 шелуха 4 отруби, мякина): OTurk. *qavɨq* 4 (OUygh.); Karakh. *qavɨq*, *qavuq* (MK, KB) 4; Tur. *kavuz* 3, *kavza* 2; Az. *Gavɨz* (dial.) 3; Uzb. *qɛvuz* 3; Uygh. *qovzaq* 1; Kaz. *qavɨz* 4; KKalp. *qavɨz* 4; Kum. *quvɨq* 3; Nogh. *qavɨz* 4; Khak. *xōx* 4; Shr. *qōq* 3, 4; Tv. *xō-tarā* 'a k. of millet with sagging panicles'; Chuv. *xɨvъx* 4.

◊ VEWT 217, EDT 583, ЭСТЯ 5, 173-174, 178-179, Мудрак Дисс. 62. The root should be distinguished from *K(i)ab- 'peeled skin, peel' (v. sub *k'i̯ȁbu).

PJpn. ***kámpí** rice ear (рисовый колос): OJpn. *kabji*; MJpn. *kábjí*.

◊ JLTT 431.

PKor. ***kòbɨi** 1 bamboo bark 2 patella (1 бамбуковая кора 2 коленная чашечка): MKor. *tái-s-kò'ɨi* 1, *kòs-kò'ɨi* 2.

◊ Liu 73, 207.

‖ Владимирцов 209, Poppe 48, АПиПЯЯ 14, 280. One of several similar PA roots (see *k'ā́p'a, *k'epa, kèp'i, k'i̯ȁbu).

✱**gĕbo** light, empty: Tung. ***gebu-**; Mong. ***güji-**; Turk. ***geb-**.

PTung. ***gebu-** 1 empty 2 thin, lean (1 пустой 2 тонкий, худой): Man. *gebsexun* 2; Ul. *geu(n)* 1; Ork. *gewu(n)* 1; Nan. *geũ* 1; Orch. *gewu(n)*; Ud. *geu*.

◊ TMC 1, 176.

PMong. ***güji-** 1 shallow 2 light (1 мелкий 2 легкий): MMong. *gojen* (HY 52) 1; WMong. *güjüken*, *güiken* (L 390), *güjin* 1; Kh. *güjüxen*, *göjön* 1; Bur. *güjxen* 1; Kalm. *gīgn*, *gīkn*, *gīn* 1,2; Ord. *gīn*, *gū̄n*; Dag. *guān* (MD 152) 1.

◊ KW 137.

PTurk. ***geb-** 1 soft, mild, gentle 2 to become weak 3 empty (1 мягкий, нежный 2 слабеть 3 пустой): OTurk. *kevšek* (OUygh.) 1, *kevil-* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *kevšek* (MK) 1, *kevil-* 2 (MK); Tur. *gevšek* 1; Gag. *kevše-* 2; Az. *kövšek* 1; Turkm. *gövšül* 'dilapidated'; MTurk. *kewšek* 1 (Pav. C.), (MKypch.) *kewil-* 2 (AH); Kirgh. *köpšö-* 2; Khak. *köpsek* 1; Tv. *kögžür-gej* 'рыхлый, хрупкий (снег, лед)'; Chuv. *kъʷbъʷš* 1, *kavža-* 2; Yak. *köp* 1.

◊ VEWT 244, 291, EDT 689, 691, ЭСТЯ 3, 9-10 (the root tends to contaminate either with *geb- 'chew' or with *köp 'foam').

‖ A Western isogloss. Cf. *kup'e, *gupu.

✱**gḗdì** back (of head), behind: Tung. ***gedi-muk**; Mong. ***gede**; Turk. ***ged**; Jpn. ***kítà**.

PTung. ***gedi-muk** back of the head (затылок): Evk. *gedimuk*; Evn. *gedъmъk*; Neg. *gedemuk*.

◊ TMC 1, 177.

PMong. ***gede / *geǯige** 1 back of the head 2 plait 3 leaning or bending backwards 4 to bend backwards (1 затылок 2 коса 3 отклоняющийся назад 4 отгибаться назад): MMong. *gedergu* 'lying on the back', *geǯige* 'back troups, reserve' (SH), *giǯigä* 'plait, scruff' (MA); WMong. *gede* 1 (L 372), *gedereg* 'on back', *geǯige* 1,2 (L 381); Kh. *ged* 1, *ged-reg* 'back (adv.)', *geʒeg* 1,2, *gedger* 3, *gedij-* 4; Bur. *gedɨ-* 'to hog', *gezege* 2; Kalm. *gedṛgə* 'back (adv)', *giǯəgə* 1, 2; Ord. *gedergēn* 'backwards', *geǯige* 1,2; Mog. KT *gäǯigä* 'nape of the neck, occiput' (6-1a).; Dag. *gedī-* (Тод. Даг. 131) 4, *geǯige* (MD 150) 2, *gəǯig* 2; Dong. *GəǯəGi* 2; Bao. *gətəgulə-* 4;

S.-Yugh. *gedeger* 3, *gedī-* 4; Mongr. *gədē-* 'tenir la tête haute, se pencher en arrière' (SM 131), *gədēngī* 3, *gədē-* 4, *gidergu* 'backwards' (SM 136).

◊ KW 131, 135, MGCD 290. Mong. > Kirgh. *kežige* etc. (ЭСТЯ 6, 17-18), Evk. *gedikēn* 'plait' etc. (TMC 1, 177), see TMN 1, 492, Doerfer MT 47, Poppe 1966, 192, 1974, 120 (but **gedi-muk* cannot be < Mong.).

PTurk. ***ged** back, after (сзади, позади): OTurk. *kedin* (OUygh.); Karakh. *keδin* (MK, KB); MTurk. *kijin* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *kejin*; Uygh. *kejin*, *käjin*; Kirgh. *kijin*; Kaz. *kejin*; KKalp. *kejin*; Khak. *kizĭn*; Shr. *käzin*; Oyr. *kijin*; Chuv. *kaj*; Yak. *ke-lin*; *ketex* 'back of head'; Dolg. *ke-lin*; *ketek* 'back of head'.

◊ EDT 704, VEWT 246-247, ЭСТЯ 5, 23-24, Stachowski 144, 146. Forms like Yak. *ketex* 'back of head' clearly show that the root was **ged-*; the monosyllabic **ge-* (observable in Yak. *ke-lin* and perhaps Chuv. *kaj*) is most probably a result of secondary reinterpretation of the stems **gedin* and **gerü* (the latter < PA **kèro* q.v.). It is exactly this reinterpretation that allows to reconstruct *g- in PT **ged-* (the root is not attested in Oghuz languages).

PJpn. ***kítà** North (север): OJpn. *k(j)ita*; MJpn. *kítà*; Tok. *kitá*; Kyo. *kítà*; Kag. *kíta*.

◊ JLTT 452.

‖ EAS 48, Владимирцов 206, Poppe 24, 53, Колесникова 1972a, 101-103, ОСНЯ 1, 228, АПиПЯЯ 71; Дыбо 4. Despite Doerfer's criticism (TMN 1, 492) the root still holds.

✱**gḗgà (~ -o)** to be angry: Tung. ***geg-**; Mong. ***gaɣa-**; Turk. ***KAkɨ-**; Jpn. ***kákúat-**.

PTung. ***geg-** to be angry (сердиться): Evk. *gegin-*; Evn. *gegin-*; Neg. *gewxe-*; Ul. *gewxe-de-*; Nan. *geuxe-de-*; Orch. *geuxende-*; Ud. *ge-*.

◊ TMC 1, 177.

PMong. ***gaɣa-** to rave (бушевать): WMong. *γaγa-ra-* (БАМРС); Kh. *gā-ra-*; Bur. *gā-ra-*.

PTurk. ***KAkɨ-** to be angry (сердиться): OTurk. *qaqɨ-* (OUygh.), *qaqɨ-γ* 'anger'; Karakh. *qaqɨ-*, *qaqu-* (MK); Tur. *kakɨ-*; Turkm. *qaqɨ-*; MTurk. *qaqɨ-* (AH, Qutb., Pav. C.); Krm. *qaqɨ-*; Kirgh. *qaq-*.

◊ VEWT 223, ЭСТЯ 5, 223-224. Turk. > WMong. *qaki-*, Kalm. *χäkə-* (KW 176).

PJpn. ***kákúat-** to complain (жаловаться): MJpn. *kákót-*; Tok. *kakót-*; Kyo. *kákót-*; Kag. *kakót-*.

◊ JLTT 702. The Tokyo accent is irregular.

‖ The PT form has an irregular *-k-, most probably under the influence of the synonymous PA root **kakʿi* (> PT **Kek-*).

✱**gékʿá** hook, bend: Tung. ***gek(u)-**; Mong. ***gek-**; Turk. ***Kek- / *Kak-**; Jpn. ***kánkám-**.

PTung. ***gek(u)-** to bow, bend (гнуть, наклонять): Neg. *gexete-*; Man. *gexu-*; Ul. *gekel-gekel*; Ork. *gekkil-gekkil*; Nan. *gekel*.

◊ TMC 1, 178.

PMong. ***gek-** 1 to bow, nod 2 fish-hook, angle (1 склоняться, кивать 2 крючок для удочки, удочка): WMong. *geki-*, *gekü-* (L 375) 1, *gökü*j, *gögi* (L 386) 2; Kh. *gexes xij-* 1, *göxij* 2; Bur. *gaxī-* 1, *güxɨ* 2; Kalm. *gekə-* 1; Dag. *gekēlǯi-* 1 (Тод. Даг. 131).

◊ KW 132.

PTurk. ***Kek- / *Kak-** 1 curved 2 stick with a hook 3 latch 4 to bend 5 to bend one's neck (1 кривой 2 палка с крюком 3 щеколда 4 гнуться 5 выгибать шею): Tur. *keke*, dial. *gege* 2; Uzb. *kekkaj-*, *qaqqaj-* 5; Tat. *kɛkre*, *kɛjre* 1, 2, *kɛkrɛj-* 4, (Sib.) *kɛgɛ* 3; Bashk. *käkere* 1, *käkeräj-* 4, *käkä-ŋ-lä-* 'извиваться о змее', *qaqaj-* 5; Kirgh. *qaqaj-*, *kekej-* 4, 5; Kaz. *qaqaj-*, *kekirej-* 5; KKalp. *qaqaj-*, *kejkej-* 5; Oyr. *kekej-* 5; Chuv. *kagъr* 2, 3, *kagъr-t-* 5; Yak. *keɣij-*, *kekej-* 5.

◊ VEWT 248.

PJpn. ***kánkám-** to bend (гнуться): OJpn. *kagam-*; MJpn. *kágám-*; Tok. *kàgam-*; Kyo. *kágám-*; Kag. *kagám-*.

◊ JLTT 701.

‖ Cf. **gŭk'a, *k'i̯úŋu, *k'ōki.*

✱**gĕla** to search, hunt: Tung. ***gelē-**; Turk. ***gele-**; Jpn. ***kàr-**.

PTung. ***gelē-** to ask, demand, search (просить, требовать, искать): Evk. *gelē-*; Evn. *gelē-*; Neg. *gelē-*; Ul. *gele-*; Ork. *gele-*; Nan. *gele-*; Orch. *gele-*; Ud. *gele-*; Sol. *gelē-*.

◊ TMC 1, 179. TM > Dag. *gelī-* (Тод. Даг. 131).

PTurk. ***gele-** 1 to woo 2 to ask 3 messenger, in-between 4 parents having espoused their children 5 a promised bride (1 ухаживать, свататься 2 просить, выпрашивать 3 посланник, сват 4 родители, взаимно поженившие детей 5 просватанная девушка): Tur. (dial.) *gelešik* 4; Turkm. *gelešik* 4, *geleŋ* 'attention, care'; MTurk. (Xwar.) *keleči* 3 (Qutb); Krm. *keliš-* 1, *kl'a-*, *kl'an-* 'to wish, be favourably inclined'; Tat. *kileš-* 1, *käläš* 5; (Mishar) *kelä-* 2, (KCTT) *klän-* 'to annoy, pester'; Bashk. *käläš* 5; KBalk. *keleči* 3; Kum. *geleš-* 1, *geleči* 3; Khak. *kəle-* 2, *kəlen-* 'to beg'; Chuv. *kalaś-* 1; *kəle-* 2.

◊ VEWT 248, ЭСТЯ 5, 32-33, Ахметьянов 112-114, Егоров 105, Федотов 1, 270-271. Some languages may reflect a merger with **kele-* 'speak' (v. sub **k'i̯ăli*). Turk. > Russ. *клянчить*.

PJpn. ***kàr-** to hunt for, demand, search; drive (охотиться, требовать, искать; гнать): OJpn. *kar-*; MJpn. *kàr-*; Tok. *kár-*, *kàr-*; Kyo. *kár-*; Kag. *kár-*.

◊ JLTT 704. The dialects also reflect **kár-*, but the reconstruction **kàr-* is more probable because of RJ evidence.

‖ Дыбо 14, Федотов 1, 270-271.

✱**gȅle** to come; to go: Tung. ***gel-**; Mong. ***gel-**; Turk. ***gẹl-**; Jpn. ***kə̀-**; Kor. ***ká-**.

PTung. ***gel-** to get hardly on one's way (трогаться с места, с трудом собираться в путь): Evk. *gel-*; Ork. *gilin-*.

◊ TMC 1, 150, 178.

PMong. ***gel-** to walk slowly (ходить медленно): MMong. *geli-* 'hinterherlaufen, einholen' (SH); WMong. *geldüri-* (L 375), *gelderi-*, *gelgüri-*; Kh. *geldre-*; Kalm. *geldṛ-*; Dag. *geldure-* (Тод. Даг. 131).

◊ KW 132.

PTurk. ***gẹl-** to come (приходить): OTurk. *kel-* (Orkh., Yen., OUygh.); Karakh. *kel-* (MK, KB); Tur. *gel-*; Gag. *gel-*; Az. *gäl-*; Turkm. *gel-*; Sal. *gel-*, *gej-*; Khal. *käl-*; MTurk. *kẹl-* (Abush., Pav. C.); Uzb. *kel-*; Uygh. *käl-/kil-*; Krm. *kel-*; Tat. *kil-*; Bashk. *kil-*; Kirgh. *kel-*; Kaz. *kel-*; KBalk. *kel-*; KKalp. *kel-*; Kum. *gel-*; Nogh. *kel-*; SUygh. *kel-*; Khak. *kil-*; Shr. *kel-* (R); Oyr. *kel-*; Tv. *kel-*; Tof. *kel-*; Chuv. *kil-*; Yak. *kel-*; Dolg. *kel-*.

◊ VEWT 248; EDT 715, ЭСТЯ 3, 14-16, 31-32, Stachowski 143. The Chuv. and Yak. vowels correspond irregularly.

PJpn. ***kə̀-** to come (приходить): OJpn. *ko-*; MJpn. *kú*; Tok. *kú-*; Kyo. *kù-*; Kag. *kú-*.

◊ JLTT 716. The RJ form is *kú* (final), but modern dialects point unanimously to **kə̀-* (perhaps there was a metatony in this irregular paradigm).

PKor. ***ká-** to go (away) (идти, уходить): MKor. *ká-*; Mod. *ka-*.

◊ Nam 2, KED 6.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 99, 274. The verb loses the final resonant in Jpn., Kor. and in some forms of the Turkic paradigm: this must be an archaic feature (also present in some other frequently used verbs), speaking perhaps in favour of the root's original monosyllabic structure (**gèl*).

✱**gȅĺa** to screen (from light), disappear: Tung. ***gēl-**; Turk. ***Köĺ-**; Jpn. ***kàsùm-**; Kor. ***kìrɨmə́i**.

PTung. ***gēl-** 1 to disappear 2 to clear up (of sky) 3 to reflect light, throw shadow on (1 исчезать 2 проясняться (о небе) 3 отсвечивать, отражать тень): Evn. *gēl-* 2; Man. *gelmarče-*, *gelmerže-* 3, *gelfen* 'pale'; Ul. *gel-* 1; Ork. *gēl-* 1; Nan. *gēl-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 178-179.

PTurk. ***Köĺ-** 1 screen, covering 2 to screen, obstruct light 3 shadow (1 укрытие, полог, занавес 2 давать тень, укрывать от света 3 тень): OTurk. *köšige* (OUygh.) 3; Karakh. *köši-* (MK) 2, *köšik* (MK) 1, *köšige* (MK) 3; Uygh. *köšükɛ* 1; Kirgh. *köšögö* 1; Khak. *közeŋe* 1; Shr. *kožege* 1; Tv. *kožege* 1, 3.

◊ EDT 753. The root tends to merge with PT **köĺ-* 'to shiver (of cold), freeze' (see VEWT 294), as well as with **köli-* 'shadow' - but they should be probably kept apart. Turk. > MMong. *köši-*, *košige*, *košge* (TMN 1, 481, Щербак 1997, 128, Clark 1980, 41) > Evk. *kuči-*, *kučiger* (Doerfer MT 125).

PJpn. ***kàsùm-** be hazy, misty (быть сумрачным, туманным): OJpn. *kasum-*; MJpn. *kasum-*; Tok. *kàsum-*; Kyo. *kásúm-*; Kag. *kasúm-*.

◊ JLTT 705.

PKor. ***kɨrɨ̀mə́i** shadow (тень): MKor. *kɨrɨ̀mə́i*, *kɨrìmə́i*; Mod. *kɨrimʒa*.

◊ Nam 67, 68, KED 237.

‖ In Turkic **Keĺ-* would be expected; -ö- is probably due to the influence of a very close phonetically and semantically Karakh. *kölige* 'shadow'. In Korean one would expect rather **kə́rVm-*, so the tone and vocalism appears to be distorted. This all may be due to expressive (tabooistic) reasons, as well as to the interaction between this root and PA **kʿòlmV* 'cloud' q.v.

✸**gèmo** to complete, fill in: Tung. ***gemu**; Mong. ***gömür-**; Jpn. ***kəm̀-**; Kor. ***kăm-**.

PTung. ***gemu** all (весь, все): Man. *gemu*; SMan. *gumə* (2816); Jurch. *ŋem-ur* (841); Ork. *gem*.

◊ TMC 1,179 (without the Orok form).

PMong. ***gömür-** storage, depository, buttery (хранилище, склад, кладовая): MMong. *gumerge* (HY 20); WMong. *gömürge* (БАМРС); Kh. *gömrög*.

◊ Cf. **kömürge.*

PJpn. ***kəm̀-** to be filled in, stuffed (быть заполненным, набитым): OJpn. *kom-*; MJpn. *kòm-*; Tok. *kóm-*; Kyo. *kòm-*; Kag. *kòm-*.

◊ JLTT 712. Cf. also PJ **kə̀mər-* id.

PKor. ***kăm-** to hide, conceal (прятать, скрывать): MKor. *kăm-čho-*; Mod. *kamčhu-*.

◊ Nam 24, KED 55.

‖ Cf. also notes to **kʿŏ́mi*.

✸**gḗmo** stern, boat: Tung. ***gemu ?**; Turk. ***gḕmi**; Kor. ***kòmǎ́r**.

PTung. ***gemu** a utensil for cleaning river bottom (снаряд для очистки дна реки): Nan. *gemu* 'a long cord with attached stones and hooks for cleaning river bottom', *gemude-* (v.)

◊ TMC 1, 179. Attested only in Nanai, but having possible external parallels.

PTurk. ***gḕmi** boat (лодка): OTurk. *kemi* (OUygh.); Karakh. *kemi* (MK, IM); Tur. *gemi*; Gag. *gemi*; Az. *gämi*; Turkm. *gǟmi*; Sal. *kimö*; MTurk. *keme* (Abush., Sangl.); Uzb. *kema*; Uygh. *kemä*; Krm. *gemi*; Tat. *kimɛ*; Bashk. *kämä*; Kirgh. *keme*; Kaz. *keme*; KBalk. *keme*; KKalp. *keme*; Kum. *geme*; Nogh. *keme*; Khak. *kime*; Shr. *kebe*; Oyr. *keme*; Tv. *xeme*; Chuv. *kimə*.

◊ VEWT 251, TMN 3, 668-669, EDT 721-722, ЭСТЯ 3, 37-38. Turk. > Mong. *keme* (Щербак 1997, 126).

PKor. ***kòmǎ́r** stern (корма): MKor. *kòmǎ́r*; Mod. *komul*.

◊ Nam 47, HMCH 271, KED 142.

‖ One of the common Altaic navigation terms.

✸**gèná** to suppose; unexpected: Mong. ***gene-**; Turk. ***gEne**; Jpn. ***kàná-**.

PMong. ***gene-** 1 unexpected, sudden(ly) 2 naive 3 be naive, make a mistake (1 неожиданно 2 наивный, легковерный 3 быть наивным, ошибаться): MMong. *genen*, *genet* (SH); WMong. *genedte* 1, *gene(n)* 2, *genede-* 3, *gene-* 3; Kh. *genen* 2, *gentxen*, *gent(ed)* 1; Bur. *gene* 1; Kalm. *genə-* 3, *gentə* 1; Ord. *genede-* 'позволить застать себя врасплох', *genedχen* 1; Dag. *genteken* (Тод. Даг. 131, MD 150), *gentken* 1; S.-Yugh. *genetele* 1, *genen* 2.

◊ KW 133, MGCD 291. The root is widely borrowed into Turkic and TM.

PTurk. ***gEne** again, also, however (снова, также, однако): Karakh. *kene* (MKypch.); Tur. *gene*; Az. *gänä*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 4, 115.

PJpn. ***kàná-** 1 to be unable, be unable to bear 2 to suppose, foresee 3 before, earlier (1 не мочь, не переносить 2 предполагать, ожидать 3 ранее, до того): OJpn. *-kana-* 1, *kana-* 2, *kane-te* 3; MJpn. *-kana-* 1, *kàna-* 2, *kane-te* 3; Tok. *-kane-* 1, *kánete* 3; Kyo. *kànétè* 3; Kag. *kaneté*.

◊ JLTT 703. The meaning 'earlier, before' of *kanete* is derived < 'having foreseen'. Although Martin unites this **kana-* with **kànà-* 'to combine', we would prefer to keep the latter separate.

‖ The original meaning may be reconstructed as 'to be unexpected' / 'not expect smth.'.

✸**gènŋa** to bend: Tung. ***gē(n)ŋe-**; Mong. ***gana-**; Turk. ***KAŋɨr-**.

PTung. ***gē(n)ŋe-** 1 to stretch one's neck, raise one's head 2 to bend one's head 3 horse's counter, bone on the nape (1 вытягивать шею, поднимать голову 2 наклонять голову 3 загривок лошади, кость на тыльной стороне шеи): Evn. *gēŋel-* 1; Man. *gen* 3; SMan. *gen-dā* 'nape, back of the nape' (61); Nan. *guŋgule-* 2; Ud. *geŋgem* 1, *gendugule-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 179, 180.

PMong. ***gana-** to be bent, curved, hold one's chest out (быть согнутым, искривленным, выпячивать грудь): WMong. *γanalǯa-*, *γandaji-* (L 347); Kh. *ganalʒa-*, *ganaj-*, *gandaj-*; Bur. *ganaj-*, *ganajlza-* 'to sit back'; Kalm. *γandā-*; Ord. *Ganā̄-* 'to be inclined backwards'.

◊ KW 143.

PTurk. ***KAŋɨr-** to bend (гнуть): Tur. *kanɨr-*; Az. *Ganɨr-*; Turkm. *Gaŋɨr-*; Uzb. *qɛnir-* (dial.); Khak. *xāri-tart-* 'to change direction, turn sharply'.

◊ ЭСТЯ 5, 194-195.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**gentV (~ k-)** male, self: Mong. ***gendü**; Turk. ***[g]ẹntü (-nd-)**.

PMong. ***gendü** male of animals (самец животных): WMong. *gendü(n)* (L 376); Kh. *gendṻ* 'самец рыси, барса'; Bur. *gende* 'male sable' (Tunk., Okin.); Kalm. *gendṇ*.

◊ KW 133.

PTurk. ***[g]ẹntü (-nd-)** self, himself (сам): OTurk. *kentü* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *kendü* (MK); Tur. *kendi*, dial. *gendü*; Az. *gendi*; Yak. *kini* 'he'; Dolg. *gini* 'he', *gien* 'own'.

◊ EDT 728-729, ЭСТЯ 5, 38-39, Убрятова 1953, Räsänen 1957, 18, Stachowski 86.

‖ A Turk.-Mong. isogloss. Poppe 25, KW 133, ОСНЯ 1, 226-227 (despite Doerfer's criticism in TMN 1, 489 the forms are perfectly semantically compatible).

✱**gepʹV** to disappear, obscure: Tung. ***gepe-**; Mong. ***geɣe-**.

PTung. ***gepe-** 1 dim, obscure 2 to disappear 3 to begin (of night) (1 тусклый, неясный 2 исчезать 3 наступать (о ночи)): Evk. *gepe-* 3; Evn. *gepeni* 'black' (All.); Ul. *geptu(n)* 1, *geptun-* 2; Nan. *gepejgen*, *geperie* 1; Ud. *gefu ō-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 180.

PMong. ***geɣe-** to lose (терять): WMong. *gege-* (L 373); Kh. *gē-*; Bur. *gē-*; Kalm. *gē-*; Ord. *gē-*; Mog. *gē-* (Ramstedt 1906); Dag. *gē-* (MD 149); Mongr. *gē-* 'abadonner, quitter, laisser, ne pas achever, rejeter, déposer, placer, mettre' (SM 131).

◊ KW 135.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss. Cf. **g̰iūpʹa*.

✱**gera (~ -o, -u)** many: Tung. ***gere-n**; Mong. ***garu-**.

PTung. ***gere-n** 1 many 2 all (1 много 2 все): Man. *geren* 1; SMan. *gerən* 1 (2851); Ul. *gere(n)* 1; Ork. *gere(n)* 1; Nan. *gere(n)* 2; Orch. *gere(n)* 1, 2; Ud. *gele* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 182.

PMong. ***garu-** more than (больше чем, более того): WMong. *γarui*, *γarun* (L 352, 353); Kh. *garuj*; Bur. *garan*; Kalm. *γarṇ*; Ord. *Garū*, *Garʷī*.

◊ KW 146.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**gə̌rè(bV)** word, name, witness: Tung. ***gerbṻ**; Mong. ***gere(-ɣe)**; Turk. ***gẹr-tü**; Jpn. ***kàtə̀, *kə̀tə̀-pà**; Kor. ***kír, *kír-bə́r**.

PTung. ***gerbṻ** name (имя): Evk. *gerbī*; Evn. *gerbъ*; Neg. *gelbi*; Man. *gebu*; SMan. *gevə* (1005, 1356); Jurch. *ger-bu* (780); Ul. *gelbu*; Ork. *gelbu*; Nan. *gerbʹi*; Orch. *gebbi*; Ud. *gegbi*; Sol. *gerbī*.

◊ См. TMC 1, 180-181.

PMong. ***gere(-ɣe)** witness, agreement (свидетель, свидетельство, соглашение): MMong. *gärči* (IM 437), *girǎ* (MA); WMong. *gere*, *gereči* (L

378); Kh. *gerē*, *gerč*; Bur. *gerē*, *gerše*; Kalm. *gerə*; Ord. *gere*, *gereči*; Dag. *gerčin* (Тод. Даг. 131), *gerē* (MD 150), *gerčil*; Bao. *ganǯəŋ*; S.-Yugh. *xur* (MGCD Gor; Mongr. *ganǯən*.

◊ KW 134, MGCD 293. Mong. > Evk. *gereči* etc., see Doerfer MT 132, Rozycki 8.

PTurk. ***gẹr-tü*** true, truth (верный, правда): OTurk. *kertü*, *kert-gün-* 'believe' (OUygh.); Karakh. *kertü* 'oath, truth', *kert-gün-* 'believe' (MK, KB); Tur. *ger-ček*; Gag. *ger-ček*; Az. *ger-čäk*; Turkm. *ger-ček*; Krm. *kerti*, *ker-ček*; KBalk. *kerti*; Kum. *gerti*; Nogh. *kerti*; Khak. *kirtə-n-* 'believe'; Yak. *kirdik*, *kirǯik*; Dolg. *kirdik*.

◊ VEWT 257, EDT 738, 741, ЭСТЯ 3, 28-31, Stachowski 149.

PJpn. ***kàtə̀, *kə̀tə̀-pà*** word, speech (слово, речь): OJpn. *koto*, *koto-ba*; MJpn. *kòtò*, *kòtò-bà*; Tok. *kotobá*; Kyo. *kótòbà*; Kag. *kotobá*.

◊ JLTT 459.

PKor. ***kɨ́r, *kɨ́r-bə́r*** 1 poetry, letter 2 to draw (1 поэзия, текст, буквы 2 рисовать, чертить): MKor. *kɨr*, *kɨ́r'uə́r* 1, *kɨ́rí-* 2; Mod. *kɨl* 1, *kɨ̄ri-* 2.

◊ Liu 98, 103, 104, KED 237, 247.

‖ KW 134, Poppe 25, 80 (Turk.-Mong.). Cf. also Old Koguryo **kŭš* (Lee reads **kɨl*, Miller 1979 emends to **kŭnš*, which is hardly correct).

✱**gérki** a k. of pheasant: Mong. ***girgawl, *k-***; Turk. ***Kerke-***; Jpn. ***kínkisí***.

PMong. ***girgawl, *k-*** pheasant (фазан): MMong. *xurqa'ul* (HY 14); WMong. *girγaul*, *γurγuul* (L 369), *kirγuul* (L 471), *kiraγul* (L 470); Kh. *gurgūl*; Bur. *gurgūl*; Kalm. *kirγūl* (KPC), *γorγūl*; Ord. *GurGūl*; Dag. *xorgōl* (Тод. Даг. 177); Bao. *golGor*; Mongr. *ćirGū* (SM 457), (MGCD) *GurGul*.

◊ KW 151, MGCD 305. Mong. > Chag. *qɨrγavul*, Turk. q*ɨrqavul* etc. (ЭСТЯ 6, 232; see VEWT 266, Щербак 1997, 208, TMN 3, 451) > Kalm. *kirγūl*, *kerγūl* (KW 232).

PTurk. ***Kerke-*** 1 a k. of bird (кедровка) 2 black-cock (1 кедровка 2 тетерев, глухарь): KBalk. *gerge* 'жаворонок, skylark'; Khak. *kergen* 1; Shr. *kergen* 1; Chuv. *karъk* 2.

PJpn. ***kínkisí*** pheasant (фазан): OJpn. *kjigjisi*; MJpn. *kízí*; Tok. *kijí*; Kyo. *kíjí*; Kag. *kíji*.

◊ JLTT 452.

‖ Cf. various similar bird names in TM: Evk. *goriwkī* 'swallow' (TMC 1, 161); Orok *kiru*, *kireu* 'crane' (TMC 1, 399); Oroch *kurau*, *koro*; Evk. *karaw*, *karawul* 'gray crane' (TMC 1, 379).

✱**gĕrV** house, house poles: Tung. ***gerbe-***; Mong. ***ger***; Turk. ***gerekü***.

PTung. ***gerbe-*** to procure poles (for the tent) (заготовлять жерди (для остова юрты)): Evk. *gerbe-*; Evn. *gerben-*; Neg. *gejbe-*; Ork. *gelbe-*; Nan. *gerbe-*; Orch. *gebbe-*.

◊ TMC 1, 181.

PMong. ***ger*** yurt, house (юрта, дом): MMong. *ger* (HY 17, SH), *ker* (IM), *kir* (MA); WMong. *ger* (L 377); Kh. *ger*; Bur. *ger*; Kalm. *ger*; Ord. *ger*; Mog. *ger*; KT *ger* (18-1a), ZM *geh[e]r* (22-10a); Dag. *geri*, *geŕ* (Тод.

Даг. 131, MD 150); Dong. *gie*; Bao. *gar*, *ger* (Tungren); S.-Yugh. *ger*; Mongr. *ger* (SM 133), *ges* 'maison, ménage, famille' (pl.) (SM 134), *Ger*.

◊ KW 134, MGCD 292.

PTurk. ***gErekü** 1 tent, yurt 2 grating of the yurt (1 юрта 2 решетка юрты): OTurk. *kerekü* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *kerekü* 1 (MK); Turkm. *gerege* 2; MTurk. *gerege* 2 (Pav. C.); Uzb. *keraga* 2; Bashk. *kirägä* 2; Kirgh. *kerege* 2; Kaz. *kerege* 2; KKalp. *kerege* 2; Nogh. *kerege* 2; Oyr. *kerege* 2.

◊ VEWT 255, TMN 3, 592, EDT 744, ЭСТЯ 3, 24-25, Лексика 503.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**get´V** to watch, look: Tung. ***gete-**; Mong. ***gete-**.

PTung. ***gete-** to wake up, sober up (очнуться, протрезветь): Man. *gete-*; SMan. *getə-* 'to wake up, to waken' (533); Nan. *gete-*.

◊ TMC 1, 183.

PMong. ***gete-** to watch, spy, lie in ambush (наблюдать, шпионить, сидеть в засаде): WMong. *gete-* (L 380); Kh. *gete-*; Bur. *gete-*; Kalm. *get-*; Dag. *gete-* (Тод. Даг. 131), *getēbei-* (MGCD 293).

◊ KW 135, Mong. > Sol., Evk. *gete-* 'to creep up, lie in ambush'; Yak., Dolg. *ketē-* (Stachowski 146).

‖ KW 135. A Mong.-Tung. isogloss; despite TMN 1, 489, Doerfer MT 79, hardly a borrowing in TM < Mong. (because of semantic differences).

✱**gibe** mare: Tung. ***gibu-**; Mong. ***gewü-n**; Turk. ***KEbel**.

PTung. ***gibu-** roe (косуля): Evk. *giwčēn*; Neg. *giwčēn*; Man. *ǵo*; Ul. *giu(n)*; Ork. *giu*; Nan. *giu*; Orch. *gā̃uča*, *giuča*; Ud. *giu*, *giuse*; Sol. *gīsẽ*.

◊ TMC 1, 148.

PMong. ***gewü-n** mare (кобыла): MMong. *ge'un* (HY 9), *guun-du* (MA), *keun* (LH); WMong. *gegü(n)*, *gegüü* (L 374), *geü* (DO 273); Kh. *gū̃(n)*; Bur. *gū̃n(g)*; Kalm. *gū̃n*; Ord. *gū̃*; Dag. *geu* (Тод. Даг. 132, MD 151); S.-Yugh. *gū̃n*; Mongr. *gū* 'femeille de certaine animaux' (SM 138).

◊ KW 140, MGCD 306. Mong. > Evk. *gōn* etc., see Poppe 1966, 190, 1972, 96, Doerfer MT 102.

PTurk. ***KEbel** a well-bred fast horse (благородная быстрая лошадь): Karakh. *kevel*, *kevil* (MK, KB).

◊ EDT 689.

‖ A Western isogloss. The isolated Karakh. form may be borrowed < Sak. *käbä* 'well-bred horse'; perhaps a better match in Turkic would be **Kojn* 'sheep' (Лексика 431, ЭСТЯ 6, 24-26) (> Mong. *qoni(n)* > Evk. *konin* etc., see TMN 3, 564, Щербак 1997, 139, Doerfer MT 37; despite KW 194 and Poppe 70, hardly a common Altaic **koni*). In that case Turk. **Kojn* < **Kobi-n*, with a subsequent reconstruction of PA **gi̯abo(nV)*.

✱**gijo** notch, to cut aslant: Tung. ***gia-**; Turk. ***Kɨj-**; Jpn. ***ki**.

PTung. ***gia-** 1 to plane, notch 2 chips, shavings (1 строгать, скоблить (кривым ножом) 2 стружки): Neg. *gêsadan* 2; Man. *ǵa-* 1 (cf. also *geje-* to carve); Ul. *Gê-* 1; Ork. *Gê-* 1; Nan. *Gi̯a-* 1; Orch. *gã̄sa* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 147, 178. If the original meaning is "to cut aslant" (cf. the Turkic parallels), cf. also Ud. *gojom*, Nan. *Gojmo* 'crooked, aslant' (TMC 1, 158).

PTurk. ***Kɨj-** 1 to cut aslant, make notches 2 to cut in small pieces (1 резать наискосок, делать зарубки 2 резать на мелкие кусочки): Karakh. *qɨj-* (MK) 1; Tur. *kɨj-* 2; Gag. *qɨj-* 2; Turkm. *Gɨj-* 1; MTurk. *qɨj-* (AH, Ettuhf.) 1; Uzb. *qij-* 1; Kirgh. *qɨj-* 1; KKalp. *qɨj-*; Nogh. *qɨj-* 1; Khak. *xɨj-* 1; Oyr. *qɨj-* 1; Tv. *qɨj-* 1; Chuv. *хъjъ* chip, sliver; Yak. *kɨj-* 'walk around'.

◊ VEWT 261, ЭСТЯ 6, 197-200. Turk. **Kɨjgač* > Kalm. *kīγəs* (KW 234). The meaning of the Orkh. hapax *qɨd-* (see EDT 595) is quite insecure and cannot serve as a basis for reconstructing **Kɨd-*; all other forms (including *qɨj-* 'to cut aslant' and *qɨj-ma* 'cut meat' in MK) point unambiguously to **Kɨj-*, see ЭСТЯ 6, 200, 202-203. There exist also common Turkic derivatives **Kɨj-ɨr* and **Kɨj-ɨk* 'oblique, bent'.

PJpn. ***ki** notch (зарубка): OJpn. *kji*.

‖ Kalm. *kāčə-* (WMong. *kijači-*, KW 222) 'to split (wood)' is probably borrowed from the Turk. derivative **Kɨjgač-* (although the latter now means basically 'slant', the original meaning was 'cut aslant'). If the latter was the original meaning in PA, one could also compare Mong. **geji-*, **geje-* 'slanting, oblique' (otherwise see notes to **k'i̯úŋ(k)u*).

✱**gìlè (~ -i, -o)** to shine, glitter: Tung. ***gilta-**; Mong. ***gil(b)a-**; Jpn. ***kìrà-**.

PTung. ***gilta-** 1 white 2 shine (1 белый 2 блестеть): Evk. *gilta-li* 1; Evn. *gi̯ltāl-* 2; Man. *gilta-* 2; SMan. *gilətərə-* (2043); Ul. *gilte* 2; Nan. *gilte-* 2; Sol. *giltarī* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 151-152.

PMong. ***gil(b)a-** to glitter, shine (блестеть): MMong. *gilibeligan* 'lightning' (HY 2); WMong. *gila-*, *gilba-* (L 382), *giluŋ*, *gilüŋ* 'shining' (L 383); Kh. *ǵala-*, *ǵalba-*, *gilbegne-*; Bur. *jalaj-*; Kalm. *gilēn*, *giləg*, *gilgṛ* 'light, glittering', *gilī-*, *gilwə-* 'glitter'; Ord. *gilba-*; Dag. *gialbagalǯi-* (MGCD 294), *gialebeleǯi-* (MD 151); Mongr. *ʒ́ilōn* 'luisant, lisse, uni, glabre' (SM 87).

◊ KW 136. Mong. *gileji-* > Oyr. *kiläi-*; Mong. *gilba-lǯa-* > Man. *gilmarǯa-*, see Rozycki 89.

PJpn. ***kìrà-** shining, glittering (блестящий, сверкать): OJpn. *k(j)ira-k(j)ira-si* 'beautiful'; MJpn. *kìrà-kìrà-*; Tok. *kíra-kira*, *kira-mék-*; Kyo. *kírà-kìrà*, *kírá-mék-*; Kag. *kira-kíra*, *kira-mék-*.

◊ JLTT 708.

‖ KW 136, ОСНЯ 1, 230. In TM cf. also a variant **kilbe-* / *kilt- 'glitter' (TMC 1, 393, 394; hence Yak. *kilbej-*, *kɨlbaj-*; but Dolg. *gilbej-*, *gɨlbaj-* may be directly < Mong.; see Kał. MEJ 103, Stachowski 86, 87). Since Mong. also has a variant *gilt- (MMong. (MA) *qiltai-*, WMong. *giltagir*,

giltuji-, Kalm. *giltəgṛ*, *giltī-*, KW ibid.), the TM forms may be borrowed from Mong. (see Doerfer MT 21-22, Rozycki 89). Note that Jpn. **kìrà-* may also reflect PA **gari* q.v.

✸**gilu (~ -o, -a)** curved object: Tung. ***gil-**; Mong. ***gil-**; Turk. ***Kɨlɨ**.

PTung. ***gil-** 1 ring 2 bracelet (1 кольцо 2 браслет): Evk. *gildī* 1; Neg. *gilǯixēn* 1; Ul. *gileptu(n)* 2; Sol. *diĺaptun* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 83, 150.

PMong. ***gil-** 1 to bevel 2 look askance, squint (1 скашивать 2 смотреть искоса, косить): WMong. *gileji-* (L 382: *gilaji-*) 2, *gilčiji-* 1; Kh. *gilǯij-* 'to trend, bend, squint'; Bur. *gelžɨ-* 'to trend'; Kalm. *gils-gils giǯ xəl-* (KPC 144) 2, *gilčī-* 1.

PTurk. ***Kɨlɨ** handle, ear (of a kettle, bucket) (ручка, ушко (чайника, ведра)): Tat. *qɨlɨ*, *qɨl* (dial.); Bashk. *qɨlɨ*, *qɨlɨs* (dial.); Kaz. *qɨlɨ*; Khak. *xɨlɣa*, *xɨlčɨ*; Shr. *qɨlčɨ*; Oyr. *qɨlɨ*, *qɨld́ɨ*; Yak. *kɨld́ɨ*.

◊ VEWT 263, ЭСТЯ 6, 209-210.

‖ A Western isogloss; cf. **gi̯ā́ĺu*.

✸**gǐ̀ĺò** cold: Tung. ***gil-**; Turk. ***Kɨĺ**; Jpn. ***kìsàra-(n)ki**.

PTung. ***gil-** cold (холодный): Evk. *gildi*; Evn. *gịlrṇ*; Neg. *gịlịgdị*; Ul. *Gịtụlị*, *Gịtịsị*; Ork. *Gịčụlị*; Nan. *Gịčịsị*; Orch. *giči-si*; Ud. *gilihi*.

◊ TMC 1, 151. Most forms reflect a derivative **gil-si* / **gil-či*.

PTurk. ***Kɨĺ** winter (зима): OTurk. *qɨš* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *qɨš* (MK); Tur. *kɨš*; Gag. *qɨš*; Az. *Gɨš*; Turkm. *Gɨš*; Khal. *qɨš*; MTurk. *qɨš* (AH, Pav. C.); Uzb. *qiš*; Uygh. *qiš*; Krm. *qɨš*; Tat. *qɨš*; Bashk. *qɨš*; Kirgh. *qɨš*; Kaz. *qɨs*; KBalk. *qɨš*; KKalp. *qɨs*; Kum. *qɨš*; Nogh. *qɨs*; SUygh. *qɨs*; Khak. *xɨs*; Shr. *qɨš*; Oyr. *qɨš*; Tv. *qɨ́š*; Chuv. *xəl*; Yak. *kɨs*, *kɨhɨn*; Dolg. *kɨhɨn*.

◊ EDT 670, VEWT 268, TMN 3, 479, Лексика 75-76, ЭСТЯ 6, 253-254, Stachowski 167-168.

PJpn. ***kìsàra-(n)ki** second month of the lunar calendar (второй месяц лунного календаря): OJpn. *k(j)isarag(j)i*; MJpn. *kisaragi*; Tok. *kìsaragi*; Kyo. *kísárágí*; Kag. *kisaragí*.

◊ JLTT 451. Accent evidence is rather in favour of low tone, although the Kyoto form is aberrant.

‖ EAS 110, Лексика 76, Miller UAJ 1986, 47, Miller 1996, 114.

✸**gíme (~ *gemi)** defect: Mong. ***gem**; Turk. ***Kem**; Kor. ***kìmɨ́i**.

PMong. ***gem** 1 defect, illness, damage 2 to regret (1 дефект, болезнь, вред 2 сожалеть, раскаиваться): MMong. *gise-*, *gise*, *g[e]si-* (IM) 2; *gemuri'ul-* 'to sicken' (SH), *gemur* 'Sorge' (HYt); WMong. *gem* 1, *gemsi-* 2 (L 375, 376); Kh. *gem* 1, *gemši-* 2; Bur. *gem* 1, *gemše-* 2; Kalm. *gem* 1, *gemši-* 2; Ord. *gem* 1, *gemši-* 2; Dag. *gem* 1 (Тод. Даг. 131, MD 150: *geme*), *gemši-* 2; Dong. *gien* 1 (MGCD *gən*), *giemere-* 'to be sick'; S.-Yugh. *gem* 1; Mongr. *gəŋšə-* (SM 133) 2.

◊ KW 133, MGCD 291.

PTurk. ***Kem** illness (болезнь): OTurk. *kem* (OUygh.); Karakh. *ig-kem* (MK, KB); Tur. *gem, kem* (dial.); Az. *käm* (dial.); Oyr. *kem*; Tv. *kem*; Yak. *kem* 'agnail (illness)'.

◊ EDT 720, ЭСТЯ 5, 34-35, VEWT 250, Clark 1977, 138, (should be distinguished from *kem* 'few' < Pers.). Cf. perhaps Chuv. *kъʷmъʷr* 'anger'.

PKor. ***kìmɨ́i** defect (on skin, jade) (дефект, изъян (на коже, драгоценном камне)): MKor. *kìmɨ́i*; Mod. *kimi*.

◊ Nam 79, KED 266.

‖ KW 133. Cf. Evk. *gimdigī-* 'to break (of a belt, strap)' (TMC 1, 152).

✱**gire (~ -ŕ-)** bone: Tung. ***giram-ksa**; Mong. ***gere**.

PTung. ***giram-ksa** 1 bone 2 skeleton (1 кость 2 скелет): Evk. *giramna* 1; Evn. *gi̇rъmrъ̣* 2 (also "grave"); Neg. *gi̇jamna* 2; Man. *giraŋgi* 1; SMan. *giraŋə* 1 (167); Jurch. *gi(r)ba-an-gi* (510) 1; Ul. *Gi̇ramsa* 1; Ork. *Giransa* 1; Nan. *Gi̇rmaqsa* 1; Orch. *giamsa* 1; Ud. *gämaha*, *geämaha* 1, 2 (Корм. 221); Sol. *giranda* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 154.

PMong. ***gere** 1 cheek bone 2 front teeth (1 скула 2 передние зубы): WMong. *gere* 1 (L 378); Kh. *gerē* 1; Kalm. *gerə süd̡n̡* 2.

◊ KW 134.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**giru** shore; road: Tung. ***giri**; Turk. ***Kɨrgak**; Kor. ***kírh**.

PTung. ***giri** 1 shore 2 line, row 3 riverbed (1 берег 2 линия, ряд 3 русло): Evk. *giri* 1; Evn. *gi̇ri̇* 1; Neg. *gi̇ji̇* 1; Man. *girin* 2; SMan. *girin* 'hamlets scattered along a highway' (1020); Ul. *gi̇ri̇(n)* 3; Ork. *giri* 1; Nan. *gi̇r* 1; Orch. *gī* 1; Ud. *gī-ma* 1.

◊ TMC 1,155.

PTurk. ***Kɨrgak** edge (край): Karakh. *qɨrɣaɣ* (MK) 'selvage, edge'; Tur. *kɨrak*; Az. *GɨraG*; Khal. *qɨraɣ*; MTurk. *qɨrɨɣ*, *qɨraɣ* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *qirɣɔq*; Uygh. *qi(r)ɣaq*; Krm. *qɨrɨj*; Tat. *qɨrɨj*; Kirgh. *qɨrū*; Kum. *qɨrɨj*; Nogh. *qɨraq*; Khak. *xri*, *xɨrɨj*, *xɨrɨɣ*; Oyr. *qɨrɨɣ*; Tv. *qɨrɨ*; Chuv. *xərə*; Yak. *kɨrī*; Dolg. *kɨrī*.

◊ VEWT 265, EDT 653, ЭСТЯ 6, 242-244, Stachowski 170.

PKor. ***kírh** road (дорога): MKor. *kír* (*kírh-*); Mod. *kil*.

◊ Nam 81, KED 278.

‖ SKE 112, АПиПЯЯ 296. In Turkic the root is contaminating with the reflex of **kʿàre* q.v.

✱**gī́ŕa (~-o,-u)** girl, mate: Tung. ***girkī**; Turk. ***Kɨ̄ŕ**.

PTung. ***girkī** 1 mate 2 wife 3 placenta (1 товарищ 2 жена 3 послед): Evk. *girkī* 1, 2, 3; Evn. *girkъ* 1, 2, 3; Neg. *gīxī* 1; Nan. *girki* 'idol, helping spirits'; Sol. *gikki* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 155.

PTurk. ***Kīŕ** 1 girl 2 woman (1 девушка 2 женщина): OTurk. *qɨz* 1 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *qɨz* 1 (MK, KB); Tur. *kɨz* 1; Gag. *qɨz* 1; Az. *Gɨz* 1; Turkm. *Gīz* 1; Sal. *qɨz* 1; MTurk. *qɨz* 1 (Pav. C., MA); Uzb. *qiz* 1; Uygh. *qiz* 1; Krm. *qɨz* 1; Tat. *qɨz* 1; Bashk. *qɨδ* 1; Kirgh. *qɨz* 1; Kaz. *qɨz* 1; KBalk. *qɨz* 1; KKalp. *qɨz* 1; Kum. *qɨz* 1; Nogh. *qɨz* 1; SUygh. *qɨs* 1; Khak. *xɨs* 1; Shr. *qɨs* 1; Oyr. *qɨs* 1; Tv. *qɨs* 1; Tof. *qɨs* 1; Chuv. *xər* 1, *xər-(arъm)* 2; Yak. *kīs* 1; Dolg. *kīs* 1.

◊ VEWT 269, TMN 3, 569-70, EDT 679-80, Лексика 295, 318, ЭСТЯ 6, 190-191, Stachowski 172. For PT one should reconstruct variants **kīŕ/*kīr* (they are reflected in several derivatives, e.g. **Kīr-kɨn*, see Лексика 317-318, ЭСТЯ 6, 237, **Kɨr-nak*, see TMN 3, 456, ЭСТЯ 6, 240).

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss. Cf. perhaps Mong. **gergei* 'wife' (if not derived from **ger* 'house'; Mong. pl. *gergen* > Yak., Dolg. *kergen* 'family', see Kał. MEJ 28, Stachowski 145).

✸**gi̯ǎlá** goose, duck: Tung. ***gileŋē-**; Mong. ***galaɣu(n)**; Jpn. ***kàrí**.

PTung. ***gileŋē-** a k. of duck (вид утки (утка-лотошка, крохаль)): Neg. *gileŋēti*; Ul. *gileńetu*.

◊ TMC 1, 152.

PMong. ***galaɣu(n)** goose (гусь): MMong. *qalau'u* (SH, HY 13), *qalawun* (LH); WMong. *γalaγu(n)* (L 346); Kh. *galū*; Bur. *galū(n)*; Kalm. *γalūn* (KPC 155); Ord. *Galū*; Dag. *galō* 'wild goose'; Mongr. *Galū* (SM 117).

PJpn. ***kàrí** goose (гусь): OJpn. *kari*; MJpn. *kàrí*; Tok. *kári*; Kyo. *kárí*; Kag. *kári*.

◊ JLTT 440. Tones in Kyoto and Kagoshima point to **kárí*, but the attested RJ and Tokyo tones speak in favour of **kàrí*.

‖ In TM one would rather expect **gialeŋē*, but the existing forms may be explained as secondarily monophthongized. Despite АПиПЯЯ 80, the Jpn. form rather belongs here (semantically it is exactly = Mong. *γalaγun*, and in case **kàrí* < **gāŕV* we would rather expect **kàtí*).

✸**gi̯ā́la** to stay behind, be separated: Tung. ***giala-**; Mong. ***gal-**; Turk. ***Kiāl-**; Jpn. ***kára-**.

PTung. ***giala-** 1 to separate 2 division, partition 3 room 4 to stop (1 отделять, перегораживать 2 отделение 3 комната 4 делать остановку): Man. *ǵala-* 1,4, *ǵalan* 2; SMan. *ǵalə-* 'distant, separated' (2576); *ǵalən* 'room space, compartiment of a house' (448); Ul. *Gêlaqo* 3; Nan. *Gịala-* 1; Ud. *gälaʿu* 3 (Корм. 221); Sol. *gêlã* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 146. Sol. > Dag. *gēlāŋ*, *ǵalāŋ* 'room' (Тод. Даг. 131).

PMong. ***gal-** 1 to walk slowly 2 to be lazy; to leave, go away (1 идти медленно 2 быть ленивым; уходить): WMong. *γalγi-* 1, *γalira-* 2 (L 346); Kh. *galgi-* 1, *galira-* 2; Bur. *galgi-*; Kalm. *γaĺgə-* 'be ashamed, confused'; Ord. *Galgi-*.

◊ KW 142. Mong. > Kaz. *qalɣɨ-* etc. (ЭСТЯ 5, 232-233).

PTurk. ***Kiāl-*** to stay behind, remain (оставаться): OTurk. *qal-* (Orkh., OUygh., Yenis.); Karakh. *qal-* (MK, KB); Tur. *kal-*; Az. *Gal-*; Turkm. *Gāl-*; MTurk. *qal-* (Sangl., Qutb., Houts., AH, IM, MA, Pav. C.); Uzb. *qɔl-*; Uygh. *qal-*; Tat. *qal-*; Bashk. *qal-*; Kirgh. *qal-*; Kaz. *qal-*; KBalk. *qal-*; KKalp. *qal-*; Kum. *qal-*; Nogh. *qal-*; Khak. *xal-*; Shr. *qal-*; Oyr. *qal-*; Tv. *qal-*; Tof. *qal-*; Chuv. *jol-*; Yak. *xāl-*; Dolg. *kāl-*.

◊ EDT 615-616, VEWT 224, ЭСТЯ 5, 226-227, Егоров 347, Федотов 2, 483, Stachowski 142.

PJpn. ***kára-*** to stay away, get apart; die (отделяться, удаляться; умирать): OJpn. *kara-*; MJpn. *kára-*.

◊ JLTT 704.

‖ The original meaning is well reconstructable as "to lag behind > become separated". The derivative **gi̯ā́la-kV* 'separation, lagging' is reflected in PTM **giala-ku* 'separated space, room' and the denominative **gal-gi-* in Mongolian.

✱**gi̯ăl̥u** thick, whole: Tung. ***gulu-kun***; Mong. ***goli-***; Turk. ***Kalɨŋ***.

PTung. ***gulu-kun*** 1 whole 2 (whole) piece (1 целый 2 (целый) кусок): Man. *gulxun* 1; SMan. *guluxun* 'complete, pure' (2348, 2820); Ul. *gulxu(n)* 2; Nan. *gulxũ* 2; Ud. *guluhu* 2; Sol. *gulgũ* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 169. TM > Dag. *gulgun* (Тод. Даг. 133).

PMong. ***goli-*** be tall, stately, gross (быть высоким, величавым, тучным): WMong. *γoliji-*; Kh. *golij-*; Bur. *golī-*; Kalm. *γoĺγṛ*.

◊ KW 150.

PTurk. ***Kalɨŋ*** 1 thick, stiff 2 numerous (1 толстый, густой 2 многочисленный): OTurk. *qalɨn* (Orkh.) 1, *qalɨn* (OUygh.) 2; Karakh. *qalɨn* (MK) 1, (MK, KB) 2; Tur. *kalɨn* 1; Az. *Galɨn* 1; Turkm. *Galɨŋ* 1; MTurk. *qalɨŋ* (Qutb.) 1, *qalɨn* (MA, Houts., Abush., AH, Pav. C.) 1; Uzb. *qɛlin* 1; Uygh. *qelin* 1; Tat. *qalɨn* 1; Bashk. *qalɨn* 1; Kirgh. *qalɨŋ* 1; Kaz. *qalɨŋ* 1; KKalp. *qalɨŋ* 1; Kum. *qalɨn* 1; Nogh. *qalɨn* 1; Khak. *xalɨn* 1; Oyr. *qalɨŋ* 1; Tv. *qɨlɨn*, dial. Todzh. 1; Tof. *xɨlɨn* 1; Chuv. *xulъn*, *xolъm* 1; Yak. *xalɨŋ* 1.

◊ VEWT 226, ЭСТЯ 5, 238-239, Федотов 2, 354-355.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**gi̯ā́l̥u** ring, bracelet, precious stone: Tung. ***goldi***; Turk. ***KĀĹ***; Jpn. ***kusirə***; Kor. ***kòrhói***.

PTung. ***goldi*** 1 ring 2 loop (on handle of whip) (1 кольцо 2 петля (на кнутовище)): Evk. *goldi* 1; Man. *Gulǯarχan* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 159, 167.

PTurk. ***KĀĹ*** 1 jade 2 precious stone, the bezel of a finger ring (1 яшма 2 драгоценный камень, гнездо в кольце): Karakh. *qaš* (MK) 1; Tur. *kaš* 2; Az. *Gaš* 2; Turkm. *Gāš* 2; MTurk. *qaš* (Houts., IM, Pav. C., MA) 1,

2; Uygh. *qaš* 2; Tat. *qaš* 2; Bashk. *qaš* 2; Kirgh. *qaš* 2; Kum. *qaš* 2; Nogh. *qas* 2; Tv. *xaš* 2.

◊ EDT 669. KW 171. Turk. > Mong. *qas(i)*, (HY) *qaši*, see Clark 1980, 41, 42, Щербак 1997, 134.

PJpn. ***kusirə** bracelet (браслет): OJpn. *kusiro*.

◊ JLTT 466.

PKor. ***kòrhói** ring, bracelet (кольцо, браслет): MKor. *kòrhói*; Mod. *kori*.

◊ Nam 51, KED 140.

‖ A specific common Altaic cultural term.

✱**gi̯aŋu** wild onion: Tung. ***guŋur**; Turk. ***gEmürgen**; Jpn. ***k(u)i**.

PTung. ***guŋur** garlic (чеснок): Evk. *guŋur*.

◊ TMC 1, 173. Attested only in Evk., with possible external parallels.

PTurk. ***gEmürgen** wild onion or garlic (дикий лук или чеснок): Karakh. *kövürgen* (MK), *kömürgen* (MK - Oghuz); Tur. *gümüren*; Gag. *kömüren*; Kirgh. *köbürgön*; Khak. *köbərgen*; Oyr. *köbürgen*; Tv. *kögürön* (dial.); Tof. *kögirhen*.

◊ EDT 691, ЭСТЯ 3, 100; VEWT 285; Лексика 124. Sometimes explained as derived from *köbür-* 'to foam' (see VEWT ibid.); this seems a folk etymology, but may explain the irregular -b- in some of the forms.

PJpn. ***k(u)i** a k. of onion (вид лука): OJpn. *k(j)i*.

◊ JLTT 449.

‖ Cf. also some similar roots: **gokV*, **ki̯omga*, **kʿema* (with possible mergers). Medial -m- in Turk. may be either due to these mergers, or a result of labial assimilation (**gEmürgen* < **gEŋürgen*). The Jpn. form must go back to a suffixed **gi̯aŋ(u)-gV*.

✱**gi̯ări** to stretch, spread: Tung. ***girke-**; Turk. ***ger-**; Kor. ***kər-**.

PTung. ***girke-** to spread (расстилать): Evk. *girke-*; Evn. *girkъ-*.

◊ TMC 1, 156.

PTurk. ***ger-** to spread out, to hang (растягивать, вешать): OTurk. *ker-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *ker-* (MK, KB); Tur. *ger-*; Gag. *ger-*; Az. *gär-*; Turkm. *ger-*; MTurk. *ker-* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *ker-*; Uygh. *ker-*; Krm. *ger-*; Tat. dial. *kər-* (KCTT); Bashk. *kir-*; Kirgh. *ker-*; Kaz. *ker-*; KBalk. *ker-*; KKalp. *ker-*; Kum. *ger-*; Nogh. *ker-*; Khak. *kir-*; Oyr. *ker-*; Tv. *xer-*; Tof. *ker-*; Chuv. *kar-*.

◊ VEWT 254, EDT 735, ЭСТЯ 3, 23-24.

PKor. ***kər-** 1 to hang on, put on (smth.) 2 to spread out (1 вешать, надевать (что-л.) 2 расстилать): MKor. *kər-thí-* 1; Mod. *kəl-* 1, *kəlčhi-* 1, 2.

◊ Nam 38, KED 97, 100.

‖ The match is possible if TM **girke-* is a secondary contraction < **giarke-*. Another possibility would be to suppose **girke-* < **gerki-* and reconstruct PA **gĕrV*.

✸**gi̯ā́ru** acacia: Tung. ***gur-**; Turk. ***KArakan**; Jpn. ***kútí-**; Kor. ***kor-**.

PTung. ***gur-** 1 acacia 2 polar birch 3 willow (1 акация 2 полярная береза 3 ива): Evk. *guran* 2; Man. *Goro* 1; Nan. *GorGolaǯi* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 161, 162, 173.

PTurk. ***KArakan** acacia (акация): Karakh. *qaraqan* (MK); Turkm. *GaraGan* 'солянка древовидная'; Khal. *qaraqan*; MTurk. *qaraqan[a]* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *qɔrɔɣɔn*; Bashk. dial. *qaraɣan*; Kirgh. *qaraɣan*; Kaz. *qaraɣan*; Khak. *xaraɣan*; Shr. *qaraɣan*; Oyr. *qaraɣan*; Tv. *xaraɣan*, Todzh. *qaraɣan*.

◊ EDT 657, ЭСТЯ 5, 293-294, TMN 1, 275. Turk. > Mong. *qaraɣana*, whence again into Turk. (Khak. *xarɣana* etc., see ЭСТЯ ibid.).

PJpn. ***kútí-** Gardenia jasminoides (Gardenia jasminoides): MJpn. *kútínasi*; Tok. *kùchinashi*; Kyo. *kúchínáshí*; Kag. *kuchináshi*.

PKor. ***kor-** acacia, Caragana ussuriensis (акация): Mod. *koldam-čho*.

‖ The meaning 'acacia' is surprisingly well reconstructable for this root.

✸**gi̯àru** wave, stream: Tung. ***guru-**; Mong. ***goru-ka / *gori-ka**; Kor. ***kjə́r**.

PTung. ***guru-** 1 reach (of river) 2 whirlpool (1 плес 2 водоворот): Evk. *gurukā* 1, *guru-ma* 'straight (of a river reach)'; Ork. *GorGi* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 161, 174.

PMong. ***goru-ka / *gori-ka** small river, rivulet, stream (речка, ручей): MMong. *goroxan* (HY); WMong. *ɣoruqa*, *ɣoriqa* (L 362); Kh. *gorx́*; Bur. *gorxo(n)*; Kalm. *ɣoroxa* (СЯОС).

PKor. ***kjə́r** wave (волна): MKor. *kjə́r*; Mod. *kjəl*.

◊ Nam 43, KED 116.

‖ Mong. and TM reflect a common derivative **gi̯àru-kʿV*.

✸**gi̯ā̀ŕá** to walk, step: Tung. ***giari- / *gira-**; Mong. ***gar-**; Turk. ***gEŕ-**; Jpn. ***kàtí**.

PTung. ***giari- / *gira-** 1 to walk 2 to step (1 гулять 2 шагать): Evk. *gira-kta-* 2; Evn. *gịraŋ-*, *gịrqъ-* 2; Neg. *gịjān-* 2; Man. *Garda-* 'to run', *ǵari-* 'to walk round, walk away'; Ul. *Gêrị-* 1, *Gịran-* 2; Ork. *Gịran-*; Nan. *Gịari-* 1, *Gịran-* 2; Orch. *gā̄ri-* 1, *gia-* 2; Ud. *geä-li-* 1, *geäna-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 141, 142, 147, 154-155.

PMong. ***gar-** to go out (выходить): MMong. *qar-* (HY 36, SH), *qor-*, *qur-* (IM), *ɣăr-* (MA); WMong. *ɣar-* (L 350); Kh. *gar-*; Bur. *gara-*; Kalm. *ɣar-*; Ord. *Gar-*; Mog. *ɣaru-*; ZM *ɣaru-* (41-2); Dag. *gar-* (Тод. Даг. 130), *gare-* (MD 148), *garə-*; Dong. *qeri-* (MGCD *qɨri-*); Bao. *xăr-* (MGCD *xarə-*); S.-Yugh. *Gar-*; Mongr. *Gari-* (SM 120).

◊ KW 145, MGCD 285.

PTurk. ***gEŕ-** to walk, walk through (ходить, проходить через): OTurk. *kez-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *kez-* (MK, KB); Tur. *gez-*; Gag. *gez-*; Az. *gäz-*; Turkm. *gez-*; Sal. *gez-* (Kakuk); Khal. *käz-*; MTurk. *kéz-* (Sangl., MA, Бор. Бад., Pav. C.); Uzb. *kez-*; Uygh. *g/käz-*; Krm. *gez-*; Tat. *giz-*; Bashk.

giδ-; Kirgh. *kez-*; KBalk. [*kezik* 'очередь']; KKalp. *gez-*; Kum. *gez-*; Nogh. *kez-*; Tof. *kes-*.

◊ VEWT 260, EDT 757, ЭСТЯ 3, 10-11. Cf. also (with -r-) Yak. *kerij-* 'walk around'. The derived Turk. **gEŕik* 'turn, order' (< *'going through') > MMong. *kešik* (SH), WMong. *kesig* 'wake, turn' (see TMN 1, 467-468, Clark 1980, 40). The verb itself was also borrowed, cf. WMong. *kesü-*, Khalkha, Bur. *xese-*, Dag. *kese-* 'to wander, roam'.

PJpn. ***kàtí** walking (хождение пешком): OJpn. *kati*; MJpn. *kàtí*; Tok. *káchi*; Kyo. *káchí*; Kag. *kachí*.

◊ JLTT 444. The Kyoto accent is irregular, otherwise all evidence points to **kàtí*.

‖ ЭСТЯ 3, 11, JOAL 125, 126, АПиПЯЯ 74, 289, Дыбо 13.

✱**gi̯aso** to curse, horrify: Tung. ***gos-**; Mong. ***ges-**; Turk. ***Kias-**; Jpn. ***kasi-**.

PTung. ***gos-** to curse (ругать): Neg. *gosowlā-*; Man. *gasxu-* 'to swear' (Захаров 305); SMan. *Gasəhə-* (1915, 1916); Ul. *Gosolo-*; Ork. *Gosi̯-*; Nan. *Gosōla-*, n. *Gosχo(n)*; Orch. *gosola-*.

◊ TMC 1, 162-163.

PMong. ***ges-** 1 to punish 2 to suffer (1 наказывать 2 страдать): Kh. *gesgē-* 1; Kalm. *ges-* 'to suffer' (KPC).

PTurk. ***Kias-** 1 horrible, terrible 2 to annoy 3 to become wasted, lose 4 vindictive 5 inimical (1 страшный, ужасный 2 досаждать 3 разоряться, терять 4 мстительный 5 враждебный): OTurk. *qasɨnčɨγ* (OUygh. Suv.) 1; Kirgh. *qas* 5; Kaz. *qas* 5; Shr. *qasta-* 2; Chuv. *jus-*, *juzъn-* 3, *jus-tar-* 2; Yak. *xasɨmar* 4.

◊ EDT 668, Ашм. XI, 12.

PJpn. ***kasi-** to curse, damn; cast a spell (проклинать; заклинать): OJpn. *kasi-r-*; MJpn. *kasi-r-*.

‖ Cf. **kasa*.

✱**gi̯óč'e** a k. of flower: Mong. ***gečigene**; Turk. ***gEč-**; Kor. ***kòč**.

PMong. ***gečigene** silverweed, potentilla anserina (мать-и-мачеха): WMong. *gečigene* (L 381: *gičigene*); Kh. *gičgene*; Bur. *gešegenē(n)* 'название растения со съедобными корнями'; Ord. *gečigene*.

PTurk. ***gEč-** a k. of flower (вид цветка): Turkm. *gečemʒek* 'ластовень острый', *gečigeči* 'пастушья сумка'.; Kirgh. *küčük* 'catkins, aglets, flower buds'; Chuv. *kъčkъ* 'catkins, aglets, flower buds' (> Mari *kičke* 'willow buds'?).

◊ Федотов 1, 264. Not quite secure, since the root is (folk-etymologically?) contaminated either with *geče* 'goat' or with **gūčük* 'puppy'.

PKor. ***kòč** flower (цветок): MKor. *kòč*; Mod. *k:ot* [*k:očh*].

◊ Nam 54, KED 174.

‖ Very scantily represented in Turkic, so basically a Mong.-Kor. isogloss; not quite reliable.

✸**gi̯odV** belly, stomach: Tung. ***gudige**; Mong. ***gede-sün**.

PTung. ***gudige** stomach (желудок): Evk. *gudiɣē*; Evn. *gudi*; Neg. *gudi*; Man. *guweǯixe*; Ud. *gudie*; Sol. *gudege*.

◊ TMC 1, 167. On Mong. *güǯiɣe* < TM see Doerfer MT 22; backloans are probably Spoken Manchu *guǯuge* and Nan. *gūǯẽ*.

PMong. ***gede-sün** belly, intestines (живот, внутренности): MMong. *gedesun* (HY 47), *kesosun* (IM), *kitäsun*, *kuǯiesä* (MA 391, 345); WMong. *gedesü(n)*, *gedüsü(n)*; Kh. *gedes*, *gedsen*; Bur. *gedehe(n)*; Kalm. *gesṇ*; Ord. *gedüsü*; Mog. *gesän*, *gesäl*; ZM *gisäl* (3-6b); Dag. *gedes*, *getes* (Тод. Даг. 131), *ketes*; *geǯese*, *getese*, *ketese* (MD 150, 151, 183); Dong. *kiǯəsun*, *qɨǯəsun*, *kiǯiesun*; Bao. *Gaǯisoŋ*; S.-Yugh. *gedesən*; Mongr. *gidesə* (SM 136), *gədesə*.

◊ KW 135, MGCD 289.

‖ TMC 1, 167. A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✸**gi̯oje ?** to butt, horn: Tung. ***gujā-**.

PTung. ***gujā-** 1 to butt 2 horn 3 fang 4 to play (of animals) (1 бодать 2 рог 3 клык 4 играть (о животных)): Evk. *gujā-* 1; Evn. *gụj-* 1; Neg. *goja* 2; Man. *Guja-* 4; Ul. *Gụja* 3; Ork. *Gụja-* 1; Nan. *Goja* 2; Orch. *guja* 3; Ud. *guja* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 168.

‖ Basically a TM root, but cf. Yak. *kej-* 'to butt'. Jpn. **k(ù)i* 'fang' may belong here, too - but see under **kʿi̯ùge*). On the whole, rather dubious as a common Altaic etymon.

✸**g[i̯o]jkʿu** bird of prey: Tung. ***giax(ü-n)**; Turk. ***göjke**.

PTung. ***giaxü-n** 1 hawk 2 falcon (1 ястреб 2 сокол): Evk. *gê̂ki* 2; Evn. *gā̃qṛn* 1,2; Neg. *gê̂xin* 1; Man. *ǵaχun* 1; SMan. *ǵahun* 1 (2241); Jurch. *giaxun* (*giaxun-un*) (155) 2; Ul. *Gê̂χõ* 1; Nan. *Gịχõ* 1; Orch. *gā̃ki* 1; Ud. *gäxi* (Корм. 221), *geäxi*.

◊ TMC 1, 146. Cf. also TM **kiak-* 'falcon, hawk' (TMC 1, 391) - variant of the same root with assimilation?

PTurk. ***göjke** kestrel, windhover, hawk (пустельга, ястреб): OTurk. *kekük* 'a bird of prey' (OUygh. - Irq Bitig); Karakh. *kekük* 'al-zummac, a bird the bones of which are used in conjurations and sorcery' (MK); Turkm. *gövenek*; MTurk. *köjkenek* (Pav.C., Abushk.); Kirgh. *küjkö*; Khak. *köjkenek*.

◊ VEWT 288, EDT 710, ЭСТЯ 5, 133-134, Лексика 170. Turk. > Mong. *küjkünek*.

‖ Дыбо 9, Лексика 170. A Turk.-Tung. isogloss.; seems reliable, but the front vowel in Turk. is unclear.

✸**gi̯òjńu** dawn, daylight: Tung. ***giańam**; Mong. ***gegeɣe < *geɣeɣe**; Turk. ***gün(eĺ) / *guńaĺ**; Jpn. ***ka(i)**; Kor. ***kúi**.

PTung. ***giańam** dawn (рассвет, заря): Evk. *gê̂wan*; Evn. *gā̈wụn*; Neg. *gê̂wan*; Ul. *Gê̂wa(n)*; Ork. *Gê̂wa(n)*; Nan. *Gịwã*; Orch. *gā̈awan*; Ud. *gê̂äwa*.

◊ TMC 1, 145. The reflexes match almost exactly those of **miańam* 'heart', which makes us reconstruct **giańam* with a later assimilative development > **giawan*. Cf. perhaps also Jurch. *gen-gien* 'light, clear' = Man. *geŋǵen*, SMan. *giŋiN* id. (a contamination with PTM **geŋg-* 'clean, clear'? - or the same root?), see TMC 1, 177.

PMong. ***gegeɣe < *geɣeɣe** dawn, daylight (рассвет, дневной свет): MMong. *gegejen* (HY 53, SH), *gegen* (SH), *geji-* 'to become light' (SH), *gigän* (MA); WMong. *gege(n)*, *gegege(n)* (L 373); Kh. *gegē(n)*; Bur. *gegē(n)*; Kalm. *gēn*, *gegɛ̄n*; Ord. *gegē(n)*; Dag. *gegēn* (Тод. Даг. 131, MD 149), *geji-* 'to get light (about the sky)' (MD 149); Bao. *gegaŋ*; Mongr. *gəgēn* (SM 132).

◊ KW 132, 135, MGCD 290.

PTurk. ***gün(eĺ) / *guńaĺ** 1 sun 2 day 3 sunny place 4 sun-heat (1 солнце 2 день 3 солнечное место 4 солнечный жар): OTurk. *kün* 1, 2 (Orkh., OUygh.), *küneš* 3 (YB), *isig qujaš* 4 (OUygh. - Br.); Karakh. *kün* 1, 2, *qujaš* 4 (MK), *küneš* 3 (Tefs.); Tur. *gün* 2, *güneš* 1, (dial.) *gujaš* 1; Gag. *gün* 1, 2, *güneš* 1; Az. *gün* 1, 2, *günäš* 1; Turkm. *gün* 1, 2, *güneš* 1, 4, *qujāš* 1 (dial.); Sal. *gū̃n* 1, 2; Khal. *kin, kün* 1, 2, *kinäš* 'sonnig'; MTurk. *qujaš* 1 (Sangl., Abush., Pav. C.), *küneš* 1 (Pav. C., Abush., Бор. Бад.), *kün* 1, 2 (Pav. C., MA); Uzb. *kun* 1, 2, *qujɔš* 1; Uygh. *kün* 1, 2, (dial.) *qojaš* 1; Krm. *kün* 1, 2, *küneš* 1, *qujaš*, *qujas* 1; Tat. *kön* 1, 2, *qojaš* 1; Bashk. *kön* 1, 2, *könäs* 4, *qojaš* 1; Kirgh. *kün* 1, 2; Kaz. *kün* 1, 2; KBalk. *kün* 1, 2; KKalp. *kün* 1, 2, *qujaš* 1; Kum. *gün* 1, 2 *güneš* 1; Nogh. *kün* 1, 2, *qɨjas* 4; SUygh. *kun* 1, 2; Khak. *kün* 1, 2; Shr. *kün* 1, 2, *qujaš* 1; Oyr. *kün* 1, 2, dial. *qujaš* 1 (Kumd., Leb.); Tv. *xün* 1, 2; Tof. *xün* 1, 2; Chuv. *kon* 2, *xəʷvel* 1; Yak. *kün* 1, 2, *kuj̃ās* 'heat'; Dolg. *kün* 1, *kuńās* 'heat'.

◊ VEWT 301, 309 (Räsänen separates **gün* and *gun'al', which is hardly justified); EDT 679, 725, 734, ЭСТЯ 3, 100-104, 6, 112-113, Лексика 20-21, 64-65, 77-78, Федотов 1 306-307, Stachowski 161, 164. The forms **güńeĺ* and **guńaĺ* must be old dialectal variants.

PJpn. ***ka(i)** day, period of time (день, период времени): OJpn. *ke*.

◊ The root is also attested as a suffixed -ka (*patu-ka* '20 days', *itu-ka* '5 days' etc.), see JLTT 430, 448.

PKor. ***kúi** dawn (рассвет): MKor. *hắis-kúi*; Mod. *häk:wi*.

◊ Nam 484, KED 1815.

‖ Лексика 78, Doerfer MT 143. Cf. also Mong. *geji-* 'to dawn' (KW 137), proving that **geɣe-* < **geje-*. The Korean form points to a cluster with *-j-, therefore a reconstruction **gi̯òjnu* (with subsequent assimilative palatalization -jn- > -jń-) is perhaps more plausible; cf. also the variation **n*/**ń* in PT. The Jpn. reflex is somewhat problematic: loss of

final resonant here may be explained by a standard development before a velar suffix (*ka < *gi̯òjn(u)-gV, cf. Mong. *gege-γe, Man. geŋ-ǵe); but one would rather expect a PJ form like *ku(i). The irregular vowel may be due to contraction, cf. a similar case in PJ *ká 'mosquito' < PA *kúńe.

✱**gi̯ǒ[k]ó** to run, send: Tung. ***gik-**; Mong. ***güji-**; Turk. ***Kog-**; Jpn. ***kàká-**.

PTung. ***gik-** 1 to gallop 2 to send 3 to spy (1 бежать рысью 2 посылать 3 разведывать): Evn. *gi̯qli̯-* 3; Man. *ǵaχala-ča-* 1; Ul. *Gi̯lta-* 2; Nan. *Gi̯qo-* 1, *Gi̯aqta-* 2; Orch. *gikta-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 137, 149.

PMong. ***güji-** to run, gallop, flee (бежать, убегать): MMong. *gue-* (HY 16, 36), *gui'ji-* (SH), *gui-* (MA), *guj-* (IM); WMong. *güi-*, *güjü-* (L 390); Kh. *güj-*; Bur. *güj-*; Kalm. *gǖ-*; Ord. *güj-*; Mog. *güī-*; KT *gujä-* (10-6a); Dag. *gui-* (Тод. Даг. 133, MD 153); Mongr. *gwə̄-* (SM 140), *gui-* (Huzu).

◊ KW 140, MGCD 308.

PTurk. ***Kog-** to drive, pursue (гнать, преследовать): Tur. *koγ-* (since 17th cent.); Uygh. *qoγla-* (dial.); Khak. *xoγ-*; Oyr. *qoγ-*; Yak. *kuolā-*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 6, 9-10, VEWT 275 (should be distinguished from PT *Kob-).

PJpn. ***kàká-** to run, gallop, flee (бежать, скакать, убегать): MJpn. *kaka-*; Tok. *kaké-*; Kyo. *kàkè-*; Kag. *kàkè-*.

◊ JLTT 702.

‖ The medial consonant behaves irregularly: the Turk. and Mong. forms point to an intermediate *gi̯ogo, probably a result of assimilation < *gi̯oko.

✱**gi̯ola (~ -Í-, *gi̯alo)** to burn, fire: Tung. ***gul-**; Mong. ***gal**.

PTung. ***gul-** 1 to blaze 2 to set fire 3 (bon)fire 4 hearth (1 сверкать 2 разжигать 3 костер 4 очаг): Evk. *gul-* 1; Evn. *gu̯l-* 2; Neg. *golo-wun* 3; Man. *Golon tuwa* 3; *gulgin* 'flame'; Ul. *Gol-ǯo(n)* 4; Nan. *Gola-* 2, *Golǯõ* 4; Orch. *gogǯo(n)* 4; Sol. *gu̯lǯēr* 4.

◊ TMC 1, 169.

PMong. ***gal** fire (огонь): MMong. *qal* (HY 22, SH), *qal* (IM), *γal* (MA); WMong. *γal* (L 346); Kh. *gal*; Bur. *gal*; Kalm. *γal*; Ord. *Gal*; Mog. *γōl*; *γɔ̄l* (18-2a); Dag. *gali*, *gaĺ* (Тод. Даг. 130, MD 148); Dong. *qan*; Bao. *xal*; S.-Yugh. *Gal*; Mongr. *Gar* (SM 118).

◊ KW 141-142, MGCD 279.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 294. A Mong.-Tung. isogloss. Poppe 24, 75 compares the TM stem with Mong. *γolu-mta* 'hearth', but cf. rather *gi̯ūĺo.

✸**gi̯òlo** to be unhappy, endure: Tung. ***gil-**; Mong. ***golu-**; Turk. ***Kol-**; Jpn. ***kə̀rápá- (~-uo-)**.

PTung. ***gil-** 1 to be sore, ache (of heart, wounds) 2 to be sad, annoyed, indignant (1 ныть, болеть (о сердце, ране) 2 грустить, досадовать, негодовать): Evk. *gilka-* 1; Evn. *gịlko-* 1; Man. *gila-*, *giŋqa-*, *giŋGa-*, *gilaǯa-*, *gilača-* 2; Ul. *gil-*, *gêl-* 1; Ork. *gilči-* 1; Nan. *Gịlkī-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 151.

PMong. ***golu-** to be unhappy with smth., consider smth. bad (презирать, не любить): MMong. *qolu-* (HY 36); WMong. *γolu-*, *γol-* (L 359); Kh. *golo-*; Bur. *golo-*; Kalm. *γol-*.

◊ KW 150.

PTurk. ***Kol-** to beg (просить (милостыню), умолять): OTurk. *qol-* (Yen., OUygh.); Karakh. *qol-* (MK); MTurk. *qol-* (Pav. C., Abush.), *qol-či* 'beggar'; Uzb. *qɔlčir* 'Verleumder' (KW 183); Krm. *qol-*; SUygh. *qol-*; Yak. *kulu* 'give (imper.)'.

◊ VEWT 277, EDT 616, ЭСТЯ 6, 36-37. Turk. > WMong. *qolčir*, KW *xoĺčr* 'verschwenderisch, leichtsinnig' (KW 183).

PJpn. ***kə̀rápá- (~-uo-)** to endure (терпеть, выносить): MJpn. *korafa-*; Tok. *koraé-*; Kyo. *kòràè-*; Kag. *kòràè-*.

◊ JLTT 712.

‖ KW 150.

✸**gi̯ṓĺV** edge; eyebrow: Tung. ***gula**; Turk. ***K(i)āĺ**.

PTung. ***gula** 1 edge, cliff 2 eyelashes 3 beard, moustache (1 склон, скат 2 ресницы 3 борода, усы): Evk. *gula* 1; Neg. *gulaxan* 1; Man. *Gulaqu* 1; Orch. *gūla* 1, *gulagö* 2; Ud. *gula* 1, *guluge* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 169.

PTurk. ***K(i)āĺ** eyebrow; edge, bank; saddle bow (бровь; край, берег; лука седла): OTurk. *qaš* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *qaš* (MK, KB); Tur. *kaš* (dial.); Az. *Gaš*; Turkm. *Gāš*; MTurk. *qaš* (Sangl., Pav. C., Abush.), *qaš* (CCum.); Uzb. *qɔš*; Uygh. *qaš*; Krm. *qaš*; Tat. *qaš*; Bashk. *qaš*; Kirgh. *qaš*; Kaz. *qas*; KKalp. *qas*; Kum. *qaš*; Nogh. *qas*; Khak. *xas*; Shr. *qaš*; Oyr. *qaš*; Tv. *qaš*; Tof. *xaš*; Yak. *xās*; Dolg. *kās*.

◊ EDT 669, VEWT 240, TMN 3, 389, ЭСТЯ 5, 343-345, Лексика 211-212, 542, Stachowski 143.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss, with very similar semantic developments. Лексика 212.

✸**gi̯ṓpʿe** to swell, form blisters: Mong. ***göb- / *güb-**; Turk. ***Kāp-**; Jpn. ***kəp(u)i (~ -ua-)**; Kor. ***kòpó-m-**.

PMong. ***göb- / *güb-** 1 elevation, unevenness on the surface of an object; wart, blister, pimple 2 to have pimples 3 hill, mound (1 возвышение, неровность на поверхности предмета; бородавка, прыщ 2 иметь прыщи 3 холм, возвышение): WMong. *göbdürigüü* 1, *göb-*

dürigüde- 2 (L 385), *gübege(n)*, *gübüge(n)* 3 (L 388); Kh. *gövdrū̄* 1, *gövdrū̄de-* 2, *güvē* 3; Bur. *gübē* 3, *gübɨ-*; Kalm. *göwē*, *güwē* 3; Ord. *göbdörū̄* 1, 3.

◊ KW 138, 140.

PTurk. ***Kāp-*** 1 to swell, form blisters 2 thick, swollen 3 hill, mound (1 распухать, нарывать 2 толстый, распухший 3 холм, возвышение): Karakh. *qapar-* 1, *qapa* (MK) 3; Tur. *kabar-* 1, *kaba* 2; Az. *Gabar-* 1, *Gaba* 2; Turkm. *Gābar-* 1, *Gāba* 2; MTurk. (OKypch.) *qabar-* (AH) 1, *qaba* (Houts., AH) 2; Uygh. *qapa(r)-* 1, dial. *qova* 2; Tat. *qabar-* 1, *qaba* 2; Bashk. *qabar-* 1, *qabaq* 3; Kirgh. *qabar-* 1, *qabaq* 3; Kaz. *qabar-* 1, *qaba* 2; KKalp. *qabar-* 1, *qapa* 2; Kum. *qabar-* 1, *qaba* 2; Nogh. *qabar-* 1; Tv. *xavar-*, *xapɨj-* 1; Chuv. *xъʷba-lan-* 1; Yak. *xaba-lan-* 1.

◊ VEWT 215, 233, ЭСТЯ 5, 158, 165-166.

PJpn. ***kəp(u)i (~ -ua-)*** swelling of feet (опухание ног): MJpn. *kofi*.

PKor. ***kòpó-m*** fever, malaria (лихорадка, малярия): MKor. *kòpó-m*.

◊ Nam 47.

‖ Cf. **kŏp'e*, **k'àpe*.

✱**gi̯óra** a k. of reed: Tung. ***gurbi***; Turk. ***KAr(a)gu***; Jpn. ***kántúrá***.

PTung. ***gurbi*** reed (тростник): Man. *Gurbi(n)*.

◊ TMC 1, 173. Attested only in Manchu, with possible external parallels.

PTurk. ***KAr(a)gu*** reed (тростник): Karakh. *qarɣu* (AH); Tur. *karɣɨ*; Az. *Garɣɨ*; Turkm. *GarGɨ*; Khal. Garɣo; MTurk. *qarɣu* (AH), *ɣarqu* (Бор. Бад.), *ɣaraw* (Pav. C., Abush.); Uzb. *ɣɔrɔw*; Chuv. *xorɣux* 'осот полевой, молочай' (< **Korgaɣu* with secondary -x ; Ашм. XVI, 194: *xur xuxi*, *xur xuxxi*, *xor xъvъx*).

◊ ЭСТЯ 5, 306.

PJpn. ***kántúrá*** vine, creeper (лоза): OJpn. *kadura*; MJpn. *kádúra*; Tok. *kàzura*; Kyo. *kázùrà*; Kag. *kazúra*.

◊ JLTT 447. All dialects except Kyoto point to high tone.

‖ The Turk.-Manchu match is semantically straightforward; the Jpn. match is phonetically plausible, but less certain semantically.

✱**gi̯óro (~ -ŕ-)** to cut, carve, shear: Tung. ***giri-***; Mong. ***gur-***; Jpn. ***kár-***.

PTung. ***giri-*** to cut out (вырезать): Evk. *gir-*; Evn. *gi̯r-*; Neg. *gī-*, *gi̯j-*; Man. *giri-*; Ul. *Gi̯ri̯-*; Ork. *Gi̯ri̯-*; Nan. *Gi̯ri̯-*; Orch. *gī-*, *giji-*; Ud. *gī-*.

◊ TMC 1, 153-154.

PMong. ***gur-*** 1 carving 2 whetstone (1 резьба 2 точильный камень): WMong. *ɣorbi* 1, *ɣuranǯu* 2 (L 369); Kh. *gurvi* 1, *guranʒ* 2; Bur. *guŕba* 1; Kalm. *guŕwə*, *goŕwə* 1.

◊ KW 152, 156.

PJpn. ***kár-*** to shear, mow (срезать, косить): OJpn. *kar-*; MJpn. *kár-*; Tok. *kàr-*; Kyo. *kár-*; Kag. *kár-*.

◊ JLTT 704.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 288, Miller-Street 1975, 108ff (with a somewhat different distribution of roots). MKor. *kȁr-hȁi-* < **kȍr-hȁi-* through assimilation (?). The root tends to contaminate with a number of similar roots: see **k'irga, *k'iregV, *kiro.*

✱**gi̯ȍŕe (~ *gi̯ȁŕu)** skin disease: Tung. ***gōr-**; Turk. ***KEŕi-**.

PTung. ***gōr-** 1 to exuviate, lose skin 2 a bird that has lost feathers (1 линять, сбрасывать кожу 2 облинявшая птица): Evk. *gōr-* 1; Evn. *gōr-* 1; Neg. *goj-* 1; Man. *Goqǯi* 2; Ul. *Golị-* 1; Ork. *Gorị-* 1; Nan. *Gōrị-* 1; Ud. *guai-* 1; Sol. *gori-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 160-161.

PTurk. ***KEŕi-** fever, contagious disease (лихорадка, заразная болезнь): OTurk. *kezik* (OUygh.); Karakh. *kezig* (KB, MK); Tur. *gezik* 'a rodent ulcer' (EDT), *kezek* 'gangrene'; MTurk. *kezek* 'a rodent ulcer' (Abush.), Kypch. *keziv* 'pestilence' (CCum.); Uygh. *kezik* 'typhus'; Bashk. *kiδew* 'pestilence'; Kirgh. *kezik* 'long uncurable disease'; Kaz. *kezik* 'fever'; KKalp. *gezik* 'a cold in the head'; Khak. *kizəm*; Oyr. *kezim*, *kezü*.

◊ EDT 758-759, VEWT 260 (derivation from *kez-* 'walk' is highly dubious).

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**gi̯ose (~ -i, *gi̯aso)** stick, pole: Tung. ***gusa**; Mong. ***gesi-ɣün**.

PTung. ***gusa** 1 pole (for tying nets) 2 banner (1 шест (для привязывания сети) 2 знамя): Man. *Gusa* 2; Ul. *Gụsa* 1; Ork. *Gụsa* 1; Nan. *Gosa* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 175. Man. > Dag. *gusa* (Тод. Даг. 133).

PMong. ***gesi-ɣün** branch (ветка): MMong. *geši'un* (HY 7), *gešibūn* (Lig.VMI), *kešiut* (pl.) (SH Козин); WMong. *gesigün*, *gesigṻ* (L 380); Kh. *gešṻn*, *gišṻn*; Bur. *gešṻ(hen)*; Kalm. *gešṻn*; Ord. *göšṻ*; Dag. *gesū* (Тод. Даг. 131, MD 150); Mongr. *kəʒṻ* 'attisoir' (SM 197).

◊ KW 135. Mong. > Khak. *köžö* 'bough'.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**gi̯ube** to hit, pound: Tung. ***güb-**; Turk. ***Küb-**; Jpn. ***kuwa-**.

PTung. ***güb-** to pound, strike (бить, выбивать, выколачивать): Evk. *giw-*; Evn. *gīw-*; Neg. *giw-*; Ul. *guji-*; Nan. *guji-*; Orch. *giwi-*; Ud. *giu-*.

◊ TMC 1, 148.

PTurk. ***Küb-** to pound, hit (laundry) (бить, выбивать (белье)): Tat. *küjɛ-*; Chuv. *kiv-*.

◊ VEWT 306, Федотов 1, 268, 290.

PJpn. ***kuwa-** to kick (пинать): OJpn. *kuwa-*; MJpn. *kuwa-*; Tok. *kér-*; Kyo. *kér-*; Kag. *kèr-*.

◊ JLTT 707. The tone is not clear because of later contraction; the conjugation type of the verb has secondarily changed (*ke-* would be regular in modern Jpn.).

‖ EAS 148, Poppe 25, Doerfer MT 73. Cf. **gŏp'i.*

✱**gi̯ūbe** to smoke, roast: Tung. ***gṻb-**; Turk. ***gübeč**; Jpn. ***káwə́r-**; Kor. ***kūb-**.

PTung. ***gṻb-** 1 to fume, smoke 2 furnace, stove (1 коптить, вялить 2 очаг, горн): Evk. *gī-* 1, *gīwun* 2; Man. *Guwa-x́an* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 147, 165.

PTurk. ***gübeč** frying pan; earthenware pot (сковородка; глиняный горшок): Karakh. *küveč* ((MK); Tur. *güveč*; Gag. *güveč*; Az. *güväǰ*; Turkm. *göweč*; Uzb. *köväš* (dial.); Oyr. *kȫš* 'skull' (Верб.).

◊ VEWT 151, 286, EDT 687-688, ЭСТЯ 3, 53-54.

PJpn. ***káwə́r-** to smell, fumigate (пахнуть; дымиться): OJpn. *ka-wor-*; MJpn. *kawor-*; Tok. *kàor-*; Kyo. *káór-*; Kag. *kaór-*.

◊ JLTT 703.

PKor. ***kūb-** to bake, fry (печь, жарить): MKor. *kūp-* (*kù'í-*); Mod. *kūp-* (-w-).

◊ Nam 63, KED 220.

‖ One of several similar roots (cf. **ki̯ajo, *ki̯aju*) tending to contaminate, which may explain some irregularities (notably, tone and irregular -a- in Jpn.).

✱**gi̯ùla** thin, short: Tung. ***gōl-**; Mong. ***gulbi-**; Turk. ***Kɨl-**; Jpn. ***kàrú-**.

PTung. ***gōl-** 1 rare (with intervals) 2 shallow (1 редкий (с промежутками) 2 мелкий): Evk. *gōrba* (Bac.) 2; Nan. *Gōlị* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 159. -r- in Evk. is not quite clear: *gōrba* may be < **gōlba* under the influence of the synonymous *arba* 'shallow'.

PMong. ***gulbi-** be thin, lean (быть тонким, худым): WMong. *γulbij-* (MXTTT); Kh. *gulbij-*; Bur. *gulba-gar*.

PTurk. ***Kɨl-** 1 thin 2 short (1 тонкий 2 короткий): Kirgh. *qɨlmɨj-*; Kaz. *qɨlmɨj-*; Khak. *xɨlbɨs*; Oyr. *qɨlbɨq*, *qɨlbɨs* 1; Chuv. *xəldərke* 'худой, хилый, тонкий'; Yak. *kɨlgas* 2; Dolg. *kɨlgas* 2.

◊ On the rare reflexes of this root see VEWT 263, Stachowski 168.

PJpn. ***kàrú-** light (of weight) (легкий): OJpn. *karu-*; MJpn. *kàrú-nari*; Tok. *kàru-*; Kyo. *kárù-*; Kag. *káru-*.

◊ JLTT 831. Kyoto and Kagoshima point rather to **kárú-*, but the attested MJ form is *kàrú-*.

‖ A common derivative **gi̯ùla-bV-* is reflected in Turkic, Mongolian and TM.

✱**gi̯ŭldo** to stretch: Tung. ***gülde-**; Mong. ***gulda-**; Turk. ***Kula-**.

PTung. ***gülde-** to stretch (вытягивать, расправлять, разворачивать): Evk. *gilde-*; Evn. *gildъ-*; Neg. *gilde-*; Ul. *gulde-*; Ork. *gulči-*; Nan. *gulde-*; Orch. *gigdeli-* 'to change clothes'; Ud. *gigde-*.

◊ TMC 1, 150. Southern languages reflect a partial contamination with *gulde- 'untie, unwrap' (v. sub *gúldi).

PMong. ***guld-** along (вдоль): MMong. *γulatqa-* 'to roll' (MA 179); WMong. *γuldu*; Kh. *guld*; Kalm. *γuldə-* 'roll off, slide along'; Ord. *Gulad-* 'roll off'.

◊ KW 154. Mong. > Man. *Gula-* 'fall off (a rock)' (TMC 1, 169; Doerfer MT 111).

PTurk. ***Kula-** 1 to wave; jump over 2 to stretch 3 fathom (1 махать; перепрыгивать 2 тянуться 3 сажень): Karakh. *qulač* 3 (MK); Tur. *kulač* 3; Gag. *qolač* 3; Az. *Gulač, Golaǯ* 3; Turkm. *Gulač* 3; Sal. *qulaš* 3; MTurk. *qula-* 2 (Буд.), *qulač* 3 (АН, Бор. Бад.), *qulaǯ* 3 (Pav. C.); Uzb. *qulač* 3; Uygh. *γulač* 3; Tat. *qolač* 3; Bashk. *qolas* 3; Kirgh. *qulač* 3; Kaz. *qulaš* 3; KKalp. *qulaš* 3; Kum. *qulač* 3; Nogh. *qulaš* 3; SUygh. *qulaš*, *Golaš* 3; Khak. *xulas* 3; Oyr. *qula-* 1, *qulaš* 3; Tv. *qulaš* 3; Chuv. *xъʷlaś* 3; Yak. *kulā-*, *kulas-ta-* 1.

◊ EDT 618, VEWT 298, TMN 3, 487, ЭСТЯ 6, 122, 129-131.

‖ TMC 1, 150 (Mong.-Tung.). A Western isogloss.

✸**gi̯uli** male deer: Tung. ***gil-**; Turk. ***Külmüŕ**.

PTung. ***gil-** reindeer (more than 5-years-old) (домашний олень (свыше 5 лет)): Evk. *gilge*, *gilduka*; Evn. *gilge*, *gi̯lrъq*; Neg. *gi̯ldu̯ka*; Ud. *giloŋgüö* 'male roe'.

◊ TMC 1, 150. Cf. also *gilbe- in Evk. *gilbe-* 'to tie deer in a tandem', *gilbe-wun* 'buckle, loop (on the back saddlebow, for tying the next deer in the caravan)', Evn. *gilbъn-*, Orok *gilben-* 'to tie in a tandem'.

PTurk. ***Külmüŕ** male chamois (самец серны): Karakh. *külmüz* (KB); Khak. *külbüs*; Oyr. *külmüs*; Tv. *xülbüs*; Tof. *xülbüs*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 5, 139, Лексика 153.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss.

✸**g[i̯ú]ĺe** to strain liquid: Tung. ***gile-**; Turk. ***Köĺ-er-**; Jpn. ***kə́s- (~ -ua-)**; Kor. ***kərì-**.

PTung. ***gile-** to sprinkle with wine (sacr.) (кропить, делать возлияние вином): Man. *gile-*.

◊ TMC 1, 152. Attested only in Manchu, but having probable external parallels.

PTurk. ***Köĺ-er-** to be full to overflowing (быть переполненным, переливаться через край): Karakh. *kösher-* (MK).

◊ EDT 754.

PJpn. ***kə́s- (~ *-ua-)** to strain, filter (процеживать, фильтровать): Tok. *kòs-*; Kyo. *kós-*; Kag. *kós-*.

◊ The word is not attested in OJ sources; Martin JLTT 713 (contradicting Martin 213) takes it as a variant of *kua-s- 'send/cross over', which is highly dubious.

PKor. ***kərì-** to strain, filter (процеживать, фильтровать): MKor. *kərì-*; Mod. *kəri-*.

◊ Liu 40, KED 82.

‖ Martin 232, JOAL 119 (Kor.-Jpn.). Reflexes outside the Eastern area are scarce, but still the comparison seems probable, despite some phonetic problems (in TM *-ü- would be expected).

✸**gi̯ǜĺo (~ -e)** to smoke, fume: Tung. ***gǖl-**; Mong. ***golu-mta**; Jpn. ***kùsù-(m)p-**; Kor. ***kər-**.

PTung. ***gǖl-** to smoke, fume (коптить): Evn. *gīl-* 'кипеть'; Ul. *gulup-*; Ork. *gulitči-*; Nan. *gulu-*.

◊ TMC 1, 147, 149. Shortening in Nan. is not quite clear (perhaps a misrecording).

PMong. ***golu-mta** hearth (очаг): MMong. *γulumtan* (MA 179); WMong. *γolumta* (L 359); Kh. *golomt*; Bur. *gulamta*; Kalm. *γulṃt*, *γolṃtə*; Ord. *Gulumta*; S.-Yugh. *golomd*.

◊ KW 150, 154, MGCD 299.

PJpn. ***kùsù-(m)p-** to smoke, fume (дымить(ся)): MJpn. *kusuba-*; Tok. *kusubúr-*; Kyo. *kúsúbúr-*; Kag. *kùsùbùr-*.

◊ JLTT 717.

PKor. ***kə̄r-** to be smoked (коптить(ся)): Mod. *kə̄l-*.

◊ KED 97 (derives from *kɨɨl-* < **kɨ̀ńɨ̀r-* q. v. sub **kʿùńe*), which is phonetically implausible.

‖ Cf. **gi̯ola.*

✸**gi̯ǜpʿa (~ -u)** to extinguish: Tung. ***gūp-**; Turk. ***Kɨp-**.

PTung. ***gūp-** to extinguish, be extinguished (гасить, гаснуть): Ul. *gūpu-*, *gōkpi-* (*itr.*), *gūptu-* (tr.); Ork. *gūptu-* (*itr.*), *gūpu-* (tr.); Nan. *gūp-*, *gūkpu-* (*itr.*), *gūpu-* (tr.).

◊ TMC 1, 159. Cf. also Evk. *kubdume* 'dark', see TMC 1, 421 (< **gup-tu-me* ?)

PTurk. ***Kɨp-** 1 spark 2 ashes (1 искра 2 зола): Tat. *qɨpqɨn* 1; Kirgh. *qɨpɨn* 1; Kaz. *qɨpqɨn* 2; Khak. *xɨbɨn* 1,2; Oyr. *qɨbɨn* 1, *qɨbɨr* 2; Yak. *kɨbɨan* 1.

◊ VEWT 263, 265, Лексика 369, ЭСТЯ 6, 223.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss. Cf. **gepʿV.*

✸**gȍbè (~ -o)** to search, hunt: Tung. ***gob-**; Mong. ***guji-**; Turk. ***Kob-**; Jpn. ***kə̀p-**.

PTung. ***gob-** to hunt (охотиться): Evk. *goγ-*, *gowǯo-*; Evn. *gobǯa-*; Neg. *gobǯo-*; Ork. *Gobdo-*; Orch. *gobǯono-*.

◊ TMC 1, 157.

PMong. ***guji-** to search, ask (искать, просить): MMong. *qu'iu* (HY 39), *quju-* (SH), *quj-* (IM), *γuj(ă)-* (MA); WMong. *γuju-* (L 365), *γuji-*; Kh. *guj-*; Bur. *guj-*; Kalm. *γū-*, *γǖ-*; Ord. *guj-*; Dag. *goi-* (Тод. Даг. 132), *guai-*; Dong. *Goji-*; Bao. *Gui-*; Mongr. *Gwə̄rla-* 'demander avec instance, prier, mendier' (SM 124).

◊ KW 156.

PTurk. ***Kob-** to follow, chase (преследовать, гнаться): Karakh. *qov-* (MK); Tur. *kov-*; Gag. *qū-*; Az. *Gov-*; Turkm. *qov-*; MTurk. *qov-* (AH), *qaw-* (Бор. Бад.); Uzb. *qaw-* (dial.), *quw-*; Krm. *quw-*; Tat. *quw-*; Bashk.

qɨw-; Kirgh. *qū-*, *qubala-*; Kaz. *quw-*; KBalk. *quw-*; KKalp. *quw-*; Kum. *quw-*; Nogh. *quw-*; Oyr. *qū-*; Chuv. *xu-*, *xъv-*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 6, 9-10, VEWT 275, Федотов 2, 315-316. The Karakh. derivative *qovdaq* 'greedy' (although scarcely attested) is a probable source of WMong. *qobduγ* 'greedy', see Clark 1977, 147.

PJpn. ***kàp-*** to ask, beg (просить, умолять, выпрашивать): OJpn. *kop-*; MJpn. *kòf-*; Tok. *kó-*; Kyo. *kò-*; Kag. *kò-*.

◊ JLTT 714.

‖ KW 156, Владимирцов 160, 272, Poppe 24, 49, Ozawa 202-203, Miller 1985, 145, АПиПЯЯ 81.

✱**goblu** valley: Tung. ***gola***; Mong. ***gowl***; Turk. ***Kōl***; Jpn. ***kura***; Kor. ***kōr***.

PTung. ***gola*** valley (долина): Man. *golo*.

◊ TMC 1, 160. Manch. *golo* 'valley, watershed' has also acquired the meaning 'land between two rivers' and 'administrative region'. With the latter meaning it was borrowed into Ud. *golo* 'people', Nan. *Golo* id., (Bik.) 'region, locality'.

PMong. ***gowl*** river; river valley, centre (река; долина реки, центр): MMong. *qol* (SH), *γol* (MA); WMong. *γoul*; Kh. *gol*; Bur. *gol*; Kalm. *γol*; Ord. *Gol*; Mog. *γōl*; Dag. *gol* (Тод. Даг. 132), *gole* (MD 152); Dong. *Gon*; S.-Yugh. *Gol*; Mongr. *Gor* (SM 125), (MGCD *Gol)*.

◊ KW 149-150, MGCD 298, 300. The meaning 'centre' in Mong. is obviously secondary (< 'river bed', 'river centre', despite Doerfer TMN 1, 438 who thinks of an opposite semantic development).

PTurk. ***Kōl*** valley (долина): Karakh. *qol* (MK); Tur. *kol* (dial.); Turkm. *Gōl*; MTurk. *qol* (B); Uygh. *qol* (dial.); Tat. *qul*; Bashk. *qul* (dial.); Kirgh. *qol*; KBalk. *qol*; Kum. *qol*; SUygh. *qol* 'gutter'; Khak. *xol*; Tv. *xol*.

◊ VEWT 277, Лексика 90-91, EDT 615 (confused with **Kol* 'arm'), ЭСТЯ 6, 43-46.

PJpn. ***kura*** deep valley (глубокая долина): OJpn. *kura*, *kura-tani*.

PKor. ***kōr*** valley (долина): MKor. *kōr*; Mod. *kōl*.

◊ Nam 51, KED 156.

‖ EAS 48, KW 150, SKE 121, Martin 245, Whitman 1985, 191, 222, Martin 1996, 39, АПиПЯЯ 19, 70. Mong. cannot be borrowed from Turk., despite Щербак 1997, 139.; the isolated Manchu form may be < Mong. (see TMN 1, 439, Doerfer MT 116, Rozycki 91), but not necessarily so.

✱**gòbù (~ -u-)** beautiful: Mong. ***gowa***; Jpn. ***kùpà-***; Kor. ***kōb-***.

PMong. ***gowa*** beautiful, good (красивый, хороший): MMong. *qo'a* (SH), *γua* (MA), *qohā* (IM); WMong. *γuwa*, *γuua*, *γoua* (L 370); Kh. *gua*; Bur. *gō*; Kalm. *gō* 'straight'; Ord. *Gō, Gōn*; Dong. *gau*.

◊ KW 152, TMN 1, 421 (> Oyr. *qo,* Yak. *kuo*). Despite Joki 214 and Menges 1984, 273 not < Chin.

PJpn. ***kùpà-** 1 beautiful 2 fine, detailed (1 красивый 2 точный, подробный): OJpn. *kupa-si* 1; MJpn. *kùfà-sí* 2; Tok. *kuwashí-* 2; Kyo. *kúwàshì-* 2; Kag. *kuwashí-* 2.

◊ JLTT 834.

PKor. ***kōb-** beautiful, lovely (красивый): MKor. *kōp-* (-w-); Mod. *kop-* (-w-).

◊ Nam 52, KED 163.

‖ EAS 90, SKE 124 (despite Doerfer's - TMN 1, 422 - doubts, the comparison seems impeccable), Miller 1985, 144-145, АПиПЯЯ 15, 68, Ozawa 18.

✸**gòdè** to be diligent, persistent, to endure: Mong. ***güǯi-**; Turk. ***Kodur-**; Jpn. ***kə̀tàpa-**.

PMong. ***güǯi- / *güd-ke** 1 to be energetic, persistent, stubborn, to take risks 2 to slander, calumniate (1 быть упрямым, настойчивым, энергичным 2 клеветать): WMong. *güǯire-*, *güǯirde-* (L 393) 1, 2, *güdke-* (L 388) 2; Kh. *güǯirde-*, *gütge-* 2; Bur. *güžer* 'slander'; *güžer* 'reckless, persistent'; Kalm. *güǯṛ-*, *gütkə-* 1; Ord. *güǯir* 'violence'; Dag. *guǯule-* (MD 153) 2, *geǯire* (n.).

◊ KW 139, MGCD 307.

PTurk. ***Kod-, *Kodur-** 1 to take trouble, make efforts 2 to overpower (1 прилагать усилия 2 осиливать, одолевать): Karakh. *qoδur-* (MK) 1; Yak. *xot-* 2; Dolg. *kot-* 2.

◊ EDT 605; Stachowski 154 (but, because of semantic difference, hardly to **Kod-* 'put aside').

PJpn. ***kə̀tàpa-** to endure (терпеть): MJpn. *kòtàfa-*; Tok. *kotáe-*, *kotaé-*; Kyo. *kòtàè-*; Kag. *kòtàè-*.

◊ JLTT 713: the verb is usually treated as = **kə̀tàpa-* 'to answer', but the two forms should be probably separated (because of the difference in meaning and external evidence).

‖ Cf. **ki̯ū́di*, **kitʿu*.

✸**gódú** down, to lower: Mong. ***gudu-**; Turk. ***Kodɨ**; Jpn. ***kúntá-r-**.

PMong. ***gudu-** 1 to lower, be bent downward 2 downward (1 опускаться, склоняться вниз 2 вниз): WMong. *ɣuduji-* 1, *ɣudus* 2 (L 364, 365); Kh. *gudaj-*, *guduj-* 1, *gudas* 2; Bur. *gudɨ-* 1; Kalm. *ɣudī-* 1, *ɣudəs* 2; Ord. *Gudus* 'in the centre'.

◊ KW 153.

PTurk. ***Kodɨ** below, downwards (внизу, вниз): OTurk. *qodɨ* (Yen., OUygh.); Karakh. *qoδɨ* (MK, QB); Tur. *koju*; MTurk. *quju*, *qujɨ* (MA, Бор. Бад.), *quji* (Pav. C., Abush.); Uzb. *quji*; Uygh. *quju*; SUygh. *qozɨ*, *quzɨ*, *quzu*; Tv. *qudu*; Tof. *qudu*; Chuv. (?) *xərlə* 'bowing the head' (KW 153); Yak. *xotu* 'downstream; North'; Dolg. *kotun* 'in the direction of'.

◊ EDT 596, VEWT 275, ЭСТЯ 6, 31-32, Stachowski 154.

PJpn. ***kúntá-r-** to lower, go down (опускаться): OJpn. *kuda-r-*; MJpn. *kúdá-r-*; Tok. *kùdar-*; Kyo. *kúdár-*; Kag. *kudár-*.

◊ JLTT 715 (also **kúntá-s-* 'to lower').

‖ KW 153, Владимирцов 160, 319.

✱**gȍje** a k. of ferment: Tung. ***gū (~ *gū̃)**; Turk. ***göjü-**; Jpn. ***ki**; Kor. ***kɨ-**.

PTung. ***gū (~ *gū̃)** 1 poison 2 a poisonous plant (1 яд 2 ядовитое растение): Man. *gu orχo* 2; Ul. *gū* 2; Ork. *gū* 1; Nan. *gū* 1; Ud. *gū*.

◊ TMC 1, 164.

PTurk. ***göjü-** 1 capers 2 ferment for milk 3 a k. of fermented milk drink (1 каперсы 2 закваска для молока 3 вид квашенного молочного напитка): Turkm. *göjül* 1; Kirgh. *kȫrčök* 3; Chuv. *kəʷvelek* 2, *kəʷve-* 'to ferment'; Yak. *köjörgö* 2, *küörčex* 3; *köjün-* 'to ferment' (der. *kȫnńör-*).

◊ Егоров 103. Kirgh. > Kalm. *kȫrcəg* (see differently in KW 244, Лексика 451).

PJpn. ***ki** wine (вино): OJpn. *kji*.

◊ JLTT 449.

PKor. ***kɨ-** to make sour (of wine), coagulate (квасить (о вине), сгущать(ся)): MKor. *kɨ-hă-*.

◊ Nam 77, HMCH 314.

‖ Jpn. **ki* must be a result of early secondary contraction (**kəj-* > *ki).

✱**gojV** different, other: Tung. ***goj / *gia**; Mong. ***gojar**; Jpn. ***kía**.

PTung. ***goj / *gia** other (другой): Evk. *gê*; Evn. *gã*; Neg. *gê*; Man. *Guwa*; SMan. *Guā* (3023) 'other,another'; Ul. *Gê-Gda* 'single'; *Goj*; Ork. *Gê-da* 'one, single'; *Goị*; Nan. *Gịa-Gda* 'single'; *Goj*; Ud. *geä*; Sol. *gẽ*.

◊ TMC 1, 144, 157-158. Ramstedt's (SKE 185) idea about borrowing from Sino-Korean is impossible.

PMong. ***gojar** two (два): MMong. *xojar* (HY 42), *qojar* (SH), *qujar* (IM), *qujar* (MA); WMong. *qojar* (L 955); Kh. *xojor*; Bur. *xojor*; Kalm. *xojr*; Ord. *xojor*; Mog. *qojōr*; ZM *qejār* (25-1a); Dag. *xojir* (Тод. Даг. 177), *hojire* (MD 162); Dong. *Gua*; Bao. *Guar*; S.-Yugh. *Gūr*; Mongr. *Gōr* (SM 122).

◊ KW 181-182, MGCD 361. Northern dialects reflect *k-, due to contamination with **koji-* 'to be behind, follow' or with **korin* 'twenty'.

PJpn. ***kía** different, other (другой, отличный): OJpn. *kje*; MJpn. *ké*.

◊ JLTT 448.

‖ The Jpn. form reflects a contraction **kía* < **kVja*, frequent in roots with medial *-j-.

✱**gokV** a k. of reed or leek: Mong. ***gogu-**; Turk. ***Koga (~ -k-)**.

PMong. ***gogu-** a k. of wild leek (вид дикого лука): MMong. *qoqosun* (HY 8); WMong. *γoγud*, *γoγusu(n)* (L 358); Kh. *gogol*, *gogod*; Bur. *gogod*, *gōgol*; Kalm. *γoγəsṇ*; Ord. *gogot*; Dag. *gogos* (Тод. Даг. 132), *guagas*; Mongr. *GoGor* (SM 122).

◊ KW 149. Mong. > Evk. *gowohun*, see Poppe 1966, 197.

PTurk. ***Koga (~ -k-)** a k. of reed (вид тростника): Tur. *kova*, *koγa* (dial.); Uzb. *qoγa*; Krm. *qoγa*; Tat. *quγa*; Bashk. *quγa* (dial.); Kaz. *qoγa*; KKalp. *qoγa*; Kum. *qoγa*; Nogh. *qoγa*; Oyr. *qoγo*.

◊ VEWT 275, ЭСТЯ 6, 10-11.

‖ A Turk.-Mong. isogloss: not quite reliable because of late attestation, but borrowing in either direction seems improbable. Cf. **gi̯aŋu, *ki̯omga, *k'ema.*

✱**gók'ì (*-dV)** high, peak: Tung. ***gugda**; Mong. ***gögde-**; Jpn. ***kúkì**; Kor. ***kòkái**.

PTung. ***gugda** high, tall (высокий): Evk. *gugda*; Evn. *gụ̄d*; Neg. *gogda*; Man. *Godo-χon*; Ul. *Gu̯Gda*; Ork. *Gu̯Gda*; Nan. *GoGda*; Orch. *gugda*; Ud. *gugda*; Sol. *gu̯gda*.

◊ TMC 1,166.

PMong. ***gögde-** high, knobby, lofty (высокий, выдающийся, выступающий): WMong. *gü/ögde-ger*, (L 388:) *güdügür*; Kh. *güdgr*, *güdger*; Kalm. *gögdəgr*; Ord. *güdügür*; Mongr. *gudōr* (SM 139).

◊ KW 137.

PJpn. ***kúkì** peak (пик, горное ущелье): OJpn. *kukji*; MJpn. *kúkì*.

◊ JLTT 462.

PKor. ***kòkái** peak, height (пик, вершина): MKor. *kòkái*; Mod. *kogä*.

◊ Liu 61, HMCH 156, KED 134.

‖ Poppe 19, 51, АПиПЯЯ 288, 295. The Mong. and TM forms reflect a derivative in *-dV (probably originally locative). See also a discussion under **gudA*.

✱**gòlí** a k. of weapon for sea-hunting: Tung. ***goli**; Mong. ***gölmi**; Jpn. ***kùrúrí**.

PTung. ***goli** 1 a hook (in a needle for weaving nets) 2 net for large fish (1 язычок (в игле для вязания сетей) 2 сеть для ловли крупной рыбы): Evk. *goli* 1; Nan. *Golī* 2; Orch. *gōli* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 159.

PMong. ***gölmi** net (сеть): MMong. *golimi* (HY 21), *golmi* (SH); WMong. *gölmi* (L 386); Kh. *gölöm*; Bur. *gülem*, *gülme*; Kalm. *gölmṇ*; Mongr. *gurma*.

◊ KW 138.

PJpn. ***kùrúrí** an arrow for shooting sea-birds or for catching fish (стрела для водоплавающей птицы или для ловли рыбы): OJpn. *kururi*; MJpn. *kùrúrí*.

◊ JLTT 465.

‖ A common Altaic cultural term.

✱**goli** log, wooden block: Tung. ***gola**; Mong. ***göle- (~ -ü-)**; Turk. ***göl-**; Jpn. ***kura-i**.

PTung. ***gola** 1 log 2 burnt log, firewood (1 бревно 2 головешка, дрова): Evk. *golo* 1; Evn. *gol* 2; Neg. *golo* 1; Man. *Goldon*, *Golton* 2; Ul. *Goloŋqo* 2; Ork. *Golo* 1, 2; Nan. *Goloŋqo* 2; Orch. *golo*; Ud. *golo*.

◊ TMC 1, 159-160.

PMong. ***göle- (~ -ü-)** (wooden) crane, wooden log for lifting logs to a carriage ((деревянный) журавль, чурбан для поднятия бревен на телегу): Bur. *güli*.

PTurk. ***göl-** 1 wooden board 2 woodblock 3 cross-bar (over fire) (1 деревянная доска 2 деревянный брусок 3 распорка (над огнем)): Turkm. *güle* 1; Khak. *kölbe* 2; Oyr. *kölzök* 'снегозащитные щиты' (?); Chuv. *kəle* 'задвижка'; Yak. *kölö* 3.

◊ Different etymologies in Федотов 1, 271 (Chuv. *kəle* - hardly to *kilit*); VEWT 289 (Yak. *kölö* - not to 'harness' *köl-).*

PJpn. ***kura-i** log with unpeeled bark (полено с неободранной корой): OJpn. *kure*; MJpn. *kure*.

◊ JLTT 464.

‖ The word is rather scantily represented in Turkic and Mongolian, but borrowing is rather improbable.

✱**goli (˜ -e)** female of an ungulate: Tung. ***gulu-**; Turk. ***göle**.

PTung. ***gulu-** female deer, roe (самка оленя, косуля): Evk. *gulkačān*; Evn. *gulkъ*; Ork. *gulu*; Ud. *gulugese*.

◊ TMC 1, 170.

PTurk. ***göle** 1 heifer 2 cow (1 телка 2 корова): Tur. *göle* (dial.) 1; Turkm. *göle* 1; Sal. *kölex* 2.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss; cf. perhaps also MMong. *gölme*, WMong. *gölme*, Ord. *gülme* 'skin of ox or swine, saddle cloth'.

✱**gőli (~ -e)** to bury, put bones: Tung. ***gulī-**; Turk. ***gȫli-**.

PTung. ***gulī-** to put animal bones on a special decking (класть кости животных на специальный лабаз): Evk. *gulī-*; Evn. *göli-*; Neg. *gulī-*; Ork. *guli-*.

◊ TMC 1, 170.

PTurk. ***gȫli-** to bury (хоронить): Karakh. *köli-* (MK); Turkm. *gȫle-*.

◊ EDT 716. Despite Clauson, not connected with *köle-* 'to shade'.

‖ An interesting Turk.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**goŋV(ŕV)** a k. of insect: Tung. ***guŋgu**; Mong. ***guwur**; Turk. ***Koŋuŕ**; Kor. ***kūm(p)-**.

PTung. ***guŋgu** 1 big fly 2 grasshopper, dragon-fly (1 большая муха 2 кузнечик, стрекоза): Ul. *guŋguni* 2; Ud. *guŋgu* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 172.

PMong. ***guwur** larva of a gad-fly (личинка овода): WMong. *γuur* (L 371); Kh. *gūr*; Bur. *gūr*; Kalm. *γūr*.

◊ KW 157.

PTurk. ***Koŋuŕ** beetle (жук): OTurk. *qoŋuz* (Yen., OUygh.); Karakh. *qoŋuz* (MK); Uzb. *qụŋgiz*; Uygh. *qoŋGuz*; Krm. *qomuz*; Tat. *qoŋγɨz*; Bashk. *quŋɨδ*; Kirgh. *qoŋuz*; Kaz. *qoŋɨz*; KKalp. *qoŋɨz*; Nogh. *qoŋɨz*; Khak. *xōs* (dial.); Oyr. *qoŋus*, *qoŋɨs*, *qomɨs*; Chuv. *xъ^{w}mъ^{w}r* 'drone'; Yak. *xomurduos*; Dolg. *komurduos*.

◊ VEWT 281, EDT 641, Лексика 187, ЭСТЯ 6, 61-62, Stachowski 152. Turkic > MMong. (MA) *qonquz*. A hardly plausible explanation of the Yak. form as "brown pig" see in Щербак 1997, 140-141.

PKor. ***kūm(p)-** larva of a beetle (личинка жука): MKor. *kūmpə̀ŋ*, *kūmpə̀ŋ'ì*; Mod. *kumpeŋi*.

◊ Nam 63, KED 220.

‖ KW 157, Дыбо 8, Лексика 188 (Doerfer TMN 3, 527 regards the Turk.-Mong. match as "aus lautlichen Gründen mindestens unwahrscheinlich"), although phonetically the match is quite plausible. The Kor. form is not quite clear morphologically (*kūmp(j)əŋ(i)* < **kūŋ-p(j)əŋ*, a compound with some unclear second component?), but semantically matches the other forms very well.

✱**góp'á (~ -u-)** stump: Mong. ***gobur**; Jpn. ***kámpú**.

PMong. ***gobur** having no branches (of a tree) (без ветвей (о дереве)): WMong. *γobur* (L 357); Kh. *govor*.

PJpn. ***kámpú** stump (пень): MJpn. *kabu*; Tok. *kàbu*; Kyo. *kábú*; Kag. *kábu*.

◊ JLTT 431.

‖ A Mong.-Jpn. isogloss.

✱**gőp'i (~ -e)** to beat, hit: Tung. ***gupuj-**; Mong. ***göbi-**; Turk. ***gȫp-**.

PTung. ***gupuj-** to hit down berries by a special device (обивать ягоды битком): Evk. *gujā-*; Evn. *guj-*; Ul. *gupi-*; Nan. *gupi-*; Orok. *gupi-*.

◊ TMC 1, 168. Evk. *gujā-vun* 'битоk' > Russ. dial. *gajevun*, Selk. *kujavun*, see Аникин 161 (with lit.).

PMong. ***göbi-** to pound, strike (бить, молотить): MMong. *gubur* (HY 35); WMong. *göbi-*, *gübi-* (L 386); Kh. *güve-*, *gövši-*; Bur. *gübi-*; Kalm. *göw-*; Ord. *göwö-*, *güwi-*, *güwe-*; Mog. *gubi* 'abstreifen (Asche)' (Weiers); ZM *gube-* (23-10a); Dag. *guwi-* (Тод. Даг. 133), *gubi-* (MD 152) 'shake (dirt off)'; Bao. *ki-*; Mongr. *gubu-*, *guwu-* (SM 139), *gui-*, *gubu-*.

◊ KW 138, MGCD 300.

PTurk. ***gȫp-** 1 a wooden hammer for processing boot seams 2 to hit, pound (1 деревянный молоточек для обивки обувных швов 2 бить, колотить): Turkm. *gȫbe* 1; Kirgh. *kübü-* 'to shake, shake off';

KKalp. *küpilde-* 'to lumber, rumble'; Khak. *küp-le-t-* 'to knock'; Chuv. *küpke-* 2; Yak. *kübürgē-* 'to hit ice with a pounder'.

◊ Modern expressive formations, but the root seems to be archaic.

‖ A Western isogloss. Cf. **gi̯ube.*

✱**górà (~ -ŕ-)** to starve, be empty: Tung. ***gure-**; Mong. ***guri-**; Jpn. ***kárà**; Kor. ***kòrh-**.

PTung. ***gure-** free, spacious (свободный, просторный): Neg. *gujexī*; Ul. *gure*; Ork. *gurei*; Nan. *guxe* (irreg. < **gure-ke* ?); Orch. *gure-ni*.

◊ TMC 1, 169.

PMong. ***guri-** hungry, starving (голодный, умирающий от голода): WMong. *γuriγa*, *γuriγu*; Kh. *guriad-*; Bur. *gurinxa*; Kalm. *γuŕā̄*, *γoŕū*, *γoŕū̄*.

◊ KW 151, 155.

PJpn. ***kárà** empty (пустой): MJpn. *kara* (in comp.); Tok. *kará*; Kyo. *kàrá*; Kag. *kárà*.

◊ JLTT 438. The accent in Kyoto is irregular, but Tokyo and Kagoshima point more or less certainly to **kárà*. Despite Martin (ibid.), the word should be probably distinguished from **kárà* 'shell'.

PKor. ***kòrh-** to be hungry; to be empty (быть голодным; быть пустым): MKor. *kòr-phȁ-*, *kòrh-*; Mod. *kophɨ-*, *kol-* [*kolh-*].

◊ Nam 51, KED 152, 160.

‖ Martin 231 (Kor.-Jpn.)

✱**gȍre** to see; understand: Tung. ***gur-**; Mong. ***gori**; Turk. ***göŕ (= *gör-s) / *gör-**; Kor. ***kɨ́rì-**.

PTung. ***gur-** 1 to look out, appear 2 to understand (1 выглядывать, показываться 2 понимать): Evn. *göpken-* 1; Neg. *gupket-/č-* 1; Ul. *gurpun-* 1; Ork. *golpon-*, *gorpon-* 1; Nan. *gurpun-* 1; Sol. *guru-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 163, 174. Sol. > Dag. *goro-*, *guru-* (Тод. Даг. 132).

PMong. ***gori** hope (надежда): WMong. *gori* (L 361); Kh. *goŕ*; Bur. *gori*; Kalm. *gör* (KPC); Ord. *Gori*; Dag. *goro-*, *guru-* 'to understand, think about smth.'.

PTurk. ***göŕ (= gör-s) / *gör-** 1 eye (**göŕ*) 2 to see, look (**gör-*) (1 глаз 2 видеть): OTurk. *köz* 1, *kör-* 2 (Orkh., Yen.,OUygh.); Karakh. *köz* 1, *kör-* 2 (MK, KB); Tur. *göz* 1, *gör-* 2; Gag. *göz* 1, *gör-* 2; Az. *göz* 1, *gör-* 2; Turkm. *göz* 1, *gör-* 2; Sal. *gö(:)z* 1, *gör-* 2; Khal. *kẹr-* 2; MTurk. *göz* (Sangl., Pav. C.), *köz* (Vamb.) 1, *kör-* (MA, Abush., Sangl.) 2; Uzb. *kụz* 1, *kụr-* 2; Uygh. *köz* 1, *kör-* 2; Krm. *goz/koz* 1, *kor-* 2; Tat. *küz* 1, *kür-* 2; Bashk. *küδ* 1, *kür-* 2; Kirgh. *köz* 1, *kör-* 2; Kaz. *köz* 1, *kör-* 2; KBalk. *köz* 1, *kör-* 2; KKalp. *köz* 1, *kör-* 2; Kum. *göz* 1, *gör-* 2; Nogh. *köz* 1, *kör-* 2; SUygh. *köz* 1, *gör-* 1; Khak. *kös* (Sag.) 1, *közenek* (Kizil.) 'window', *kör-* 2; Shr. *kös* (R) 1; Oyr. *kös*, dial. *köz* 1, *kör-* 2; Tv. *köstük* 'eye-glass', *köskü* 'visible, good-eyed', *köskenek*

'window', *kör-* 2; Tof. *köskü̇t-* 'to show', *kör-* 2; Chuv. *koś* 1, *kor-* 2; Yak. *kör-* 2; *köhün-* 'to be seen'; Dolg. *kör-* 2; *köhün-* 'to be seen'.

◊ VEWT 292, TMN 3, 637f, EDT 756 (**göŕ*), 736 (**gör-*), Федотов 1, 310, 314, ЭСТЯ 3, 60-64 (**göŕ*), 77-79, 81-84 (**gör-*), Лексика 209, Stachowski 155, 156. The Chuv. reflex requires a supposition of a final cluster (*rs) in the nominal stem; this may be a suffixed deverbative. OT *körüg* 'glance; image' > MMo, WMong. *körüg* 'image'.

PKor. ***kɨrì-** to long for, miss, think of (стремиться к, думать о ком-л.): MKor. *kɨ́rì-*; Mod. *kɨri-*.

◊ Nam 68, KED 237.

‖ PKE 85, АПиПЯЯ 281, Дыбо 14. ? Cf. Mong. *girkaj* 'having good eyesight'.

✱**gǒŕV** to move, be irritated: Tung. ***gori-**; Mong. ***gurba-**; Turk. ***Kōŕ-ga-**.

PTung. ***gori-** to move, stir (шевелиться, двигаться): Evk. *gori-*; Evn. *gurgъldъ-* (*gurge* 'work, engagement'); Sol. *gurgelbū-* (trans.).

◊ TMC 1, 161, 173-174.

PMong. ***gurba-** to creep, move creeping (of a snake) (ползать, двигаться подобно змее): WMong. *γurba-*; Kh. *gurvalǯa-*; Kalm. *γurwā̆-*, *γurwlzə-*.

◊ KW 156.

PTurk. ***Kōŕ-** 1 to be irritated, agitated 2 to move; irritate (1 быть возбужденным 2 двигать; возбуждать): Turkm. *Gōzγa-* 2; MTurk. *qozγa-* (Pav. C., Abush., Бор. Бад.) 2; Uzb. *qọzi-* 1, *qɔzγa-* 2; Uygh. *qozγa-* 2; Krm. *qozγa-* 2; Tat. *quzγa-* (dial.) 2; Bashk. *quδi-* 1 (dial.); Kirgh. *qozu-* 1, *qozγo-* 2; Kaz. *qoz-* 1, *qozγa-* 2; KBalk. *qoz-* 1, *qozγa-* 2; KKalp. *qoz-* 1, *qozγa-* 2; Kum. *qozγa-*, *xozγa-* 2; Nogh. *qoz-* 1, *qozγa-* 2; Oyr. *qosqo-* 2.

◊ ОСНЯ 3, 132-133. The roots **Kōŕ-* 'to be hungry' and **Kōŕ-* 'to be agitated' are usually considered to be a single root and are very hard to distinguish within Turkic.

‖ A Western isogloss. The root is homonymous with **gōŕa* 'to starve' (except that the final vowel is uncertain here), but it seems impossible to reduce the two roots to a single entity.

✱**gotʿò (~ -u-, -e)** a k. of fish: Tung. ***gutkē-**; Mong. ***gutaɣar**; Jpn. ***kəti (~ -ua-)**.

PTung. ***gut-kē-** pike (щука): Evk. *gutkēn*; Evn. *götken*; Nan. *gūčẽ*; Orch. *gūče*; Ud. *guese*.

◊ TMC 1, 175.

PMong. ***gutaɣari** burbot (налим): WMong. *γutari*, *γutaγari* (L 370); Kh. *gutār*; Bur. *gutār*.

PJpn. ***kəti (~ -ua-)** Platycephalus indicus (плосколоб индийский, Platycephalus indicus): Tok. *kochi*.

‖ It is not quite clear whether Mong. and TM reflect a common derivative **gotʿò-gV* (with assimilation -g- > -k- in TM) or these are independent derivations.

✱**guči (~ -e)** eagle: Tung. ***gusi**; Turk. ***güči-**.

PTung. ***gusi** eagle (орел): Evk. *gus*; Evn. *gusete*; Neg. *gusixān*; Ul. *gusi*; Ork. *gusi*; Nan. *gusi*; Orch. *gusi*.

◊ TMC 1, 175.

PTurk. ***güči-** eagle (орел): Tur. *güčen*, *güčügen*; MTurk. *kučigen* (Houts.); Tat. *köcögän* (Sib.); Bashk. *kösögän* (dial.); Kirgh. *kučügen*; Kaz. *küšigen*; KKalp. *küšigen*; Oyr. *kučügen* (Tel.); Chuv. *kajъk-kəžək*, *kajъk-kəš* 'animals and birds'.

◊ TMN 3, 631, ЭСТЯ 5, 130. The Chuv. form is hardly derived from **KuĺI* 'bird', despite Федотов 1, 289.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**gudV (~ -o-) (?)** straight, vertical: Tung. ***goda-**; Mong. ***goda-**; Kor. ***kòt-**.

PTung. ***goda-** straight, vertical (прямой, вертикальный, высокий): Man. *Godoχon*.

◊ TMC 1, 166.

PMong. ***goda-** straight, vertical, sticking out (прямой, вертикальный, торчащий): WMong. *γodaγar* (L 357: *γoduγur*), *γodai* (L 357); Kh. *godgor*, *godoj-*; Bur. *godogor*, *godoj-*; Kalm. *γodγṛ*, *γodā-*; Ord. *GodoGor*.

◊ KW 149.

PKor. ***kòt-** straight, vertical (прямой, вертикальный): MKor. *kòt-*; Mod. *kot-*.

◊ Nam 50, KED 156.

‖ Lee 1958, 111, TMC 1, 166 (Tung.-Kor.). Not a very reliable root. Note that the Manchu form may belong here only if it is separated from TM **gugda* 'high, tall' (see under **gókʿi*), which is not necessarily so. The reflex -t- in Kor. points rather to *-tʿ- (unless one presumes secondary morphonological analogies). One wonders if all the forms present here do not actually represent reflexes of **gokʿ-dV*, the suffixed form of PA **gókʿi*.

✱**gŭjŕe** to love, like: Tung. ***guǯej**; Mong. ***goju**; Turk. ***güŕel**; Jpn. ***kuà-p-**; Kor. ***kò'í-**.

PTung. ***guǯej** 1 beautiful 2 lovely 3 deserving pity 4 to love, like (1 красивый 2 милый 3 жалкий, жалко 4 любить): Evk. *guǯej* 1; Evn. *guǯēj* 2, 3; Neg. *guǯej* 1; Ul. *guǯukuli* 1, *guǯele* 3; Ork. *guǯile* 3; Nan. *guǯiele* 3; Orch. *guǯeje* 3; Ud. *guǯihi* 3; Sol. *guǯēn-* 4.

◊ TMC 1, 167. TM > Dag. *guǯeje* (Тод. Даг. 133).

PMong. ***goju** beautiful, good (красивый, хороший): WMong. *γoju*, *γoji* (L 358); Kh. *gojo*; Bur. *gojo*; Ord. *GojoGlo-* 'marcher dʿun facon élégant et vive (femmes)'; Dag. *goji* (Тод. Даг. 132).

◊ Mong. > Evk. *gojo* etc., see Doerfer MT 102; MMong. *goiqan* > Chuv. *xüxəm* (Róna-Tas 1971-1972).

PTurk. ***güŕel** beautiful (красивый): Tur. *güzel*; Gag. *gözäl*; Az. *gözäl*; Turkm. *gözel*; MTurk. *küzel* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *gụzal*; Uygh. *gözäl*; Krm. *guzaĺ* (K); Kirgh. *közöl*; Nogh. *közel*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 3, 63-64, VEWT 295.

PJpn. ***kuà-p-** 1 to love 2 love (1 любить 3любовь): OJpn. *kwopu-* 1, *kwopi* 2; MJpn. *kòfu-* 1; Tok. *kói* 2; Kyo. *kóì* 2; Kag. *koí* 2.

◊ JLTT 711, 714.

PKor. ***kò'í-** to love, like (любить): MKor. *kò'í-*; Mod. *kwē-* (arch.).

◊ Liu 66, KED 188.

‖ Дыбо 12, Martin 236. The root contains a rare medial cluster *-jŕ-.

✱**gŭkʿà (~ -o-)** curve, hook; to cling to: Tung. ***guk-**; Mong. ***gok-**; Jpn. ***kàk-**.

PTung. ***guk-** 1 bent upwards (of head) 2 convex, hill 3 part of harness (a piece of iron with a ring) 4 (plough) thills 5 ski straps (1 задранный кверху (о голове) 2 бугор, выпуклость 3 часть упряжи (железка с кольцом) 4 оглобли (у сохи) 5 лыжные ремни): Evk. *gugarka* 3; Man. *gukdu* 2, Goqči 4; Ul. *gūksi* 5; Nan. *gukū* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 159, 166, 169.

PMong. ***gok-** hook (крюк): MMong. *γuγa* (MA 223); WMong. *γoqa* (L 363), *γoqu*; Kh. *gox*; Bur. *goxo*; Kalm. *γoxə*.

◊ Mong. > Evk. *goko*, Man. *Goχon* etc., see TMC 1, 158-159, KW 149, Doerfer MT 79, Rozycki 91). Cf. also Bur. *gogno-gor* 'with head bent upwards'.

PJpn. ***kàk-** 1 hook; key 2 to attach, hang 3 to be attached (1 крюк; ключ 2 прицеплять, вешать 3 прикрепляться): OJpn. *kag(j)i* 1, *kak(a)-* 2, *kaka-r-* 3; MJpn. *kàgì* 1, *kàka-* 2, *kàkà-r-* 3; Tok. *kagí* 1, *kaké-* 2, *kakár-* 3; Kyo. *kágì* 1, *kàkè-* 2, *kákár-* 3; Kag. *kagí* 1, *kàkè-* 2, *kàkàr-* 3.

◊ JLTT 433, 702. Accent in Kyoto *kàkè-* is irregular..

‖ Cf. **gékʿá, *kʿi̯úŋu, *kʿōki.*

✱**gŭ̄ldi** to tether, bind: Tung. ***gulde-**; Mong. ***güldi-**; Turk. ***gŭ̄l-**.

PTung. ***gulde-** to untie, unwrap (развязывать, разворачивать): Neg. *gulde-*; Nan. *gulde-*.

◊ TMC 1, 170.

PMong. ***güldi-** to bend the neck, to harness (сгибать шею, впрягать): WMong. *güldi-*; Kh. *güldij-*; Bur. *güldɨ-*; Kalm. *güldi-*.

◊ KW 139.

PTurk. ***gŭ̄l-** to tether, bind feet (привязывать, спутывать ноги): Karakh. *kül-tür-* (MK); Tur. *gülü-* (dial.); Turkm. *güjl-*; SUygh. *k'ul-*; Oyr. *kül-*; Tv. *xülü-*.

◊ VEWT 308, EDT 717 (incorrectly to *kül-* 'harness'), ЭСТЯ 3, 95-96.

‖ A Western isogloss. Cf. **koli, *kʿi̯uli, *kʿiĺa.*

✱**gùlì** dwelling, cottage: Tung. ***gūle**; Turk. ***gül**; Jpn. ***kùrà**.

PTung. ***gūle** hut, dwelling-place (хижина, жилище): Evk. *gūle*.

◊ See TMC 1, 171. Attested only in Evk. (whence Russ. Siber. *guĺ* 'house, dwelling', see Аникин 171), but having probable external parallels.

PTurk. ***gül** 1 vestibule, inner porch 2 house, hut 3 home, dwelling-place (1 сени, прихожая 2 дом, хижина 3 жилище): Tur. *gil* 'family (as a second part of compound)', (dial.) 3; Az. *gil* 'family (as a second part of compound)'; Chuv. *kil*, *kül* 2; Yak. *külä* 1.

◊ VEWT 270, Егоров 112, Федотов 1, 291-292. Yak. *külä* is secondarily borrowed from Tungus, see VEWT 270; but *küle* may be inherited.

PJpn. ***kùrà** shed (сарай): OJpn. *kura*; MJpn. *kùrà*; Tok. *kurá*; Kyo. *kúrà*; Kag. *kùrá*.

◊ JLTT 464.

‖ EAS 48.

✱**guna** to rob, attack, torture: Tung. ***gun-**; Mong. ***gani**; Turk. ***Kun-**.

PTung. ***gun-** to punish, avenge (наказывать, мстить): Evk. *gunča-*.

◊ TMC 1, 172. Attested only in Evk., but having probable Turkic and Mongolian parallels.

PMong. ***gani** 1 berserk, frenzied 2 to strive, endeavor (1 безумный, яростный 2 стремиться): MMong. *qani* (HY 38), *qāni* 'stupid' (MA), *γani* (LH); WMong. *gani* 1, *gani-* 2(L 349); Kh. *gań* 1, *gani-* 2; Bur. *gani(g)* 1; Kalm. *gäńṛ-* 'to become mad'; Dag. *gāni* (Тод. Даг. 130) 1.

◊ KW 148.

PTurk. ***Kun-** to rob, plunder, attack (грабить, нападать): OTurk. *qun-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *qun-* (MK); Turkm. *Gunuš-* (dial.); Kirgh. *qun-*; SUygh. *q'un-*; Tv. *xunā-*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 6, 141, VEWT 300, EDT 632.

‖ A Western isogloss. Cf. **k'i̯ūńa.*

✱**gǜno** to think: Tung. ***gūn-**; Mong. ***guni-**; Turk. ***Kun-**; Jpn. ***kə̀nə̀-m-**; Kor. ***kɨnɨ̀r-**.

PTung. ***gūn-** 1 to say 2 to think (1 сказать 2 думать): Evk. *gūn-* 1; Evn. *gōn-* 1; Neg. *gūn-* 1; Man. *Guni-* 2; SMan. *Goni-* 2 (1848); Jurch. *xen-du-ru* (467) 1; Ul. *wembuwu* 1; Ork. *un-* 1; Nan. *un(de)-* 1; Orch. *gun-* 1; Ud. *gun-* 1; Sol. *gun-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 171. Loss of *g- in Ul., Orok and Nan., as well as vowel shortening is unclear (perhaps a different root).

PMong. ***guni-** be sad, anxious (грустить): WMong. *γuni-*; Kh. *guni-*; Bur. *guni-*; Kalm. *γuńə-*; Ord. *Gunid-*; Dag. *guni-*; Dong. *Gunira-*.

◊ KW 155.

PTurk. ***Kun-** 1 attention, care 2 usefulness 3 to yearn, be anxious, sorry (1 внимание, старание, прилежание 2 польза, толк 3 тосковать, печалиться, горевать): MTurk. *qunuq-* 3 (Pav. C.); Uzb. *qunt* 1; Tat. *qon* 1, (dial.) *qonar* 2; *qono* 'diligent, busy', *qonoq-* 'to get used, become accustomed'; Bashk. *qont* (dial.) 1, *qonar* 2; Kirgh. *qunt* 1, *qunar* 2;

Kaz. *qunt* 1; KKalp. *qunt* 1; *qunɨq-* 'become accustomed'; Oyr. *qunuq-*, *qunan-*, *qunal-* 3; Tv. *qunuq-* 3.

◊ ЭСТЯ 6, 147-148, 149-150. **Kun-* 'to yearn, be sorry' and **Kun-* 'attention, usefulness' can hardly be separated; despite late attestation a theory of Mong. origin (< Mong. *guni-*) is hardly plausible because of quite different affixation.

PJpn. ***kə̀nə̀-m-** to like, wish (любить, желать): OJpn. *konom-*; MJpn. *kònòm-*; Tok. *konóm-*; Kyo. *kónóm-*; Kag. *kònòm-*.

◊ JLTT 712.

PKor. ***kɨ̀nɨ̀r-** to take care of, to look after (заботиться, присматривать за): MKor. *kɨ̀nɨ̀r'ù-*; Mod. *kɨnɨrɨ-*.

◊ Nam 66, KED 232.

‖ Poppe 24, KW 155, ОСНЯ 1, 234, АПиПЯЯ 291. "Verbal" low tone in Korean. There are several "mental" verbs of the type KUNV in Altaic, and they are not always easy to distinguish from each other. Besides *gū̀no 'think' cf. also notes to **kè̀ńu* 'distress, envy', **kʿi̯ŭnu* 'to long, covet', **kʿi̯ū́ńa* 'punishment' (the latter - with additional analogies with **guna* 'attack, torture'). On the whole this produces an extremely complicated etymological situation, and we are not sure we have disentangled everything correctly.

✸**gúpu (~ -o-)** empty, hollow: Tung. ***gub-**; Mong. ***gobi-**; Jpn. ***kùp-**.

PTung. ***gub-** 1 to submerge 2 to sink, get stuck in smth. (1 погрузиться, потонуть 2 вязнуть, увязать): Evn. *göbē-* 1, *gupturu-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 163, 173.

PMong. ***gobi-** 1 chute 2 empty place, desert (1 желоб 2 пустое место, пустыня): WMong. *γobil* 1, *γobi*, *γobija* 2 (L 357); Kh. *govil* 1, *gov́* 2; Bur. *gobil* 1, *gubi* 2; Kalm. *γoẃl* 1, *γuẃ*, *γoẃə*, *γöẃə*, *γowi* 2 KPC 164.; Ord. *Guwil, Guwi* 2; Dag. *gobi*, *gob́* (Тод. Даг. 132) 2; Dong. *gobi*; Bao. *gəbi*; S.-Yugh. *gobi*.

◊ KW 152, MGCD 296. Mong. > Evk. *gowi*, Man. *gobi*, see Doerfer MT 102, Rozycki 90. Forms like Kaz. *qobɨ*, Oyr. *qobɨ* etc. (ЭСТЯ 6, 6-7) are also most likely < Mong.

PJpn. ***kùp-** to make a nest (делать гнездо): OJpn. *su-kup-*; MJpn. *kùf-*, *sú-kùf-*.

◊ JLTT 718.

‖ An expressive root; not quite reliable because of scanty reflexation in TM and possible contaminations with **gebo* et al. On a possible reflex in Turk. see under **kobu*.

✸**gure** flour: Mong. ***guril**; Turk. ***Kürüĺ**; Jpn. ***kuà**; Kor. ***kằrằ**.

PMong. ***guril** flour (мука): MMong. *qolir* (IM), *γulir* (MA), *γūlir* (LH); WMong. *γuril*, *γulir* (L 367); Kh. *guril*; Bur. *guril*; Kalm. *γujṛ*; Ord. *gulir*, *guril*; Mog. *γulur*; ZM *γorul* (16-7b); Dag. *goli(l)* (Тод. Даг. 132), *goli* (MD 152); Dong. *quruŋ*, *Guruŋ*; Mongr. *Gurir* (SM 127).

◊ KW 153. Mong. > Tadzh. *γulur* (Lig. VMI 46).

PTurk. ***Kürǘl*** millet flour boiled in water or milk (просяная мука, сваренная в воде или молоке): Karakh. *küršek* (MK) 1.

◊ VEWT 311, EDT 747.

PJpn. ***kuà*** flour (мука): OJpn. *kwo*; MJpn. *kò*; Tok. *kó*; Kyo. *kŏ*; Kag. *kò*.

◊ JLTT 453.

PKor. ***kǎrǎ*** flour (мука): MKor. *kǎrǎ*, *kǎr*; Mod. *karu*.

◊ Nam 10, 20, KED 12.

‖ Martin 248. In Kor. the word seems to be related to *kǎr-* 'to grind, pulverize' - but this meaning is probably secondary (the verb originally means 'to polish, whet'). The tone discrepancy between Kor. and Jpn. should be explained either by the secondary influence of this verbal stem in Korean, or by contraction in Japanese (where **kuà* < **gur(e)-ga*); the first explanation seems more probable because the vowel reflex in Korean is also not quite regular (*-o- would be normally expected).

✱**gurgi** palate: Tung. ***gorgakta***; Mong. ***güreɣe***; Turk. ***Kurgak**.

PTung. ***gorgakta*** palate, uvula (нёбо, увула): Neg. *gorkakta*; Man. *Guŋqan* 'Adam's apple' (?); Ork. *Gošaqta*.

◊ TMC 1, 161, 173.

PMong. ***güreɣe*** front part of the throat (передняя часть горла): WMong. *gürege(n)* (L 392); Kh. *gŭ̄rē(n)*; Bur. *gürō̄*; Kalm. *gürɛ̄n*; Ord. *gürē*; Dag. *gure*; S.-Yugh. *gurēn*.

◊ KW 139, MGCD 309. Mong. > Kirgh. *kürö*, Man. *gurexe* (see Doerfer MT 143).

PTurk. ***Kurgak*** palate (нёбо): Khak. *xurɣax*; Oyr. *quryaq*.

◊ VEWT 303, Лексика 230.

‖ A Western isogloss. See Лексика 230.

✱**gŭri** wide, broad, thick: Tung. ***gora***; Mong. ***gür***; Turk. ***gür***; Kor. ***kūrk-***.

PTung. ***gora*** far (далекий): Evk. *goro*; Evn. *gor*; Neg. *gojo*; Man. *Goro*; SMan. *Gorə* (2613); Jurch. *gor-o* (701); Ul. *Goro*; Ork. *Goro*; Nan. *Goro*; Orch. *gō*; Ud. *gō*; Sol. *goro*.

◊ TMC 1, 161-162. TM > Dag. *gōro* (Тод. Даг. 132).

PMong. ***gür*** 1 wide, broad 2 swollen (1 широкий 2 вспухший): MMong. *gur* (SH) 1; WMong. *güreger* 2 (MXTTT); Kh. *gürger* 2; Bur. *güreger* 2; Ord. *güreger* 2.

PTurk. ***gür*** 1 stout-hearted, courageous 2 thick, dense, abundant 3 wide, broad 4 well fed (1 храбрый 2 толстый, плотный, обильный 3 широкий 4 откормленный): Karakh. *kür* 1 (MK, KB); Tur. *gür* 2; Gag. *gür* 2; Az. *gür* 2; Turkm. *gür* 2; Krm. *kür* 2; Tat. *kör* 1, 4; Bashk. *kör* 1, 4; Kirgh. *kür* 'powerful'; Kum. *kür* 1; Nogh. *kür* 'friendly'; Khak. *kür* 1; Tv. *xür* 'healthy, well fed'; Chuv. *kəʷrəʷ* 1, 2; Yak. *kür* 3.

◊ VEWT 310-311, EDT 735, ЭСТЯ 3, 106, Федотов 1, 277-278. Turk. > WMong. *kür*, Kalm. *kür* (KW 246).

PKor. ***kūrk-** thick (толстый): MKor. *kūrk-*; Mod. *kuk-* [*kulk-*].

◊ Nam 63, KED 219.

‖ Despite Poppe (1960,18 etc.) the TM form cannot be compared with Mong. *qola* 'far'.

✱**gùri** to slander, go mad: Tung. ***gori-**; Mong. ***gör-**; Turk. ***Kür**; Jpn. ***kùrùp-**; Kor. ***kɨrɨ̀-**.

PTung. ***gori-** to go mad (сходить с ума): Evk. *gori-*; Nan. *Goria-*; Ud. *guleäla-*.

◊ TMC 1, 161.

PMong. ***gör-** 1 slander, deceit 2 *slanderer* 3 to slander (1 клевета, обман 2 клеветник 3 клеветать): WMong. *gör* 1, *göre-či* 2, *görde-*, *görle-* 3 (L 387); Kh. *görč* 2, *gördö-* 3; Bur. *gürde-* 3; Kalm. *görd-* 'to deny' (KPC 147, 149); Ord. *gör* 1, *gördö-* 3, *görči* 2; S.-Yugh. *gördõ-* 3.

◊ MGCD 300.

PTurk. ***Kür** trick, device (трюк, прием, фокус): OTurk. *tevlig kürlüg* 'tricky', *tev kür* (Orkh., OUygh.).

◊ EDT 735, 745.

PJpn. ***kùrùp-** to become crazy, go mad (сходить с ума): OJpn. *kurup-*; MJpn. *kùrùf-*; Tok. *kurú-*; Kyo. *kúrú-*; Kag. *kùrù-*.

◊ JLTT 717.

PKor. ***kɨrɨ̀-** to be wrong, mistaken (ошибаться, заблуждаться): MKor. *kɨrɨ(s)-*; Mod. *kɨri-*.

◊ Nam 67, KED 236.

‖ Martin 246. Korean has a usual verbal low tone.

✱**gúri (~ -o-, -ŕ-, -e)** deer, game: Tung. ***gurma- / *gurna-**; Mong. ***görüɣe-**; Kor. ***kòrání**.

PTung. ***gurma- / *gurna-** 1 hare 2 squirrel 3 ermine (1 заяц 2 белка 3 горностай): Evk. *gurnun* 2; Evn. *gurnata* 3; Man. *Gulmaχun* 1; SMan. *Guləmahun* 'hare, rabbit' (2216); Jurch. *guRma-xaj* (150); Nan. *Gormaχõ* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 161, 174. Cf. also Nan. (On.) *gorgo* 'fox'.

PMong. ***görüɣe-** antelope, wild steppe animal, game (антилопа, дикое степное животное, дичь): MMong. *gore'e*, *gore'esun* (SH), *gors[o]n* (IM), *guräsun* (MA); WMong. *görüge(n)*, *görügesü(n)* (L 387); Kh. *görõs(ön)*; Bur. *gürõhe(n)*; Kalm. *görēsṇ*, *görē*; Ord. *görõs*; Mog. ZM *gor[ä]sun* 'wild ass' (21-1); Dag. *gurēs* (Тод. Даг. 133), *gurēse* (MD 153); S.-Yugh. *görösən*; Mongr. *korosə* 'bête féroce, bête sauvage' (SM 215).

◊ KW 138, MGCD 301. Mong. > Sol. *gures*, Man. *gurgu*, see Poppe 1966, 191-192, Doerfer MT 137.

PKor. ***kòrání** deer, reindeer, elk (олень, лось): MKor. *kòrání*; Mod. *korani*.

◊ Liu 63, KED 138.

‖ PTM and Korean reflect a common derivative **gúri-nV-*. Note that Mong. **gura* 'roebuck' is to be kept apart, see **ŋurV*.

✸**gǜŕi** to unfasten, (un)tie: Tung. ***gurē-**; Mong. ***görü- / *gürü-**; Turk. ***güŕ-**; Jpn. ***kùr-**; Kor. ***kɨ̀rɨ̀-**.

PTung. ***gurē-** 1 to unfasten 2 to tie (a band) 3 string, lace (1 развязывать 2 подвязывать (унты) 3 завязки, тесемка): Evk. *gurē-* 1, *gurewu-* 2, *guren* 3; Evn. *gurelge-* 1, *gụrṇn* 3; Man. *Guran* 3; Ul. *gure-li-* 1; Ork. *gure-li-* 1; Nan. *gure-li-* 1, *gorĩ* 2; Orch. *guǯe* 3; Ud. *gue-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 174.

PMong. ***görü- / *gürü-** to plait, spin (плести, ткать): MMong. *gur-* (Lig.VMI); WMong. *görü-*, *gürü-* (L 387, 392); Kh. *görö-*; Bur. *güre-*; Kalm. *gür-*; Ord. *gürü-*; S.-Yugh. *gur-*; Mongr. *guru-* (SM 144), *gurə-*.

◊ KW 139, MGCD 301.

PTurk. ***güŕ-** 1 to lace, bind 2 part of loom (1 вязать, связывать 2 нитченки): Turkm. *göze-* 1; MTurk. *küzük* (IM) 2; Kirgh. *küzük* 2; Oyr. *küzüg* 2 (dial. North.); Chuv. *kəʷrəʷ* 2.

◊ VEWT 312-313, ЭСТЯ 5, 131.

PJpn. ***kùr-** to wind (наматывать, сучить): OJpn. *kur-*; MJpn. *kùr-*; Tok. *kúr-*; Kyo. *kùr-*; Kag. *kùr-*.

◊ JLTT 716.

PKor. ***kɨ̀rɨ̀-** to unfasten (развязывать): MKor. *kɨ̀rɨ̀-*, *kɨ̀rɑ̀̆-*; Mod. *k:ɨrɨ-*.

◊ Nam 66, 67, KED 236.

‖ Poppe 25, 107, Miller 1996, 154, Tekin 1979, 127. Korean has standard verbal low tone.

✸**gusa (~ -o-, -č-)** elder male relative: Tung. ***gusin**; Jpn. ***kasə**.

PTung. ***gusin** maternal uncle (дядя по матери): Evk. *gusin*; Evn. *göser*; Ul. *gusi(n)*; Ork. *gusi(n)*; Nan. *gusĩ*; Orch. *gusin*; Ud. *gosoʿ*, *guseʿ* (Корм. 222).

◊ TMC 1, 175.

PJpn. ***kasə** father (отец): OJpn. *kaso*; MJpn. *kàzó*, *kázó*.

◊ JLTT 447.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss.

✸**guša** bitter, sour: Tung. ***goši-**; Mong. ***gasi-ɣun**.

PTung. ***goši-** bitter, sour (горький, кислый): Evk. *goči*; Evn. *got*; Neg. *gotịgdị*; Man. *Gosi-χon*; SMan. *Gosəhun* (430); Ul. *Gotụlị*; Ork. *Gottị*; Nan. *Gočị*; Orch. *gotisi*; Ud. *guačihi*; Sol. *goš̆īgdi*.

◊ TMC 1, 182-183.

PMong. ***gasi-ɣun** bitter (горький): MMong. *qaši'un* (SH, HYt), *qīsun* 'acid', *qāsun* 'bitter' (IM), *ɣašun* (MA), *qāsūn* (Lig.VMI); WMong. *ɣasiɣu(n)* (L 354); Kh. *gašūn*; Bur. *gašūn*; Kalm. *ɣašūn*; Ord. *Gašūn*; Mog. *qašūn*, *ɣašūn*; ZM *qɔ̄šun* (14-9b); Dag. *gasūn* (Тод. Даг. 130), *gasun* (MD

148); Dong. *qɨšun*, *qəšun*; Bao. *xošal-* 'to become acid, bitter'; S.-Yugh. *Gašūn*; Mongr. *Gašən* (SM 121), *xašin*, *Gašin* 1.

◊ KW 147, MGCD 288. Also **gosi-γun*, Kalm. *gošūn* id. (KW 152); cf. also *gesigüne*, MMong. (HY) *geši'un*, Khalkha *gešǖne* 'rhubarb' (> Russ. dial *gešún*, see Аникин 164).

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss. АПиПЯЯ 17, Мудрак Дисс. 41, Rozycki 92. ? Cf. OJpn. *kasu* 'dregs'.

✱**gŭt´ù** to deteriorate: Tung. ***gutu-**; Mong. ***gutu-**; Turk. ***Kūtuŕ**; Jpn. ***kutu-**.

PTung. ***gutu-** 1 to disgrace 2 to rough-house, rage (1 позорить, бесчестить 2 буянить): Man. *Gutubu-* 1; Ul. *Goto-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 163, 176.

PMong. ***gutu-** to deteriorate, lose power, lose courage, become spoiled (ухудшаться, терять силы, терять мужество, портиться): WMong. *γutu-*, *γutura-* (L 370); Kh. *guta-*, *gutra-*; Bur. *guta-*; Kalm. *γut-* 'конфузиться, стыдиться'; Ord. *Guta-* 'to be dishonest'; Dag. *goto-* (Тод. Даг. 132), *gotorolgā-*.

◊ KW 156, MGCD 305.

PTurk. ***Kūtuŕ** 1 mad, enraged 2 to become mad, rage 3 to instigate 4 instigation (1 сумасшедший, бешеный 2 сходить с ума, быть в бешенстве 3 подстрекать 4 подстрекательство): OTurk. *qutur-* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *qutuz* 1, *qutur-* 2 (MK); Tur. *kuduz* 1, *kudur-* 2; Gag. *quduz* 1; Az. *Guduz* 1, *Gudur-* 2; Turkm. *Guduz* 1, *Gūdura-* 2; MTurk. *qutuz* 1 (Ettuhf., Бор. Бад.), *qutur-* 2 (Ettuhf.); Uzb. *qutur-* 2; Uygh. *qutu(r)-* 2; Krm. *qutur-* 2; Tat. *qotoroq* 4, *qotɨr-* 2; Bashk. *qotort-* 3; Kirgh. *qutur-* 2; Kaz. *qutɨr-* 2; KKalp. *qutɨr-* 2; Kum. *qutur-* 2; Nogh. *qutɨr-* 2; Chuv. *xъʷdъʷr* 'boaster', *xъʷdъʷr-* 'to curse'; *kъdъr-* 2 (< Tat.); Yak. *qutur-* 2.

◊ VEWT 305, EDT 605, 608, ЭСТЯ 6, 103-105.

PJpn. ***kutu-** to rot, become spoiled (гнить, портиться): OJpn. *kutu-*, caus. *kutas-*; MJpn. *kùtu-*, caus. *kútás-*; Tok. *kuchí-*, *kùchi-*; Kyo. *kúchí-*; Kag. *kùchì-*.

◊ JLTT 717. Original accentuation is not quite clear. The causative *kútás-* in RJ and the variant *kúchí-* in Tokyo point to a high tone (corresponding to Turkic length), but other evidence is in favour of a low tone.

‖ Ozawa 209-210, KW 156. The original meaning may be reconstructed as 'deteriorate', with two directions of semantic development (> a) 'to become mad, enraged'; > b) 'to become spoiled, rot').

I

✱**i** a deictic root: Tung. ***i**; Mong. ***i-nu-**; Turk. ***ɨ-na-**; Jpn. ***i**; Kor. ***í**.

PTung. ***i** 3d p. deictic stem (указательная основа 3 *л.*): Man. *i; ineku* 'the same'; SMan. *ī* 'he, she' (2877); Jurch. *in*; Sol. *ini* 'his'.

◊ TMC 1, 315, 319.

PMong. ***i-nu-** 3d p. possessive pronoun (притяж. местоим. 3 *л.*): MMong. *ino* (Gen.) (HYt, SH); WMong. *inu-* (L 412); Kh. *ń*; Bur. *ń*; Kalm. *ń*; Mog. *ini ~ ni ~ ne ~ i* (Weiers); Dag. *īn* 'he; this, that' (Тод. Даг. 146).

PTurk. ***ɨ-na-** that (тот): Turkm. *ɨna-ru*; Khal. *ɨ́na*; Tv. *ɨnda* ˈthere', *ɨndɨɣ* 'such'; Tof. *ɨnda* ˈthere'.

PJpn. ***i** that (тот): OJpn. *i*.

◊ JLTT 420.

PKor. ***í** this (этот): MKor. *í*; Mod. *i*.

◊ Nam 397, KED 1316.

‖ SKE 66, ОСНЯ 1, 271-272, АПиПЯЯ 56-57, 297.

✱**ìbè** door, yard: Tung. ***ib-le**; Mong. ***eɣüde**; Turk. ***eb**; Jpn. ***ìpùa**; Kor. ***íp**.

PTung. ***ib-le** 1 yard 2 dwelling, building (1 двор 2 жилище, жилые постройки): Man. *olen ~ ulen ~ ūlen* 2; Jurch. *ew-le* (197) 1.

◊ TMC 2, 16. Cf. also **īb-že* 'relative-in-law' (TMC 1, 295; = PT **eb-či* ?).

PMong. ***eɣüde** door (дверь): MMong. *e'uden* 'gate, entry' (HY 16, SH), *iudän* (MA); cf. also *e'ede* (SH) 'Zeltgerüst, Türrahmen'; WMong. *egüde(n)* (L 300); Kh. *ū̄d(en)*; Bur. *ū̄de(n)*; Kalm. *ū̄dn̥*; Ord. *ū̄de*; Mog. *öüdän*; ZM *ujdän* (22-10a); Dag. *eude*, *eud* (Тод. Даг. 141, MD 146); Dong. *vižien*; Bao. *ndaŋ*; S.-Yugh. *üden*, *uden*; Mongr. *ude* (SM 464), *rde* (Huzu).

◊ KW 461, MGCD 685, TMN 1, 196.

PTurk. ***eb** house (дом): OTurk. *eb* (Orkh.), *ev* (OUygh.); Karakh. *ev* (MK), *öv* (KB); Tur. *ev*; Gag. *jev*; Az. *ev*; Turkm. *öj*; Khal. *hăv*; MTurk. *öj* (Pav. C., Бор. Бад.); Uzb. *uj*; Uygh. *öj*; Krm. *üj*; Tat. *öj*; Bashk. *üj*; Kirgh. *üj*; Kaz. *üj*; KBalk. *üj*; KKalp. *üj*; Kum. *üj*; Nogh. *üj*; SUygh. *jü*; Khak. *ib*; Shr. *em*, (Kond.) *üj*; Oyr. *üj*; Tv. *ög*; Tof. *ög*; Chuv. *av-la-n-* 'to marry'.

◊ VEWT 34, EDT 3-4, ЭСТЯ 1, 287-288, 513-514, Егоров 21, Лексика 500. The word for 'woman' in some languages goes back to PT *eb-či ("housewife"), see EDT 6; borrowed in Mong. as *ebsi* 'female of a big bear', see Clark 1980, 43).

PJpn. ***ìpùa** hut (хижина): OJpn. *ip(w)o*, *ip(w)ori*; MJpn. *ìfò*, *ìfòrì*; Tok. *ìo(ri)*); Kyo. *íórí*; Kag. *iórí*.

◊ JLTT 425. Modern dialects reflect rather **ípúa* - but RJ has quite explicitly both *ìfò* and *ìfòrì*.

PKor. ***íp** door (дверь): MKor. *íp*.

◊ Nam 406.

‖ Menges 1982, 109. A good common Altaic root; if TM **īb-ǯe* belongs here, can be reconstructed as **ìbe*.

✱**ìbè (~ -p-)** grain: Tung. ***ibi-**; Turk. ***ebin**; Jpn. ***ìpì**; Kor. ***pjə́**.

PTung. ***ibi-** to pick out seeds (отбирать зерна (для посева)): Man. *ibaχa šafa-*, *ibaχala-*.

◊ TMC 1, 294. Attested only in Manchu, but having plausible external parallels.

PTurk. ***ebin** grain, seed (зерно, семя): OTurk. *evin* (OUygh.); Karakh. *evin* (MK, KB); Tur. Osm. *evin*, Anat. *efin*; MTurk. *evin* (Qutb); Oyr. *ebin*; Chuv. *avъn śap-* 'to flail', *avъn karti* 'cornfloor' > Mari (Low) *avən*, Mari (High) *εn*..

◊ VEWT 34, EDT 12, Мудрак Дисс. 82.

PJpn. ***ìpì** boiled rice, boiled grains (вареный рис, вареные зерна): OJpn. *ipji*; MJpn. *ìfi*.

◊ JLTT 421.

PKor. ***pjə́** rice plant, grain of rice (рис, рисовое зерно): MKor. *pjə́*; Mod. *pjə*.

◊ Nam 257, KED 774.

‖ In Kor. a frequent initial vowel reduction occurred.

✱**ibkʿV** a k. of vessel: Tung. ***ibkē-n**; Mong. ***(h)ükeg**; Turk. ***ükek**; Jpn. ***ukupa**.

PTung. ***ibkē-n** 1 scoop 2 small boat 3 box (1 черпак 2 маленькая лодка 3 ящик): Evk. *iwkēn* 1; Neg. *iwkēn* 1; Man. *weiku* 2; Ul. *uxe*, *ujgẽ* 1; Ork. *iwwe* 1; Nan. *juke(n)*, *ujkẽ* 1, dial. *uixu* 2, *ujekẽ* 3; Orch. *eukke*, *jeuke* 1; Ud. *jūge* 1 (Корм. 242).

◊ TMC 1, 295, 2, 250, 251, 252 (forms like *ujeken* are most probably interdialectal loans).

PMong. ***(h)ükeg** trough, box for dishes (корыто, ящик для посуды): WMong. *ükeg*, *ükül* (L 1002, 1003); Kh. *üxeg*; Bur. *üxeg*; Kalm. *ükəg*; Ord. *ükek*.

◊ KW 456.

PTurk. ***ükek** box (ящик, сундук): Karakh. *ükek* (MK); Bashk. *ökälεk* 'store, stall'; Kirgh. *ükök*; Tv. *ügek* 'kennel; basket'; Yak. *ügex* 'stockroom'.

◊ EDT 105, VEWT 370, Лексика 521. Derivation from **ōk-* 'to heap up' (v. sub **ǒkʹè*), see Аникин 579-580 with lit., is dubious, primarily for semantic reasons.

PJpn. ***ukupa** scoop, vessel (черпак, сосуд): OJpn. *ukupa*.

‖ Mong. may be < Turk., but otherwise the root seems quite reliable.

✱**ǐče** to go, reach, get ready to go: Tung. ***is-**; Mong. ***ičU-**; Jpn. ***ìsuà(n)k-**.

PTung. ***is-** to reach (достигать): Evk. *is-*; Evn. *ịs-*; Neg. *ịs-*; Man. *isi-*; SMan. *iši-* 'to be enough, suffice' (2798); Jurch. *isi-maj* (380); Ul. *ịsị-*; Ork. *ịsị-*; Nan. *ịsị-*; Orch. *isi-*; Ud. *ī-gi-*; Sol. *is-*.

◊ TMC 1, 329-330. TM > Dag. *išikē-* (Тод. Даг. 146).

PMong. ***ičU-** to go back, get ready to go back (возвращаться, готовиться к возвращению): MMong. *ičU-* (SH, HYt); Ord. *iči-*; Dag. *ič-* 'to go to a place' (Тод. Даг. 146: *iči-*), *iči* 'go' (MD 170); Mongr. *śʒi-*, (MGCD) *śižʒi-* 'to go to a place'.

◊ MGCD 534.

PJpn. ***ìsuà(n)k-** to hurry, get ready to go (спешить, готовиться уйти): OJpn. *iswog-*; MJpn. *ìswòg-*; Tok. *isóg-*; Kyo. *ísóg-*; Kag. *ìsòg-*.

◊ JLTT 699.

‖ One of the common Altaic verbs of motion.

✱**ičʹu** inside: Mong. ***(h)iči-**; Turk. ***ič**; Jpn. ***utu**.

PMong. ***(h)iči-** to lie in a hole, lair (of animals), retire into hibernation (лежать в норе, логове (о животных), погружаться в спячку): WMong. *iči-*, *ače-* (L 397); Kh. *ače-*; Bur. *eše-*; Kalm. *ič-*.

◊ KW 212.

PTurk. ***ič** 1 interior of smth. 2 intestines 3 belly (1 внутренность 2 кишки 3 живот): OTurk. *ič* (Orkh., OUygh.) 1, *ičegü* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *ič* 1 (MK, KB); Tur. *ič* 1; Az. *ič* 1; Turkm. *ič* 1, *ičege* 2; Khal. *ič* 1, *ičgär* 2; MTurk. *ič* 1 (Pav. C., Бор. Бад.); Uygh. *ič* 1; Tat. *eč* 1; Kirgh. *ič* 1, *ičegi* 2; Kaz. *iš* 1; KBalk. *ič* 1; KKalp. *ši* 3; SUygh. *hižigɨ* 3; Khak. *isker* 1; Tv. *iʹžin* 3; Tof. *iʹšti* 1, 2; Chuv. ъš 1; Yak. *is* 1; Dolg. *is* 1.

◊ VEWT 168, EDT 17, 25, ЭСТЯ 1, 388-391, 392-393, Stachowski 128-129.

PJpn. ***utu** hole, hollow (полость, нора): OJpn. *utu*; MJpn. *uturo*; Tok. *ùtsuro*; Kyo. *útsúró*; Kag. *utsuró*.

◊ JLTT 565. Accent not quite clear: either **ùtú-* (Kyoto, Kagoshima), or **útú-* (Kyoto, Tokyo). The root seems to be distinct from **útì* 'inside' (v. sub **ǒrì*), although the stems certainly tend to contaminate.

‖ Basically a Turk.-Mong. isogloss; the Jpn. reflex is somewhat dubious because of the influence of **ōrí* > PJ **útì* q.v.

✱**ičʹV** to hope, see: Tung. ***iče-**; Mong. ***(h)iča-**.

PTung. ***iče-** to see (видеть): Evk. *iče-*; Evn. *it-/č-*; Neg. *iče-*; Ul. *ičewu*; Ork. *ite-*; Nan. *is(k)e-/ice-*; Orch. *iče-*; Ud. *ise-*; Sol. *isō̄-* 'to appear'.

◊ TMC 1, 334-335.

PMong. ***(h)ača-** to hope, trust, believe (надеяться, верить): WMong. *ača-* (L 397); Kalm. *icə-*.

◊ KW 211-212.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**idV** to follow, lead, arrange: Tung. ***idu-**; Mong. ***iǯi**; Turk. ***Eder-**.

PTung. ***idu-** 1 to command 2 to arrange in order 3 order (1 командовать 2 расставлять по очереди 3 очередь): Evn. *idu-* 1; Man. *idu* 3, *idure-* 2; Ul. *idu(n)* 3; Nan. *idu* 3, *idule-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 298.

PMong. ***iǯi** 1 complete set 2 equal, identical 3 accustomed 4 to get accustomed (1 полный набор 2 равный, тождественный 3 привычный 4 привыкать): MMong. *iǯilidulče-* 4 (SH); WMong. *iǯi* 1, *iǯil* 2 (L 419); Kh. *iǯ* 1, *iǯil* 2, 3; Bur. *ežel* 2, 3; Kalm. *iǯl* 3 'accustomed to each other (of animals)'; Ord. *iǯil*, *eǯil* 3 '=Kal'.

◊ KW 205.

PTurk. ***Eder-** to follow (следовать): OTurk. *eder-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *eδer-* (MK); Turkm. *ejer-*; Uzb. *ejär-* (dial.); Tat. *ijär-*; Bashk. *ĭjär-*; Kaz. *ijer-*; Kum. *ijer-*; SUygh. *ezer-*; Khak. *izert-*; Tv. *eder-*; Chuv. *jer-*.

◊ EDT 67, VEWT 36, ЭСТЯ 1, 242-245, Егоров 61-62.

‖ A Western isogloss. The original meaning here is probably "arrange in order", whence all the other meanings are easily deduced. Cf. similar roots: *adV, **i̯ude*, with a possibility of secondary contaminations.

✱**ijsV** soot, smoke: Mong. ***(h)isu**; Turk. ***ɨjs**.

PMong. ***(h)isu** soot (сажа): WMong. *isu*, (L 417) *isü*; Kh. *is*; Bur. *ehen*; Kalm. *iš*.

◊ KW 210-211.

PTurk. ***ɨjs** 1 smoke 2 soot, dirty smoke 3 scent, odour 4 fumes (1 дым 2 копоть, сажа 3 запах, аромат 4 испарения): Tur. *is* 2; Az. *his* 2; Turkm. *īs* 3; Uygh. *is* 1; Tat. *is* 3; Kirgh. *is* 4; KKalp. *ijis* 3; Nogh. *ijis* 3; Chuv. *jъs* 3; Yak. *īs* 1, 2; Dolg. *īs* 1, 2.

◊ ЭСТЯ 1, 379, Егоров 76, Stachowski 263. The original meaning must have been 'smell, odour', see notes to **īl(č)* (cf. the opposition *is* 'soot' - *ijis* 'smell' in Nogai etc.).

‖ Poppe 116, VEWT 167, KW 210, АПиПЯЯ 286, Лексика 371. A Turk.-Mong. isogloss. Cf. Kor. *ìs* 'moss' (?)

✱**ík'è** to be insolent, angry, flamed up: Tung. ***ikē-**; Mong. ***(h)egde-**; Turk. ***ēke- (~ ī-)**; Jpn. ***íká-r-**; Kor. ***ìkɨi-**.

PTung. ***ikē-** 1 to sing 2 to sing obscene songs, blackguard (1 петь 2 петь непристойные песни, сквернословить): Evk. *ikē-* 1; Evn. *ikē-* 1; Neg. *ixē-* 1; Man. *jeke-* 2; Nan. *īkē-* 1 (Он.); Orch. *ike-* 1; Ud. *jexe-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 301.

PMong. ***(h)egde-** indignation (негодование, возмущение): WMong. *egdegüü* (MXTTT); Kh. *egdū̃*; Kalm. *egdū̃tə-* 'to resent' (KPC 691).

PTurk. ***ēke- (~ ī-)** to be insolent, quarrel (быть дерзким, ссориться): Karakh. *ike-*, *ikeš-* (MK); Tur. *igeš-*; Turkm. *īgen-* 'to scold, growl at'; Tat. *egeš-*; Kirgh. *egeš-*; Kaz. *eges-*; Nogh. *eges-*; Tv. *egen-* 'to feel uncomfortable'; Yak. *eγe* 'faultfinding', *eγelē-* 'to find faults'.

◊ EDT 101, 118-119.

PJpn. ***íká-r-** to be angry (сердиться): OJpn. *ika-r-*; MJpn. *íká-r-*; Tok. *ìkar-*, *ikár-*; Kyo. *íkár-*; Kag. *ikár-*.

◊ JLTT 696.

PKor. ***ìkɨ́i-** to overcome (побеждать, превосходить): MKor. *ìkɨ́i-*, *ìkí-*; Mod. *igi-*.

◊ Nam 397, 398, KED 1319.

‖ See SKE 68 (in Kor. cf. also *igɨrə-ʒida* 'to act up, put on airs'). One of the numerous common Altaic verbs of emotion. Semantic match between Turkic, Mongolian and Japanese is straightforward ("to be angry, indignant"). In TM one has to suppose a shift > "to be insolent, obscene" > "sing obscene songs, blackguard" (Manchu), with further generalization > "sing" in other languages. In Korean we see a different semantic shift > "to put on airs, be haughty" > "to overcome".

✱**ȉk´i (~ -o)** to live, settle: Tung. ***ix[ē]-**; Jpn. ***ìk-**.

PTung. ***ix[ē]-** settlement (поселок, селение): Evk. *ikēn*; Nan. *i̯χõ*; Ud. *jogoso*, *joxo*.

◊ TMC 1, 302.

PJpn. ***ìk-** 1 to live 2 breath, life (1 жить 2 дыхание, жизнь): OJpn. *ik-* 1, *ikji* 2; MJpn. *ìk-* 1, *ìkí* 2; Tok. *ikí-* 1, *íki* 2; Kyo. *íkí-* 1, *ìkí* 2; Kag. *ìkì-* 1, *ikí* 2.

◊ JLTT 422, 697.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss.

✱**ìla** evident, visible: Tung. ***il-**; Mong. ***ile**; Turk. ***iler-**; Jpn. ***àràp-ar-**.

PTung. ***il-** 1 figure, shape 2 body 3 example 4 exterior (1 фигура, форма 2 тело 3 пример 4 внешность): Evk. *ille* 2; Evn. *ilrъ* 2, *i̯lrṇn* 1, *ilun* 3; Ul. *i̯lta(n)* 4; Nan. *i̯lta* 4.

◊ TMC 1, 310, 311.

PMong. ***ile** known, evident, obvious (известный, очевидный): MMong. *ile* (SH), *ilă̆* (MA); WMong. *ile* (L 404); Kh. *il*; Bur. *eli*; Kalm. *ilə*; Ord. *ile*, *ele*; Mog. ZM *ilä* (10-2b); Dag. *il*, *ilēt* (Тод. Даг. 146 *ilte*), *ile* (MD 171); S.-Yugh. *hele*.

◊ KW 206, MGCD 407. Initial h- in S.-Yugh. is unclear. Mong. > Man. *ile* etc., see Doerfer MT 117, Rozycki 116; Yak., Dolg. *ile* (Stachowski 124).

PTurk. ***iler-** to be dimly visible (быть смутно видимым): Karakh. *iler-* (MK); Oyr. *eles* 'silhouette, ghost', *eleste-* 'be dimly visible'.

◊ EDT 150. The form attested in MK cannot be a mongolism (primarily for semantic reasons); however, Mong. *ilere-* also cannot be a Turkism, being rather derived from Mong. *ile*. Modern Turkic forms - Tuva *ilere-*, Oyr. *iler-* 'to become visible' are obvious late mongolisms.

PJpn. ***àràp-ar-** to appear (появляться): OJpn. *arap-ar-a-*; MJpn. *àràf-ar-a-*; Tok. *arawaré-*; Kyo. *áráwáré-*; Kag. *arawaré-*.

◊ JLTT 677. The Kagoshima accent is aberrant (type B would be expected). The stem **àràpà-* is also attested in **àràpà-s-* 'to express, cause to appear'.

‖ The Karakh. form is isolated, but borrowing is hardly possible here.

✱**ile** to drive: Tung. ***ilbe-**; Mong. ***ileɣe-**; Turk. ***ẹl-t-, *ẹl-č-**.

PTung. ***ilbe-** to drive (гнать): Evk. *ilbe-*; Evn. *ilbъ-*; Neg. *ilbe-*; Orch. *ibbe-*; Ud. *igbe-*; Sol. *íĺbere beije* 'driver'.

◊ TMC 1, 307.

PMong. ***ileɣe-** to send (посылать): MMong. *ile-* (SH) 'to go away', *ilä-*, *elä-* (IM), *hile-*, *ilä-* (MA), *ile-* 'to go', *ilē-* 'to send' (HYt); WMong. *ilege-* (L 404); Kh. *ilgē-*; Bur. *eĺgē-*; Kalm. *ilgɛ̄-*; Dag. *ilgē-* (Тод. Даг. 146).

◊ KW 207. Most modern forms point to a form with secondary suffixation **il(e)γeγe-* > **ilgeγe-*. Mong. > Evk. *elge-*, Man. *elge-*, *elgi-* etc. (see TMC 2, 446).

PTurk. ***ẹl-t-, -č-** 1 to bring, carry 2 to lead, drive, send (1 нести 2 вести, посылать): OTurk. *elt-* (Orkh., OUygh.) 1, 2; Karakh. *elt-*, *elet-* (MK) 1; Tur. *ilet-* 1, 2; Turkm. *elt-* 1, 2; MTurk. *elt-* (Houts.) 2, *ilet-* (Pav. C.) 1; Uzb. *elt-* 1; Uygh. *ilt-* (dial.) 1; Krm. *elt-* 1, 2; Tat. *ilt-* 1; Bashk. *ilt-* 1; KBalk. *elt-* 1, 2; Kum. *elt-* 1, 2; SUygh. *elt-* 1, 2; Chuv. *jeś-* , *leś-* 2; Yak. *ilt-* 1, 2.

◊ EDT 132, VEWT 41, ЭСТЯ 1, 267-269, Stachowski 125, 126. Turk. > Mong. *elde-*, Kalm. *eldə-* (KW 119).

‖ Дыбо 13. A Western isogloss.

✱**ílékʿa (~ *élíkʿa, -k-)** front, before: Tung. ***(x)elekē-s**; Turk. ***il(i)k**; Jpn. ***áráka-**.

PTung. ***(x)elekē-s** at first, in the beginning (сначала): Evk. *elekēs*; Evn. *elъkъs*; Neg. *elexes*.

◊ TMC 2, 449.

PTurk. ***il(i)k** front, before, East (перед, впереди, восток): OTurk. *ilki* (OUygh.); Karakh. *ilk* (MK); Tur. *ilk*; Gag. *jilk*; Az. *ilk, ilki*; Turkm. *ilki*; Khal. *ilgär*; MTurk. *ilk* (Ettuhf.); Uzb. *ilk*; Krm. *ilk*; Tat. *ĭlĭk*; Bashk. *ĭlĭk*; Tv. *elek*; Chuv. *ələk*; Yak. *il-in*, *il-iŋ* (*ilik* 'one who is not yet...'); Dolg. *ilin*; *ilik* 'not yet', *iligine* 'before'.

◊ EDT 140, VEWT 170, ЭСТЯ 1, 347-350, Егоров 62-63, Stachowski 125.

PJpn. ***áráka-** beforehand, before (заранее, прежде): OJpn. *arakasime* (-z-); MJpn. *árákásime*; Tok. *àrakajime*; Kyo. *àràkàjìmé*; Kag. *arakajíme*.

◊ JLTT 383.

‖ Cf. Bur. *eĺge(n)* 'sunny side, Southern slope'.

✱**ìlù** third (or next after three), consisting of three objects: Tung. ***ilan**; Turk. ***ölöŋ**; Jpn. ***ùrùpu**.

PTung. ***ilan** three (три): Evk. *ilan*; Evn. *ịlъn*; Neg. *ịlan*; Man. *ilan*; SMan. *ilan* (2737); Jurch. (*j*)*ilan* (638); Ul. *ịla(n)*; Ork. *ịla(n)*; Nan. *ịlã*; Orch. *ila(n)*; Ud. *ila(n)*; Sol. *ilã*.

◊ TMC 1, 305-306.

PTurk. ***ölöŋ** song with three out of four verses rhyming (first, second and fourth) (песня с тремя рифмующимися строфами (первой, второй и четвертой)): Turkm. *öleŋ*; MTurk. *öleŋ* 'a wedding song' (Sangl.); Uygh. *ölɛŋ* 'Kazakh's song'; Kirgh. *ölöŋ* 'song with one rhyme for a dozen lines (песня с рифмовкой на дюжину)'; Kaz. *ölöŋ*; Yak. *oloŋxo* 'Yakut metric epos'.

◊ VEWT 371, EDT 147.

PJpn. ***ùrùpu** bissextile (year, month) (високосный (год, месяц)): MJpn. *ùrùfu*; Tok. *úrū*, *urū̂*; Kyo. *ùrû̂*; Kag. *urū̂*.

◊ Modern dialects point rather to **ùrúpù* (although accent on the non-first syllables is somewhat difficult to reconstruct because of contractions).

‖ An interesting etymon; the original meaning can be probably reconstructed as "(a group of) three objects, followed by a fourth". The Turkic form must represent a vowel assimilation < **ilöŋ*.

✱**ilV (~ -Í-)** to stand, become: Tung. ***ili-**; Kor. ***īr-**.

PTung. ***ili-** to stand (стоять): Evk. *il-*; Evn. *ịl-*; Neg. *ịlịt-*; Man. *ili-*; SMan. *ila-* (537,1216), *ili-* (538); Jurch. *ili-buŋ* (424); Ul. *ịlsụwụ*; Ork. *ili-*; Nan. *ilGo-*; Orch. *ili-*; Ud. *ili-*; Sol. *il-*.

◊ TMC 1, 302-303.

PKor. ***īr-** 1 to become 2 to happen (1 становиться 2 случаться): MKor. *īr-* 1; Mod. *īl-* 2, *irə-na-* 1.

◊ Nam 405, KED 1351, 1356.

‖ Martin 1996, 75. A Tung.-Kor. isogloss.

✱**iĺa** to rub, smear: Tung. ***ilba, *ile-**; Mong. ***(h)il(b)i-**; Turk. ***iĺi-**; Kor. ***əru-**.

PTung. ***ilba, *ile-** 1 to smear 2 clay 3 to lick (1 мазать 2 глина 3 лизать): Evk. *ile-* 3; Neg. *ilede-* 3; Man. *ilba-* 1, *ilban* 2, *ile-* 3; Ul. *ile-* 3; Ork. *ile-* 3; Nan. *ịlba-* 1, *ịlbã* 2, *ile-* 3; Orch. *ile-* 3; Ud. *ile-* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 306, 311.

PMong. ***(h)il(b)i-** to stroke, rub (гладить, тереть): WMong. *ilbi-*, *ili-*, *ile-* (L 403, 404, 407); Kh. *ilbe-*, *ile-*; Bur. *eĺbe-*; Kalm. *il-*, *ilwə-*, *iĺl-*; Ord. *ilbe-*, (*elbe-*).

◊ KW 207.

PTurk. ***ɨĺɨ-** 1 to rub, scrape 2 jack-plane (1 тереть, царапать 2 рубанок): Tat. *ɨši-* 1, *ɨšqɨ* 2; KBalk. *ɨši-* 1.

◊ VEWT 167, ЭСТЯ 1, 667. Despite some mergers with **jiĺ-* (v. sub **ńiĺu*), cf. Bashk. *jiši-*, *jišqi*, this appears to be a separate root.

PKor. ***əru-** to rub, stroke, touch (тереть, гладить, трогать): Mod. *əru-(manǯi-)*.

◊ KED 1127.

‖ KW 207, Tekin 1975, 280, Street 1980, 296. The Korean form may belong here if it is historically distinct from **əri-* 'fondle' < **i̯áĺa* q.v.

✱**īĺa** to fry, burn: Tung. ***(x)ila-**; Mong. ***ila-**; Turk. ***ɨĺ(č)**.

PTung. ***(x)ila-** to burn, kindle (жечь, разжигать): Evk. *ila-*; Neg. *i̯la-*; Man. *jila-*; Orch. *ila-*; Ud. *ila-*; Sol. *ila-*.

◊ TMC 1, 303-304.

PMong. ***ila-** 1 to fry (on a pan) 2 frying-pan (1 жарить (на сковороде) 2 сковорода): Kh. *jalā-* 1; Bur. *jala* 2; Mongr. *īla-* 'faire brûler, chauffer le lit en briques' (SM 190).

PTurk. ***ɨĺ(č)** 1 smoke 2 soot, dirty smoke 3 scent, odour 4 fumes (1 дым 2 копоть, сажа 3 запах, аромат 4 испарения): Karakh. *ɨš* 2 (MK), 'mist' (KB); KKalp. *ɨs* 2; Nogh. *ɨs* 2; SUygh. *ɨs* 1; Khak. *ɨs* 2; Oyr. *ɨš* 1, 2; Tv. *ɨš* 1; Tof. *ɨš* 1; Yak. *īs* 4.

◊ The root originally meant 'soot, smoke' and should be strictly kept distinct from PT **jid-* 'smell' and **ɨjs* 'smell, odour, fumes', although they have a natural tendency to merge. See VEWT 167, 170, EDT 254, 883, ЭСТЯ 1, 379-382, Лексика 370-371.

‖ A Western isogloss; cf. perhaps Jpn. **asai* 'sweat' (?).

✱**īĺbi** fish bait: Tung. ***īlbī**; Mong. ***(h)ilbeɣe-sün**; Jpn. ***i(n)sa-r-**.

PTung. ***īlbV** 1 bait 2 uvula 3 plummet, sinker (1 наживка, приманка 2 язычок (ботала); увула 3 грузило (у сети, невода, удочки)): Evk. *īlbī* 1, 2; Man. *ilmaχa* 2, *ilmen* 3; Ul. *ilbuxe* 3; Nan. *ilbexe* 3; Orch. *ibbuxe* 3; Ud. *ilbexe* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 294, 306. Vowel shortening in Nanai is secondary.

PMong. ***(h)ilbeɣe-sün** fish bait (приманка для рыбы): WMong. *ilbegesü(n)* (L 402); Kh. *ilbēs*.

PJpn. ***i(n)sa-r-** to fish (ловить рыбу): OJpn. *isar-*, *izar-*; Tok. *isari* 'fishing'.

◊ JLTT 699.

‖ There may be more than one root here. Jpn. has, besides **i(n)sar-*, a synonymous **asar-* 'to fish'. One of the two Jpn. words may be alternatively compared either with TM **ŋisū-* 'to bring the killed animals

from the hunt' or TM *ŋusu 'fishing-rod', with a provisional reconstruction of PA *ŋisV or *ŋusV.

✱**ī́li** work, craft: Tung. ***(x)ilga-**; Mong. ***üjile**; Turk. ***īĺč**; Jpn. ***isa-bə, *ísá-m-**; Kor. ***īr**.

PTung. ***(x)ilga-** 1 diligent 2 brave 3 handsome 4 crafty 5 to develop, become firm (1 прилежный 2 храбрый 3 стройный, удалой 4 умелый 5 развиваться, укрепляться): Evk. *ilga-n* 1,2,3,4; Evn. *ịlgъrъ̣lbъ̣-* 5; Man. *ildamu* 3,4; SMan. *ilədamuŋə* 'good-looking, prim' (2525).

◊ TMC 1, 307.

PMong. ***üjile** deed, action, work (дело, действие, поступок, работа): MMong. *uele* (HY 36), *uejile* (SH), *ujle* (IM); WMong. *üile* (L 999); Kh. *üjle*; Bur. *üjle*; Kalm. *ū̃lə* (KPC); Ord. *üi̯le*; Dag. *weil*, *uil*, (Тод. Даг. 170) *uile*; Dong. *uiliə*; Bao. *lɛ*; S.-Yugh. *ulē*, *ulə*; Mongr. *ule* (SM 470), *uile* (Huzu).

◊ MGCD 690. Mong. > Yak., Dolg. *üle* (Kał. MEJ 38, Stachowski 250).

PTurk. ***īĺč** work, deed (работа, дело): OTurk. *iš* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *ɨš* (MK); Tur. *iš*; Gag. *iš*; Az. *iš*; Turkm. *īš*; Khal. *ị̄š*; MTurk. *iš* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *iš*; Uygh. *iš*; Krm. *iš*; Tat. *ĭš*; Bashk. *ĭš*; Kirgh. *iš*; Kaz. *ĭs*; KBalk. *iš*; KKalp. *is*; Kum. *iš*; Nogh. *is*; SUygh. *is*, *ɨs*; Oyr. *iš*; Tv. *iš*; Chuv. *əś*; Yak. *īs*.

◊ EDT 254, VEWT 174, ЭСТЯ 1, 395-396, Егоров 66.

PJpn. ***isa-bə, *ísá-m-** 1 craftsman, diligent person 2 to be brave (1 ремесленник, умелец 2 быть храбрым): OJpn. *isawo* 1, *isa-m-* 2; MJpn. *isawo* 1, *ísá-m-* 2; Tok. *ìsam-*, *isám-* 2; Kyo. *ísám-* 2; Kag. *ìsàm-*.

◊ JLTT 699. There is some confusion between *ísám- 'to be brave' and *ìsàm- 'to admonish' (v. sub *ȅs[i]), but the RJ accentuation clearly opposes them to each other.

PKor. ***īr** work, profession (работа, профессия): MKor. *īr*; Mod. *īl*.

◊ Nam 404, KED 1348.

‖ EAS 109. Mong. *üjile* < *ilü-le; Mong > Man. *uilen*, see Doerfer MT 119, Rozycki 222).

✱**iĺkV** to hope, believe: Tung. ***ilkV-**; Mong. ***ilga-**; Turk. ***ɨĺan- / *iĺen-**.

PTung. ***ilkV-** 1 to try 2 to hope (1 пробовать, пытаться 2 надеяться): Evk. *ilke-* 1, *ilkiče-* 2; Evn. *ielkъt-* 1; Neg. *ilki-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 309.

PMong. ***ilga-** to discern, distinguish (различать): MMong. *jilxa* (HY 40); WMong. *ilɣa-* (L 406); Kh. *jalga-*; Bur. *ilga-*; Kalm. *ilɣə-*; Ord. *ilga-*; Mog. ZM *elɣɔ̄* (6-6b); Dag. *jalga-* (Тод. Даг. 147), *jalegā* (MD 168); Dong. *inGərə-*, *(j)inGara-*; S.-Yugh. *əlga-*; Mongr. *laGa-* (SM 219), *laGā-*.

◊ KW 206, MGCD 733. Mong. > Oyr. *ɨlɣa-* etc. (VEWT 165, TMN 1, 194-195, ЭСТЯ 1, 652-653); > Man. *ilga-* (TMN 1, 195, Doerfer MT 137).

PTurk. ***ɨĺan- / *iĺen-** to believe, trust (верить, доверять): Karakh. *išen-* (MK, KB); Tur. *ɨšan-* (dial.); Turkm. *ɨšan-*; MTurk. *ɨšan-* (Abush.,

Pav. C.); Uzb. *išɔn-*; Uygh. *išan-*, *išän-*; Krm. *ɨšan-*; Tat. *ɨšan-*; Bashk. *ɨšan-*; Kirgh. *išen-*; Kaz. *sen-*; KBalk. *išan-*; KKalp. *isen-*; Nogh. *sen-*; SUygh. *isen-*; Khak. *ǐzen-*; Oyr. *ižen-*; Chuv. *šan-*, *žen-* (NW); Yak. *isen-* (Пек.).

◊ EDT 264, VEWT 174, ЭСТЯ 1, 673-674.

‖ Дыбо 14. A Western isogloss.

✱**ìmé** now: Tung. ***ime-**; Mong. ***(h)ima-gta**; Turk. ***em-**; Jpn. ***ìmá**; Kor. ***ima-**.

PTung. ***ime-** fresh, new (свежий, новый): Evk. *imekin*; Neg. *imexin*; Ork. *imew*; Nan. *imekī*; Ud. *imexi*.

◊ TMC 1, 314.

PMong. ***(h)ima-gta** always, constantly (всегда, постоянно): WMong. *imaγta* (L 409); Kh. *jamagt*; Bur. *imagta* 'right this one now, just this one'; Ord. *imagta*.

◊ Mong. > Manchu *imata* 'completely, all, totally, thoroughly' (Rozycki 115).

PTurk. ***em-** now (сейчас): OTurk. *emti* (OUygh.); Tur. *imdi*; Az. *indi*; Turkm. *indi*, *š-ündi*; MTurk. *imdi* (AH, Pav. C.); Uzb. *endi*; Uygh. *ämdi*; Krm. *endi*; Tat. *indĭ*; Bashk. *indĭ*; Kirgh. *emi*, *endi*; Kaz. *endĭ*; KBalk. *endi*; KKalp. *endi*; Kum. *endi*; Nogh. *endi*; Oyr. *emdi*; Chuv. *əndə*.

◊ EDT 156-157, VEWT 41, ЭСТЯ 1, 357-358, Егоров 65, Лексика 83 (with confusion of *em- and *am- q.v. sub **ămV*).

PJpn. ***ìmá** now (сейчас): OJpn. *ima*; MJpn. *ìmá*; Tok. *íma*; Kyo. *ìmá*; Kag. *imá*.

◊ JLTT 423.

PKor. ***ima-** 1 now 2 lately, nowadays (недавно, на днях): Mod. *imi* 1, *ima-šək* (*čək* 'time') 2.

◊ KED 1328, 1329.

‖ Лексика 83.

✱**ìmè (~ -i)** a k. of vegetable: Jpn. ***ìmə̀ (~-ua)**; Kor. ***máh**.

PJpn. ***ìmə̀ (~-ua)** potato (картофель): OJpn. *um(w)o*; MJpn. *ìmo*; Tok. *imó*; Kyo. *ímò*; Kag. *imó*.

◊ JLTT 423.

PKor. ***máh** potato, yam (картофель, ямс): MKor. *má* (*máh-*); Mod. *mā*.

◊ Nam 191, KED 558.

‖ Whitman 1985, 180, 237. A Kor.-Jpn. isogloss, so the reconstruction is rather approximate. Cf. perhaps Oroch *impai* 'a k. of onion (порей)' (TMC 1, 313); Orok *imu* 'potato' (ibid.) may be < Jpn.

✱**ǵína** dawn, dusk: Tung. ***ine-**; Turk. ***iŋir**; Kor. ***ə̀ńɨr-im**.

PTung. ***ine-ŋī** day (день): Evk. *ineŋī*; Evn. *inъŋ*; Neg. *ineŋ(i)*; Man. *ineŋgi*; SMan. *inəŋə* (2657); Jurch. *ineŋi* 'sun, day' (3); Ul. *ineŋni*; Ork. *ineŋgi*; Nan. *ini*; Orch. *ineŋi*; Ud. *ineŋi*; Sol. *ineγi*, *ineŋi*.

◊ The deriving stem is PTM **ine-* 'to dawn, begin (of day)', see TMC 1, 318-319.

PTurk. ***ɨŋɨr** dusk (дымка, сумерки): OTurk. *iŋir* (~ *ɨŋɨr*) (OUygh.); Karakh. *iŋir* (MK), *imir* (MK Oghuz); Tur. *inirik*, *iŋrik* (dial.), *ümez* 'fog'; Turkm. *ümür*, *iŋrik*; Khal. *äŋgür*, *äŋgṷr*; Uzb. *ümür*, *imir*; Krm. *iŋir*, *ɨŋɣɨr*; Tat. *ĭŋgĭr*; Bashk. *ĭŋĭr*; Kirgh. *iŋir*, *ɨŋɨrt*, *iŋirt*; Kaz. *ĭŋĭr*, *ɨmɨrt*, *imirt*; KBalk. *iŋir*; KKalp. *iŋir*, *ɨmɨrt*; SUygh. *iŋer*, *jiŋɨr*; Khak. *īr*; Shr. *īr*, *ɨnar*; Oyr. *iŋir*, *īr*, *ɨnɨr*; Tv. *imir*; Chuv. *ənərək*; *əner* 'yesterday'; Yak. *im* 'morning and evening dawn'; Dolg. *im* 'morning and evening dawn'.

◊ EDT 162, 188, VEWT 172, ЭСТЯ 1, 354-356, Егоров 64-65, Лексика 34-35, 81, 83. Mudrak (Лексика 83) separates forms with -m-, comparing them with Evk. *umulge* 'shadow'.

PKor. ***ə̀ńɨr-ɨm** 1 evening, dusk 2 dark, dusky (1 вечер, сумерки 2 темный): MKor. *ə̀ńɨr-ɨm* 1; Mod. *əsɨrɨm* 1, *əsɨre-hada* 2.

◊ Nam 363, KED 1132.

‖ Лексика 81-82. The Turk. form reflects a velar suffix (cf. PTM **ine-ŋi* 'day, dawn'). Cf. perhaps OJpn. *ina-(bjikari)* 'lightning' ('light in darkness'?).

✱**ìna** younger sibling: Tung. ***īnan**; Turk. ***ini**; Jpn. ***ànî**; Kor. ***àńǎ**.

PTung. ***īnan** 1 husband's younger brother 2 (younger) brother- / sister-in-law 3 sister's children 4 son-in-law 5 husband's younger sister (1 деверь, младший брат мужа 2 (младший) племянник / племянница 3 дети сестры 4 зять 5 младшая сестра мужа): Evk. *īnan* 1; Evn. *ịnъn* 2; Neg. *ịna* 3; Man. *ina* 3; SMan. *inā* 'sister's son (nephew); son of fater's or moter's sister (cousin)' (920); Ork. *ịna* 4; Nan. *ịnã* 5.

◊ TMC 1,315. Cf. also Man. *ene* 'heir' (TMC 2, 455).

PTurk. ***ini** younger brother (младший брат): OTurk. *ini* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *ini* (MK); Tur. *ini*; Az. *ini* (dial.); Turkm. *ini*; MTurk. *ini* (Бор. Бад., Pav. C.); Uzb. *ini*; Uygh. *ini*; Tat. *ĭnĭ*; Bashk. *ĭnĭ*; Kirgh. *ini*; Kaz. *ĭnĭ*; KKalp. *ini*; Kum. *ini*; Nogh. *ini*; SUygh. *ini*, *ɨnɨ*; Oyr. *ini*, *īn*; Yak. *ini*, *inī*; Dolg. *ini-bī*.

◊ EDT 170, VEWT 172, TMN 2, 226, ЭСТЯ 1, 362-363, Лексика 292, Stachowski 126.

PJpn. ***ànî** elder brother (старший брат): OJpn. *ani*; MJpn. *ani*; Tok. *áni*; Kyo. *ànî*; Kag. *áni*.

◊ JLTT 382. Accent in Kagoshima is irregular.

PKor. ***àńǎ** younger brother or sister (младший брат или сестра): MKor. *àńǎ*; Mod. au.

◊ Nam 338, KED 1075.

‖ Vovin 1993 (Jpn.-Kor.). Cf. also MKor. *àńǎm* 'family', *àńí* 'child'. The Korean reflexes raise some doubts: tone does not correspond to TM, medial -ń- is also irregular (unless it was palatalized in *àńí* before -i, and other forms were changed by analogy); see a discussion in Martin 1996, 67-68, Robbeets 2000, 116-117. In Japanese *'younger brother' >

*'brother'; with the introduction of **ətə* 'younger brother' (< **i̯ore* 'young male') **ani* changed its meaning to "elder brother".

✱**ińo** to laugh: Tung. ***ińe-**; Mong. ***(h)inije-**; Kor. ***ūń-**.

PTung. ***ińe-** to laugh (смеяться): Evk. *ińe-*; Evn. *iń-*; Neg. *ińe-*; Man. *inǯe-*; SMan. *inǯi-*, *inǯə-* (186); Jurch. *inǯe-* (461); Ul. *ińe-kte-*; Nan. *ińe-mu*; Orch. *ińe-kte-*; Ud. *ińe-*; Sol. *ne-kte-*.

◊ TMC 1, 319-320.

PMong. ***(h)inije-** to laugh (смеяться): MMong. *jine'e* (HY 36), *jini'e-* (SH), *inä-bä* (MA), *inē-* (LH), *inē* (Lig.VMI); WMong. *inije-*, *inige-*, *inege-* (L 411); Kh. *inē-*; Bur. *eńē-*; Kalm. *ińē-*; Ord. *enē-*, *inē-*; Mog. *innā-*; Dag. *šinē-*, *xinē-* (Тод. Даг. 184), *šinēde-* (MD 216); Dong. *šinie-*; Bao. *šine-*, *ne-*; S.-Yugh. *ńī-*; Mongr. *šənē-* (SM 375).

◊ KW 208, MGCD 411.

PKor. ***ūń-** to laugh (смеяться): MKor. *ūs-*, *ùń-* (*ùńɨ-*); Mod. *ūt-* [*ūs-*].

◊ Nam 393, KED 1250.

‖ EAS 114, KW 208, Poppe 70, Robbeets 2000, 111. Mong., with a strange reflex of *h- in Southern dialects (opposed to 0- in MMong.) may in fact reflect a contamination: cf. Evk. *heŋne-* 'to laugh' (see under **pʿeŋkʿa*). In any case, despite Doerfer MT 23, the TM root is hardly < Mong.

✱**íŋo** to neigh: Tung. ***iŋi-**; Mong. ***iŋča-**; Turk. ***iŋɨra-**; Jpn. ***íná-nak-**.

PTung. ***iŋi-** to neigh (ржать): Evk. *iŋil-*; Man. *ilča-*, *inča-*; Nan. *iŋgiri-*; Sol. *iŋele-*.

◊ TMC 1, 321. The Manchu form (but not the rest) may be < Mong.

PMong. ***iŋča-** to neigh (ржать): MMong. *iŋuliǯa-* (HY 16); WMong. *inčaɣa-*, *iŋčaɣa-* (L 410, 411); Kh. *jancgā-*; *uŋgalda-*; Bur. *insagā-*; Kalm. *incəɣā-*; Ord. *inčagā-*; Dag. *ingilī-* (Тод. Даг. 146: "to moan").

◊ KW 208, MGCD 736.

PTurk. ***iŋɨra-** 1 to neigh 2 to bellow, purr (1 ржать 2 реветь, визжать, мурлыкать): Karakh. *iŋra-* (MK); Turkm. *iŋra-*; Bashk. *iŋɨran-* 1; Chuv. *ənər-* 2; Yak. *iŋɨran-* 1.

◊ ЭСТЯ 1, 658, Егоров 65, Мудрак 73.

PJpn. ***íná-nak-** to neigh (ржать): MJpn. *íná-nak-*; Tok. *ìnanak-*; Kyo. *ínánák-*; Kag. *inanák-*.

◊ JLTT 697.

‖ An expressive root, but quite regular and doubtlessly common.

✱**iŋV** shallow place: Tung. ***(x)iŋā**; Jpn. ***ía**; Kor. ***jə̄ (< *i'ə)**.

PTung. ***(x)iŋā** 1 sand (on a shallow place) 2 pebbles 3 small stone 4 shallow place (1 песок 2 галька 3 камушек 4 отмель): Evk. *iŋā* 1, 2; Evn. *i̯ŋa* 1, 2; Neg. *i̯ŋā* 2; Man. *joŋgan* 1; SMan. *ńuńan*, *ńohun* 1 (2111); Orch. *iŋo* 2; Ud. *iŋo* 4; Sol. *iŋā* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 320-321.

PJpn. ***ía** inlet (залив, бухта): OJpn. je; MJpn. *jé*.

◊ JLTT 392.

PKor. ***jə** a reef, a rock in the sea (риф, скала в море): Mod. *jə*.

◊ KED 1160.

‖ See SKE 76. An Eastern isogloss; the Jpn. form presupposes **iŋ(V)-gV*, with further contraction.

✸**ipa (~ -b-)** shell: Tung. ***ibu-kta (~ *igu-kta)**; Mong. ***(h)ibawu**; Jpn. ***apampi**.

PTung. ***ibu-kta (~ *igu-kta)** shells as ornaments (ракушки (как украшения)): Ork. *joqto*; Sol. *jogōsụ̃*.

◊ TMC 1, 346.

PMong. ***(h)ibawu** sea shell (морская раковина): WMong. *ibau*, *ibaɣu* (L 396); Kh. *juvū*; Bur. *jobūn*.

PJpn. ***apampi** abalone, a k. of seashell (вид раковины): OJpn. *apabji*; MJpn. *áfàbì*; Tok. *áwabi*; Kyo. *áwàbì*; Kag. *awábi*, *awabí*.

◊ JLTT 388. Accent reconstruction is somewhat uncertain.

‖ Cf. also OJ *ebi* 'shrimp, shellfish' - perhaps an old dialectal variant of the same root.

✸**ipe (~ i̯a-)** cold, winter: Tung. ***ibaksa**; Mong. ***ebül**.

PTung. ***iba-ksa** frazil (шуга): Evk. *iwaksa*; Evn. *ịwụs*; Neg. *ịwaksa*; Ul. *ịwaqsa*; Orch. *juaksa* (Корм. 242); Ud. *juakkä* (Корм. 242), *iwakä*.

◊ TMC 1, 295. Cf. also Evk. *ewīle-se*, *owīla-sa* 'early spring', *owīn* 'last spring snow crust' (TMC 2, 4-5).

PMong. ***ebül** winter (зима): MMong. *ubul* (HY 5), *ebul* (SH), *obol* (IM), *ubul*, *äbulǯa-* (MA); WMong. *ebül* (L 290); Kh. *övöl*; Bur. *übel*; Kalm. *öwḷ*; Ord. *öwöl*; Mog. *übül*, *ebulä*; Dag. *ugul* (Тод. Даг. 170), *eule* (MD 146); Dong. *uvun*; Bao. *ŋguŋ*, *ŋgoŋ*; S.-Yugh. *wəl*; Mongr. *ugur*, *gur* (SM 468), *rgul* (Huzu).

◊ KW 303, MGCD 538.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✸**ipʿi (~-p-,-e)** mouth; to say: Tung. ***(x)ipke-**; Jpn. ***íp-**; Kor. ***íp**.

PTung. ***(x)ipke-** to order, tell, lure (приказывать, велеть, подстрекать): Evk. *ipku-*, *ipke-*; Evn. *ipkъn-*; Ud. *ikpele-* (Корм. 237).

◊ TMC 1, 322.

PJpn. ***íp-** say (сказать, говорить): OJpn. *ip-*; MJpn. *íf-*; Tok. *yù-*; Kyo. *yú-*; Kag. *yū́-*.

◊ JLTT 700.

PKor. ***íp** mouth; to recite (рот; рассказывать, декламировать): MKor. *íp* 'mouth', *ìp(h)-* 'to recite'; Mod. ip.

◊ Nam 406, 407, 409, KED 1363.

‖ Martin 249, АПиПЯЯ 111, 277. An Eastern isogloss (but cf. perhaps Mong. *abija(n)* (L 4), Khalkha *aṽa*, Bur. *aḃa* 'sound' (< **ibaja* ?); on a

possible Turkic parallel see under *ŏt'è); seems reliable, despite a tonal discrepancy between Kor. and Jpn.

✱**ire** to melt: Tung. ***irū-**; Turk. ***ẹri-**.

PTung. ***irū-** 1 to sink 2 to melt (1 погружаться 2 таять, образоваться проталинам): Evk. *irū-* 1; Evn. *irъl-* 2; Man. *iru-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 328, 329.

PTurk. ***ẹri-** to melt (таять): Karakh. *erü-* (MK); Tur. *eri-*; Gag. *jeri-*; Az. *äri-*; Turkm. *ere-*; Sal. *iri-*; MTurk. *eri-* (Abushk.); Uzb. *eri-*; Uygh. *iri-*; Krm. *iri-*; Bashk. *ire-*; Kirgh. *eri-*; Kaz. *eri-*; KBalk. *eri-*; KKalp. *eri-*; Kum. *iri-*; Khak. *irə-*; Oyr. *eri-*; Tv. *eri-*; Chuv. *irəl-*; Yak. *ir-*; Dolg. *ir-*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 1, 289-290, Stachowski 128, EDT 198.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**íre** to come, enter: Tung. ***ī-**; Mong. ***ire-**; Turk. ***ẹ̄r-**; Jpn. ***ítá-r-**.

PTung. ***ī-** to enter (входить): Evk. *ī-*; Evn. *ī-*; Neg. *ī-*; SMan. *ji-be-*; Jurch. *i-re-* (715); Ul. *ī-*; Ork. *ī-*; Nan. *ī-*; Orch. *ī-*; Ud. *ī-*; Sol. *ī-*.

◊ TMC 1, 293.

PMong. ***ire-** to come (приходить): MMong. *jire-* (HY 34, SH), *irä-*, *iro-* (IM), *irä-*, *irǎ-* (MA); WMong. *ire-* (L 413); Kh. *ire-*; Bur. *jere-*; Kalm. *ir-*; Ord. *ire-*; Mog. *irä-*; ZM *eirä* (40-7); Dag. *ire-* (Тод. Даг. 146, MD 173); Dong. *ire-*; Bao. *re-*; S.-Yugh. *ere-*; Mongr. *re-* (SM 313), *ire-*.

◊ KW 209, MGCD 412.

PTurk. ***ẹ̄r-** 1 to reach 2 to pass (1 достигать 2 проходить мимо): OTurk. *er-* (OUygh.) 1, *er-t-* (OUygh.) 2; Karakh. *eriš-* (MK) 1; Tur. *er-*, dial. *ēr-*, *ir-* 1; Khal. *ẹ̄r-* 1; MTurk. *er-* (Pav. C., AH) 1, *ert-* (CCom) 2; Uzb. *eriš-* 1; Krm. *er-* 1; Tat. *ireš-* 1; Bashk. *ireš-* 1; KKalp. *eris-* 1; Khak. *irt-* 2; Shr. *ert-* 2; Oyr. dial. *eriš-* 1, *ert-* 2; Chuv. *irt-* 2; Yak. *irdē-* 2.

◊ ЭСТЯ 1, 288-289, 303, Федотов 1,172-173. Räsänen (VEWT 46) connects also PT **eriĺ-* 'to contest, challenge' (ЭСТЯ 1, 293-294) - which, together with Mong. **eri-* 'to seek, search' (HY *ere-* 'to hope'), should be rather kept apart (possibly a separate PA root **erV*). Turk. > Hung. *ér-* 'to reach', see Gombocz 1912.

PJpn. ***ítá-r-** to reach (достигать): OJpn. *ita-r-*; MJpn. *ítá-r-*; Tok. *ìtar-u*; Kyo. *ítár-ú*; Kag. *itár-*.

◊ JLTT 699.

‖ Poppe 117 (Mong.-Tung.), KW 209, АПиПЯЯ 293-294. In Jpn. one could (following Ozawa) compare **ír-* 'to enter', but the latter should be rather compared with Kor. *tɨr-* id. (see **tire),* while **ítá-r-* is also a perfect phonetic match for PA **íre*. Turk. reveals variants **ēr-* and **īr-* (< **īre-*?). Cf. also Koguryo **i-* 'to enter' (Lee 37, Menges 1984, 267).

✱**ìri (~ *e-)** to rot, pus, be sick: Mong. ***(h)ereke-**; Turk. ***iri-**; Jpn. ***ìtà-**.

PMong. ***(h)ereke-** to vesicate; to complicate (of a disease) (нарывать; осложняться (о болезни)): WMong. *ereke-* (L 322); Kh. *erxe-*; Kalm. *erk-*; Ord. *erkere-*.

◊ KW 125.

PTurk. ***iri-** 1 to rot 2 pus 3 to turn sour, coagulate (1 гнить 2 гной 3 прокисать, створаживаться): OTurk. *jirü-* 1 (OUygh.), *iriŋ* 2 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *iri-* 1, *iriŋ* 2 (MK); Tur. *irin* 2; Gag. *jirin* 2; Az. *irin* 2; Turkm. *iriŋ* 2; MTurk. *iriŋ* 2; Uzb. *iri-* 1, *jiriŋ* 2; Uygh. *ʒiriŋ* 2; Krm. *irin* 2; Tat. *ĭrĭ-* 3, *ĭrĭn* 2; Bashk. *ĭrĭ-* 3, *ĭrĭn* 2; Kirgh. *iri-* 1, 3, *iriŋ* 2; Kaz. *ĭrĭ-* 1, 3, *ĭrĭn* 2; KBalk. *irin* 2; KKalp. *iri-* 1, 3, *iriŋ* 2; Nogh. *irin* 2; Khak. *ĭrĭ-* 1, 3, *ĭrĭn* 2; Oyr. *iri-* 3, *iriŋ* 2; Tv. *iri-* 1, *iriŋ* 2; Yak. *ireŋe* 2; Dolg. *ireŋe* 2.

◊ EDT 198, 233, ЭСТЯ 1, 372-374, Stachowski 128.

PJpn. ***ìtà-** to be ill, feel pain (adj.) (болеть, чувствовать боль): OJpn. *ita-*; MJpn. *ìtà-*; Tok. *itá-*; Kyo. *ítà-*; Kag. *itá-*.

◊ JLTT 829.

‖ KW 125.

✱**íru** song: Tung. ***ir-ke-**; Mong. ***ira-ɣu**; Turk. ***ɨr**; Jpn. ***útà**; Kor. ***ɨrp-**.

PTung. ***ir-ke-** 1 to sing a song, versify 2 to cry, moan (1 петь, слагать стихи 2 кричать): Evk. *irkihin-* 2; Evn. *ị̄rqъ-* 2; Man. *irgebu-* 1; SMan. *irəxəvə-* (1339) 1.

◊ TMC 1, 326, 327. Man. > Dag. *irgēbu-* (Тод. Даг. 146).

PMong. ***ira-ɣu** melodious sound, harmony (мелодический звук, гармония): MMong. *jira'u* (MA); WMong. *iraɣu* (L 413); Kh. *jarū*; Bur. *iragū* (< lit.); Ord. *iraGū*; Mongr. *joro* 'bruit, son, voix' (SM 494).

PTurk. ***ɨr** song (песня): OTurk. *ɨr* (OUygh.); Karakh. *ɨr* (MK); Tur. *ɨr* (dial.); Turkm. *ɨr* (dial.); MTurk. *ɨr* (Pav. C., AH); Tat. *ɨr* (dial.); Kirgh. *ɨr*; Khak. *ɨr*; Oyr. *ɨr*; Tv. *ɨr*; Yak. *ɨrɨa*; Dolg. *ɨrɨa*.

◊ EDT 192, VEWT 166, 201, Лексика 610, Stachowski 261. The root should be kept distinct from **jɨr*, although actively contaminating.

PJpn. ***útà** song (песня): OJpn. *uta*; MJpn. *útà*; Tok. *utá*; Kyo. *útà*; Kag. *úta*.

◊ JLTT 564.

PKor. ***ɨrp-** to chant, sing songs (петь, декламировать): MKor. *ɨrp-*; Mod. *ɨp-* [*ɨlph-*].

◊ Nam 396, KED 1302.

‖ Mong. may be < Turk. (cf. Karakh. *jɨraɣu* 'singer', see TMN 4, 242, Щербак 1997, 164). Note also PJ **útá-p-* 'sing' = Kor. **ɨr-p-*.

✱**ìrú** omen, divination: Tung. ***īrme-**; Mong. ***irwa**; Turk. ***ɨr-** / ***ir-**; Jpn. ***ùrá**.

PTung. ***īrme-** to ask (просить): Evn. *īrmu-*; Ul. *iremesi-*; Ork. *ireme-*; Nan. *ireme-* (On.)

◊ TMC 1, 328.

PMong. ***irwa** (bad) omen ((дурное) знамение): MMong. *ira* (MA 242); WMong. *irua*, *iruua* (L 415); Kh. *jor(o)*; Bur. *joro*; Kalm. *jorə*; Ord. *joro*; Dag. *jor* (Тод. Даг. 147), *jore* (MD 173); S.-Yugh. *jor*.

◊ KW 219, MGCD 740. Despite EDT 197, hardly borrowed from Turkic; Mong. > Yak. *ɨra*.

PTurk. ***ɨr- / *ir-** omen (знамение; суеверие): OT *irü* (OUygh.) Tur. *ɨrɨm* (dial.); Turkm. *ɨrɨm*; MTurk. *ɨrɨm* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *irim*; Uygh. *irim*; Tat. *ɨrɨm*; Bashk. *ɨrɨm*; Kirgh. *ɨrɨm*; Kaz. *ɨrɨm*; KKalp. *ɨrɨm*; Nogh. *ɨrɨm*; Khak. *rɨm* (R); Shr. *rɨm* (R); Oyr. *ɨrɨm*; Tv. *ɨrɨm* 'плохое самочувствие'.

◊ EDT 197, VEWT 166, ОСНЯ 3, 120, ЭСТЯ 1, 666. Back row in modern languages may be due to contamination with **ir-*, q. v. sub **p̃ĩru*.

PJpn. ***ùrá** 1 divination 2 to divine (гадание): OJpn. *ura* 1, *ura-nap-* 2; MJpn. *ùrá* 1, *ùrà-naf-* 2; Tok. *uraná-* 2; Kyo. *úráná-* 2; Kag. *ùrànà-* 2.

◊ JLTT 563, 779.

‖ KW 219, Владимирцов 181.

✱**ī́ru** to be ashamed, shy, hostile: Tung. ***ire(n)te-**; Mong. ***(h)ir-ba-**; Turk. ***īr-**; Jpn. ***útúa-**; Kor. ***ɨri-**.

PTung. ***ire(n)te-** to be ashamed (стыдиться): Man. *jerte-*; SMan. *irətə-* 'to be bashful, to feel shy' (1969); Nan. *irente-*.

◊ TMC 1, 329.

PMong. ***(h)ir-ba-** discontent, cranky (недовольный, раздраженный): WMong. *irba-* / *jarba-*, (L 413) *irbaɣana-*; Kh. *jarva-*; Bur. *irba-*; Kalm. *jarw-* (KPC 710).

PTurk. ***īr-** shame, be ashamed, frighten away (стыд, стыдиться, отпугивать): Karakh. *ir-*, *iril-* (MK); Turkm. *īr-*; Khak. *irək-* 'to languish, be bored'; Chuv. *jərən-*; Yak. *īr-* 'to rave, become crazy'.

◊ EDT 192, VEWT 173, (incorrect in) Егоров 80.

PJpn. ***útúa-** alienated, discontent (отчужденный, недовольный): OJpn. *utwo-*; MJpn. *útwó-*; Tok. *utó-*; Kyo. *útò-*; Kag. *úto-*.

◊ JLTT 844. The Tokyo accent is irregular; otherwise all evidence points to **útúa-*. Cf. also **útuá(m)p-* 'to shun, neglect', MJ *utoma-si* 'unpleasant, offensive'.

PKor. ***ɨri-** to scare, threaten, menace (угрожать, пугать): Mod. *ɨri-*.

◊ KED 1285.

‖ One of many common Altaic verbs of emotion. Correspondences are quite regular, and the etymology seems reliable.

✱**ī́ŕu** trace, furrow: Tung. ***iru-n**; Mong. ***(h)iraɣa-**; Turk. ***īŕ / *ɨŕ**; Kor. ***ìráŋ**.

PTung. ***iru-n** furrow (грядка, борозда): Man. *irun*, *jurun*; Nan. *irũ*.

◊ TMC 1, 328. Cf. perhaps also **ir-* 'to drag, trail' (TMC 1, 323-324) (< *'to leave a trace').

PMong. ***(h)iraɣa-** ripple, riffle (рябь (на поверхности воды)): WMong. *iraɣa* (L 412); Kh. *jarāt-*; Kalm. *erē̆t-*.

◊ KW 124. WMong. *iraɣa, iralɣa* (Kalm. *irlɣən*) 'ripple (on water)' > Man. *iraxi*, *iren* id., see Rozycki 117.

PTurk. ***īŕ / *ɨŕ** 1 trace 2 furrow (1 след 2 борозда, межа): OTurk. *iz* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *iz* 1 (MK); Tur. *iz* 1; Gag. *jiz* 1; Az. *iz* 1; Turkm. *ɨz* 1;

MTurk. *iz* 1 (Бор. Бад., Pav. C.); Uzb. *iz* 1; Uygh. *iz* 1; Krm. *iz, ɨz* 1; Tat. *ĭz* 1, *ɨzan* 2; Bashk. *ĭð* 1, *ɨðan* 2; Kirgh. *iz* 1; Kaz. *ĭz* 1; KBalk. *ɨz* 1; KKalp. *iz* 1; Kum. *hɨzan* 2; Nogh. *ɨz* 1, *ɨzan* 2; SUygh. *is* 1; Khak. *ĭs* 1; Oyr. *is* 1; Tv. *is* 1; Chuv. *jər* 1, *jъran* 2.

◊ EDT 277, ЭСТЯ 1, 383-385, 646, 647, VEWT 175, Егоров 79, 75. There exists a verbal derivative **ī́r-te-* 'to follow one's tracks', attested as *iste-* as early as in OUygh. (see EDT 243) and in many modern languages (see ЭСТЯ 1, 383); but simultaneously there is a variant **īr-te-* (with *-ŕ- > -r- according to Helimski's rule), attested already in MK (see EDT 208) and in Yak., Dolg. *irdē-*, see Stachowski 128.

PKor. ***ìráŋ** furrow (межа, борозда): MKor. *ìráŋ*; Mod. *iraŋ*.

◊ Nam 399, KED 1324.

‖ EAS 112, KW 209, Poppe 81, Lee 1958, 113, ОСНЯ 1, 251. Despite Doerfer's (TMN 2, 53) doubts ("allerdings zweifelhaft"), the comparison seems completely justified.

✱**ìsú** to crush, grind; bite: Tung. ***(x)ise-**; Turk. ***ɨsɨr-**; Jpn. ***ùsú**; Kor. ***ɨsɨr-**.

PTung. ***(x)ise-** 1 to crush 2 to beat 3 to butt, quarrel (1 ломать 2 бить 3 бодать, спорить): Evk. *iše-* (dial.) 1; Neg. *isi-kte-* 1; Man. *isele-* 2; Sol. *iš̄ilǯi-* 'to contest'; Orch. *isā̄meči-* 'перетягивать (друг у друга, держась за противоположные концы веревки, - игра)' .

◊ TMC 1, 336.

PTurk. ***ɨsɨr-** to bite (кусать): Karakh. *ɨsɨr-* (MK); Tur. *ɨsɨr-*; MTurk. *ɨsɨr-*, *ɨsur-* 'to bite, to eat' (Abush., Sangl.); Krm. *ɨsɨr-*; Kirgh. *ɨsɨr-*; Kum. *ɨsɨr-*; Khak. *ɨzɨr-*; Tv. *ɨzɨr-*; Tof. *ɨ'sɨr-*; Yak. *ɨtɨr-*, *ɨstā-*; Dolg. *ɨtɨr-*, *ɨstā-*.

◊ VEWT 167, EDT 251, ЭСТЯ 1, 671-672, Stachowski 262, 263.

PJpn. ***ùsú** mortar (ступка): OJpn. *usu*; MJpn. *ùsú*; Tok. *úsu*; Kyo. *ùsú*; Kag. *usú*.

◊ JLTT 564.

PKor. ***ɨsɨr-** to grind, crush (разбивать, дробить, ломать): Mod. *ɨsɨrə-(t:ɨrida*).

◊ KED 1287.

‖ SKE 73 (Kor.-Tung.), АПиПЯЯ 281.

✱**isV** to pinch, pluck out: Tung. ***is-**; Turk. ***iske-**.

PTung. ***is-** to pinch, pluck out (выщипывать, выдергивать): Evk. *is-*; Evn. *is-*; Neg. *īs-*; Man. *isi-*; Ul. *isī-*; Ork. *isi-*; Nan. *isō-*; Orch. *isi-*.

◊ TMC 1, 330.

PTurk. ***iske-** 1 to pinch, pluck out 2 pincers 3 chisel (1 выщипывать 2 щипчики, клещи 3 резец, долото): Karakh. *iske-* (MK) 1; Az. *iskänä* 3; Turkm. *iskew* 2, *isgänä* 3; Yak. *iskex* 2.

◊ EDT 246, VEWT 174 (Tadzh. *iskana* probably < Turk.), ЭСТЯ 1, 382-383.

‖ A Tung.-Turk. isogloss; not quite reliable because the Turkic form may reflect a contamination with **p̓i̯úsa* q.v.

✸**ite (~ *eti)** to eat: Mong. ***ide-**; Turk. ***et-mek**.

PMong. ***ide-** to eat (есть): MMong. *jide-* (HY 25, SH), *idä-* (IM), *idä-* (MA); WMong. *ide-* (L 398); Kh. *ide-*; Bur. *ede-*; Kalm. *idə-*; Ord. *ide-*; Mog. *idä-*; ZM *idä* (16-2b); Dag. *ide-* (Тод. Даг. 146, MD 173); Dong. *iǯie-*; Bao. *nde-*; S.-Yugh. *ede-*; Mongr. *ide-* (SM 188).

◊ KW 205, MGCD 407, TMN 1, 188.

PTurk. ***et-mek** bread (хлеб): OTurk. *ötmek* (OUygh.); Karakh. *etmek* (MK), *epmek* (MK - Oghuz, Qypch.); Tur. *etmek*, *ekmek*; Gag. *iekmek*; Az. *äppäk*; Turkm. (dial.) *ekmek*, *epmek*; MTurk. *etmek*, *ötmek* (Pav. C.); Krm. *ekmek*, *etmek*, *ötmek*; Tat. *ikmäk*; Bashk. *ikmäk*; KBalk. *ötmek*; Kum. *ekmek*; Nogh. *ötpek*; Khak. *ipek*; Shr. *itpäk*; Oyr. *ötpök*.

◊ EDT 12, 60, VEWT 376, ЭСТЯ 1, 254-256. The oldest form is clearly **et-mek* with various subsequent assimilations.

‖ A Turkic-Mong. isogloss, but no doubt archaic: a Nostratic etymology see in МССНЯ 340, ОСНЯ 1, 273-4.

✸**ìtí** board: Tung. ***(x)ite**; Mong. ***(h)ideɣür**; Jpn. ***ìtá**.

PTung. ***(x)ite** board (on bottom of the birch-boat) (доска (на дне берестяной лодки)): Evk. *ite*; Neg. *īte*.

◊ TMC 1, 334.

PMong. ***(h)ideɣür** trough (корыто): WMong. *ideɣür* (L 400); Kh. *idū̃r*; Bur. *ed́ū̃r*; Kalm. *idəš*, *idū̃r*.

◊ KW 205. The formal connection with *ide-* 'eat' ('trough for feeding animals') is probably due to a secondary contamination.

PJpn. ***ìtá** board (доска): OJpn. *ita*; MJpn. *ita*; Tok. *íta*; Kyo. *ìtá*; Kag. *itá*.

◊ JLTT 427.

‖ The Mong. reflex is somewhat dubious (because of a secondary merger with **ide-* 'eat, feed'), but the Tung.-Jpn. match still seems reliable.

✸**ȉtʿá** to rely, trust, take upon oneself: Tung. ***(x)iti**; Mong. ***itege-**; Jpn. ***àntùkàr-**.

PTung. ***(x)iti** 1 custom, order 2 to organize, prepare 3 occasion (1 обычай, порядок 2 организовать, готовить 3 случай): Evk. *iti(n)* 1, *itiɣā-* 2; Evn. *ịtqa* 1, *ịtụ-*, *ịtъ̣ɣ-* 2; Neg. *ịtqa* 1; Orch. *īti* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 333. TM > Dag. *ite* (Тод. Даг. 146).

PMong. ***itege-** to hope, believe, trust (верить, надеяться, доверять): MMong. *itege-* (HYt), *itqa-* 'to reason' (MA), *itegiltu* (LH)'zuverlässig'; WMong. *itege-* (L 417); Kh. *itge-*, *jatga-*; Bur. *idxa-*; Kalm. *itkə-* (KPC); Ord. *etege-*; Dag. *itge-* (Тод. Даг. 146), *itege-* (MD 174); S.-Yugh. *hdēge-*.

◊ MGCD 414.

PJpn. ***àntùkà-r-** to take upon oneself (иметь отношение к, брать на себя заботу о): OJpn. *adukar-*; MJpn. *àdùkàr-*; Tok. *azukár-*; Kyo. *ázúkár-*; Kag. *àzùkàr-*.

◊ JLTT 680. The transitive parallel is **àntùkà-*.

‖ The root should be kept distinct from **ētʿa,* although they tend to be confused.

✱**ìtʿù** to hit, push: Mong. ***ete-**; Turk. ***it-**; Jpn. ***ùt-**.

PMong. ***ete-** 1 to pick, dig 2 to cut (1 ковырять, копать 2 резать): MMong. *etke-* 2 (SH, HY 25); WMong. *ete-* 1 (L 335); Kh. *ete-* 1; Bur. *ete-* 1; Kalm. *et-* 1; Mog. *etqä-* 2; KT *etkä* (20-5a) 2; Mongr. *dige-* (SM 55) 2.

◊ KW 128. Forms with the meaning 'cut' may reflect a partial contamination with **heske-* q.v.

PTurk. ***it-** to push, hit (толкать, ударять): Karakh. *it-* (MK); Tur. *it-*; Gag. *jitir-*; Turkm. *it-*; MTurk. *it-* (Abush., Pav. C.); Uzb. *itar-*; Uygh. *itär-*; Krm. *it-*; Tat. *ĭt-*; Bashk. *ĭt-*; Kaz. *ĭjter-*; KKalp. *ijter-*; SUygh. *it-*; Khak. *ĭt-*; Shr. *it-*; Oyr. *it-, ijt-*; Tv. *it-*; Yak. *üt-*; Dolg. *it-, üt-*.

◊ EDT 38, VEWT 174, ЭСТЯ 1, 386-387, Stachowski 129, 254.

PJpn. ***ùt-** to beat, hit (бить, ударять): OJpn. *ut-*; MJpn. *ùt-*; Tok. *út-*; Kyo. *ùt-*; Kag. *ùt-*.

◊ JLTT 781.

‖ Cf. perhaps Evn. *ịtṵŋ-* 'to flounce, thrash about' (TMC 1, 333).

✱**itʿVKV** a k. of (big) bird: Tung. ***itiknija**; Mong. ***it-**.

PTung. ***itiknija** 1 owl 2 crane (1 сова 2 журавль): Evk. *itiknija* 1; Evn. *ịtịqńa* 1; Neg. *ịtịŋna* 1; Nan. *jatēnia* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 333.

PMong. ***it-** 1 partridge 2 jay 3 falcon 4 a k. of hawk 5 hazel-hen (1 куропатка 2 сойка 3 сокол 4 ястреб-перепелятник 5 рябчик): MMong. *jitelogu* (HY 14) 4, *itawun* 1 (LH), *itaūn* 1 (Lig.VMI), *itelku* 'merlin' (MA 221); WMong. *itaɣu* 1, *ite* 2, *itelgü* 3 (L 417, 418); Kh. *jatū* 1, *jotū* 5; Bur. *itag* (*šāzgaj*) 2; Kalm. *jotūn*, *itṻ* 'hazel-hen', *itə* 'a bird of prey', *itlɣə* 3; Ord. *itū* 1, *ötölgö*, *etelge* 3; Mongr. *sdergu* 3 (SM 336).

◊ KW 211, 219. Mong. > Uzb. *itälgü* etc., Manchu *itulxen, iturxen* (TMC 1, 334), Man. *itu*, Sol. *itau* (Rozycki 117); MKor. *iktəkui* (Lee 1964, 191).

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

I̯A

✸**i̯ā́ga** to fall over, shake: Tung. ***iaga-**; Mong. ***(h)egeji-**; Turk. ***iāg-**.

PTung. ***iaga-** to crumble, fall down (обваливаться, осыпаться): Evk. *ê̂γaw-*; Neg. *ê̂γa-*; Man. *ja-qsa* 'берег с осыпью'; Ul. *jāga-*.

◊ TMC 1, 289.

PMong. ***(h)egeji-** to shake, move, tremble (дрожать, двигаться, трястись): WMong. *egeji-* (L 297).

◊ Cf. also WMong. (L 296) *egče* 'steep, straight, abrupt' (cf. the meanings in TM) (> Yak., Dolg. *ekči*, see Kał. MEJ 24, Stachowski 44).

PTurk. ***iāg-, *iāg-na-** 1 to roll over, fall over 2 to climb over 3 to tumble 4 to turn over, capsize, let fall (1 падать, опрокидываться, свешиваться 2 перелезать 3 валяться, перекатываться 4 ронять, опрокидывать): OTurk. *aγna-* 3 (OUygh.); Karakh. *aγna-* 3 (MK, KB); Tur. *aγ-* 1, *aγdɨr-* 2, *aγɨn-* 3; Az. *aγna-* 3; Turkm. *āγ-* 1, 2, *āγ-dar-* 4, *āγɨna-* 3; Khal. *hāγa*, *hɔ̄γa* 'back, in the back'; MTurk. *aγna-* 3; Uzb. *ɔγ-* 1, *ɔγna-* 3; Uygh. *aγ-* 1; Krm. *avdar-* 4, *av-γa-la-n-* 3; Tat. *aw-* 1, *awdar-* 4, *awna-* 3; Bashk. *aw-* 1, *awdar-* 4, *awna-* 3; Kirgh. *ō-* 1, *ōna-* 3; Kaz. *aw-dar-* 4, *awna-* 3; KBalk. *aw-* 1, 2, *aw-la-* 'to skim', *awdar-* 4, *awna-* 3; KKalp. *aw-* 1, 2, *aw-dar-* 4, *awna-* 3; Kum. *av-* 1, *avdar-* 4, *av-la-n-* 'to turn over, incline', *avna-* 3; Nogh. *av-* 1, *av-dar-* 4, *avna-* 3; SUygh. *aγɨna-* 3 (ЯЖУ 11); Khak. *aŋ-dar-* 4; Shr. *aŋ-dar-* 4; Oyr. *aŋ-tar-* 4, *aŋ-da-* (<**aŋ-na-*) 3; Tv. *aŋda-r-* 4, *aŋda-š-* 3; Chuv. *jъʷvan-* 1, 4; Yak. *āŋ-na-* 3.

◊ EDT 86-87, VEWT 7, ЭСТЯ 1, 69-70, 73-76. Forms like *aŋ-dar-* are not quite clear - caus. from the refl. **iāg-ɨn-* ? (but the refl. form is here not **iāg-ɨn-* but rather **iāg-na-*).

‖ A Western isogloss. Despite some confusion in Turkic, should be kept distinct from **ḗga* 'rise' (q.v.).

✸**i̯ā́ga (~ -i)** a k. of disease: Tung. ***(x)iag-**; Turk. ***īg**; Jpn. ***ia ~ *ai**.

PTung. ***(x)iag-** cold (sickness), influenza (простуда, грипп): Evk. *ê̂γ*; Evn. *ā̈γ* 1; Neg. *ê̂γ*.

◊ TMC 1, 289.

PTurk. ***īg** illness, decease (болезнь): OTurk. *ig* (OUygh.); Karakh. *ig* (MK, KB, Tefs.); Tur. *iγǯil*; Turkm. *īgli* 'rickety'; MTurk. *ig* (Sangl., Houts.); Chuv. *jъx* 'leprosy, scrofula'.

◊ EDT 98-99, Егоров 76-77, Федотов 1, 189, Мудрак 73, Мудрак Дисс. 157, VEWT 169.

PJpn. ***ia ~ *ai** contagious disease (заразная болезнь): OJpn. *(j)e*, (*j)e-jamji*; MJpn. e, *e-jami*.

◊ JLTT 392. Accent is not clear: in RJ both *è-jàmì* and *é-jàmì* are attested.

‖ Cf. Bur. *jogšo-* 'to ache, nag'. Turk. **īg* is perhaps a result of secondary narrowing < **(i)ēg*. In TM there exists also an apparent derivative **iagsi-* 'to sneeze' which is very similar to PT **aksɨr-* (**agsɨr-*) id. (see ЭСТЯ 1, 194-195). This may be either an old derivative, phonetically distorted in Turkic, or an independent onomatopoeic root.

✱**i̯ā́gi** fat: Tung. ***iag-ǯakta**; Mong. ***eɣükü, *öɣekü**; Turk. ***jāg**.

PTung. ***iag-ǯakta** fat (of a bear) (жир (медведя)): Ul. *jaGǯaqta*.

◊ TMC 1, 337 (despite the isolated nature of the Ul. form its relationship with the Turkic and Mong. forms seems reliable).

PMong. ***eɣükü, *öɣekü** fat (жир): MMong. *e'ukun* (HY 24, SH), *o'ukun* (SH), *ukon* (IM), *ukun-* (MA); WMong. *ügekü*, *ögekü(n)* (L 631); Kh. *ȫx(ön)*; Bur. *ȫxe(n)*; Kalm. *ȫkṇ*; Ord. *ȫχö*, *ȫχü*; Dag. *eugu*, *ēge* (Тод. Дar. 138), *euwe* (MD 147); Dong. *fugun*; Bao. *gum* (MGCD *šgum*); S.-Yugh. *ȫkön* (MGCD *ȫgon*); Mongr. *ōke* (SM 296), (MGCD *ōku*).

◊ KW 304, MGCD 535.

PTurk. ***jāg** 1 fat n., butter 2 lard 3 thick, fat (adj.) (1 жир, масло 2 сало 3 толстый, жирный): OTurk. *jaɣ* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *jaɣ* (MK); Tur. *jaɣ* 1; Gag. *jā* 1; Az. *jaɣ* 1; Turkm. *jāɣ* 1; Sal. *jaɣ* 1; Khal. *jāɣ* 1; MTurk. *jaɣ* 1 (MA); Uzb. *jɔɣ* 1; Uygh. *jaɣ* 1; Krm. *jaɣ* 1; Kirgh. *ǯoo-n* 3; KBalk. *žau* 1; Kum. *jav* 1; SUygh. *jaɣ* 1; Khak. *čaɣ* 1; Shr. *čaɣ* 1; Oyr. *ḑū* 1; Tv. *čaɣ* 2; Tof. *čaɣ* 2; Chuv. *śu*, *śъ^{w}v* 1; Yak. *sɨa* 1; Dolg. *hɨa* 1.

◊ VEWT 177, EDT 895, ЭСТЯ 4, 58-59, Лексика 453, Федотов 2, 127, Stachowski 117.

‖ TMC 1, 337 (TM-Turk.), АПиПЯЯ 282. A Western isogloss.

✱**i̯agu (~ *i̯oga)** hips, space between hips: Tung. ***oga**; Mong. ***aɣarčak**; Turk. ***(i)ag**.

PTung. ***oga** thigh, hip (бедро, ляжка): Evk. *oɣo*; Evn. *ōɣ*; Neg. *oɣo*; Ul. *ō*; Ork. *ō*; Nan. *ō*; Orch. *ō*; Ud. *ō*; Sol. *oɣo*.

◊ TMC 2, 5.

PMong. ***aɣarčak** flesh between the hips (мясо между ляжками): WMong. *aɣarčag*; Kh. *ārcag* 'таз'; Kalm. *ārcəg*; Ord. *ārcaq*.

◊ KW 21.

PTurk. ***(i)ag** 1 space between the legs 2 wedge between trouser legs (1 промежуток между ногами 2 клин между штанинами): OTurk. *aɣ* (OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *aɣ* (MK) 1; Gag. *ā* 2; Az. *aɣ* (dial.) 2; Uzb. *ɔɣ* 2; Uygh. *aɣ* 2; Krm. *aw* 1; Kaz. *aw* 2; Nogh. *aw* 2.

◊ EDT 75, ЭСТЯ 1, 67-68, Clark 1977, 127.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**i̯àkʿì (~ -k-)** liquid, flow: Tung. ***iaKu**; Turk. ***iak-**; Jpn. ***ìkà-i**.

PTung. ***iaKu** 1 swamp, ditch 2 brook (1 болото, лужа, канава 2 ручей): Evk. *jaku* 1, *jakta* 2; Man. *jōχon* 1; SMan. *johərən*, *johurun* 1 (2084); Nan. *jaqčira* 2; Ud. *jakpaʿ* 2 (Корм. 240).

◊ TMC 1, 339.

PTurk. ***iak-** to flow (течь): OTurk. *aq-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *aq-* (MK); Tur. *ak-*; Gag. *aq-*; Az. *ax-*; Turkm. *aq-*; MTurk. *aq-* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *ɔq-*; Uygh. *aq-*; Krm. *aq-*; Tat. *aq-*; Bashk. *aq-*; Kirgh. *aq-*; Kaz. *aq-*; KBalk. *aq-*; KKalp. *aq-*; Kum. *aq-*; Nogh. *aq-*; SUygh. *aq-*; Khak. *ax-*; Oyr. *aq-*; Tv. *aq-*; Chuv. *jox-*.

◊ EDT 77, VEWT 12, ЭСТЯ 1, 118-120, Егоров 352, Федотов 2, 495.

PJpn. ***ìkà-i** pond (пруд): OJpn. *ike*; MJpn. *ìkè*; Tok. *iké*; Kyo. *ìkè*; Kag. *ìké*.

◊ JLTT 422.

‖ Мудрак Дисс. 196.

✱**i̯ǎkʿV** light, white: Tung. ***ixere**; Mong. ***jagaɣan**; Turk. ***Āk**; Jpn. ***áká-**; Kor. ***ikɨr-**.

PTung. ***ixere** candle, light (светильник, свеча, свет): Neg. *ixere* (< STung.); Ul. *ixere*; Ork. *ixere*; Nan. *ixere*; Orch. *ixere*.

◊ TMC 1, 302.

PMong. ***jagaɣan** pink (розовый): WMong. *jaɣan* (L 423); Kh. *jagān*; Bur. *jagān*; Kalm. *jaɣan* (СЯОС).

PTurk. ***Āk** white (белый): OTurk. *aq* (OUygh.); Karakh. *aq* (MK); Tur. *ak*; Gag. *aq*; Az. *aɣ*; Turkm. *āq*; Sal. *aχ*; MTurk. *aq* ~ *aɣ*; Uzb. *ɔq*; Uygh. *aq*; Krm. *aq*; Tat. *aq*; Bashk. *aq*; Kirgh. *aq*; Kaz. *aq*; KBalk. *aq*; KKalp. *aq*; Kum. *aq*; Nogh. *aq*; SUygh. *aq*; Khak. *ax*; Shr. *aq*; Oyr. *aq*; Tv. *aq*; Tof. *aq*.

◊ VEWT 12, TMN 2, 84-5, ЭСТЯ 1, 116-117, EDT 75, Лексика 598-599.

PJpn. ***áká-** red (красный): OJpn. *aka-*; MJpn. *áká-*; Tok. *àka-*; Kyo. *ákà-*; Kag. *ákà-*.

◊ JLTT 825.

PKor. ***ikɨr-** to burn lively; to be deeply flushed (ярко гореть; сильно краснеть): Mod. *igɨl-kəri-* 1, *igɨl-igɨl-ha-* 1, 2.

◊ KED 1319.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 110, 277. The final vowel is not quite clear: some languages point to *-i or *-e, others - rather to *-a.

✱**i̯áĺa** female; to seduce, to frolic: Turk. ***eĺi**; Jpn. ***ásuámp-**; Kor. ***ər'ù-**.

PTurk. ***eĺi** lady, beg's consort (титул жены бега): OTurk. *i/eši* (OUygh.); Karakh. *i/eši* (MK).

◊ See EDT 256, TMN 2, 182-183. The word is borrowed in Mong.: MMong. *esi* (HY), WMong. *esi* 'empress', Kalm. *iš* 'mother' (KW 210), Ordos *iši Gatū* 'nom d'un sanctuaire, eši qatun' (DO 389), see Clark 1980, 41.

PJpn. ***ásuámp-** to play, divert oneself (играть, развлекаться): OJpn. *aswob-*; MJpn. *áswób-*; Tok. *àsob-*; Kyo. *àsòb-*; Kag. *asób-*.

◊ JLTT 677. Kyoto accent is aberrant (*ásób-* would be expected).

PKor. ***ər'ù- / *ərɨ̀-** 1 to flirt 2 to marry 3 to fondle, play with 4 to have sexual intercourse (1 соблазнять, кокетничать 2 жениться 3 ласкать, заигрывать 4 иметь половые сношения): MKor. *ər'ù-*, *əru-*, *əri-* 1, 2, 4; Mod. *əri-* 3.

◊ Nam 360, 361, 367, KED 1127.

‖ ? Cf. Evk. *ilu* 'pregnant' (TMC 1, 311).

✱**i̯ámu** hole, pit: Tung. ***umu-**; Mong. ***(h)uma-**; Turk. ***(i)am**; Jpn. ***úmá-**; Kor. ***ùmúk-**.

PTung. ***umu-** hole, nest (дыра): Evk. *umdē-k*, *umuk*; Evn. *umrēkēn*, *ụmak*; Neg. *omụ*; Ul. *omon*; Ork. *omo*; Nan. *omo*.

◊ TMC 2, 267-269. Cf. also verbal forms (Evk. *um-nut-* 'to hide', *um-rē-* 'to sink (in snow etc.)'. The root should be distinguished from **umū-* 'to lay eggs', **umū-kta* 'egg'.

PMong. ***(h)uma-** scrotum with testicles; lower part of belly (мошонка; нижняя часть живота): WMong. *umadaγ* (L 874); Kh. *umdag*; Kalm. *omādəg*; Ord. *umadaG*.

◊ KW 285.

PTurk. ***(i)am** vulva (vulva): Karakh. *am* (MK - Oghuz, Kypch.); Tur. *am*; Turkm. *am*; Khal. *hȧm*; MTurk. (MKypch.) *am* (CCum., AH, At-Tuhf.); Tat. *am* (Буд. 1, 90); Kirgh. *am* (R); Kaz. *am* (R); Oyr. *am* (R); Yak. *abas* 'vulva'; *amanax* 'fat in the groins of cows, horses'.

◊ VEWT 18, EDT 155, R 1 643.

PJpn. ***úmá-** to bury, dig into (закапывать, зарывать): OJpn. *uma-*; MJpn. *úmá-*; Tok. *ùme-*; Kyo. *ùmè-*; Kag. *umé-*.

◊ JLTT 778. The accent in Kyoto is irregular.

PKor. ***ùmúk-** to form a cavity, be depressed (образовывать впадину, быть вогнутым): MKor. *ùmúk-hă-*, *ùmúk-*; Mod. *umuk-ha-*, *omok-ha-*.

◊ Liu 593, KED 1239.

‖ Cf. also notes to **úmu* 'to bear' (the reflexes of which tend to merge with the reflexes of **i̯amu* with specialized meanings 'vulva, genitals').

✱**i̯ánti(-kV)** a k. of small predator: Tung. ***iandaku**; Turk. ***(i)anduk (~ -nt-)**; Kor. ***jə́ń**.

PTung. ***iandaku** 1 racoon dog 2 badger 3 young of badger 4 wolverine (1 енотовидная собака 2 барсук 3 барсучонок 4 росомаха): Evk. *jantakī* 4; Neg. *jandako* 1; Man. *jandači* 3; Ul. *jandaqụ* 1; Nan. *jandaqo* 1; Orch. *jandaku* 1, *jadači* 2; Ud. *jandasi* 2.

◊ TMC 1,341, 249. Interdialectal loans are not excluded.

PTurk. ***(i)anduk (~ -nt-)** a k. of predator (вид хищника): Tur. *andɨk* 'вид гиены', Osm. *anduq*; MTurk. *andɨq* 'espèce de loup cervier' (Pav. C.).

◊ VEWT 20, Лексика 159.

PKor. ***jə̀ń** fox (лиса): MKor. *jə̀ń*, *jə̀ńì*, *jəńă*; Mod. *jəu*.

◊ Nam 374, 377, KED 1164.

‖ Дыбо 9, Лексика 159.

✱**i̯ańu** line, furrow: Tung. ***ońa-**; Mong. ***(h)oji-su**; Turk. ***En**; Jpn. ***ùnài**.

PTung. ***ońa-** 1 to draw 2 drawing, ornament 3 spot (1 рисовать 2 рисунок, орнамент, резьба 3 пятно): Evk. *ońo-* 1, *ońō* 2; Evn. *ońā-* 1, *ońān* 2; Ork. *ono* 3; Ud. *ońo-* 1, *ońo* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 20.

PMong. ***(h)oji-su** a hollow below or above the ribs (углубление под ребрами): WMong. *oji-su* (L 606: *ojis* 'pit of the stomach'); Kh. *ojs*.

PTurk. ***En** 1 earmark (on domestic animals) 2 to make an earmark 3 to castrate (1 метка на ушах (домашних животных) 2 ставить метку на ушах 3 кастрировать): Karakh. *ene-* 2 (MK), 3 (MK - Kypch.); Tur. *enek* 1, (dial.) *en* 1, *ene-* 3; Az. *en* (dial.) 1; MTurk. *en* (Bud.), *in* (Pav. C.) 1; Uzb. *en* (dial.) 1; Uygh. *än* 1; Tat. *inä-* (dial.) 2; Bashk. *in*, *inäw* 1; Kirgh. *en* 1; Kaz. *en* 1, dial. *ene-* 2; KKalp. *en* 1; Nogh. *en* 1; Khak. *in* 1.

◊ ЭСТЯ 1, 177-278, EDT 166, 171.

PJpn. ***ùnài** furrow, seedbed (борозда, грядка): OJpn. *une*; MJpn. *ùnè*; Tok. *uné*; Kyo. *únè*; Kag. *uné*.

◊ JLTT 563.

‖ The root is very similar to **i̯ŭńa* 'pit, ravine' and **i̯ŭne* 'notch (on arrow)' q.v., and there could have been some interaction between them - which could, in particular, explain Turk. -n instead of the expected *-ń.

✱**i̯ä̆pV** to bend, turn; hook: Tung. ***oboka**; Mong. ***eb-**; Turk. ***ebir-**; Jpn. ***àpùkuà**.

PTung. ***oboka** hook (крюк): Man. *obǵa* 'a k. of wooden hook serving as a bait for eagles'; Orch. *obō*, *oboγo*; Ud. *oboʹ* (Корм. 273).

◊ TMC 2, 4.

PMong. ***eb-** 1 to bend, fold 2 knee 3 to roll (1 гнуть, сгибать, складывать 2 колено 3 вертеть): MMong. *ebkä-* 1 (IM), *ibkä-* 1 (MA),ebuduk 2 (SH), *äbdäk* 2 (IM), *ubuduk* 2 (MA),; WMong. *ebke-* 1 (L 288), *ebüdüg* 2 (L 290), *ebkere-* 3 (L 288); Kh. *evxe-* 1, *övdög* 2, *evxre-* 3; Bur. *ebxe-* 1, *übdeg* 2; Kalm. *epkə-* 1, *öwdəg* 2; Ord. *ebχe-*, *ewχʷe-* 1, *öwödök* 2; Mog. *ündük*; Dag. *ebke-* 1 (Тод. Даг. 138), *ebeke-* (MD 139); Dong. *odəu* 2; Bao. *ebdəg*, *vedeg* 2; S.-Yugh. *wədəg* 2; Mongr. *udiG*, *idiG* (SM 464), *wedeG* (Huzu) 2.

◊ KW 302, MGCD 251, 536.

PTurk. ***ebir-** to turn (поворачивать): OTurk. *ebir-* (Orkh.), *evir-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *evür-* (MK); Tur. *evir-*; Turkm. *öwür-*; MTurk. *evir-*, *iber-* (Abush., Pav. C.); Uzb. *öwür-* (dial.); Bashk. *äwir-*; Kaz. *üjĭr-*; Khak. *ibĭr-*; Shr. *ebir-*; Oyr. *ebir-*; Chuv. *avъr-*.

◊ EDT 14, VEWT 34, ЭСТЯ 1, 498-500, Егоров 20.

PJpn. ***àpùkuà** stick with a hook, stick for carrying things (палка с крюком, палка для носки): OJpn. *apuk(w)o*; MJpn. *àfùkò*.

◊ JLTT 509.

‖ ЭСТЯ 1, 500. The Turkic form is hard to separate, although one would rather expect a back vowel (**iab-*) here. There indeed exists a PT root **(i)abɨ-* 'to bend, fall, swing' (Tat. *avu-* 'to bend, fall', Oyr. *abɨ-*, Tuva *aa-t-tɨn-* 'to swing', Kirgh. *oo-* 'to bend on one side, fall, swing, also in a play', *oon-* 'to roll, as a dog', Kaz. *awu-*, *awɨn-*, *avɨ-t-qu-* 'id.', Nogh. *avɨ-*, *avna-*, *avda-* 'id.', Bashk. *aw-*, awn-, *awδ-* 'id.', KBalk. *aw-*, *awan-*, *awda-* 'id.', Karaim *avd-*, Kum. *avun-*), whose relationship to **ebir-* is not quite clear.

✱**i̯apʹi (~ *i̯opʹu)** to break: Tung. ***iapu-**; Mong. ***ebde-**.

PTung. ***iapu-** to break, spoil, broken (ломать, портить, сломанный): Evk. *ê̆p-* (Sym.); Neg. *jewus*; Ul. *jepu-*; Nan. *jepu-*.

◊ TMC 1, 291, 352.

PMong. ***ebde-** to break (ломать, разрушать): MMong. *ebde-*, *obde-* (SH), *ibdä-* (MA); WMong. *ebde-* (L 285); Kh. *evde-*; Bur. *ebde-*, *ünde-* (Alar.); Kalm. *ebdə-*; Ord. *ebde-*; Dag. *erde-* (Тод. Даг. 140), *erede-* (MD 145); Bao. *vete-*; S.-Yugh. *ebde-*.

◊ KW 116, MGCD 249. Mong. *ebde-re-* > Man. *ebdere-* etc., see Doerfer MT 79, Rozycki 65. Cf. also WMong. *ibire-*, Khalkha *ivre-* 'to crumble'.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**i̯apʹu** adze: Tung. ***upa**; Mong. ***oγuli**; Turk. ***Apɨl**.

PTung. ***upa** adze (долото, тесло): Man. *efexun*; Nan. *ofali*, *ufali*; Orch. *upa*.

◊ TMC 2, 280-281, 471.

PMong. ***oγuli** adze (долото, тесло): WMong. *oγuli* (L 603); Kh. *ōĺ*; Bur. *ōli*; Kalm. *ōĺə*; Ord. *ōli*; Dong. *uali*.

◊ KW 292, MGCD 522.

PTurk. ***Apɨl** hoe (мотыга): Kirgh. *abɨl-qasɨm* 'one of the pegs in a plough'; Shr. *abɨl*; Oyr. *abɨl*, dial. *ōl* (Leb.).

◊ VEWT 2. Despite late and sparse attestation hardly borrowed from Mong. - for semantic and phonetic reasons, despite Аникин 73.

‖ KW 292, VEWT 2. A Western isogloss.

✱**i̯ăpʹu (~ *i̯ŏpʹa)** to hide, conceal: Tung. ***op-**; Mong. ***(h)ob**; Turk. ***Apɨ-**.

PTung. ***op-** to hide, conceal (прятать, скрывать): Evk. *op-*; Nan. *up* 'having submerged' (Он.).

◊ TMC 2, 22.

PMong. ***(h)ob** trickery, deceit, fraud (хитрость, уловка, происки): WMong. *ob* (L 598); Kh. *ov*; Bur. *ob*.

◊ Mong. > Tuva, Oyr. *op*, see VEWT 363.

PTurk. ***Api-** 1 to hide 2 to be cautious 3 caution, precautions (1 прятать 2 быть осторожным 3 осторожность, предусмотрительность): Karakh. *abɨ-*, *abɨt-* (MK), *abɨn-* (refl.) (MK) 1; Uygh. *abajla-*, *avajla-* (refl.) 1; Bashk. *abajla-* 2; Kirgh. *abaj* 3; Kaz. *abajla-* 2; KKalp. *abajla-* 2.

◊ EDT 6, 7, 13.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**i̯ȁré** lower jaw, chin: Tung. ***irki**; Mong. ***eriwü-**; Turk. ***Erin**; Jpn. ***ə̀tə́(n)kapi**.

PTung. ***irki** gums (of teeth) (десны): Neg. *irxi*; Ul. *irxi(n)*; Ork. *irki*; Nan. *ilxī*; Orch. *ixi*.

◊ TMC 1, 327.

PMong. ***eriwü-** lower jaw, chin (нижняя челюсть, подбородок): MMong. *eri'un* (SH), *irun* (MA), *eirūn* (Lig.VMI); WMong. *erigü*, (L 322, 323:) *eregüü*, *ereü*, *eregün* (DO 248); Kh. *erū̃*; Bur. *erū̃*, *ürge(n)*; Kalm. *örgn*; Ord. *erū̃*; Mog. KT *oräu* (2-2a) 'cheek'; Dag. *erū* (Тод. Даг. 140, MD 146); Mongr. *irū* (SM 192).

◊ KW 299.

PTurk. ***Erin** lip (губа): OTurk. *erin* (OUygh.); Karakh. *erin* (MK); Tur. *erin* (dial.); Turkm. *erin*; Khal. *ärin*; MTurk. *iren* (Abush., Pav. C.); Uzb. *irin*; Krm. *erin*; Tat. *irĭn*; Bashk. *irĭn*; Kirgh. *erin*; Kaz. *erĭn*; KBalk. *erin*; KKalp. *erin*; Kum. *erin*; Nogh. *erin*; Khak. *irĭn*; Oyr. *erin*; Tv. *erin*; Tof. *erin* 'chin'.

◊ EDT 232-233, VEWT 48, ЭСТЯ 1, 292-293, Лексика 226-227. See also notes to **Erneg* 'edge'.

PJpn. ***ə̀tə́(n)kapi** chin (подбородок): OJpn. *ot(w)ogap(j)i*; MJpn. *òtógafi*; Tok. *òtogai*; Kyo. *òtógài*; Kag. *otogái*.

◊ JLTT 513. Accent in Tokyo and Kagoshima is irregular (points rather to **ə̀tə́-*).

‖ KW 299, Дыбо 308, Лексика 227.

✱**i̯àrgi (~ -o)** wild beast of prey: Tung. ***iarga**; Kor. ***írhì**.

PTung. ***iarga** leopard (леопард): Man. *jarGa* / *jarχa*, *jerxe*; SMan. *jarəhə* (2220); Jurch. *jara* (148); Ud. *jagä* (Корм. 240); Nan. *jarga* (On.)

◊ TMC 1, 337, 355.

PKor. ***írhì** wolf (волк): MKor. *írhì*; Mod. *iri*.

◊ Nam 406, KED 1327.

‖ A Tung.-Kor. isogloss. In Kor. one has to suppose a secondary monophthongization (**jórhì* > **írhì*), cf. the attested Old Koguryo **yaši* (= **yarhi*) 'wolf' (see Miller 1979, 10).

✱**i̯aru** young (of an animal): Tung. ***ora-***; Mong. ***(h)ori***; Turk. ***Arkun (?)***; Kor. ***ə̀rí-***.

PTung. ***ora-*** 1 small, young 2 *bear-cub* 3 female of bear (1 маленький, новорожденный 2 медвежонок 3 медведица): Evk. *oroŋāt* 3; Evn. *oi̯s*, *oji̯s* (dial.) 2; Neg. *ojokon* 2; Man. *orčun*, *orχočo* 1; Ork. *oko* 2 (*voc*.); Nan. *orōqã* 1; Orch. *orko ~ oroko(n-)*.

◊ TMC 2, 25.

PMong. ***(h)ori*** young, energetic (молодой, крепкий, свежий): WMong. *ori* (L 618); Kh. *ǒŕ*.

PTurk. ***Arkun*** a cross-bred horse (лошадь смешанных кровей): Karakh. *arqun* (MK); Uygh. *a(r)ɣun*; Kirgh. *arɣɨn*.

◊ EDT 216, ЭСТЯ 1, 171. Cf. also **arga-mak* 'stallion' (> WMong. *arɣamaɣ*, see Щербак 1997, 162). The verb *arɣɨ-* 'to run swiftly (of a well-bred horse)' is attested in Kirgh., Kum. and Tuva (see ЭСТЯ 1, 172). Turk. > Bur. *arxan* ˊbastard; cross-bred horse'. See also Аб. 1, 66 (Osset. *arɣonaq* 'well-bred dog' < Turkic).

PKor. ***ə̀rí-*** young (молодой, юный): MKor. *ə̀rí-*; Mod. *əri-*.

◊ Liu 545, KED 1128.

‖ The Turkic reflex is somewhat questionable; it belongs here if we suppose a semantic development 'young (animal)' > 'young horse, stallion'.

✱**i̯ā́tá (~ -tˊ-)** to give, gift: Turk. ***(i)ātag***; Jpn. ***átápá-***; Kor. ***tā-***.

PTurk. ***(i)ātag*** 1 sacrifice 2 price, sale 3 engagement, votive 4 gift (1 жертвоприношение 2 цена, продажа 3 помолвка, обет 4 подарок): Tur. *adaɣ* 1, 3, 4; Az. *adax* 3; Turkm. *ādaG* 3; Shr. *ada* 1; Yak. *atī* 2.

◊ VEWT 5. All the listed forms may be derived from **āta-* ˊto name' (< **āt* ˊname'), but the specific meanings rather suggest a secondary contamination.

PJpn. ***átápá-*** 1 to give 2 price (1 давать 2 цена): OJpn. *atapa-* 1, *atapji* 2; MJpn. *átáfá-* 1, *átáfi* 2; Tok. *àtae-* 1; Kyo. *átáé-* 1; Kag. *ataé-* 1.

◊ JLTT 387, 678.

PKor. ***tā-*** give (me) (дай (мне)): MKor. *tā-kò*; Mod. *tā-go*, *tā-o*.

◊ Liu 190, 191, KED 378.

‖ Korean demonstrates a frequent vowel elision. Phonetically a good match would be PTM **iata* 'ritual pollution, desecration in child-birth', but the meaning appears too specialized.

I̯O

✱**i̯obo (~ *i̯ubi)** near, come near: Tung. ***ibē-**; Mong. ***ojira**.

PTung. ***ibē-** to come near (надвигаться, приближаться): Evk. *iwē-*; Man. *ibe-*; SMan. *ivenə-* 'to move forward' (1188).

◊ TMC 1, 296. Man. > Dag. *ibē-* (Тод. Даг. 145).

PMong. ***ojira** near (близкий): MMong. *ojira*, *ojiri* (HY 52, 55), *ojira* (SH), *wīr(b)ε* (IM), *uirǎ* (MA), *əira* (LH); WMong. *ojira* (L 605); Kh. *oirɨn*; Bur. *ojro*; Kalm. *ȫrə*; Ord. *oö̯ro*; Mog. *ojrō*; ZM *ujrā* (6-8a); Dag. *wair* (Тод. Даг. 129), *uajre* (MD 229); Dong. *uira*; S.-Yugh. *öiro*, *oiro*.

◊ KW 304-305, MGCD 525.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**i̯ȫde** skin, to tan: Tung. ***(x)odinsa**; Mong. ***(h)ideɣe**; Turk. ***ed-**.

PTung. ***(x)odinsa** 1 summer skin of deer 2 to fade (of skin) (1 летняя шкура оленя 2 линять (о шерсти животных)): Evk. *odinna* 1; Evn. *odъndъ-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 6.

PMong. ***(h)ideɣe** tanning stuff (дубильное вещество): WMong. *ideɣe* (L 399); Kh. *idē(n)*; Bur. *ed́xe-* '1 заквашивать (хлеб) 2 дымить (кожу)'.

PTurk. ***ed-** to tan (leather) (дубить (шкуру)): Az. *ejmä* 'leather bag with clabber'; Turkm. *ej-*; Chuv. *ir-źə* 'skinner'; Yak. *etirik* ˈskin scraper'.

◊ ЭСТЯ 1, 236-237, 335-336, Мудрак Дисс. 171, Лексика 377.

‖ Лексика 377. A Western isogloss.

✱**i̯ȫle** to hang on (smth.), hang on hook: Tung. ***ol-**; Mong. ***elgü-**; Turk. ***īl-**; Kor. ***ori**.

PTung. ***ol-** 1 hook (for hanging kettle) 2 to hang over fire (1 крюк (для подвешивания чайника) 2 подвешивать над огнем): Evk. *oldon* 1, *ollon-* 2; Evn. *olrāwụn* 1, *olrān-* 2; Neg. *olōn* 1; Ul. *ōrpụn* 1; Ork. *olǯi̯ɣa* 1; Nan. *olpị* 1; Orch. *ogǯi̯ɣa* 1; Ud. *olohu* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 14-15. TM forms like *elgu-* should be regarded as mongolisms. Evk. > Dolg. *oldōn*, *oldon* (see Stachowski 191).

PMong. ***elgü-** to hang on (smth.) (вешать (на что-л.)): MMong. *elgu-* (SH), *ulku-* (MA 276); WMong. *elgü-* (L 309); Kh. *ölgö-*; Bur. *ülge-*;

Kalm. *ölgə-*; Ord. *ülgü-*; Dag. *elgu-* (Тод. Даг. 139), *el(e)wē-* (MD 143); S.-Yugh. *olGo-*, *uɣu-*.

◊ KW 294, MGCD 543. Mong. > Evk. *elgu* etc. (hardly vice versa; see Doerfer MT 89).

PTurk. ***īl-** 1 to hang on (smth.) 2 hook (вешать (на что-л.) 2 крючок): OTurk. *il-* (OUygh.) 1, *ilin-* (refl.) (OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *il-* (MK) 1, *ɨlɨn-* (refl.) (MK) 1; Tur. dial. *il-* 1, *ilmek* 2; Az. *ilmäk* 2; Turkm. *īl-* 1; MTurk. *ɨl-* (Abush., Sangl.), *ɨlɨn-* (refl.) (Pav. C.) 1; Uzb. *il-* 1, *ilmɔq* 2; Uygh. *il-* 1, *ilmaq* 2, 'loop'; Tat. *el-* 1; Bashk. *el-* 1; Kirgh. *il-* 1, *ilmek* 2; Kaz. *il-* 1; KBalk. *ilin-* (refl.) 1; KKalp. *il-* 1, *ilmek* 2; Kum. *il-* 1; Nogh. *il-* 1; Khak. *əl-*; Oyr. *il-* 1, *ilmek* 2; Tv. *il-* 1; Chuv. *jъlъ*, *jъlmak* 'loop'; Yak. *īl-* 1.

◊ VEWT 170, ЭСТЯ 1, 343-346, Егоров 73-74.

PKor. ***ori** a fishing hook with several barbs (рыболовный крючок с зазубринами): Mod. *ori*.

◊ SKE 178. The noun is found only is absent from major MKor. and modern Korean dictionaries and thus somewhat dubious.

‖ SKE 178, EAS 106, Poppe 76 (Turk.-Mong.; assumption of Mong. being borrowed from Turk., see Щербак 1997, 120, is improbable). Turk. has a somewhat unexpected narrowing: **īl-* instead of **ḗl-*; however, the etymology still seems probable (despite Doerfer's categorical refusal: "lautgesetzlich unmöglich"; see TMN 2, 214).

✱**i̯oĺe** food: Tung. ***ulī-**; Mong. ***öl**; Turk. ***(i)aĺ, *(i)aĺ-a-**.

PTung. ***ulī-** to feed (кормить): Evk. *ulī-*; Evn. *uli-*; Man. *ulebu-*; Nan. *uli-*; Ud. *ulikte* 'sacrificial fat' (Корм. 301).

◊ TMC 2, 260.

PMong. ***öl** nutritive, nutrition (питательный, пища): WMong. *öl* (L 633); Kh. *öl*; Bur. *ül*; Kalm. *öl*; Ord. *öl*; S.-Yugh. *öl*.

◊ KW 294, MGCD 541.

PTurk. ***(i)aĺ, *(i)aĺ-a-** 1 meal, food 2 to eat 3 porridge 4 to feed (1 еда, пища 2 есть 3 каша 4 кормить): OTurk. *aš* 1, *aša-* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *aš* 1, *aša-* 2 (KB); Tur. *aš* 1; Az. *aš* 3; Turkm. *aš* 1; Khal. *āš*, *ɔ̄š* 1; MTurk. *aš* 1 (Pav. C.); Uygh. *aš* 1; Krm. *aša-* 2; Tat. *aša-* 2; Bashk. *aša-* 2; Kirgh. *aš* 1; KBalk. *aša-* 2; Nogh. *aša-* 2; Khak. *as* 1; Tv. *a'š* 1, *ažā-* 4; Tof. *aša-* 4; Yak. *as* 1; Dolg. *as* 1, *as-* 2.

◊ VEWT 29-30, ЭСТЯ 1, 210-212, TMN 2, 61-62, EDT 253, 256, Stachowski 38.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**i̯ṓĺe** to weave, bind: Tung. ***ul-**; Mong. ***(h)el-tü-**; Turk. ***ēĺ-**; Kor. ***jər-**.

PTung. ***ul-** to sew (шить): Evk. *ullī-*; Neg. *uli-*; Man. *ufi-*, *ifi-*; SMan. *ifi-* (271); Ul. *urpi-*; Ork. *ulpi-*; Nan. *ulpi-*; Orch. *ippi-*, *uppi-*; Ud. *ulihi-*; Sol. *uldi-*.

◊ TMC 1, 322, 2, 261-262.

PMong. ***(h)el-tü-** to weave, knit (ткать, вязать): WMong. *eltüle-* (L 310); Kh. *eltle-*.

PTurk. ***ēĺ-** to spin, twist (вить, сучить, плести): Az. *eš-*; Turkm. *īš-*; MTurk. *eš-* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *eš-*; Uygh. *äš-*; Krm. *eš-*; Tat. *iš-*; Bashk. *iš-*; Kirgh. *eš-*; Kaz. es-; KBalk. *eš-*; KKalp. *es-*; Kum. *eš-*; Tv. *eš-*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 1, 396.

PKor. ***jər-** to weave, tie together (ткать, связывать): MKor. *jər-*.

◊ Liu 566.

‖ Дыбо 1997a (Turk.-Mong.)

✱**i̯òmke** to crawl, move: Mong. ***ömkeri-, *önkeri-**; Turk. ***Emgek-**; Jpn. ***ùnkə̀k-**.

PMong. ***ömkeri-, *önkeri-** to roll, fall (кататься, падать): WMong. *ömkeri-*, *öŋkeri-*, *ömkere-*, *ömküri-* (L 635); Kh. *önxr-*; Kalm. *öŋkr-*; Ord. *öŋχörö-*; Mongr. *ŋgurō-* (SM 294).

◊ KW 297. Mong. Yak., Dolg. *üŋkürüj-* (Kał. EJE 130, Stachowski 251).

PTurk. ***Emgek-** to crawl (ползти): OTurk. *ömgekle-* (OUygh.); Tur. *emekle-*; Gag. *mekle-*; Az. *imäklä-*; Turkm. *imekle-*; MTurk. *emgekle-* (Бор. Бад., Pav. C., Abush.); Uzb. *emäklä-*; Uygh. *iŋäklä-* (dial.); Kirgh. *emgekte-*; Kaz. *eŋbekte-*; Khak. *ĭmekte-*, *nĭmekte-*; Shr. *emekte-*; Oyr. *emekte-*, *emgekte-*.

◊ EDT 160, VEWT 42, ЭСТЯ 1, 275. The noun **emgek* 'crawling' is preserved in Tur. dial. *imek*, Chag. *emgek* 'crawling child' (and, despite Clauson ibid. it certainly has nothing to do with **emgek* 'worry, pains', see **emge-*). Cf. also forms like Turkm. *eŋkej-* 'bow' and Yak., Dolg. *üŋk-* 'to bow' (contractions?); see Stachowski 251.

PJpn. ***ùnkə̀k-** to move (двигаться): OJpn. *ug(w)ok-*; MJpn. *ùgòk-*; Tok. *ugók-*; Kyo. *úgók-*; Kag. *ùgòk-*.

◊ JLTT 777. Cf. also Tok. *ugomek-* 'to crawl, cluster'.

‖ For possible TM reflexes see under **ȍnV*; cf. also PTM **uŋki-* 'send' (TMC 2, 277-278).

✱**i̯oŋo (~ *i̯uŋi)** weave (nets), net: Tung. ***inŋi-**; Mong. ***(h)öɣesi**.

PTung. ***inŋi-** to weave a net, to tie knots (ткать сеть, завязывать узлы): Evk. *inŋi-*; Evn. *inŋъ-*; Neg. *ińŋi-*; Ul. *ī-*; Nan. *inru* 'woven basket'; Orch. *iŋŋi-*; Ud. *iŋi-* (*iŋ́i-*) (Корм. 239), *ińiŋi-*.

◊ TMC 1, 317-318.

PMong. ***(h)öɣesi** fish-net (сеть для ловли рыбы): WMong. *ögesi(n)* (L 632); Kh. *ȫš*; Kalm. *ȫš*; Ord. *ȫšdö-*, *ȫšlö-* 'to fish with a fish-net'.

◊ KW 305.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss. The TM form must go back to **iŋ-ni-* with a suffix (Mong. -ɣ- does not point to a cluster in PA).

✱**i̯òpe** to cover; to wear: Tung. ***upsi**; Mong. ***ibeɣe-**; Jpn. ***èp-**; Kor. ***psí-**.

PTung. ***upsi** 1 shaman clothes 2 belt made of badger's skin (1 одежда шамана 2 пояс из кожи барсука): Neg. *upsi* 1; Ul. *upsi* 1; Nan. *ufsi* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 281.

PMong. ***ibeɣe-** to protect (защищать, покровительствовать): MMong. *ibe'e-* (SH), *hibe-* (MA 347), *ihe-* (HY); WMong. *ibege-* (L 396); Kh. *ivē-*; Bur. *ebigēl* 'protection' (dial.); Kalm. *ivē-* (KPC); Ord. *iwegē-*.

◊ Cf. perhaps also WMong. *ibe-* 'to pad, lay something between or under' (< *'to cover').

PJpn. ***èp-** to put on clothes (on the upper body); to cover (надевать одежду (на верхнюю часть тела); покрывать): OJpn. *op-*, *op(w)op-*; MJpn. *òfòf-*; Tok. *ṑ-*; Kyo. *ó̍-*; Kag. *ó̍-*.

◊ JLTT 742, 743. Modern tones point rather to **ə́pə́p-*, but this may be due to contraction.

PKor. ***psí-** to put on (hat) (надевать (шапку)): MKor. *psɨ-*, *sí-*; Mod. *s:ɨ-*.

◊ Nam 317, 319, KED 1023.

‖ Korean has a frequent initial vowel reduction.

✱**i̯opˈérV (~ *i̯apˈórV, -ŕ-)** horn: Tung. ***opora**; Mong. ***eber**; Kor. ***s-pír**.

PTung. ***opora** nose (нос): Man. *oforo*; SMan. *ofərə* (24); Nan. *oporo*.

◊ TMC 2, 22.

PMong. ***eber** horn (рог): MMong. *eber* (HY 15, SH), *äbär* (IM), *ibär*, *hibär* (MA); WMong. *eber* (L 286); Kh. *ever*; Bur. *eber*, *über*; Kalm. *ewṛ*, *öwṛ*; Ord. *ewer*; Mog. ZM *ebär* (20-8); Dag. *xeur* (Тод. Даг. 176), *heure* (MD 161); Dong. *eve*, *uve*; Bao. *ver*; S.-Yugh. *ewer*, *eber*, *wer*; Mongr. *ujer* (SM 480), *wer*.

◊ KW 129,303, MGCD 249. Initial x- in Dagur is quite unclear.

PKor. ***s-pír** horn (рог): MKor. *spír*; Mod. *p:ul*.

◊ Nam 274, KED 832.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 46, 291. One of the cases with "prefixed" s- in Korean body part names (cf. also *s-pjə́ 'bone', **s-kòrí* 'tail').

✱**i̯òre** male, young male: Tung. ***ur**; Mong. ***(h)üreɣe**; Turk. ***ẹr-kek**; Jpn. ***ètə**; Kor. ***óràpí**.

PTung. ***ur** 1 male 2 elk (2 y. old) 3 1-year-old deer (1 самец 2 лось (2-х лет) 3 олень-однолетка): Evk. *ur* 1, *urikčān* 2; Neg. *ojčān* 2; Man. *urgešen* 3; Nan. *ojčā* 2; Orch. *uriča* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 281, 284, 285.

PMong. ***(h)üreɣe** 3 to 5-year-old stallion (жеребец от трех до пяти лет): WMong. *ürege*, *ürije* (L 1013); Kh. *ürē*; Kalm. *ürā̄* (KPC); Ord. *ürē*.

PTurk. ***ẹr-kek** 1 man 2 husband 3 male (1 мужчина 2 муж 3 самец): Karakh. *erkek* 1 (MK, KB); Tur. *erkek* 1; Gag. *erkek* 1; Az. *erkäk* 1; Turkm. *erkek* 1; Sal. *ärkex* 1; Khal. *hịrkäk* 1; Uzb. *erkak* 1; Krm. *erkek* 1; Tat. *irkɛk* 3; Bashk. *irkäk* 3; Kirgh. *erkek* 1; Kaz. *erkek* 1; KBalk. *erkek* 1; KKalp. *erkek* 1; Kum. *erkek* 1; Nogh. *erkek* 1; Oyr. *erkek* 1, 2; Tv. *irgek* 3; Tof. *i'rxek* 3; Yak. *irgex* 3; Dolg. *irgek* 3.

◊ VEWT 46, TMN 2, 178-9, EDT 192, ЭСТЯ 1, 297-298, 321-322, Лексика 303, 561, Егоров 30, Stachowski 46, 128. We follow Clauson (EDT 223-4) in separating **ēr* from **ẹr-kek.*

PJpn. ***ətə** younger brother (младший брат): OJpn. *oto*, *otopji*; MJpn. *òtòùtò*; Tok. *otõto*; Kyo. *ótõtó*; Kag. *otõto*.

◊ JLTT 513.

PKor. ***óràpí** brother (брат): MKor. *óràpí*; Mod. *orabi*.

◊ Liu 575, KED 1197.

‖ The Turkic forms should be kept apart from the reflexes of **ēr* < **ā̆ri* q.v.

✱**i̯ŏt´à(mu) (~ *i̯ăt´ò-)** top of head, head: Tung. ***utumuk**; Jpn. ***àtàmà**; Kor. ***utu**.

PTung. ***utumuk** back of head (затылок): Evk. *utumuk*; Evn. *ötömöhök*; Ork. *utumu*.

◊ TMC 2, 294.

PJpn. ***àtàmà** 1 top of head 2 head (1 темя 2 голова): MJpn. *àtàmà* 1, 2; Tok. *atamá* 2; Kyo. *átàmà* 2; Kag. *atamá* 1.

◊ JLTT 387.

PKor. ***utu** 1 head 2 top of head (1 голова 2 темя, верхушка головы): MKor. *utu* 1; Mod. *udu-məri* 2.

◊ Liu 591, KED 1237.

‖ An Eastern isogloss.

✱**i̯ŏt´íkV** a k. of berry: Tung. ***ōkta**; Jpn. ***ìtí(n)kuà**; Kor. ***òtā̆i**.

PTung. ***ōkta** currant (смородина): Evk. *ōkta*; Neg. *ōkta*; Man. *ukuxu*, -xe 'name of a berry'; Orch. *oktokto*.

◊ TMC 2, 11.

PJpn. ***ìtí(n)kuà** strawberry, raspberry (земляника, малина): OJpn. *itib(j)ik(w)o*; MJpn. *ìtígò*; Tok. *íchigo*, *ìchigo*; Kyo. *ìchígò*; Kag. *ichigó*.

◊ JLTT 428. Most forms point to **ìtí(n)kuà*, but the Tokyo form *ìchigo* - to **ítí(n)kuá* or **ìtì(n)kuà.*

PKor. ***òtā̆i** mulberry (шелковица (ягода)): MKor. *òtā̆i*; Mod. *oti*.

◊ Nam 379, KED 1197.

‖ Accent in Korean is irregular. An Eastern isogloss; cf. Yak. *oton* 'berry' (isolated in Turkic, but perhaps archaic).

I̯U

✱**i̯ùbú** to be hungry, exhausted: Tung. ***(x)ob-**; Mong. ***öje-**; Jpn. ***ùwá-**; Kor. ***īb-, *ìbúr-**.

PTung. ***(x)ob-** 1 to become spoiled (of meat) 2 to get tired, exhausted 3 to get poor (1 портиться (о мясе) 2 уставать, изнемогать 3 беднеть): Evk. *obdo-* 1; Evn. *obdъ̣-* 2; Neg. *obolo-* 3; Man. *uba-* 1, *obdoqo jali* 'spoiled, tasteless meat'.

◊ TMC 2, 4, 5.

PMong. ***öje-** to be hungry, voracious (быть голодным, прожорливым): MMong. *ojese-* (SH) 1.

PJpn. ***ùwá-** to be hungry (голодать): OJpn. *uwa-*; MJpn. *ùwá-*; Tok. *ué-*; Kyo. *ùè-*; Kag. *ué-*.

◊ JLTT 777. Accent in Kagoshima is irregular, but all other dialects and RJ point to **ùwá-*.

PKor. ***īb-, *ìbúr-** to wither, dry up, decline, decay (вянуть, засыхать, ухудшаться, иссякать): MKor. *īp-* (*īw-*), *ìwìr-*, *ì'úr-*, *ì'ór-*; Mod. *iul-*.

◊ Nam 401, 403, 407, KED 1335.

‖ Ozawa 184-185. Korean has a "verbal" low tone.

✱**i̯úb[u]** to dig, hole: Tung. ***(x)ub-gā**; Turk. ***oba**; Jpn. ***úwa-**.

PTung. ***(x)ub-gā** burrow, hole (нора, дыра): Evk. *ubgā*; Evn. *ụbgụq*, dial. *ōwa*; Neg. *obga-* 'пролезать под снегом (о птицах)'; Man. о 'armpit'.

◊ TMC 2, 3, 242.

PTurk. ***oba** cavity, valley (впадина, долина): Tur. *ova*; Gag. *uva*; Az. *ova*; Uzb. *uwa*; Uygh. *ova*; Tv. *howu*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 1, 403.

PJpn. ***úwa-** to plant (сажать): OJpn. *uwa-*; MJpn. *úwa-*; Tok. *ùe-*; Kyo. *ùè-*; Kag. *ué-*.

◊ JLTT 777. The tone reflex in Kyoto is aberrant (perhaps under literary influence).

‖ ЭСТЯ 1, 403 (Turk.-Tung.). The vocalism is not quite secure: the diphthong must be reconstructed because of Jpn. *-w-, but in Turkic one would rather expect **i̯ba* in this case (perhaps **i̯ba* > **uba* > **oba* because of later vowel assimilations).

✱**i̯ǔču** to become free, retire, disappear: Tung. ***ōs-**; Turk. ***ič-**; Jpn. ***us-**.

PTung. ***ōs-** to retire, make the place vacant (отступать, уступать (место)): Evk. *ōs-*; Evn. *ōs-*; Neg. *ōs-*; Ul. *osi̯-*; Ork. *ōssi̯-*; Nan. *ōsi̯-*; Orch. *osu-*.

◊ TMC 2, 25-26.

PTurk. ***ič-, *ič-gin-** to lose, disappear (терять(ся), пропадать): OTurk. *ičγin-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *ičγin-* (MK), *ič-* (KB); MTurk. *ičqin-* (Abush., Pav. C.); Tat. *ičqin-*; Bashk. *isqin-*; Kirgh. *ičqin-*; KBalk. *ičxin-*; Kum. *išγin-*; Nogh. *išqin-*; Khak. *isxin-*; Shr. *išqin-*; Oyr. *ičqin-*, *iqčin-*; Tv. *išqin-*; Yak. *ihigin-*.

◊ VEWT 164, ЭСТЯ 1, 672-673, ДТС 216.

PJpn. ***us-** to lose, get lost, disappear (терять, теряться, пропадать): OJpn. *usa-*, *usi-nap-*; MJpn. *úsá-*, *úsí-náf-*; Tok. *usé-*, *ùshina-*; Kyo. *ùsè-*, *úshíná-*; Kag. *usé-*, *ushiná-*.

◊ JLTT 780. Accent reconstruction is not quite clear: for **usinap-* 'to lose' the pattern **HHH* is more or less secure, but for **usa-* it seems best to reconstruct **ùsá-* (indicated by Tokyo and Kyoto). We may actually be dealing with two original roots heavily interacting with each other.

‖ Cf. also Kalm. *usχə-* 'to become free' (KW 452) - if not < Turk. The Jpn. form can be alternatively compared with MKor. *irh-* 'to lose'.

✱**i̯uda** ornament: Tung. ***udī-**; Jpn. ***aja**.

PTung. ***udī-** 1 to ornament 2 ornament (1 украшать 2 украшение): Evk. *udī-* 1; Neg. *uditkan* 2; Ork. *uǯi* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 248.

PJpn. ***aja** ornament, ornamented cloth (узор, узорная ткань): OJpn. *aja*; MJpn. *àjà*; Tok. *ayá*; Kyo. *áyà*; Kag. *áya*.

◊ JLTT 388. Modern dialects point rather to **ájà* (although it may be just an aberration in the Kagoshima dialect).

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss.

✱**i̯ude** to imitate, to simulate: Turk. ***öd-kün-**; Jpn. ***əja(n)si**.

PTurk. ***öd-kün-** to imitate (подражать, имитировать): Karakh. *ötgün-* (MK); Turkm. *öjkün-*; MTurk. *öjkün-* (Pav. C.), *ötgün-* (Abush.); Krm. *etkin-*; Oyr. *ökten-*; Tv. *ötün-*; Yak. *ütügün-*; Dolg. *ütügün-*.

◊ EDT 52, VEWT 368, ЭСТЯ 1, 515-516, Stachowski 254.

PJpn. ***əja(n)si** equal (такой же, одинаковый): OJpn. *ojazi*.

◊ JLTT 839.

‖ A Turk.-Jpn. isogloss; but cf. *adV, **idV*, with a possibility of interaction.

✱**i̯udi(rV)** to choose: Mong. ***ödü-**; Turk. ***üdür-**; Jpn. ***iàr- ~ *aìr-.**

PMong. ***ödü-** to conceive, urge, instigate (затевать, побуждать): MMong. *etuldu* 'to discuss, agree' (HY 40); WMong. *edü-*, *ödü-* (L 294, 630); Kh. *ödö-*; Ord. *edü-*; Dong. *uduru-*; S.-Yugh. *ūdu-*.

◊ MGCD 540.

PTurk. ***üdür-** to choose, to select (выбирать): OTurk. *üdür-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *üδür-* (MK, KB); Tur. Osm. *ür-*; MTurk. (Xwar.) *üδür-* (Qutb), (MKypch.) *ür-* (Houts.); Khak. *üzür-*.

◊ VEWT 368, EDT 67-68.

PJpn. ***iàr- ~ *aìr-** to choose (выбирать): OJpn. *er-, erap-*; MJpn. *èráb-*; Tok. *ér-, eráb-*; Kyo. *èr-, éráb-*; Kag. *èr-, èràb-*.

◊ JLTT 681, 682. All forms point to low tone in the first syllable.

‖ The Jpn. form must be derived < **idar-* < **idi-ra-*. Mong. reveals a causative meaning here: *'make choose' > 'instigate, urge'.

✱**i̯ŭdu** wonder, supernatural: Tung. ***(x)odu**; Mong. ***id-**; Turk. ***ɨduk**; Jpn. ***i / *ju**.

PTung. ***(x)odu** wonder (чудо): Evk. *odu*.

◊ TMC 2, 7. Attested only in Evk., but having reliable external parallels. Evk. > Yak. *odū* (not vice versa).

PMong. ***id-** female shaman (шаманка): MMong. *jituxan* (HY 31), *jətxan* 'волхв' (IM), *utugun / hotkun* (LH); WMong. *iduγan*, *uduγan* (L 861); Kh. *udug*; Bur. *udagan*; Kalm. *udəγən* (KPC); Ord. *udaGan* 'accoucheusse, accoucheur'; Dag. *jadagan* (Тод. Даг. 146), *jadegen* 'shaman (in direct contact with spirits)' (MD 168).

PTurk. ***ɨduk** sacred (священный): OTurk. *ɨduq* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *ɨδuq* (MK); Kirgh. *ɨjɨq*; KBalk. *ɨjɨq*; Khak. *ɨzɨx*; Oyr. *ɨjɨq, ijik*; Tv. *ɨdɨq*; Chuv. *jərəx*; Yak. *ɨtɨq*.

◊ EDT 46, ЭСТЯ 1, 649-650, Егоров 80, Федотов 199, TMN 230-231 (most sources give a dubious inner Turkic derivation < **ɨd-* 'to send', based on the old gloss in MK - most probably a folk etymology).

PJpn. ***i / *ju** sacred, purified (священный): OJpn. *i*, ju.

◊ JLTT 420. Also with -tu in attributive function: *i-tu-, ju-tu-*.

‖ Ozawa 52-53, 177-181. Despite Щербак 1997, 120, not a borrowing in Mong. < Turk. The Middle Jpn. *itiko* 'virgin consecrated to a deity, sorceress' (with a later form *itako* id.), which is compared by Miller (1985, 148) directly with the Mong. form, should be treated as a secondary distortion of **i-tu-kua* (lit.) 'sacred girl'.

✱**i̯ū́du** to lead, direct: Mong. ***udu-**; Turk. ***ɨ̄d-**.

PMong. ***udu-** to lead, direct (вести, направлять): MMong. *uduri-* (HY 54, SH); WMong. *udu-* (L 862: *udurid-*); Kh. *udir-*; Bur. *udarida-*; Kalm. *udṛdə-* (KPC); Ord. *udu-* 'donner la branle, mettre en train (une affaire)'; Bao. *durə-*; Mongr. *duru-* (SM 67).

◊ MGCD 667, TMN 1, 162-163.

PTurk. ***ɨ̄d-** to send (посылать): OTurk. *ɨd-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *ɨδ-* (MK); Turkm. *ɨj-*; MTurk. *ij-* (AH); Krm. *ij-*; Kirgh. *ij-*;

KBalk. *ij-*; Khak. *ɨs-*; Shr. *ɨs-*; Oyr. *ij-*, *ɨs-*; Tv. *ɨt-*; Chuv. *jar-*; Yak. *ɨ̄t-*; Dolg. *ɨ̄t-*.

◊ EDT 37-38, VEWT 164, ЭСТЯ 1, 332-333, Егоров 354, Stachowski 263.

‖ A Turk.-Mong. isogloss.

✸**i̯uga** child, son: Mong. ***öɣele ~ *oɣala**; Turk. ***ogul**; Kor. ***àhắi**.

PMong. ***öɣele ~ *oɣala** stepbrothers (сводные братья): WMong. *ögelen* (DO 531); Ord. *xoö̯d ȫlö* 'the second husband of the mother', *ȫlön* kǖ 'fils dʿun autre lit'; Mongr. *ula* 'nés de la même mère, mais de différents pères' (SM 469).

PTurk. ***ogul** son (сын): OTurk. *oɣul* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *oɣul* (MK); Tur. *oul*; Gag. *ōl*; Az. *oɣul*; Turkm. *oɣul*; MTurk. *oɣul* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *ọɣil*; Uygh. *oɣul*; Krm. *ovul*; Tat. *ŭl*; Bashk. *ŭl*; Kirgh. *ūl*; Kaz. *ŭl*; KKalp. *ul*; Nogh. *uwɨl*; SUygh. *oɣul*; Khak. *oɣɨl*, *ōl*; Oyr. *ōl*, *ūl*; Tv. *ōl*; Chuv. *ɨvъl*; Yak. *uol*; Dolg. *uol*.

◊ EDT 83-84, VEWT 358, TMN 2, 81, ЭСТЯ 1, 411-412, 414-417, Лексика 313-314, 323, 429-430, Егоров 341, Stachowski 243-244. Derived are: **oguĺ* 'kin, generation', **oglak* 'kid' (ЭСТЯ 1, 404-405) etc. (ibid.)

PKor. ***àhắi** child (ребенок): MKor. *àhắi*; Mod. *ai*.

◊ Nam 343, KED 1076.

‖ It is interesting to note OJ *akwo* 'child' (usually in addressing) - usually regarded as *a-kwo* "my child", which may be a folk etymology. Cf. also WMong. (L 16) *aɣul ači* 'one's own grandson or descendant' (< Turk.?).

✸**i̯ǜge** to knead, press, crush: Tung. ***ǖ(g)-**; Mong. ***uɣur**; Turk. ***ög-**.

PTung. ***ǖ(g)-** to knead, press (мять, разминать, месить): Evk. *ī-*; Evn. *ī-*; Neg. *ī-*; Man. *uje-*; Nan. *ui-*; Orch. *ibbe* 'soft'.

◊ TMC 1, 294.

PMong. ***uɣur** mortar (ступка): MMong. *a'ur* (HY 21, SH); WMong. *aɣur*, *uɣur* (L 865: *uɣur*, *uɣuur*, *uur*, *aɣur*); Kh. *ūr*; Bur. *ūr*; Kalm. *ūr*; Ord. *ūr*; Dag. *ogor*.

◊ KW 454, MGCD 663. Mong. > Evk. *owur* etc., see Poppe 1966, 191, Doerfer MT 99, Rozycki 166; Chag. *oɣur* etc., see Владимирцов 247.

PTurk. ***ög-** 1 to knead, press 2 porridge, liquid soup (*'smth. pressed') (1 месить, мять 2 кашица, похлебка (*'давленая')): Karakh. *ögre* (~ *ü-*) 2 (MK); Tur. *öj-*, *öv-* (dial.) 1; Turkm. *öj-* 1; MTurk. *ügre* 2 (Pav. C.); Uzb. *uwra*, *ugra* 2; Uygh. *ügrä*, *ögrä* 2; Krm. *iwre* 2; Tat. *ǖjrä* 2; Bashk. *ǖjrä* 2; Nogh. *üjre* 2; Khak. *ügre* 2; Oyr. *üre* 2; Tv. *öj-* 1; Yak. *üöre* 2.

◊ EDT 112, VEWT 369, ЭСТЯ 1, 324-325 (**ögü-re* 'porridge'), 515, 618-620. The root clearly has a *-g- and should be distinguished from **ǖk-* 'grind' q. v. sub **pʿǘkʿŋi* (although contaminations were possible).

‖ A Western isogloss. Cf. **pʿi̯ōpo.* Despite TMN 2, 151, Chag. *oγur* and other late attested Turkic forms are most probably < Mong. (see Ligeti 1954, 110).

✱**i̯ugerV** enclosure for cattle: Tung. ***ugi(r)-**; Turk. ***ögür**; Jpn. ***bəri**; Kor. ***ur-**.

PTung. ***ugi(r)-** 1 herd 2 pasture 3 yard 4 gate 5 garden (1 стадо 2 пастбище 3 двор 4 ворота 5 огород): Evk. *ujur* 2 (Nep.), *uγuɯa*, *uɯuɯa* 1 (Olk., Tng.); Evn. *ujirē* 4; Ork. *ujru* 2; Ud. *uhi* (Корм. 303), *uji* 5.

◊ TMC 2, 243, 252.

PTurk. ***ögür** 1 herd 2 tame 3 companion 4 group of people (1 стадо, стая 2 домашний 3 сотоварищ): OTurk. *ögür* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *ögür* 1 (MK, KB); Tur. *öjür* 2, 4; Turkm. *ȫri* 'pasture'; MTurk. *ögür* 1,2, 3 (Sangl.); Uzb. *ujur* 1; Tat. *öjer* 1; Bashk. *öjör* 1; Kirgh. *üjür* 1, 2, 3; Kaz. *üjir* 1, 2; KBalk. *üjür* 'family'; KKalp. *üjir* 1, 2; Kum. *üjür* 1; 'attached'; Nogh. *üjir* 1; 'convivial'; Khak. *ȫr* 1; Shr. *ȫr* 1; Oyr. *ȫr* 1; Tv. *ȫr* 1, 3; Tof. *ȫr* 1, 3; Yak. *üör* 1; Dolg. *üör* 1.

◊ VEWT 369, Stachowski 251. Turk. (with a later developed meaning 'companionship', see EDT 112) > WMong. *ügür*, Kalm. *ȫr* (not vice versa, despite VEWT ibid.). A possible derivative (< *'to be tamed'?) can be PT **ögr-e-n-* 'to learn' (ЭСТЯ 1, 496-498).

PJpn. ***bəri** enclosure, cage (загон, клетка): MJpn. *wòrí*, *wórí*; Tok. *orí*; Kyo. *órì*; Kag. *orí*.

◊ JLTT 511.

PKor. ***ur-** 1 enclosure 2 fence 3 cage (1 загон 2 забор 3 клетка): MKor. *ùrí* 1, *úrh* 2, 3; Mod. *uri* 1, 3, ul 2.

◊ Liu 592, 595, KED 1238, 1246.

‖ Martin 227 (Kor.-Jpn.). Original vocalism is somewhat uncertain; a diphthong must be reconstructed to account for loss of *-g- in Jpn. (where **bəri* < **uəri* < **i̯ugVri*).

✱**i̯uge(ŕV)** river, small river: Tung. ***ugē(r)- / *ug-be(n)**; Mong. ***üjer**; Turk. ***ügüŕ (~ *ö-)**; Jpn. ***ùrà**; Kor. ***jàhɨ́r**.

PTung. ***ugē(r)- / *ug-be(n)** 1 wave 2 jet 3 river rift (1 волна 2 струя, рябь, зыбь 3 порог (на реке), перекат): Evk. *ūγe* 1, dial. *uɯē*, *uɯge-*; Neg. *uɯē* 1, *ubge-n* 3; Man. *were-n* 2; Ul. *ugbe(n)* 3; Nan. *wẽ* 1, *ugbẽ* 3; Orch. *uɯe* 1, 2; Ud. *wē* (Корм. 219), *ue* 1, 2, *ugbe(n)* 3.

◊ TMC 1,132; 2, 243, 247.

PMong. ***üjer** flood, freshet (поток, наводнение): MMong. *ujer* (HY 4); WMong. *üjer* (L 1002); Kh. *üjer*; Bur. *üjer*; Kalm. *üjr*; Ord. *üjer*; Dag. *ujir*; S.-Yugh. *ȫr*.

◊ KW 456, MGCD 691, TMN 2, 156. Mong. > Tuva *üjer* (see Лексика 90).

PTurk. ***ügüŕ (~ *ö-)** small river (речка): OTurk. *ügüz* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *ügüz* (MK, KB); MTurk. Kypch. *ochus* (CCum.); Uygh. *ögüz*; SUygh. *ügüz*; Khak. *ȫs*.

◊ VEWT 369, EDT 119-120, TMN 2, 156, Лексика 90.

PJpn. ***ùrà** bay, coast (залив, побережье): OJpn. *ura*; MJpn. *ùrà*; Tok. *urá*; Kyo. *úrà*; Kag. *urá*.

◊ JLTT 563.

PKor. ***jòhír** shallow place (отмель): MKor. *jòhír*; Mod. *jəul*.

◊ Nam 374, KED 1165.

‖ KW 456, Владимирцов 323, (Turk.-Mong.), PKE 63 (Kor.-Turk.). Low tone in Jpn. (not matching the low tone in Kor.) is probably due to contraction. The Mong. form cannot be separated, despite TMN 2, 156 ("lautgesetzlich mit der tü. Form nichts zu tun"). One should also note PTM **üge-n* 'river duct' (Neg. *īγen*, Ud. *jogo-so*, Ul. *ui-n*, TMC 1, 297, 2, 250); PT **ögen* (OUygh. *ögen*, Oyr. *ön*).

✱**i̯úgu** up, above: Tung. ***ug-**; Mong. ***öγe-, *ög-se-**; Turk. ***jüg-**; Jpn. ***ú-pa-**; Kor. ***ùh**.

PTung. ***ug-** 1 above, up 2 to mount (1 верх, наверху 2 садиться верхом): Evk. *uγī* 1, *uγ-* 2; Evn. *öγъ-* 1, *ū-* 2; Neg. *uvi-* ~ *uγi-* 1, *okča-lā-* 2; Man. *ve-si-* 1; Jurch. *wi-si* (594) 1; Ul. *uji-* 1, *ū-* 2; Ork. *ui*, *uwu* 1, *ū-* 2; Nan. *uwu-j* 1, *ō-* 2; Orch. *ui-si* 1, *ū-* 2; Ud. *ui-* 1, *ū-na-* 2; Sol. *uγe-sxī* 1, *ugu-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 243-244, 245-246.

PMong. ***öγe-, *ög-se-** 1 upwards 2 to rise, ascend (1 наверх 2 подниматься): MMong. *o'e-de* (SH) 1; WMong. *ögede* (L 630) 1, *ögse-* (L 632) 2; Kh. *öd* 1, *ögsö-* 2; Bur. *öde* 1, *ügse-* 2; Kalm. *ödə* 1, *öksə-* 2; Ord. *ödö* 1; Mog. *öädä*; ZM *udä* (18-6a); Dag. *wēd* (Тод. Даг. 129) 1; Dong. *oʒie* 1; Bao. *odə* 1.

◊ KW 303, MGCD 535, TMN 1, 167-168.

PTurk. ***jüg-** 1 upwards 2 to rise 3 hill 4 high (1 вверх, наверх 2 подниматься 3 холм 4 высокий): OTurk. *jügerü* (Orkh., OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *jükse-* 2 (MK); Tur. *jüksel-* 2, *jüʒe*, (dial.) *jüg*, *jüʒek*, *jügʒek*, *jüvʒek* 3; Gag. *ūsel-* 2; Az. *jüksäl-* 2, *uʒa* 4; MTurk. *jüksät-* 2 (Houts.), *jüče* 4 (AH); Krm. *öksel-* 2.

◊ EDT 915, ЭСТЯ 4, 263-264. The form **jügerü* is replaced in most modern languages by a back row variant **jokaru*, **jokgaru* (see ЭСТЯ 4, 213-214); this may be due to a contamination with a synonymous root **jok* "up, above" (see ЭСТЯ 4, 215).

PJpn. ***ú-pa-** up, above (верх, наверху): OJpn. *u-pe*; MJpn. *ú-fe*; Tok. *ué*, *ùe*; Kyo. *úé*; Kag. *ué*.

◊ JLTT 560.

PKor. ***ùh** up, above (верх, наверху): MKor. *ù* (*ùh-*); Mod. *wi*.

◊ Nam 388, KED 1258.

‖ EAS 146-147, Poppe 60, Rozycki 222 (Mong.-Tung.), Martin 247, Menges 1984, 291, АПиПЯЯ 15, 81, SKE 284. This is a well known Altaic root, and the Mong.-Tung.-Kor. match seems undeniable. Doerfer first tried to abolish the obvious Mong.-Tung. parallel by attempting to

postulate the original meaning in Mong. as "opposite" (see TMN 1, 168-169), then included it into his list of Mong.>Tung. borrowings (Doerfer MT 25): both positions are certainly untenable. However, the Turkic and Japanese reflexes here are not devoid of problems. The Turkic reflex reveals an exceptional preservation of *i̯u- as jü- (regularly *ɨg- would be expected) - which may be explained by the inner Turkic confusion of the synonymous roots *jüg- and *jok- (< *ŋi̯ȍkʿè q.v.). The Japanese match can be (and has been traditionally) explained as a compound of *u- 'top' with *pa (*ba) 'place' (v. sub **bi̯ȍga*). However, in case of a compound we would rather expect **u-m-pa*. It should be also noticed that the form **úpa-* itself is very frequent as a first component of compounds, while the root **ú-* alone is never attested. This all may mean that the Japanese form actually reflects a different root (with a medial labial consonant), or a merger of PA **i̯ugu* with some different root. Such a root may be perhaps discovered in TM (**ebu-ri-* 'to lift, raise', see TMC 2, 471) and Mong. (Kh. *övx-* 'to rise'), with a provisional reconstruction of PA **ébu*.

✱**i̯ùjŋula** to weep, howl: Mong. ***ujila-**; Turk. ***ɨjŋala-**; Jpn. ***ùnàr-**.

PMong. ***ujila-** to cry, weep (плакать, рыдать): MMong. *ui'jila-* (SH), *ujla-* (IM), *uila-*, *hujlaūl-* (caus.) (MA), *ūjla-* (Lig.VMI); WMong. *ujila-* (L 866); Kh. *ujla-*; Bur. *ujla-*; Kalm. *ūĺ-*; Ord. *ujla-*; Mog. *uīla-*; Dag. *waila-* (Тод. Даг. 129), *uajle-* (MD 229), *uail-*; Dong. *uila-*; Bao. *lā-*, la-; S.-Yugh. *ū̃la-*; Mongr. (*u*)*lā-* (SM 469).

◊ KW 454, MGCD 670.

PTurk. ***ɨjŋa-la-** to cry, weep (плакать, рыдать): Karakh. *aŋɨla-* 'to cry, howl (of a donkey)' (MK) (?); Tur. *inle-*, dial. *iŋile-*; Gag. *inne-*; Az. *inlä-*; Turkm. *iŋle-*; Khal. *ị̄län-*; MTurk. OKypch. *iŋle-* (Ettuhf.); Uzb. *ingala-*; Krm. *inle-*; Tat. *eŋgelde-*; Bashk. *ɨjla-*; Kirgh. *ɨjla-*; Kaz. *ɨnqɨl-da-*; KKalp. *ɨŋɨl-da-*; Khak. *ɨlγa-*; Shr. *ɨlγa-*; Oyr. *ɨjla-*; Tv. *ɨjɨla-*, *ɨɨla-*; Yak. *ɨj̄ɨla-*.

◊ VEWT 172, EDT 186, ЭСТЯ 1, 366-367.

PJpn. ***ùnàr-** to howl, weep (выть, рыдать): Tok. *unár-*; Kyo. *únár-*; Kag. *ùnàr-*.

◊ JLTT 779.

‖ An onomatopaeic root, but with a rather precise phonetic matching between Turkic, Mongolian and Japanese.

✱**i̯úle** to measure, compare: Tung. ***ül(k)e-**; Mong. ***üli-**; Turk. ***ül-**, ***öl-č-**; Kor. ***ərkùr**.

PTung. ***ül(k)e-** 1 to measure 2 to understand 3 to transmit, relay, teach (1 мерить 2 понимать 3 передавать, пересказывать, учить): Evk. *ilke-* 1; Evn. *ilkē-* 1; Neg. *ilkēt-* 1; Man. *ulxi-* 2, *ula-* 3; SMan. *ulixi-* 2

(1860); Jurch. *uli-* 3; Nan. *ilkeči-* 1 (Kur-Urm.); Orch. *ilēči-* 1; Ud. *ilewesi-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 258, 261; 1, 309.

PMong. ***üli-** 1 to compare 2 shape, form, model, story (1 сравнивать 2 форма, модель, рассказ): MMong. *olgeor* (IM) 2, *uli-* 1, *ulige* 2 (SH); WMong. *üli-* 1; *üliger* 2 (L 1005); Kh. *üle-* 1; *ülger* 2; Bur. *üliše-* 1; *ülǵer* 2; Kalm. *ülə́-* 1; *ülgū̆r* 2; Ord. *üliger* 2; Dag. *urgil* 2 (Тод. Даг. 171), *ülegire* 'story'; Mongr. *xuGui* 2.

◊ KW 457, MGCD 693. Mong. > Evk. *ulgur* 'tale, story' etc., see Doerfer MT 48.

PTurk. ***ül-, *öl-č-** 1 to measure 2 measure, measuring (1 мерить 2 мера, измерение): OTurk. *ülgü* (*ölgü*) 2; Karakh. *ülgü* (*ölgü*) 2; Tur. *ölč-* 1; Gag. *jölč-* 1; Az. *ölč-* 1, *ülgü* 2; Turkm. *ölče-* 1, *ülŋŋi* 2; Khal. *elč-* 1; MTurk. *ülgü* (*ölgü*) 2 (Pav. C.); *ölč-* (IM) 1; Uzb. *ọlčä-* 1, *ulgi* 2; Uygh. *ölči-* 1, *ülgä* 2; Krm. *oĺč-*, *ölče-* 1; Tat. *ülčä-* 1, *ŭlgĭ* 2; Bashk. *ülsä-* 1, *ŭlgŭ* 2; Kirgh. *ölčö-* 1, *ülgü* 2; Kaz. *ölše-* 1, *ülgĭ* 2; KBalk. *ülgü* 2; KKalp. *ölše-* 1, *ülgi* 2; Kum. *ülgü* 2; Nogh. *ölše-* 1, *ülgi* 2; Khak. *ülgü* 2; Shr. *ülgä* 2; Oyr. *ülgü* 2; Chuv. *viś-* 1, *əlgə* 2; Yak. *üllehin-* 'divide, distribute'; Dolg. *üllehin-* 'divide, distribute'.

◊ EDT 142, VEWT 371, ЭСТЯ 1, 529, 632, Stachowski 250.

PKor. ***ə̀rkùr** shape, appearance (форма, вид): MKor. *ə̀rkùr*; Mod. *k:ol*.

◊ Nam 367, KED 157.

‖ Note the widespread velar suffixation and the identity Mong. **üliger* = Kor. **ə̀rkùr*.

✱**i̯ùlò** hollow, hole, intestine: Tung. ***ül-**; Mong. ***(h)olugaj**; Turk. ***oluk**; Jpn. ***ùruà**.

PTung. ***ül-** 1 fistula, hollow nutshell 2 anus (1 свищ, пустой орех 2 anus): Evn. *ịmnị* 2; Man. *ulu* 1; Orch. *īlmini* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 313; 2, 263.

PMong. ***(h)olugaj** thick intestine (толстая кишка): WMong. *oluɣai* (L 609); Kh. *olgoj*; Bur. *olgoj*; Ord. *ologō̆*.

PTurk. ***oluk** gutter; hollowed-out tree trunk (желоб; выдолбленный древесный ствол): Karakh. *oluq* (MK); Tur. *oluk*; MTurk. *oluq* (IM, AH); Uygh. *olaq*; Krm. *oluq*; Tat. *ulaq*; Bashk. *ulaq*; Nogh. *olɨq*; Chuv. *volъ* 'tree-trunk'.

◊ EDT 136-137, ЭСТЯ 1, 451, Мудрак Дисс. 125, 131, Ашм. V, 263, Федотов 1, 99, 130. There also exists a similar - but originally different - form **og(u)l-*, **ogluk*, reflected in Chag. *oɣluq*, Tur. dial., Gag. *holluq*, Chuv. *valak*, Yak. (Пек.) *uoluk*, *uol-ba*, with natural contaminations.

PJpn. ***ùruà** hollow, hollow tree-trunk (дупло, полый древесный ствол): Tok. *uró*, *ùro*; Kyo. *úrò*; Kag. *uró*.

‖ Turkic and Mongolian reflect a common derivative **i̯ùlò-kV*.

✱**i̯ùme (~ -o)** to tie, strap, belt: Tung. ***(x)üm-**; Mong. ***(h)umaji-**; Jpn. ***ə̀mpí**; Kor. ***ùmɨ-**.

PTung. ***(x)üm-** 1 strap, tie 2 to girdle (1 ремешок, завязка 2 подпоясывать): Evk. *imenne* 1; Evn. *imъnru* 1; Neg. *imenne* 1; Man. *iḿele-*, *uḿele-* 2; Sol. *imende* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 314. Evk. *umurū* 'strap, belt' etc. (TMC 2, 272) is borrowed from Mong. *ümrūl*, see Doerfer MT 27.

PMong. ***(h)umaji-** to tighten, shrink (суживаться, стягиваться): WMong. *umaji-* (MXTTT); Kh. *umaj-*.

PJpn. ***ə̀mpí** belt (пояс, ремень): OJpn. *obji*; MJpn. *òbí*; Tok. *óbi*; Kyo. *òbí*; Kag. *obí*.

◊ JLTT 503.

PKor. ***ùmɨ-** to pucker, close up, shut up (делать складку, затягивать, закрывать): MKor. *ùmɨ̀i-jə́-tɨ̀r-*; Mod. *umurə-ǯi-*, *omurə-ǯi-*.

◊ Nam 390, KED 1239.

‖ SKE 286, EAS 117. Korean has a usual verbal low tone. The Jpn. form reflects fusion with an original labial suffix (**ə̀mpí* < **i̯ùme-bV* = Mong. **umuji-*). Cf. also **i̯umi*.

✱**i̯umi** a k. of clothing: Tung. ***(x)im-**; Mong. ***emü- (*ömü-)**; Turk. ***(i)öm**.

PTung. ***(x)im-** 1 gown 2 a k. of ritual hat (1 халат 2 вид ритуальной шапки): Man. *iḿantu* 2; Orch. *imǯa* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 313.

PMong. ***emü- (*ömü-)** 1 trousers 2 to clothe (1 штаны 2 одеваться): MMong. *emudun* (HY 23, SH), *ämodän* (IM), *umudän* (MA) 1, emus- (SH), *umus-*, *ămus-* (MA) 2; WMong. *ömü-dü(n)* (L 635), *emüdü(n)* 1, *emüs-*, *emüsge-*, *emüske-* (L 315) 2; Kh. *ömd(ön)* 1, *ömsö-* 2; Bur. *ümde(n)* 1, *ümed-*, *müd-* (Alar.); Kalm. *öməs-* 2; Ord. *ömödü* 1, *ömös-* 2; Mog. *ündün* 1, *ömüsü-* 2; ZM *ondun* (13-4); Dag. *emese-* 2 (MD 143), *emse-* 2, (Тод. Даг. 139) *emsu-*, (Тод. Даг. 171) *umse-* 2; Dong. *mədun* 1, *musɨ-* 2; Bao. *mədoŋ* 1, *məsə-* 2; S.-Yugh. *mudən* 1, *məs-* 2; Mongr. *mosə-* (SM 242) 2.

◊ KW 296, MGCD 544.

PTurk. ***(i)öm** trousers (брюки, штаны): OTurk. *üm* (OUygh.) (=*öm*); Karakh. *öm* (MK); Tur. *im* (Osm.); Khal. *ḗm*; MTurk. *ɨm* (Kypch. Houts.); SUygh. *ɨm*, *jɨm*, *jüm*; Chuv. *jə*^{w}*m*.

◊ EDT 155, VEWT 520-521, Егоров 78, Федотов 1, 195, Мудрак 119, Лексика 478.

‖ Лексика 478. A Western isogloss. In TM a reconstruction **üm-* is also not excluded; if this is the case the root should be reconstructed as **i̯ume* and would be just a specialization of **i̯ùme* 'tie, belt': 'girdled clothes'.

✱**i̯úmu** a k. of fruit or berry: Tung. ***uma-kta**; Turk. ***imiti (~ *ɨmɨt)**; Jpn. ***úmái**.

PTung. ***uma-kta** 1 brier 2 a sp. of berry 3 cornel (1 шиповник 2 шикша 3 кизил): Evn. *umtъčan* 2; Man. *umpu* 3; Ul. *omaqta* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 16, 268. Manchu *umpu* is probably an assimilation < **umqu* < **uma-kta.*

PTurk. ***imiti (~ *ɨmɨt)** a k. of hawthorn (вид боярышника): OTurk. *imiti* (Rach.) (can also be read as *ɨmɨt*).

◊ ДТС 209. Attested only in Old Uyghur, but having possible parallels in Tung. and Jpn. Turk. > Mong. *imidi* (the word has been pointed out by Stefan Georg, who found it out in Позднеев: Учебник тибетской медицины (1908 г.), 339); cf. also WMong. imdij, Khalkha imdij 'боярышник полуперистый' (БАМРС). The Turkic word is, of course, not from Mongolian (which certainly has a borrowed shape with -d- in front of -i).

PJpn. ***úmái** plum (слива): OJpn. *ume*; MJpn. *úmé*; Tok. *ùme*; Kyo. *úmé*; Kag. *úme*.

◊ JLTT 562.

‖ The Jpn. word is usually derived from Middle Chinese *moj* 'plum', but the problem here is the same as in the word for 'horse' (see **èŋu*): inexplicable initial u- in Japanese. The matches in TM and Turkic may provide an alternative Altaic explanation of Jpn. **úmái*.

✱**i̯umu** to help, gather: Tung. ***umī-**; Mong. ***öm-**; Turk. ***im-**; Kor. ***umur-**.

PTung. ***umī-** to gather (собирать(ся)): Evk. *umīw-*; Evn. *ụmịw-*; Man. *iḿa-*; Ul. *ụmụčị-*; Ork. *ụmmụ-*; Nan. *omō-*; Orch. *umu-*; Ud. *ūmu-*.

◊ TMC 1, 312, 2, 267-268.

PMong. ***öm-** 1 to gather, to work collectively 2 help 3 property, inheritance (1 собирать(ся), работать сообща 2 помощь 3 имущество, наследство): MMong. *omer-* 1 (SH); WMong. *ömür-* 1, *ömü* 2 (L 635: *öme*, *ömüg*), *öm-či* 3 (L 635); Kh. *ömög* 2, *ömč* 3; Bur. *ümō̄r-* 'вступаться за кого-л., защищать'; *ümse* 3; *ümegle-*, *ümegšel-* 'защищать, покровительствовать'; Kalm. *öməg* 'protection, defence' (KPC), *ömči*, *önči* 3; Ord. *ömō̄rö-* 1, *ömök* 2, *ömči* 3; Dag. *umeči* 3 (MD 232); S.-Yugh. *ömči* 3.

◊ KW 296, MGCD 544. Mong. > Turk. *ömük.*

PTurk. ***im-** 1 public gathering 2 to gather 3 collective work (1 народное собрание 2 собирать 3 помочь, общий труд): OTurk. *imer-* 2; Karakh. *imren* (MK) 1; Tur. *imeǯe* 3.

◊ ЭСТЯ 1, 633-634.

PKor. ***umur-** to crowd, cluster (собираться в кучу, кишеть): MKor. *umur-umur*; Mod. *umul-umul-ha-*, *omul-kəri-*.

◊ Liu 593, KED 1200, 1239.

‖ A reliable common Altaic root; a small problem is fronted **im-* instead of the expected **ɨm-* in Turkic.

✱**i̯ŭ̈ne** notch (on arrow): Tung. ***ün-**; Mong. ***oni**; Kor. ***òn̆ǎi**.

PTung. ***ün-** 1 notch on an arrow 2 scar, mark (on face) 3 wrinkle (on face) (1 зарубка на стреле 2 рубец (след от язвы, прыща) 3 морщина (на лице)): Evk. *inŋu* 3; Evn. *i̯inŋatu̯* 2; Man. *wen* 1; Nan. *ũ* 1 (On.)

◊ TMC 1, 132, 318. The Man. and Nan. forms can be borrowed < Mong. (as are certainly Evk., Neg. un, see below), but the Northern forms can only be genuine.

PMong. ***oni** 1 hollow, groove, nick (on point of an arrow) 2 mark in sheep's ear (1 прорез, зарубка (на конце стрелы) 2 метка на ухе овцы): MMong. *ono* (SH); *honi* (MA) (with a secondary h-) 1; WMong. *oni*, *onu* 1 (L 614, 615); Kh. *oń* 1; Bur. *oni* 1; Kalm. *onə* 1, 2; Ord. *oni* 1; Dag. *ońči* 'knife for making nicks' (Тод. Даг. 160, MD 201).

◊ KW 286. Mong. > Sol. *ono*, Evk., Neg. *un* (TMC 2, 273). Cf. also **oni* 'defile, gorge'.

PKor. ***òn̆ǎi** notch on an arrow (зарубка на стреле): MKor. *òn̆ǎi*; Mod. *onǐi*.

◊ Nam 379, KED 1196.

‖ VEWT 362, Цинциус 1984, 43. The Kor. word is regarded as borrowed from Mong. in Lee 1964, 192, which is somewhat dubious (-ă- is unexplainable). See also notes to **i̯ŭ̈ńa* and **i̯ańu*.

✱**i̯ŭ̈ni** to live, rest: Tung. ***in-**; Mong. ***ün-ʒi-**; Jpn. ***ìnə̀-tí**; Kor. ***nūi**.

PTung. ***in-** 1 to live 2 alive (1 жить 2 живой): Evk. *in-* 1; Evn. *īn-* 1; Neg. *īn-* 1; Nan. *iŋ-kī* 2; Orch. *ini* 2; Ud. *inigi* 2; Sol. *inirge-* 'to revive'.

◊ TMC 1, 315.

PMong. ***ün-ʒi-** to rest (отдыхать): MMong. *unʒi-(gu)* (SH); Bur. *ünže-* 'to spend a day'.

PJpn. ***ìnə̀-tí** life (жизнь): OJpn. *inoti*; MJpn. *ìnòtí*; Tok. *ínochi*; Kyo. *ìnóchì*; Kag. *ìnóchì*.

◊ JLTT 425. The word is obviously an old compound with *-tí 'spirit; blood'.

PKor. ***nūi** world, generation (мир, поколение): MKor. *nūi*.

◊ Nam 116.

‖ MKor. has a frequent initial vowel reduction.

✱**i̯unu** cow: Mong. ***üniɣen**; Turk. ***in-gek (/*ɨn-gak), *in-ken**.

PMong. ***üniɣen** cow (корова): MMong. *uni'en* (SH), *unejen* (HY 11); WMong. *ünije(n)* (L 1010); Kh. *ünēn*; Bur. *ünē(n)*; Kalm. *ünē*, *ünɛ̄n*; Ord. *ünē(n)*; Mog. *üinä* (Ramstedt 1906); Dag. *unē*, (Тод. Даг. 171) *uńē*; Bao. *unaŋ*; S.-Yugh. *nīn*; Mongr. *unē* (SM 472).

◊ KW 458, MGCD 694. Mong. > Man. *unijen* etc., see Poppe 1966, 191, Sinor 1962, 321, Doerfer MT 139, Rozycki 218-219.

PTurk. ***in-gek (/*ɨn-gak), *in-ken** 1 cow 2 female camel (1 корова 2 верблюдица): OTurk. *ingek* (Orkh., OUygh.) 1, *ingen* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *ingek* 1, *ingen* 2 (MK); Tur. *inek* 1; Gag. *inek* 1; Az. *inäk* 1; Turkm. *inek* 1 (ЭСТЯ), *inen* 2; MTurk. *inek* 1 (AH), *inen* 2 (Pav. C.); Uzb. *inäk*, *inäj* 1 (dial.); Uygh. *inäk* 1, (dial.) *ingan*, *iŋgan* 2; Krm. *inek* 1; Tat. *ĭnäk* 1

(dial.); Kirgh. *inek* 1, *iŋgen* 2; Kaz. *inek* 1, *ĭŋgen* 2; KBalk. *inek*, *ijnek* 1; KKalp. *iŋgen* 2; Kum. *inek* 1; SUygh. *inek*, *enek* 1; Khak. *ĭnek* 1; Shr. *inek*, *näk* 1; Oyr. *inek*, *ijnek* 1; Tv. *inek* 1, *eŋgin* 2; Chuv. *əne* 1; Yak. *ɨnax* 1.

◊ EDT 184, VEWT 172, ЭСТЯ 1, 358-361, Егоров 64, Лексика 436, 447-448). Turk. > Mong. *iŋgen* 'female camel'; Hung. *ünő* 'heifer' (Gombocz 1912).

‖ EAS 114, Владимирцов 175. A Turk.-Mong. isogloss. Despite Щербак 1997, 163 Mong. cannot be borrowed from Turk.

✸**i̯ū́ńa (~ -u, -e)** pit, ravine: Tung. ***uńi (~ ü-)**; Mong. ***(h)oni**; Turk. ***ījn**.

PTung. ***uńi (~ ü-)** small river, brook (речка, ручей): Ul. *ụńị*; Ork. *uńi* 'river'; Nan. *ońị*; Orch. *uńi*; Ud. *uńi* "Ańuj river".

◊ TMC 2, 277.

PMong. ***(h)oni** defile, gorge (ущелье, теснина): WMong. *oni*, *onu* (L 614, 615); Kh. *oń*; Bur. *oni*; Kalm. *onə*; Ord. *oni*.

◊ KW 286. The root is homonymous with **oni* 'nick on point of an arrow' (v. sub **i̯ū́ne*), which must be a historical coincidence (judging from external data).

PTurk. ***ījn** hollow, pit, lair (берлога, яма): OTurk. *in* (OUygh.); Karakh. *in, jin* (MK); Turkm. *hīn*; Khal. *hịn*; Kirgh. *ijin*; Chuv. *jənə*; Yak. *īn*; Dolg. *īn*.

◊ EDT 166, VEWT 172, Егоров 79, Stachowski 131.

‖ A Western isogloss. It is somewhat difficult to distinguish PA **i̯ū́ńa* 'pit, ravine', **i̯ū́ne* 'notch (on arrow)' and **i̯ańu* 'line, furrow' because of natural contaminations, but such a distinction seems necessary.

✸**i̯uńŋu (~ -a)** to breathe, smell: Tung. ***uńŋu-**; Mong. ***(h)oŋguli-**; Turk. ***ɨn-tɨk**.

PTung. ***uńŋu-** to smell (нюхать): Evk. *unŋu-*; Evn. *unŋu-*; Neg. *uńŋu-*; Ul. *uńe-*; Ork. *unene-*; Nan. *ujne-*; Ud. *uŋefe-* (Корм. 303).

◊ TMC 2, 274-275.

PMong. ***(h)oŋguli-** to gasp, breathe heavily (задыхаться, тяжело дышать): WMong. *oŋɣuli-* (L 613); Kh. *oŋgoli-*.

PTurk. ***ɨn-tɨk (~ *e-)** to breathe heavily (тяжело дышать): Tat. *intek-* 'to become tired, exhausted'; Bashk. *intek-*; Kirgh. *ɨntɨq-*; Kaz. *ɨntɨɣ-*; Tv. *ɨndɨnnɨɣ* 'panting, alarmed'; Chuv. *andъx-*.

◊ Егоров 29, Федотов 1,49.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✸**i̯upo** to be ashamed, taken aback: Tung. ***üb-**; Mong. ***ubaj**; Turk. ***ubut**; Jpn. ***əpəpə-**.

PTung. ***üb-** 1 to hate, abhor 2 to panic 3 to be ashamed (1 ненавидеть, питать отвращение 2 паниковать 3 стыдиться): Evk. *ibǯa-* 3; Man. *uḃa-*, *iḃa-* 1; SMan. *uv́a-* 'to dislike' (1904); Nan. *obosa-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 294-295, 639; 2, 4.

PMong. ***(h)ubaj** consciousness, attention (сознание, внимание): WMong. *ubai* (L 858); Kh. *uvaj*; Bur. *ubaj-güj* 'беззастенчивый, наглый'; Kalm. *ubāra-* 'to pay attention' (СЯОС).

PTurk. ***ubut** 1 shame 2 to be ashamed (1 стыд 2 стыдиться): OTurk. *ubut* (Orkh.) 1; Karakh. *uvut* (MK) 1; Tur. *ut, -du* 1, *ut-an-* 2; Az. *ut-an-* 2; Turkm. *ut-an-* 2; Gag. *ut-an-* 2; Uygh. *uvat*, *ubat* 1.

◊ ЭСТЯ 1, 561-563.

PJpn. ***əpəpə-** perturbed, taken aback (встревоженный, в замешательстве, мрачный): OJpn. *op(w)op(w)o-si*; MJpn. *obobo-si*.

◊ JLTT 838.

‖ All languages reflect the root with different derivational suffixes; the simple verbal stem is perhaps preserved only in Manchu.

✱**i̯ure** a k. of foliage tree: Tung. ***ürē-kte**; Turk. ***ɨrgaj**; Jpn. ***utu-kui**; Kor. ***ori**.

PTung. ***ürē-kte** 1 larch 2 rod, willow rod (1 лиственница 2 прут, прут ивы): Evk. *irēkte* 1; Evn. *irēt* 1; Neg. *ijēkte* 1; Ul. *urekte* 2; Ork. *urekte* 2; Nan. *urekte* 2; Orch. *ijekte* 2; Ud. *jakta* 2; Sol. *irēkte*, *irētte* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 329.

PTurk. ***ɨrgaj** 1 name of a plant (irga) 2 honeysuckle, woodbind 3 juniper (1 ирга 2 жимолость 3 можжевельник): Uygh. *irɣaj* 1; Kaz. *ɨrɣaj* 3; Oyr. *jɨjra* 3; Tv. *ɨrɣaj* 1.

◊ VEWT 166.

PJpn. ***útú-kùi** Deutzia, a decorative shrub (вид декоративного кустарника): MJpn. *útú-gì*; Tok. *utsugi*.

◊ JLTT 565.

PKor. ***ori** alder (ольха): MKor. *ori-namo*; Mod. *ori-namu*.

◊ Liu 576, KED 1199.

‖ Turkic forms are usually derived < Mong. *irɣaj* id., but the direction of borrowing may be opposite; however, Yak. *ɨarɣa* is certainly < Mong.

✱**i̯ùru** joy: Tung. ***uru-**; Mong. ***urma**; Turk. ***ɨra**; Jpn. ***ùrià-**.

PTung. ***uru-** to enjoy, be merry (радоваться, веселиться): Evk. *urūwsī-*; Evn. *örus-*; Man. *ur-gun* 'joy'; SMan. *uruxun* 'joy' (1929); Jurch. *wur-hul-ʒe-rie* (372); Ork. *uru-lʒini-*; Sol. *urun-*.

◊ TMC 2, 288. Man. > Dag. *urgun* 'joy' (Тод. Даг. 171).

PMong. ***urma** inspiration, enthusiasm (вдохновение, энтузиазм): WMong. *urma* (L 884); Kh. *uram*; Bur. *urma(n)*, *urmas*; Kalm. *urṃ*; Ord. *urma*, *urmas*; Dong. *uruma*.

◊ KW 451.

PTurk. ***ɨra** character, disposition (характер, расположение): Tur. *ɨra*; Tat. *ɨraj* (dial.); Kirgh. *ɨraj*; KKalp. *ɨraj*; Oyr. *ɨra*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 1, 659-660.

PJpn. ***ùrià-** merry, joyful (веселый, радостный): OJpn. *ure-si*; MJpn. *ure-si*; Tok. *ureshí-*; Kyo. *úréshì-*; Kag. *ureshí-*.

◊ JLTT 843.

‖ One of numerous common Altaic terms of emotion.

✱**i̯úrù** to gather, crowd: Tung. ***urū-**; Mong. ***ir-, *irge-**; Turk. ***irk-**; Jpn. ***ú(n)tì**; Kor. ***ur**.

PTung. ***urū-** 1 to gather, collect 2 crowd, gathering (1 собирать(ся) 2 толпа, собрание): Evk. *urūw-* 1, *urūwū* 2; Neg. *oju̯w-*; Ork. *uru-*; Sol. *oru̯-*.

◊ TMC 2, 287.

PMong. ***ir-, *irgen** 1 to fill up, to crowd 2 people (1 заполнять, толпиться 2 народ): MMong. *jirgen* (HY 28), *irge(n)* (SH) 2, *irken*, *hirken* (MA); WMong. *ir-* 1 (L 412), *irgen* 2 (L 414); Kh. *irgen* 2; Bur. *ergen* 2; *iraj-*, 'стоять рядами, шеренгами', *iralza-* 'мелькать (о множестве предметов, находящихся в движении)'; Kalm. *irgṇ* 2; Ord. *īrgen* '1 citizen, 2 chinese'; Mog. *irgan* 2 (Weiers); ZM *orgōn* (9-6a); Dag. *irgen* 2 (Тод. Даг. 146), *iregen* (MD 173).

◊ KW 209. Mong. > Jurch. *irhebe* (843), Man. *irgen* (see Rozycki 117).

PTurk. ***irk-** to gather (собирать(ся)): Karakh. *irk-* (MK); Tur. *irk-*; Turkm. *irik-* (dial.); MTurk. *irk-* (Pav. C.); Kirgh. *irk-il-*; Kaz. *irk-*.

◊ EDT 221, ЭСТЯ 1, 378-379.

PJpn. ***ú(n)tì** clan (род): OJpn. *udi*; MJpn. *udi*, *útì*; Tok. *úji*; Kyo. *újì*; Kag. *úji*.

◊ JLTT 566. The Tokyo accent is aberrant.

PKor. ***ur** clan, relatives (род, родня): Mod. *ul*.

◊ KED 1246.

‖ KW 209, Martin 228, Lee 25-26. Cf. Old Koguryo **uš* (see Miller 1979, 17).

✱**i̯ū́rgi (?)** fat; brain: Tung. ***irg[ü]**; Turk. ***ū̄ŕ**.

PTung. ***irg[ü]** 1 brain 2 head (1 мозг 2 голова): Evk. *irge* 1; Evn. *irgъ* 1; Neg. *igge / ijge* 1; Man. *uǯu* 2; SMan. *uǯu* 2 (1); Jurch. *(h)u(i)ǯew* (492) 2; Ul. *iǯe* 1; Ork. *īde* 1; Nan. *īge* 1; Orch. *igge* 1; Ud. *igi* 1; Sol. *igge*, *irge* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 326.

PTurk. ***ū̄ŕ** fat (жир): Karakh. *üz* (MK); MTurk. *üz* (AH), *öz* 'clinging mud' (Sangl.); Khak. *üs*; Shr. *üs*; Oyr. *üs*; Tv. *üs* 'liquid fat'; Tof. *üs* 'liquid fat'; Chuv. *jor-var* 'скоромная пища'; Yak. *üskäl*.

◊ EDT 278-279, Федотов 2, 491, VEWT 523, Мудрак Дисс. 154, Лексика 454-455. Chuv. *va-* points to a long **ū̄-*.

‖ A Turkic-Tungus isogloss; phonetically a good match, but semantics raises some doubts.

✱**i̯uŕo** long; late: Tung. ***(x)ir- ~ (x)ür-**; Mong. ***urtu, *uri-du**; Turk. ***uŕɨ-n, *uŕa-k**; Kor. ***òrá-**.

PTung. ***(x)ir- ~ (x)ür-** ancient, former (старый, древний, прежний): Evn. *ir-bēt*; Neg. *ij*; Sol. *irēkte*.

◊ TMC 1, 329.

PMong. ***urtu, *uri-du** 1 long 2 formerly (1 длинный 2 прежде): MMong. *urdu* (HY 52), *urtu* (SH), *uruxši jire* 'to come before' (HY 40), *ortu* (IM), *urtu* (MA) 1, *urida* (HY 50), *urit* 2 (HY 28, SH); WMong. *urtu* 1 (L 884), *uri-du* 2 (L 883); Kh. *urt* 1, *uŕd* 2; Bur. *u(r)ta* 1; Kalm. *utə* 1; Ord. *urtu* 1; Mog. *urtu*; ZM *orṭo* (11-6b); Dag. *orto* (Тод. Даг. 160), *ortu* 1; *warda* (Тод. Даг. 129), *ordōn* (Тод. Даг. 160) 2, *orete* 1 (MD 202); Dong. *fudu* 1; Bao. *fdu* (MGCD *ftə*) 1; S.-Yugh. *rdə* 1; Mongr. *fudur* (SM 101), (MGCD *šdur*) 1.

◊ KW 452, MGCD 681. Mong. > Dolg. *urut* 'formerly' (Stachowski 246).

PTurk. ***uŕɨ-n, *uŕa-k** 1 long 2 lie; grow 3 far 4 long (time), late (1 длинный 2 лежать; расти 3 далекий 4 долгий, поздний): OTurk. *uzun* 1, *uzaq* 3 (OUygh.); Karakh. *uzun* 1 (MK, KB), *uzaq* (MK) 3; Tur. *uzun* 1, *uzak* 3; Gag. *uzun* 1; Az. *uzun* 1, *uzan-* 2, *uzaG* 3; Turkm. *uzɨn* 1, *uzaq* 3; Sal. *uzɨn* 1, *uzɨχ* 3; Khal. *uzān-* 2, *uzāq* 3, *uzṵn* 1; Uzb. *uzun* 1, *uzɔq* 3; Uygh. *uzun* 1, *uzaq* 3; Krm. *uzun* 1; Tat. *ozɨn* 1, *ozaq* 3; Bashk. *oδon* 1; Kirgh. *uzun* 1, *uzaq* 2, 3; Kaz. *u̯zu̯n* 1; KBalk. *uzun* 1, *uzaq* 3; KKalp. *uzɨn* 1, *uzaq* 3; Nogh. *uzɨn* 1; SUygh. *uzun* 1, *ozaq* 3; Khak. *uzun* 1; Shr. *uzun* 1, *uzaq* 4; Tv. *uzun* 1, *uzaq* 3; Tof. *uzun* 1 *uza-* 'удлиняться'; Chuv. *vъʷrъʷm* 1, *vъʷrax* 3; Yak. *uhun* 1; Dolg. *uhun* 1.

◊ PT **uŕɨ-n* 'long', **uŕa-k* 'far, long' are derived from **uŕa-* 'to be long, prolonged'. See VEWT 518, EDT 281, 283, 288-9, ЭСТЯ 1, 570-572, Stachowski 241.

PKor. ***òrá-** late, long ago (поздний, давний): MKor. *òrá-*; Mod. *orä-*.

◊ Nam 379, KED 1198.

‖ EAS 112, KW 452, Poppe 81, АПиПЯЯ 34, 283. Cf. **ūre*.

✱**i̯úse** to grow, sprout: Tung. ***üse-**; Mong. ***ös-**; Turk. ***ös-**; Kor. ***ìsàk**.

PTung. ***üse** 1 seed 2 to grow 3 field ready for ploughing (1 семя 2 расти 3 пахотное поле): Evk. *isew-* 2; Evn. *isu-* 2; Neg. *isew-* 2; Man. *use* 1, *usi-n* 3; SMan. *usū* 1 (330, 1158, 2143); Jurch. *use* 1, *usi-in* (50) 3; Ul. *use* 1; Nan. *use* 1; Orch. *usi* 1; Ud. jehu- 2.

◊ TMC 1, 332; 2, 290, 291.

PMong. ***ös-** to grow (расти): MMong. *us-* (MA), *os-* (SH), *osge-* caus. (HYt); WMong. *ös-* (L 645); Kh. *ös-*; Bur. *üde-*; Kalm. *ös-*; Ord. *ös-*; Dag. *euse-* (Тод. Даг. 141); Dong. *osə-*, *osɨ-*; Bao. *ose-*; S.-Yugh. *ǖs-*; Mongr. *ōsə-* (SM 298).

◊ KW 301, MGCD 550.

PTurk. ***ös-** to grow (расти): OTurk. *ös-* (OUygh.); Tur. *ös-*; Turkm. *ös-*; MTurk. *ös-* (Sangl.); Uzb. *u̯s-*; Uygh. *ös-*; Krm. *ös-*; Tat. *üs-*; Bashk.

üϑ-; Kirgh. *ös-*; Kaz. *ös-*; KBalk. *ös-*; KKalp. *ös-*; Kum. *ös-*; Nogh. *ös-*; Khak. *ös-*; Shr. *ös-*; Oyr. *ös-*; Tv. *ö′s-*.

◊ VEWT 376, ЭСТЯ 1, 552-553. Doubts about OT *ös-* see in EDT 241, 251, with a discussion in Clark 1977, 142-144.

PKor. ***ìsàk** sprout, spike (побег, колос): MKor. *ìsàk*; Mod. *isak*.

◊ Nam 401, KED 1330.

‖ Poppe 108. In Kor. one has to suppose a secondary reduction **jòsVk* > **ìsàk*; otherwise the correspondences are regular.

✱**i̯ŭtʿe** thick liquid: Tung. ***üt-**; Mong. ***öte-**; Turk. ***ȫt**.

PTung. ***üt-** 1 to ferment bread 2 jam, cream (1 квасить (хлеб) 2 варенье, крем): Evk. *itke-* 1; Man. *uta* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 334, 2, 293.

PMong. ***öte-** thick (of liquids) (густой (о жидкостях)): MMong. *otkan* (SH); WMong. *öte-ge-n*; Kh. *ötgün* ‘гуща’; Bur. *üdxe(n)* (of liquids, grass); Kalm. *ötkn*, *ötəgn*; Ord. *ödχön*; Mog. *utkōn* (Ramstedt 1906); Dong. *očeγan* (Тод. Дн.).

◊ KW 302.

PTurk. ***ȫt** gall (желчь): OTurk. *öt* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *öt* (MK); Tur. *öt*; Gag. *jöt*; Az. *öd*; Turkm. *ȫt*; Sal. *öt*; MTurk. *öd* (Pav. C.), *öt* (AH, IM); Uzb. *ọt*; Uygh. *öt*; Krm. *öt*; Tat. *üt*; Bashk. *üt*; Kirgh. *öt*; Kaz. *öt*; KBalk. *öt*; KKalp. *öt*; Kum. *öt*; Nogh. *öt*; SUygh. *jöt*; Khak. *üt*; Oyr. *öt*; Tv. *öt*; Chuv. *vat*.

◊ EDT 35, VEWT 376, ЭСТЯ 1, 504-505.

‖ A Western isogloss. Ramstedt (SKE 79) compares Kor. *jət* ‘candy, taffy’, but MKor. has consistently *jə́s* here.

K

✸**kabari** oar: Tung. ***kabri-kī**; Mong. ***kajiɣur, -bu(r)**; Jpn. ***kapiara**.

PTung. ***kabri-kī** sledge pole (остол (палка для торможения нарт)): Evk. *kawrikī*; Neg. *kawrịxī*; Ul. *qaụrị*; Ork. *qawrē*; Nan. *kaorī*; Orch. *kauri*.

◊ TMC 1, 358.

PMong. ***kajiɣur, -bu(r)** 1 oar 2 pedal (1 весло 2 педаль): WMong. *qajiɣur* (L 915: *qajaɣur*), *qajibi*, *qajibu* (L 911: *qajiba*); Kh. *xajūr*, *xajv* 1; Bur. *xajūr* 2; Kalm. *xajūr*, *xā̆wṛ* 1, *xā̆ẃə* 2.

◊ KW 161, 181.

PJpn. ***kapiara** oar (весло): OJpn. *kapjera*.

‖ A common Altaic cultural term. The difference between **kabari* and **gǎ̀ja* is not quite clear: both can mean 'oar' or 'boat pole' in daughter languages. The Mong. forms can be explained from an earlier form **kabi(r)-ɣur*, whence **kaibur* / **kai-ɣur*.

✸**kábó** enclosure: Tung. ***kaba-**; Mong. ***keji-d**; Jpn. ***kámpiá**; Kor. ***kòbǎr**.

PTung. ***kaba-** 1 tent (covered with bark) 2 to enclose, fence 3 fence, enclosure, camp (1 шалаш (крытый корой) 2 огораживать 3 забор, ограждение; лагерь, казарма): Man. *quwara-* 2, *quwaran* 3; SMan. *quarən* 'courtyard' (553); Ork. *qaụra(n)* 1; Nan. *qawa* 1; Orch. *kawa(n)* 1; Ud. *kawa* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 391, 422. Manchu > WMong. *quwaran* 'barracks'.

PMong. ***keji-d** monastery, temple (монастырь, храм): MMong. *ge-yid* 'house, building, boutique' (*hPhags-pa* script); WMong. *kejid* (L 444); Kh. *xijd*; Bur. *xīd*; Kalm. *kīd* (СЯОС); Ord. *kīd*.

◊ Владимирцов 272, as well as DO 420 compare the MMong. word with MTurk. *kebit* (ДТС 290) 'canteen, shop' (> Russ. *кибитка*, Kalm. *kiwde*), which, according to VEWT 244 is borrowed from Sogd. *qpyδ* id. Loss of -b-, though, as well as a pronounced religious meaning in Mong. make this derivation rather improbable; we are rather dealing with a -d-derivation (standard plural or collective suffix) from an original **keji* 'enclosure'.

PJpn. ***kámpiá** wall (стена): OJpn. *kabje*; MJpn. *kábé*; Tok. *kàbe*; Kyo. *kábé*; Kag. *kábe*.

◊ JLTT 431 (wrongly spelled as OJp *kabe).*

PKor. ***kòbǎr** district (провинция, район): MKor. *kò'ǎr*; Mod. *koɨl*.

◊ Liu 65, KED 148.

‖ The root is rather difficult to distinguish from **k'ǎp'u* 'barrier'. There also exists MJ *kòfòrì* 'district, county' - which is considered by most authors a loanword from MKor. *kò'ǎr* (= *kòwǎr*), see e.g. JLTT 457; the loan must have occurred already after the merger of -f- (< *-p-) and -w- in Japanese, which can explain the orthography.

✸**kàbro** a k. of ferment: Tung. ***kabu-kta**; Mong. ***kowr**; Turk. ***Kor**; Jpn. ***kàrà-**; Kor. ***kòr-**.

PTung. ***kabu-kta** 1 salmon fat 2 salmon stomach (1 жир (калуги, осетра) 2 желудок (калуги)): Ul. *qaụqta* 1; Nan. *qaụqta* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 385.

PMong. ***kowr** poison, harm (яд, вред): MMong. *qor* 'Schaden' (HYt), *qūr* 'убыток' (IM), *qurǎ* (MA); WMong. *qour*, *qoura* (L 973); Kh. *xor*; Bur. *xoro(n)*; Kalm. *xorṇ*; Ord. *xor*; Dag. *xor*, *kor* (Тод. Даг. 177), *hore*, *huore* (MD 164, 167); S.-Yugh. *χoro*; Mongr. *xurō*, *xor*.

◊ KW 188, MGCD 365. Cf. also WMong. *qorqaɣ*, *qurɣaɣ* 'pus (in wound)', Kalm. *xorxəɣ*. Mong. > Oyr. *qoron*, Man. *qoro*, *xoron* etc. (Doerfer MT 81, Rozycki 109, 144). The forms meaning 'damage' may actually reflect a merger with a Turkic loanword **Kor* 'loss, harm', on which see under PA **k'oru*.

PTurk. ***Kor** 1 ferment; yeast 2 bitter, astringent (1 закваска; дрожжи 2 горький, едкий): Karakh. *qor* 1 (MK, IM); Turkm. *Gor* 1; Uzb. *qɔr* 1 (dial.); Tat. *qur* 1 (dial.); Bashk. *qur* 1; Kirgh. *qor* 1; Kaz. *qor* 1; KKalp. *qor* 1; Yak. *kuras* 2.

◊ EDT 642, ЭСТЯ 6, 72.

PJpn. ***kàrà-** bitter (горький): OJpn. *kara-*; MJpn. *kàrà-*; Tok. *kará-*; Kyo. *kárà-*; Kag. *kará-*.

◊ JLTT 830. Cf. also **kàrásì* 'vinegar; mustard'.

PKor. ***kòr-** wine fungus, mould, scum (винный грибок, плесень, накипь): MKor. *kòr-'àčí*; Mod. *kolmaǯi*.

◊ Nam 51, KED 158.

‖ Cf. also MKor. *kóróm* 'pus', probably preserving the original accentuation.

✸**káče** wish, intent: Tung. ***kasaga-**; Mong. ***kači**; Turk. ***Kiča**; Jpn. ***kə́sí-rápa-**.

PTung. ***kasaga-** 1 insistent, obstinate 2 to overcome (1 настойчивый, упорный 2 преодолевать (препятствия)): Evk. *kasaɣa-* 2; Evn. *qasъɣ* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 382.

PMong. ***kači** interest, curious thing (интерес, интересная вещь): WMong. *qači* (L 901); Kh. *xač*.

PTurk. ***Kiča** 1 passion, wish 2 to demand 3 to threaten (1 страсть, желание 2 настойчиво требовать 3 угрожать): Kirgh. *qiča-* 2; Kaz. *qisa* 'commotion, anger' (R 2, 803 - Kir.); Khak. *xiža* 1, *xižan-* 3; Shr. *qičan-* 3; Oyr. *qiča* 1; Tv. *qižan-* 3.

◊ VEWT 260.

PJpn. ***kósí-rápa-** to plan, contrive (планировать, замышлять): OJpn. *k(w)osirapa-*; MJpn. *kósírápa-*; Tok. *kòshirae-*; Kyo. *kóshíráé-*; Kag. *koshiraé-*.

◊ JLTT 713.

‖ The suffixless root is nominal both in Turkic and Mongolian; verbs are derived from it by means of various productive suffixes.

✱**kăči** to pass, go through: Tung. ***kas-**; Turk. ***geč-**.

PTung. ***kas-** through, straight through (через, напрямик): Neg. *kas*; Man. *qas* 'quickly'; Ul. *qas*; Ork. *qas*; Nan. *qas*; Orch. *kas*; *kasa-* 'to send'; Ud. *kahilē*.

◊ TMC 1, 382.

PTurk. ***geč-** to pass, wade (проходить, переходить вброд): OTurk. *keč-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *keč-* (MK, KB); Tur. *geč-*; Gag. *geč-*; Az. *keč-*; Turkm. *geč-*; Khal. *käč-*; MTurk. *kéč-* (Abush., Sangl.); Uzb. *keč-*; Uygh. *kä/eč-*; Krm. *keč-*; Tat. *kič-*; Bashk. *kič-*, *kis-*; Kirgh. *keč-*; KKalp. *keš-*; Kum. *geč-*; Nogh. *keš-*; SUygh. *keš-*; Khak. *kis-*; Shr. *kež-ir-* 'to ferry across the river'; Oyr. *keč-*; Tv. *ke'š-*; Tof. *ke'š-*; Chuv. *kaś-*; Yak. *kes-*.

◊ VEWT 245, EDT 693-694, ЭСТЯ 3, 32-34, TMN 3, 584.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**káčʿu** covering, skin: Tung. ***kaču-**; Mong. ***kuči-**; Turk. ***KAč-(g)ač**; Kor. ***kàč**.

PTung. ***kaču(-ki)** skin clothes (одежда из шкуры): Man. *qačiki*; Ul. *qačụi*; Nan. *qačoi*; Orch. *kačun*, *kačuki*.

◊ TMC 1,386.

PMong. ***kuči-** to cover (покрывать, укрываться одеялом): MMong. *quči-* (SH, HYt); WMong. *quči-* (L 979); Kh. *xuči-*; Bur. *xuša-*; Kalm. *xučə-*; Ord. *Guči-*; Mog. *kuči-* (Weiers); Dag. *kočі-*, *xočі-* (Тод. Даг. 150, 178), *kočі-* (MD 183); Dong. *quči-*; S.-Yugh. *quǯo-*; Mongr. *xoʒi-* (SM 169), (MGCD *xuǯi-*).

◊ KW 200, MGCD 395. Mong. > Evk. *kuči-*, Man. *χusi-* etc., see TMC 1, 441, Doerfer MT 77, Rozycki 113.

PTurk. ***KAč-(g)ač** Chinese brocade, woven fabric (китайская парча, узорная ткань): Karakh. *qačač* (MK).

◊ EDT 590.

PKor. ***kàč** skin (кожа): MKor. *kàčòk*, *kàčh* (*kàs*); Mod. *kaǯuk*, *sal-gat* (*sal-gačh-*), (arch.) *kat* (*kačh-*).

◊ KED 25, 63, 64, 896.

‖ SKE 102, PKE 74, АПиПЯЯ 297.

✱**kǎdaŋV (~ kʹ-)** a k. of foliage tree: Mong. ***kaduŋ**; Turk. ***Kadɨŋ**; Jpn. ***kání-pà**.

PMong. ***kaduŋ** 1 currant 2 birch (1 смородина 2 береза): WMong. *qaduŋ*; Kh. *xadan* 1; Kalm. *χadŋ* 2.

◊ KW 159.

PTurk. ***Kadɨŋ** birch tree (береза): Karakh. *qaδɨŋ* (MK), *qajɨŋ* (KB); Tur. *kajɨn* 'beech tree'; Az. *Gajɨn* 'maple tree'; Turkm. *Gajɨŋ*; MTurk. *qajɨn* (Houts.); Uzb. *qɛjin*; Uygh. *qejin*; Tat. *qajɨn*; Bashk. *qajɨn*; Kirgh. *qajɨŋ*; Kaz. *qajɨŋ*; KKalp. *qajɨŋ*; Nogh. *qajɨŋ*; Khak. *xazɨŋ*; Shr. *qazɨŋ*; Oyr. *qajɨŋ*; Tv. *xadɨŋ*; Tof. *qadɨŋ*; Chuv. *xorъn*; Yak. *xatɨŋ*; Dolg. *katɨŋ*.

◊ VEWT 218, TMN 3, 183, ЭСТЯ 5, 214-215, Лексика 122, Федотов 2, 366, Stachowski 141.

PJpn. ***kání-pà** birch (береза): OJpn. *kanipa* 'bark of some trees'; MJpn. *kánífâ*; Tok. *kaba*.

◊ JLTT 431.

‖ KW 159, TMN 3, 184(: "unklar"). In Jpn. we probably have a compound with **pa* 'leaf'; **kání* < **kadV-N* with regular nasal assimilation. The old form **kadiNpa* is reflected in the Ainu loanword *karinpa* 'birch tree or cherry tree'.

✱**kádì(rV)** strong, oppressive: Tung. ***kadara-ku**; Mong. ***keder**; Turk. ***Kadɨr**; Jpn. ***kítú-**.

PTung. ***kadara-ku** courageous, diligent (смелый, храбрый, старательный): Man. *qadaraqu*; Ul. *qāda-*; Ork. *qadaraqu*; Nan. *qadaraqo*.

◊ TMC 1, 360.

PMong. ***keder** angry, inobedient (сердитый, упрямый): MMong. *keder* 'haughty' (MA 213); WMong. *keder* (L 441); Kh. *xeder*; Bur. *xeder*; Kalm. *kedṛ*.

◊ KW 222. Chag. *keden* translating the MMong. form may be a distorted mongolism.

PTurk. ***Kadɨr-** hard, strong, cruel (крепкий, сильный, жестокий): OTurk. *qadɨr* (Orkh., OUygh.); Bashk. *qajɨr* (dial.); Kirgh. *qajɨr* 'contradiction, objection'; KBalk. *qajɨr* 'angry'; Khak. *xazɨr*; Shr. *qazɨr*; Oyr. *qajɨr*; Tv. Todzh. *xadɨr*; Yak. *xatārɨj-* 'вымещать мстительность, неприязнь, злопамятствовать'.

◊ VEWT 218, TMN 3, 378-379, ЭСТЯ 5, 216.

PJpn. ***kítú-** strong, brave (сильный, храбрый, суровый): MJpn. *kitu-*; Tok. *kìtsu-*; Kyo. *kìtsù-*; Kag. *kitsú-*.

◊ JLTT 832.

‖ A suffixed form **kádì-rV* is reflected in most subgroups.

✱**kádù** a k. of harness (bridle): Tung. ***kadala / *kadara**; Mong. ***kada-**; Jpn. ***kútúwá**; Kor. ***kùr'ə́i**.

PTung. ***kadala / *kadara** bridle (уздечка): Man. *χadala*; SMan. *hadələ*, *qadələ* (1255); Nan. *qadara*, *χadara*; Sol. *xadal*, *kadala*.

◊ TMC 1, 359 (the verb **kadala-* 'to regulate, oppress' reflected in several languages is derived from the noun 'bridle' rather than borrowed from Mong., where **kada-* means basically 'to nail'; however, there were vast possibilities of contaminating the original and borrowed roots (see under **kājtʿa*). Nan. *χadara* 'bridle' may be borrowed from Mong. (not quite plausibly, however: the forms like *qadar* are actually attested only in MMong. and Southern Mongolian dialects), but the Manchu and Solon forms are hard to explain as borrowings (despite Rozycki 97).

PMong. ***kada-** bridle (уздечка): MMong. *qada'ar* (HY 18, SH), *qadāsu* (IM), *qădar* (MA), *qadār* (LH); WMong. *qaǯaγar* (L 947), *qaǯijar* (SM); Kh. *xaʒār*; Bur. *xazār*; Kalm. *xazār*; Ord. *xaǯār*; Mog. *qadār*; Dag. *xadāl* (Тод. Даг. 172 *xadāla*); Dong. *qata* (Тод. Дн.); *Gada*; Bao. *Gadər*; S.-Yugh. *Gadar*; Mongr. *Gaʒ́ar* (SM 116), *Gaʒ́a-* (SM 117) 'ronger, brouter', *Gadar* (SM 115).

◊ KW 174, MGCD 316. Often derived from **kaǯa-* 'to bite' (see e.g. Doerfer MT 57), but MMong. and South Mongolian forms with -d- clearly contradict it, so WMong. *qaǯaγar* is most probably a result of contamination. The isolated form with -l, Dag. *xadāl(a)*, may in fact be a Tungus loanword.

PJpn. ***kútúwá** bridle (уздечка): MJpn. *kútúwá*; Tok. *kùtsuwa*; Kyo. *kútsúwá*; Kag. *kutsuwá*.

◊ JLTT 468. The accent in Kagoshima is secondary.

PKor. ***kùr'ə́i** bridle (уздечка): MKor. *kùr'ə́i*; Mod. *kulle*.

◊ Nam 62, KED 217.

‖ EAS 97, KW 174. Despite Doerfer MT 57 the TM forms are very hard to explain as borrowed from Mong. In Jpn. the word is usually analysed as "mouth ring", which seems to be a folk etymology (in view of external parallels: together with Kor. *kùr'ə́i* it presupposes a suffixed form like **kádu-bV-*). It seems that we in fact are dealing here with an archaic term of horse harness.

✱**kadV** rock, mountain: Tung. ***kada-**; Mong. ***kada**; Turk. ***K(i)aja (?)**.

PTung. ***kada(r)** rock (скала): Evk. *kadar*, *kadaγa*; Evn. *qadār*, *qadaqu̇*; Neg. *kadā*; Man. *χada*; SMan. *hadə* 'mountain peak' (2069); Ul. *qadalị*; Ork. *qada*; Nan. *qadar* 'granite, marble' (On.); Orch. *kada*; Ud. *kada*; Sol. *xadār*.

◊ TMC 1, 360 (part of the forms may be < Mong., see Doerfer MT 18, but as a whole the root is undoubtedly genuine).

PMong. ***kada** rock (скала): MMong. *qada* (SH); WMong. *qada(n)* (L 902); Kh. *xad*; Bur. *xada*; Kalm. *xadə*; Ord. *xada(n)*; Dag. *xada*, *xad* (Тод. Даг. 172), *hade* (MD 154); Dong. *Gada*; S.-Yugh. *Gada*; Mongr. *Gadā* (SM 114).

◊ KW 158, TMN 1, 393, MGCD 314.

PTurk. ***K(i)aja** 1 rock 2 mountain 3 slope (1 скала 2 гора 3 склон): OTurk. *qaja* (Orkh., OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *qaja* (MK, KB) 1; Tur. *kaja* 1; Gag. *qaja* 1, 2; Az. *Gaja* 1, 2; Turkm. dial. *Gāja, Gaja* 1; MTurk. *qaja* (Houts., AH, Ettuhf., Pav. C.) 1; Uzb. *qɔjɛ* 1; Uygh. dial. *qija* 1; Tat. *qɨja* 1; Bashk. *qaja* 1; Kirgh. *qaja* 1, *qɨja* 3 ('oblique slope' - through contamination with **kɨj-* 'oblique'); KBalk. *qaja* 1; KKalp. *qɨja* 1; Nogh. *qaja* 1; Khak. *xaja* 1; Shr. *qaja* 1; Oyr. *qaja* 1; Tv. *xaja* 1; Tof. *xaja* 1; Yak. *xaja* 2; Dolg. *kaja* 2.

◊ VEWT 221, TMN 3, 565, EDT 674-5, ЭСТЯ 5, 198-199, Лексика 96, Stachowski 133.

‖ EAS 46, 97, KW 158, Poppe 95, VEWT 221, АПиПЯЯ 288, Лексика 96-97. A Western isogloss. PT -j- instead of the expected -d- is baffling (cf. TMN 1, 394, 3, 566); perhaps OT *qaja* is a borrowing from some archaic "j-dialect"? Helimski 1995 proposed a Sam. etymology for the Turkic word (PS **koəjə* 'mountain'), which cannot be excluded. But obviously Mong. is not < Turk. (despite Щербак 1997, 132). Cf. also a toponym: OT *Ezgenti qadaz* = Mong. *Ergenetü qada*].

✱**kagVlV (~ kʿ-)** willow, elm: Mong. ***kajila(r)-**; Turk. ***K(i)agɨl**.

PMong. ***kajila-** elm (вяз): MMong. *qajilasun* (HY 7); WMong. *qajilasu(n)* (L 912); Kh. *xajlas*; Bur. *xajlāha(n)*; Ord. *xā̆lasu*; Dag. *xailās* (Тод. Даг. 172).

◊ Mong. > Jurch. *xailar*, Man. *xailan* id. (Rozycki 98).

PTurk. ***K(i)agɨl** rod (прут): OTurk. *qaɣɨl* (OUygh.); Karakh. *qaɣɨl* (MK, KB) 'fresh willow shoots'; Kirgh. *kōla-* 'буйно расти (о раст.) в ущерб плоду, семени'; Khak. *xāl* 'rod'.

◊ VEWT 220, EDT 610.

‖ A Turko-Mong. isogloss.

✱**kajamV** crayfish, tick: Tung. ***kiamk-**; Turk. ***Kạm-**; Kor. ***kàjàmí**.

PTung. ***kiamk-** 1 crayfish 2 a k. of water insect 3 worm (1 рак 2 вид водяного насекомого 3 червь): Evk. *kẽ̂mkān* 1; Evn. *qā̃mqṛ* 2; Neg. *kịmkaj* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 388.

PTurk. ***Kạm-** 1 bed-bug 2 beetle (1 клоп 2 жук): Tur. *kandalaj* 1 (dial.); Turkm. *Gandala* 1; MTurk. *qandala* (Houts., Буд.) 1, *qandala* (Qum.) 1; Uzb. *qɛndɛlɔ* 1; Tat. *qandala* 1; Bashk. *qandala* 1; Kirgh. *qantala* 1; Kaz. *qandala* 1; KBalk. *qandaɣaj* 1, *qamažaq* 2; KKalp. *qandala* 1; Kum. *qandala* 1; Nogh. *qandalaj*; Khak. *xandala* 1; Oyr. *qandrɨjaq* 'cochlea' (Верб.); Chuv. *xъʷmtla*, *xъʷmdъʷla*, *xъʷmgъʷla* ~ *xъʷngъʷla* 1.

◊ VEWT 229, ЭСТЯ 5, 253-254, Лексика 183.

PKor. ***kàjàmí** ant (муравей): MKor. *kàjàmí*, *kàjàmɨ́i*, *kàjàmā̆i*; Mod. *kā̃mi*.

◊ Liu 22, KED 70.

‖ Лексика 183. Cf. **kiuma, *kumi.* In Mong. cf. perhaps Mongor *хāтəпзə* (153) 'taon'.

✱**kaje (~ kʹ-)** to love, covet: Mong. ***kaji-**; Turk. ***Kɨj-**.

PMong. ***kaji-** 1 to seek, investigate 2 love, compassion (1 искать, исследовать 2 любовь, сострадание): MMong. *qairala-*, *qaijirala-* 'to love, treat kindly' (HYt), *qajirala-* 'сострадать' (MA); WMong. *qaji-* 1 (L 911), *qajira* 2 (L 913); Kh. *xaj-* 1, *xajr* 2; Bur. *xaj-* 1, *xajra* 2; Kalm. *xā̄rṇ* 2; Ord. *xā̄ra*, *xā̄ram* 2; Dag. *xairan* 2 (Тод. Даг. 172); S.-Yugh. *χair* 2; Mongr. *xāran* 2; *xārla-* 'cher, chéri; aimer, gratifier' (SM 167), *xairGan* 2.

◊ KW 180, MGCD 317. Mong. > Man. *xaira-* etc., see Rozycki 98.

PTurk. ***Kɨj-** 1 greedy, miserly 2 wise, clever 3 to offer, sacrifice 4 to dare (1 жадный, скупой 2 мудрый, умный 3 жертвовать, приносить в жертву, посвящать себя 4 сметь, решаться, покушаться): Tur. *kɨj-* 3; Gag. *qɨj-* 4; Az. *Gɨj-* 3, 4; MTurk. *qɨj-* 4 (AH); Krm. *qɨj-* 3; Tat. *qɨj-* 4; Bashk. *qɨj-* 4; Kirgh. *qɨj-* 3, 4; Kaz. *qɨj-* 3; KKalp. *qɨj-* 3; Khak. *xɨjγa* 2, *xɨjtɨx* 1; Oyr. *qɨjγa* 1; Chuv. *хъj-* 4.

◊ VEWT 262, ЭСТЯ 6, 197-198 (confused with **Kij-* 'to cut aslant' which should be probably kept apart).

‖ A Turk.-Mong. isogloss.

✱**kaji** animal: Tung. ***kaji-**; Turk. ***gejik**.

PTung. ***kaji-** 1 a big seal 2 wild goat 3 a variegated dog breed (1 нерпа (крупная) 2 коза (дикая) 3 пестрая порода собаки): Evn. *kajir* 2; Ork. *qaiγarị* 1; Nan. *kiaktān* 3 (Он.).

◊ TMC 1, 361, 362.

PTurk. ***gejik** 1 wild animal 2 bird 3 roe (1 дикое животное 2 птица 3 лань): OTurk. *kejik* 1 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *kejik* 1; Tur. *gejik* 3; Turkm. *kejik* 1; Sal. *kijyx* 'wild goat' (ССЯ); MTurk. *kejik* 1 (Бор. Бад.), *kijik* (MA, Abush.); Uygh. *kijik* 1; Tat. *qɨjɨq* 1; Bashk. *qɨjɨq* 1; Kirgh. *kijik* 1; Khak. *kīk* 1; Chuv. *kajъk* 1, 2.

◊ VEWT 247, EDT 755, ЭСТЯ 5, 21-23, Лексика 151-152.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss; but cf. also Mong. *kik laγusa* 'mule'; OJ *ke-mono* 'animal' (usually explained as 'hairy being').

✱**kàji (~ kʹ-, g-)** clear, clean: Jpn. ***kìjùa-**; Kor. ***kāi-**.

PJpn. ***kìjùa-** clear, clean (чистый): OJpn. *kjijwo-*; MJpn. *kìjò-*; Tok. *kiyó-*; Kyo. *kìyò-*; Kag. *kiyó-*.

◊ JLTT 832.

PKor. ***kāi-** to clear up (of weather) (проясняться (о погоде)): MKor. *kāi-*; Mod. *kā̄-*.

◊ Nam 28, KED 68.

‖ Martin 247. A Kor.-Jpn. isogloss.

✱**kā́jta** nail, bar; to stick into: Tung. ***kiata-kun**; Mong. ***kada-**; Turk. ***Kāta-**; Jpn. ***kiátá (~ *káitá)**; Kor. ***kìt**.

PTung. ***kiata-kun** 1 finger-nail 2 bar, billet (1 ноготь 2 брусок): Man. *xitaxun* 1; SMan. *ḱatəhun* 1 (76); Nan. *qataxị* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 384, 466.

PMong. ***kada-** 1 to nail 2 nail (1 прибивать гвоздями 2 гвоздь): MMong. *qada'asun* 2 (SH); WMong. *qada-* 1, *qadaγasu(n)*, *qadasu(n)*, *qadaγa* 2 (L 902, 903); Kh. *xada-* 1, *xadās*, *gadas* 2; Bur. *xada-* 1, *xadāha(n)* 2; Kalm. *xadə-* 1, *xadāsṇ* 2; Ord. *xada-* 1, *xadāsu* 2; Dag. *xada-* 'to sew a button' (Тод. Даг. 172), (MGCD) *xadə-* 1, *gatās* (Тод. Даг. 131) 2, (MGCD) *gat* 2; *hade-* 'to sew on' (MD 154); Dong. *Gada-* 1, *Gadasun* 2; Bao. *Gadə-* 1, *Gadasoŋ* 2 (MGCD *Gasoŋ* 2); S.-Yugh. *Gadə-* 1, *Gadəsən* 2 (MGCD *Gadasən*, *GadaG)*; Mongr. *Gada-* (SM 114) 1, *Gadasə* (SM 115) 2.

◊ KW 158, MGCD 277, 315. Cf. also **kadku-* 'to stick into' (MMong. (SH) *qatqu-*, KW 172, 158, Dag. *karku-*, *xarxu-*, *xatukulā*, Тод. Даг. 148, 174, 175). Mong. > Evk. *kada-*, Man. *χada-* etc. (see TMC 1, 359; Doerfer MT 91, Rozycki 97); Mong. *gada-sun*, *gata-sun* > Evk. *gatahun* (see Poppe 1966, 197, Doerfer MT 126).

PTurk. ***Kāta-** 1 to stick into 2 nail (1 вонзать(ся) 2 гвоздь): Tur. *kada-* 1, *kadak* 2 (dial.); Az. *GadaG* 2; Turkm. *Gadaq* 2; MTurk. *qada-* (Abush., Pav. C., MA); Uzb. *qada-* 1, *qadɔq* 2; Uygh. *qada-* 1, *qadaq* 2; Tat. *qada-* 1, *qadaq* 2; Kirgh. *qada-* 1, *qadō* 2; Kaz. *qada-* 1, *qadaq* 2; KKalp. *qada-* 1, *qadaq* 2; Kum. *qada-* 1; Nogh. *qada-* 1, *qadaq* 2; SUygh. *qataγ* 2; Oyr. *qada-* 1; Tv. *qada-* 1, *qadaγ* 2; Chuv. *xudav* 2 (Anatri); Yak. *xatā-* 1; Dolg. *katā-* 1.

◊ VEWT 217-8, ЭСТЯ 5, 180-182, TMN 3, 420-422, Ашм. XIV, 257, Stachowski 141. Because of the lack of ancient attestation one cannot exclude a borrowing < Mong. (although the variant *qadaγa* is very poorly represented there, and may itself be borrowed < Turk.).

PJpn. ***kiátá (~ *káitá)** beam, cross-beam (балка, поперечный брус): OJpn. *k(j)eta*; MJpn. *keta*; Tok. *kèta*; Kyo. *kétá*; Kag. *ketá*.

◊ JLTT 448. The Kagoshima accent is irregular (*kéta* would be expected).

PKor. ***kìt** pole, pillar (столб, колонна): MKor. *kìtòŋ*, kit; Mod. *kiduŋ*, (arch.) kit [kit, *kis*].

◊ Nam 78, 80, KED 263, 278, 282.

‖ KW 158, Владимирцов 325, АПиПЯЯ 290. Mong. has also variants *gada-sun*, *gata-sun* (either < Turk. or interdialectal).

✱**kaku (~ -k'-)** tanned skin, leather: Tung. ***kaK-**; Turk. ***KAkma**.

PTung. ***kaK-** 1 to rumple (skin) 2 instrument for rumpling skin (1 мять кожу 2 кожемялка): Orch. *kaku* 2; Ud. *ka'i-* 1 (Корм. 244).

◊ TMC 1, 364.

PTurk. ***KAkma** a k. of sheepskin (вид овчины): MTurk. *qaqma* (CCum., ShS).

◊ VEWT 224.

‖ Дыбо 15. A Turk.-Tung. isogloss; very poorly attested and thus not very reliable.

✸**kákʿá** bright, shine: Tung. ***kakta-**; Mong. ***kaka-rkaj (~ -g-)**; Jpn. ***kánká-**.

PTung. ***kakta-** yellow, pale (желтый, бледный): Evk. *kaktalama*, *kaktarin*.

◊ TMC 1, 363.

PMong. ***kaka-rkaj (~ -g-)** bright, clear (светлый, ясный): MMong. *qaqarxai* (HY 55) 'evident, clear'; WMong. *qaqarqai*, *qaɣarqai* (L 907); Kh. *xagarxai*.

PJpn. ***kánká-** to glitter, shine (блестеть, светить): OJpn. *kakajak-*, *kagajwop-*; MJpn. *kákájak-*, *kagajof-*; Tok. *kàgayak-*, *kagayák-*; Kyo. *kágáyák-*; Kag. *kagayák-*.

◊ JLTT 701.

‖ Ozawa 69-74.

✸**kā́kʿi** angry: Tung. ***kaKi**; Mong. ***kek-**; Turk. ***Kēk-**.

PTung. ***kaKi** 1 angry 2 hasty (1 сердитый 2 торопливый): Evk. *kaki* 1; Man. *χaxi* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 363.

PMong. ***kek- / *kika-** 1 arrogance 2 to irritate, be angry 3 anger (1 надменность, быть надменным 2 быть сердитым, раздраженным 3 гнев): WMong. *kegseji-* (L 443), *keke-ji-* (L 446: *kekülǯe-*) 1, *kika-* 2; Kh. *xegsij-* 1; Kalm. *kekī-*, *kixə-* 2, *kixū* 3; Ord. *gegsī-* 1.

◊ KW 223, 231. Cf. also *kikana-* 'to oppress, avenge'.

PTurk. ***Kēk-** anger, malice (гнев, злоба): OTurk. *kek* (OUygh.); Karakh. *kek* (MK); Turkm. *kā̈je-* 'to hate'; Uzb. *kek*; Tat. dial. *kik*; Kirgh. *kek*; Kaz. *kek*; KKalp. *kek*; Chuv. *kagъr* 'chaos, hell', *kagъrza vɨrt-* 'to die (out)', *vɨźъ kagъrъl* 'starve'; Yak. *kegedi* 'spiteful'.

◊ EDT 707, VEWT 247-248, ЭСТЯ 5, 24-25.

‖ KW 223. A Western isogloss. Cf. **gḗka.*

✸**kā́kʿi** to belch, choke: Tung. ***kaxa-**; Mong. ***kekere- / *kakira- / *kaka-**; Turk. ***gēkir-**; Kor. ***kài'ò-**.

PTung. ***kaxa-** to choke (давиться, душить): Evk. *kaka-*; Man. *χaGa-*; Ul. *qaχambụwụsị-*; Ork. *qaGụmị-*; Nan. *qawalị-*.

◊ TMC 1, 356. Cf. also Evk. *kaklari-* 'хоркать (об олене)' (TMC 1, 363).

PMong. ***kekere- / *kakira- / *kaka-** 1 to belch 2 to choke (1 рыгать 2 давиться): MMong. *qaqa-* 2 (SH); WMong. *kekere-* (L 446), *qakira-* (L 915: *qakir-*, *qakiru-*) 1; *qaqa-* 2 (L 946); Kh. *xexr-* 1; Bur. *xexer-* 1; Kalm. *kekr-* 1; Ord. *geχire-* 1; Dag. *kekre-* (Тод. Даг. 149) 1; *xagə-* 2; S.-Yugh. *kəgerle-* 1; *qaGa-* 2; Mongr. *kəgərē-*; *xaʒ́irā-* (SM 149) 1, 2.

◊ KW 223, MGCD 336, 347. Mong. > Manchu *kekere-* id. etc. (see Rozycki 136).

PTurk. ***gēkir-** to belch (рыгать): Karakh. *kekir-* (MK); Tur. *gejir-*; Gag. *gīr-*; Az. *gäjir-*; Turkm. *gā̄gir-*; Khal. *gā̄gür-*; MTurk. *gegir-* (Pav. C.), *kekir-* (MA); Uzb. *kekir-*; Uygh. *keki(r)-*; Krm. *kekir-*; Tat. *kiker-*; Bashk. *kiker-*; Kirgh. *kekir-*; Kaz. *kekir-*; KBalk. *kekir-*; KKalp. *kekir-*; Kum. *kekir-*; Nogh. *kekir-*; SUygh. *kekirt-* (ЯЖУ); Khak. *kigər-*; Oyr. *kegir-*; Tv. *keɣir-*; Tof. *keɣir-*; Chuv. *kagъr-*; Yak. *kegert-*.

◊ VEWT 248, EDT 712, ЭСТЯ 3, 37, Лексика 232.

PKor. ***kài'ò-** to vomit (блевать): MKor. *kài'ò-*; Mod. *keu-*.

◊ Nam 29, KED 109.

‖ KW 223. An onomatopoeic root; the correspondences, however, are quite regular (except for the sporadic assimilative weakening **kahi-* > *kai-* in Kor.), and it may well be common Altaic. Mong. is hardly borrowed from Turk., despite Щербак 1997, 126.

✱**kakʿo** to smell (of burning): Tung. ***kakti-**; Mong. ***kaku-**; Turk. ***Kok-**.

PTung. ***kakti-** to give out a smell of burning (пахнуть горелым, пригорать): Neg. *kaktị-*; Man. *χaqsa-*; Ul. *qaqta-*; Ork. *qaqtụ-*; Nan. *qaqtarị* (adj.); Ud. *kakčisi-*.

◊ TMC 1, 364.

PMong. ***kaku-** to turn sour; acrid, bitter, sour (прокисать; горький, едкий): WMong. *qaqu-ra-*, *qaqu-n* (L 947); Kh. *xaxra-*, *xaxūn*; Ord. *Gaxur-*, *Gawxur-*.

PTurk. ***Kok-** to smell badly, to give out a smell of burning (плохо пахнуть, пахнуть горелым): Karakh. *qoq-* (MK); Tur. *kok-*; Gag. *qoq-*; Az. *Goxu* (n.), *Goxu-*; Turkm. *qoq* (n.), *qoqa-*; Krm. *qoqu*, *qoqɨ* (n.); Nogh. *qoqɨ-* 'to be fragrant'.

◊ EDT 609, ЭСТЯ 6, 34.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**kā́kʿò** a k. of building, fence: Tung. ***kaK(u)**; Turk. ***Kōk-uĺ**; Jpn. ***kákì**.

PTung. ***kaK(u)** dam (плотина): Man. *qaqu*; Jurch. *xe-ki* (68).

◊ TMC 1,356.

PTurk. ***Kōk-uĺ (~ -g-)** big pole, beam; hall (большой шест, столб; зал): OTurk. *qoɣ* 'shaft, thill' (OUygh.) (?) (ДТС 452); Tur. *koɣuš*.

◊ VEWT 275. The OT attestation is not quite reliable.

PJpn. ***kákì** fence (забор): OJpn. *kakji*; MJpn. *kákjì*; Tok. *kakí*; Kyo. *kákì*; Kag. *káki*.

◊ JLTT 434.

‖ The root is not widely spread and somewhat dubious semantically.

✱**kala** family, gathering: Tung. ***kal-**; Jpn. ***kara**.

PTung. ***kal-** 1 clan, family 2 to gather (deer) 3 together (1 род, семья 2 собирать (оленей) 3 вместе): Evk. *kalbuldī-* 2, Il. *kālbe* 3; Man. *χala* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 365, 459-460. The Manchu form was widely borrowed (Sol. *xala*, Neg. *xala*, Oroch *xala*, Ud. *xa*, Ul., Orok, Nan. *χala).*

PJpn. ***kara** clan, family (род, семья): OJpn. *kara*.

◊ JLTT 438.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss; see also notes to **ki̯ā́du*.

✸**kā́la (~ kʿ-, -e-)** heap, to pile up: Mong. ***kali-**; Turk. ***Kāla-**; Kor. ***kari-**.

PMong. ***kali-** to overflow (переливаться через край): WMong. *qali-* (L 919); Kh. *xali-*; Bur. *xali-*; Kalm. *xäĺə-*.

◊ KW 176.

PTurk. ***Kāla-** to heap up, pile up (накладывать, нагромождать): Karakh. *qala-* (MK); Tur. dial. *kala-*, *gala-*; Az. *Gala-*; Turkm. dial. *Gāla-*; MTurk. *qala-* (Pav. C., Abush.); Uzb. *qɛla-*; Uygh. *qala-*; Kirgh. *qala-*; Kaz. *qala-*; KBalk. *qala-*; KKalp. *qala-*; Nogh. *qala-*; Oyr. *qala-*; Yak. *xāla-*.

◊ VEWT 224, EDT 617, ЭСТЯ 5, 228-229.

PKor. ***kari-** 1 heap, stack 2 to pile up (1 куча, стог 2 накладывать): MKor. *kari* 1; Mod. *kari* 1, *kari-* 2.

◊ Liu 19, KED 13, 14.

‖ The meaning 'overflow' in Mong. is probably secondary (< 'pour too much, pile up very high').

✸**kàla (~ *kʿ-, -e-)** a k. of hat: Mong. ***kalbaŋ**; Turk. ***Kalpak**; Kor. ***kár**.

PMong. ***kalbaŋ** (woman's) hat ((женская) шапка): WMong. *qalbaŋ*; Kalm. *χalwŋ*.

◊ KW 164. Mong. > Tuva *xalbaŋ* 'ears (of a winter hat)', see ЭСТЯ 5, 235.

PTurk. ***Kalpak** hat (шапка, шляпа): Tur. *kalpak*; Gag. *qalpaq*; Turkm. *Galpaq*; MTurk. *qalpaq* (Abush., Pav. C.); Uzb. *qalpɔq*; Uygh. *qalpaq*; Krm. *qalpaq*; Tat. *qalpaq*; Bashk. *qalpaq*; Kirgh. *qalpaq*; Kaz. *qalpaq*; KBalk. *qalfaq*; KKalp. *qalpaq*; Kum. *qalpaq*; Nogh. *qalpaq*; SUygh. *qalmaq*; Khak. *xalbax*, *xalpax*; Yak. *xalpāq*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 5, 234-235. The word is not attested in OT; cf. however the common Slavic loanword **klobukъ*, attested in Russian sources already in the 12th century (in *чьрнии клобуци* 'black hats' = the Karakalpaks, but with characteristically Bulgarian phonology).

PKor. ***kár** 1 peaked hat 2 rain-cover for a hat (1 конусообразная шапка 2 покрытие для шапки (для защиты от дождя)): MKor. *kòs-kár* 1; Mod. *kok:al* 1, *kal-mo* 2.

◊ Liu 73, KED 45, 134. For the component *kòs-* cf. **kás* 'hat' (although vowel variation is not clear).

‖ Basically a Turk.-Kor. isogloss; the Mongolian form is poorly attested and may be borrowed < Turkic. In TM cf. perhaps Evk. *kelpeke* 'children's winter clothes', *kelkē* 'children's winter footwear' (TMC 1, 446).

✱**kȁle** knife, to cut: Tung. ***kaliki**; Turk. ***Kɨlīč**; Jpn. ***kàr-**.

PTung. ***kali-ki(n)** scar, cicatrice (шрам, рубец): Ul. *qalχi(n)*; Ork. *qaliχi*; Nan. *qalχī*; Orch. *kalixi*; Ud. *kalehä*.

◊ TMC 1, 366. Cf. also Evn. *qāli-* 'to whet' (TMC 1, 388).

PTurk. ***Kɨlīč** sword (меч): OTurk. *qɨlɨč* (OUygh.); Karakh. *qɨlɨč* (MK); Tur. *kɨlɨč*, *kɨlɨǰ*; Gag. *qɨlɨč*; Az. *Gɨlɨǰ*; Turkm. *Gɨlɨč*; Khal. *Gɨlīč*; MTurk. *qɨlɨč* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *qilič*; Uygh. *qilič*; Krm. *qɨlɨč*; Tat. *qɨlɨč*; Bashk. *qɨlɨs*; Kirgh. *qɨlɨč*; Kaz. *qɨlɨš*; KBalk. *qɨlɨč*; KKalp. *qɨlɨš*; Kum. *qɨlɨč*; Nogh. *qɨlɨš*; SUygh. *qɨlɨš*; Khak. *xɨlɨs*; Shr. *qɨlɨš*; Oyr. *qɨlɨč*; Tv. *xɨlɨš*; Chuv. *xəś*; Yak. *kɨlɨs*, *kɨlīs*.

◊ EDT 618, VEWT 263, Лексика 570, ЭСТЯ 6, 212-214. Cf. also **Kɨla-gu* 'blade' (VEWT 263, ЭСТЯ 6, 207-208).

PJpn. ***kàr-** to cut off, chop, hack (отрезать, отрубать): OJpn. *kor-*; MJpn. *kòr-*; Tok. *kor-*.

◊ JLTT 713.

‖ One of the many "verbs of cutting" in PA, with only nominal derivatives preserved in PT and PTM.

✱**kălo** to change, borrow: Tung. ***kalma-gda**; Mong. ***kala-**; Turk. ***Kalɨm**; Jpn. ***kár-**; Kor. ***kǎr-**.

PTung. ***kalma-gda** rich bride (богатая невеста (за которую брали большой калым)): Neg. *kalmagda*; Ul. *qalmaǯa*; Orch. *kamaǯa*.

◊ TMC 1, 367.

PMong. ***kala-** to change, alternate (менять, чередовать): WMong. *qala-* (L 916); Kh. *xala-*; Bur. *xala-*; Kalm. *xalə-*; Ord. *xala-*; Dag. *xala-*; *kālā-* 'to change, make better' (Тод. Даг. 148, MD 181), *xāla-* (Тод. Даг. 173).

◊ KW 162, MGCD 319. (> Evk. *kala-*, Man. *χala-* etc., TMC 1, 364, Doerfer MT 81). Cf. also *qalamši* 'care, attention'.

PTurk. ***Kalɨm** 1 ransom for bride 2 fee (1 выкуп за невесту 2 штраф, подать): OTurk. *qalan* (OUygh.) 2; Karakh. *qalɨŋ* (MK) 1; Tur. *kalɨn* 1; Turkm. *Galɨŋ* 2; MTurk. *qalɨn* (Houts., Pav. C., Буд.) 1; Uzb. *qalin*; Tat. *qalɨm* 1; Bashk. *qalɨm* 1; Kirgh. *qalɨŋ* 1; Kaz. *qalɨŋ* 1; KBalk. *qalɨn* 1; KKalp. *qalɨŋ* 1; Kum. *qalɨm* 1; Nogh. *qalɨm* 1; Khak. *xalɨm* 1; Oyr. *qalɨm*, *qalɨŋ* 1; Tv. *xɨlɨŋ* 1 (dial. Todzh.); Tof. *xɨlɨm* 1; Chuv. *xolъm* 1; Yak. *xalɨm*, *xalīm* 1.

◊ VEWT 226, TMN 3, 399, 488, ЭСТЯ 5, 239-240, Федотов 2, 354. Turk. > Mong. *qalan* 'fee, tax' (Щербак 1997, 197).

PJpn. ***kár-** to borrow (брать в долг): OJpn. *kar-*; MJpn. *kár-*; Tok. *kàri-*; Kyo. *kárí-*; Kag. *karí-*.

◊ JLTT 704. The transitive match ('to lend') is PJ **kár-s-* > OJ *kás-*.

PKor. ***kǎr-** to change (менять): MKor. *kǎr-*; Mod. *kal-*.

◊ Nam 20, KED 43.

‖ EAS 46, 154, АПиПЯЯ 75, Martin 228. The tone correspondence between Kor. and Jpn. is irregular, so the accent reconstruction here is

difficult; note that the Kor. high tone here must be archaic, because it resists the general Korean tendency to introduce low tone into all verbal forms.

✱**kaltʿo** to split, divide: Tung. ***kalta**; Mong. ***kalta-s, *kelte-**; Turk. ***Kolak**; Kor. ***kǎ̀ră-**.

PTung. ***kalta** 1 to split in halves, be splitted in halves 2 half 3 one of a pair (1 расщеплять, раскалывать (напополам) 2 половина 3 один из пары): Evk. *kalta-* 1, *kaltaka* 2, 3; Evn. *qaltъ̣q-*, *qaltъ̣l-* 1, *qaltъ̣q* 2; Neg. *kalta-* 1, *kaltaxa* 3; Ul. *qaltalị-* 1, *qalta* 2; Ork. *qaltā-* 1, *qalta* 2; Nan. *qaltā-* 1, *qaltā* 2; Orch. *kākta-* 1, *kakta* 2; Ud. *kaktaʿ* 2 (Корм. 244); Sol. *xaltaxa* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 367-368.

PMong. ***kalta-s, *kelte-** 1 half 2 to split off, break off (1 половина 2 отщеплять, отламывать): WMong. *qaltas* 1 (L 921), *kelte-*, *keltere-* (L 450) 2; Kh. *xaltas* 1, *xeltre-* 2; Bur. *xaltagaj*; *xeltel-*, *xelter-*; Kalm. *keltəl-* 2 (KPC); Ord. *Galtas*; Dag. *koltorkē* 'splinter' (Тод. Даг. 150), *xaltag*, *kaltag* 1 (Тод. Даг. 173), *koletuei* 'a part', *koletuhe* 1 (MD 183); Mongr. *kideli-*; *kidərē-* 1 'ébrécher; s'ébrécher, mourir (petits enfants) 1' (SM 201, 200).

◊ Mong. *kelte-* > Evk. *kelte-* etc., see Dörfer MT 134.

PTurk. ***Kolak** one-handed (однорукий): Karakh. *qolaq* (MK); Tur. *kolak* (dial.); Turkm. *Golaq*; Tat. *qulaq* (dial.).

◊ VEWT 277, ЭСТЯ 6, 42.

PKor. ***kǎ̀ră-** 1 to divide, split 2 to distinguish (1 разделять, расщеплять 2 различать): MKor. *kǎrǎ-* 1, *kǎ̀r-hǎ́i-* 1, 2; Mod. *karɨ-* 1, *karä-* 2.

◊ Nam 10, 22, KED 11, 13.

‖ SKE 98, Poppe 17, 75; Doerfer MT 47 (Turk. > Mong.). On a possible reflex in Jpn. see under **gǎ̀gta*.

✱**kalu** a k. of fish: Tung. ***kali**; Mong. ***kul-**.

PTung. ***kali** 1 crucian 2 white-fish (1 карась 2 сиг): Evk. *kali* 1; Ud. *kali* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 366. Cf. also Evk. *kulala* 'sheat-fish' (which, however, may be < Samod. or Chuk.-Kamch.).

PMong. ***kul-** salmon (лосось): Kh. *xuld*, *xuĺt* (PMC).

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss; cf. **kʿula, *kʿile,* with possible mergers.

✱**kalV (~ -Í-)** near, to come near: Tung. ***kal-**; Mong. ***kalu-**.

PTung. ***kal-** 1 near 2 to come near (1 близкий, близко 2 приблизиться): Man. *xanči* 1; *xalbu-* 'to let into the house'; SMan. *hanči* 1 (2611); Ul. *qāl-* 2; Ork. *qal-* 2; Nan. *qaĺčị* 1; Orch. *kalikun-* 'to let near'.

◊ TMC 1, 366, 369, 372 (Man. *xanči* should be kept distinct from *qani* 'similarly, in accordance with others').

PMong. ***kalu-** to approach, come near (приближаться): MMong. *qalit-* (SH); WMong. *qalu-*, *qal-* (L 916); Kh. *xala-*; Bur. *xalaj-* (in compounds); Kalm. *xalə-*; Dag. *halede-* (MD 155).

◊ KW 162.

‖ KW 162 (but Turk. **Kāl-* 'to stay behind' hardly belongs here), TMC 1, 369, АПиПЯЯ 292. A Mong.-Tung. isogloss, but, despite Doerfer MT 144, hardly borrowed in TM < Mong.

✱**kaĺbo** girdle, waist: Tung. ***kalbu**; Turk. ***Koĺa- (*Kuĺa-)**; Kor. ***kurəi**.

PTung. ***kalbu** 1 girdle 2 band (1 пояс 2 тесьма, лента): Evk. *kalbu* 1; Evn. *qālbṭ* 1; Neg. *kalbu* 1; Sol. *xalbaŋxa* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 365.

PTurk. ***Koĺa- (*Kuĺa-)** 1 подпоясывать 2 пояс, кушак (1 to girdle 2 girdle): Tur. *kuša-* 1, *kušak* 2; Gag. *quša*q 2; Turkm. *Gušaq* 2; MTurk. *quša*q 2 (Pav. C.); Tat. *quša*q 2 (arch.); Bashk. *quša*q 2.

◊ The stem should be probably distinguished historically from **Koĺ-* 'to couple, bind', although contaminations were possible. Turk. > Russ. *кушак* (Дмитриев 1958, 28, Шипова 216).

PKor. ***kurəi** waist (поясница): Mod. *kure*, *hə-guri*.

◊ KED 199. The word seems to be different from the attest MKor. *kùrəi* 'inner part of body' (v. sub **kʹúrgo).*

‖ The root is well attested in TM, but other parallels are somewhat questionable: the Turkic word is attested late and may be derived from **Koĺ-* 'join, unite'; on the Korean word see above.

✱**k[ā]ĺe** a k. of water plant: Tung. ***kalčukta**; Mong. ***kolim**; Turk. ***Kīĺ-gun**.

PTung. ***kalču-kta** 1 water lily 2 sea weed (1 водяная лилия, кувшинка 2 водоросль): Evn. *qajqi* 2; Neg. *kalčṵkta* 1; Ul. *qalǯuqta* 1, 2; Nan. *qalǯoqta* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 362, 369.

PMong. ***kolim** a k. of rice (вид риса): WMong. *qolima* (MXTTT) 'a k. of cereal similar to corn'; Kh. *xolim*; Dag. *xualimpe* 'oat'.

◊ Mong. > Man. *xolimpa*, Sol. *xolimpa*, *xolimpo* (Тод. Даг. 178).

PTurk. ***Kīĺ-gun** eatable grass (кормовая трава): Karakh. *qiśγun* (MK) 'fresh reeds which are eaten by cattle; sorrel'; Oyr. *qiśqin* 'пырей'; Chuv. *xəlγen* 'кипрей'; Yak. *kīs ot* 'конский щавель'.

◊ EDT 672.

‖ A Western isogloss; the Mong. reflex has an irregular vowel and is somewhat dubious.

✱**kaĺpa** a k. of vessel: Tung. ***kala-n**; Mong. ***kalbuga**; Turk. ***KAĺuk / *KAlgak**; Jpn. ***kasipa**.

PTung. ***kala-n** 1 kettle 2 bag (1 котел 2 сума): Evk. *kalan* 1; Evn. *qalā-was* 2; Ul. *qala(n)* 1; Nan. *qalã* 1; Ud. *kala(n)* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 364-365. Cf. also **kalbi-* 'flat, broad' (TMC 1, 365; hardly < Mong., despite Doerfer MT 51, 69 - although some forms, notably Evk. *kalbaγa* 'spoon', Man. *χalbaχa* 'crooked part of a flat spoon', are probably borrowed, see Rozycki 100).

PMong. ***kalbuga** spoon, ladle, oar (ложка, весло): MMong. *xalbuxua* (HY 19), *qalbuqa* (SH), *γalbuγa* (MA 139); WMong. *qalbuγa*, *qalbaγa(n)* (L 917, 918); Kh. *xalbaga(n)*; Bur. *xalbaga* 'ложка, весло, поплавок (удочки), плавники (рыбы)'; Ord. *xalbaGa*; Mongr. *xūrGa* (SM 185).

◊ Cf. also **kalba-* 'flat, broad' (KW 83).

PTurk. ***KAĺuk / *KAlgak** 1 spoon 2 oar, shovel (1 ложка 2 весло, лопатка): OTurk. *qašuq* 1; Karakh. *qašuq*, *qašɨq* (MK); Tur. *kašɨk* 1, dial. *kalak* 2; Az. *GašɨG* 1; Turkm. *qašɨq* 1; MTurk. *qašɨq* (IM), *qašuq* (Houts., AH, Pav. C.); Uzb. *qɔšɨq* 1, *qɔlɔq* 2; Uygh. *qošuq*, dial. *qašuq* 1, *qalaq* 2; Tat. *qašɨq* 1, *qalaq* 2 > Chuv.; Bashk. *qašɨq* 1, *qalaq* 2; Kirgh. *qašɨq* 1, *qalaq* 2; Kaz. *qasɨq* 1, *qalaq* 2; KBalk. *qašɨq* 1, *qalaq* 2; KKalp. *qasɨq* 1, *qalaq* 2; Kum. *qašɨq* 1, *qalaq* 2; Nogh. *qasɨq* 1, *qalaq* 2; Khak. *xazɨx* 1, *xalγax* 1,2; Shr. *qalaq* 2; Oyr. *qažɨq* 1, *qalaq* 2; Tof. *qaḱik* 1, *qalγaq* 2.

◊ VEWT 225, 241, ЭСТЯ 5, 231-232, 353-354. Turk. > Russ. Siber. *kaśík*, see Аникин 277.

PJpn. ***kasipa** vessel (вид сосуда): OJpn. *kasipa*.

◊ In the earliest texts the word unambiguously denotes some kind of vessel (esp. a wine vessel); its reinterpretation as 'oak leaf' and 'food-wrapping oak-leaf' is certainly a later folk-etymological development.

‖ EAS 123, KW 83, Владимирцов 366, Poppe 78 (Turk.-Mong.), Цинциус 1984, 83, Miller 1970, 130, JOAL 121, Street 1980, 286-287, АПиПЯЯ 75. Despite TMN 3, 391, Щербак 1997, 135. borrowing in Mong. from Turk. is excluded. One cannot exclude a possibility that we are dealing with two different roots here: cf. the distinction in Turkic, strange loss of *-b- in Tungus **kala-n*, and another Kor.-Jpn. root for 'vessel, container': MKor. *kari* 'fish pot, basket for catching fish', OJ ke (PJ **ka-i*) 'vessel, container' (see Whitman 1985, 160).

✱**kàma** to unite, together: Tung. ***kamur-**; Mong. ***kam-**; Turk. ***KAmug**; Jpn. ***kàmà-p-**.

PTung. ***kamur-** together, gather (вместе, собирать): Ul. *qamṵr*; Ork. *qamṵr*; Nan. *qamor*.

◊ TMC 1, 371. Modern forms like Evk. *kamu-* 'to gather' may be considered borrowed < Mong. (see Doerfer MT 111), but it is hardly possible for all forms, especially for those with an -r-suffix.

PMong. ***kam-** 1 together 2 to gather together (1 вместе 2 собирать): MMong. *qamtu* 1, *qamux* 'all' (SH, HYt); WMong. *qamtu* 1 (L 925), *qamu-* 2 (L 926); Kh. *xamt* 1; Bur. *xamta* 1, *xamag* 'all', *xama-* 2; Kalm. *xamtə* 1, *xamə-* 2; Ord. *xamtu* 1; Mog. *qamtu* (Ramstedt 1906); Dag. *hamete* 1 (MD 156); Dong. *hantu* 1; Bao. *hamdə* 1; S.-Yugh. *χamtə* 1, *χambə-* 2; Mongr. *xamdi* (SM 153), *xamdə* 1.

◊ KW 164, 165, 177, MGCD 322, 323, 324. Cf. also WMong. *qamija* 'relation, concern'. Mong. > Yak. *xomuj-*, Dolg. *komuj-*, see Kał. JW 184, Stachowski 152.

PTurk. ***KAmug** all, together (все, вместе): OTurk. *qamuγ* (OUygh.), *qamaγ* (Orkh., OUygh.), *qamɨγ* (OUygh.); Karakh. *qamuγ* (MK, KB); Tur. *kamu*; MTurk. *qamuγ* (Qutb., Буд.), *qamuq* (Abush.); Khak. *xamɨx*; Shr. *qamɨq*; Oyr. *qamɨq*; Tv. *xamɨq*.

◊ EDT 627, ЭСТЯ 5, 243-244. Modern forms like Kirgh., Kaz. *qama-* 'to surround, besiege', *qamala-* id., 'to gather in a crowd' etc. (see ЭСТЯ 5, 159) should be rather regarded as mongolisms.

PJpn. ***kàmà-pa-** to arrange, set up (устраивать): OJpn. *kamapa-*; MJpn. *kàmàfa-*; Tok. *kamaé-*; Kyo. *kámáé-*; Kag. *kàmàè-*.

◊ JLTT 703.

‖ KW 164, Владимирцов 391, Poppe 67-68, Цинциус 1984, 88. Mong. can hardly be explained as borrowed < Turk., despite Щербак 1997, 132, 165.

✸**kāma** a k. of fish: Tung. ***kām-**; Jpn. ***kamasu**; Kor. ***kàmór-thi**.

PTung. ***kām-** dried fish (юкола): Evn. *qām*; Orch. *kambuti* 'name of a small fish'.

◊ TMC 1, 369, 370. Cf. also Oroch *kemmui* 'herring' (TMC 1, 448).

PJpn. ***kamasu** sea pike (морская щука): Tok. *kàmasu*, *kamasú*; Kyo. *kámású*; Kag. *kamasú*.

◊ Kagoshima and Tokyo favour the reconstruction **kàmású* or **kàmàsù*; the Kyoto accent, however, is quite irregular.

PKor. ***kàmór-thì** eel; (KED) snake fish (Channa argus), snakehead, mullet (угорь): MKor. *kàmóthì*, *kamorthi*; Mod. *kamulčhi*.

◊ Nam 4, KED 17.

‖ An Eastern isogloss, with somewhat unclear tone / length correspondences; cf. perhaps also Chuv. *kъ^{w}mъ^{w}s* 'young fish' (< PT **kem-* ~ **köm-*); Khak. *xamnax* 'roach, copora'.

✸**kami** a k. of cloth: Tung. ***kam-**; Mong. ***kemerlig**; Turk. ***KEmek**.

PTung. ***kam-** 1 to hem a garment with a white fur stripe 2 head kerchief 3 broad women's belt (1 подбивать одежду белой меховой полосой 2 головной платок 3 широкий женский пояс): Evk. *kamrā-* 1; Man. *qamtun* 2; Ul. *qambụča* 3; Ork. *qāmị* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 370, 371.

PMong. ***kemerlig** a k. of silk (вид шелка): WMong. *kemerlig* (L 451); Kh. *kemerleg*.

PTurk. ***KEmek** a k. of striped cloth for making upper clothes (вид полосатой ткани для изготовления верхней одежды): Karakh. *kemek* (MK).

◊ EDT 722. The isolated OT word may be borrowed from Eastern Iranian: cf. Pers. *kamxa* < Chin. *gimhua* (see VEWT 229 on further loans: Pers. > Turkic q*amqa* > Russ. *камка* 'striped silk cloth'). Cf. other similar cases (like Sak. *kamaiška* > MK *kemišge* etc.).

‖ A Western isogloss (although the Turkic reflex is somewhat dubious). MKor. *kamtho* 'a horsehair cap worn by officials' (compared with TM in SKE 92, Lee 1958, 113) is rather < Manchu.

✱**kàmo** boiled substance, alcohol: Tung. ***kamnu- / *kamdu-**; Mong. ***kimur**; Turk. ***Kumɨŕ**; Jpn. ***kàm-**.

PTung. ***kamnu- / *kamdu-** fish glue (рыбий клей): Evk. *kamnun*; Evn. *kanmo*; Neg. *kamnun*; Man. *amdun*; Ul. *qamdu(n)*; Ork. *qamdụ(n)*; Nan. *qamdõ*; Orch. *kamnu*; Ud. *kamnu*.

◊ TMC 1, 370.

PMong. ***kimur** fermented milk with water (молочный спиртной напиток с водой): WMong. *kimur*, *kimurayan*; *kiram*, *kirma* (L 470) 'boiled milk with water'; Kh. *x́aram* 'boiled water with milk'; Kalm. *kimr*, *kimrān*; Ord. *kirma*.

◊ KW 231. Mong. > Kirgh. *qɨmran*, Uzb. *kumran*, Tuva *xɨmɨrān*.

PTurk. ***Kumɨŕ** fermented milk (молочный спиртной напиток): Karakh. *qɨmɨz* (MK, KB); Tur. *kɨmɨz*; Az. *Gɨmɨz*; Turkm. *Gɨmɨz*; MTurk. *qɨmɨz* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *qimiz*; Uygh. *qimiz*; Tat. *qɨmɨz*; Bashk. *qomoδ*, *qɨmɨδ*; Kirgh. *qɨmɨz*; Kaz. *qɨmɨz*; KKalp. *qɨmɨz*; Nogh. *qɨmɨz*; Khak. *xɨmɨs*, Sag., Koib. *xumɨs*; Oyr. *qɨmɨs*; Tv. *xɨmɨs*; Chuv. *kъ^{w}mъ^{w}s* < Qypch.; Yak. *kɨmɨs*.

◊ VEWT 264, EDT 629, Лексика 450-451, ЭСТЯ 6, 219.

PJpn. ***kàm-** to brew sake (from rice) (варить сакэ (из риса)): OJpn. *kam-*; MJpn. *kàm-*; Tok. *kamós-*; Kyo. *kámós-*; Kag. *kamós-*.

◊ JLTT 703. Accent in Kagoshima is irregular (probably under literary influence).

‖ Poppe 68, Лексика 450-451. Despite Doerfer's doubts (TMN 3, 515-516) the Turk.-Mong. parallel cannot be a coincidence.

✱**kampʿo** to fold, close: Tung. ***kamp-**; Mong. ***kamki-**; Kor. ***kǎm-**.

PTung. ***kamp-** 1 to fold, bend 2 to press (1 складывать, сгибать 2 сжимать): Evk. *kamnī-* 2; Neg. *kampị-* 1, 2; Man. *qamni-* 2; Ul. *qampụ-* 1; Nan. *qampị-* 1; Ud. *qampi-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 370, 371. The variant **kamnī-* has probably arisen from **kamp(i)-nī-* and has secondarily merged with TM **kamnī* 'ravine' (the latter should be perhaps compared with Mong. *kaŋgil* 'bald hills').

PMong. ***kamki-** to close, shut (закрывать): WMong. *qamki-* (L 924); Kh. *xamxi-*; Kalm. *xamxī-* (СЯОС).

PKor. ***kǎm-** to close (eyes) (закрывать (глаза)): MKor. *kǎm-*; Mod. *kām-*.

◊ Nam 23, KED 50.

‖ -p- in TM is not easily explained as a suffix, so we prefer rather to reconstruct an original consonant cluster here.

✱**kámsa (~ kʹ-)** wind, whirlwind: Mong. ***kabsara-**; Turk. ***Kasɨrku**; Jpn. ***kánsá-i**.

PMong. ***kabsara-** 1 to blow (of a cold wind) 2 cold wind, snowstorm (1 дуть (о холодном ветре) 2 холодный ветер, пурга): WMong. *qabsara-* 1 (L 898: *qabsura-*), *qabsaraɣa* (L 899: *qabsurɣa*) 2; Kh. *xawsra-* 1, *xawsraga* 2; Bur. *xabsaraɣā* 2; Kalm. *xawsərgə* 2 (KPC).

PTurk. ***Kasɨrku** whirlwind (вихрь): Karakh. *qasɨrqu* (MK); Tur. *kasɨrɣa*; Az. *Gasɨrɣa*; MTurk. (MKypch.) *qasɨrqa* (Houts.), *qasurɣa* (AH); Tv. *qazɨrɣɨ*; Tof. *qa'sɨrɣɨ*; Chuv. *kozъrga*.

◊ VEWT 240, ЭСТЯ 5, 332, Лексика 43, Ашм. VII, 20. Chuvash has an irregular form with initial k- (*x- would be expected). But it can hardly be a borrowing from Volga-Kypchak languages.

PJpn. ***kánsá-i** wind (ветер): OJpn. *kaze*; MJpn. *kázé*; Tok. *kàze*; Kyo. *kázé*; Kag. *káze*.

◊ JLTT 447. OJ *kaza-* in compounds, which allows to reconstruct **kánsá-i.*

‖ ЭСТЯ 5, 332, Лексика 43 (Turk.-Mong.)

✱**kǻm[u]ča** a k. of vessel, ladle: Tung. ***kamiču**; Mong. ***kumʒija**; Turk. ***Kamɨč**; Jpn. ***kámású**.

PTung. ***kamiču** box, bag (made of birch-bark) (чуман, берестяной короб): Evk. *kamit*; Ul. *qamču*; Orch. *kamiči*; Ud. *kamisi*.

◊ TMC 1, 370.

PMong. ***kumʒija** a measure for gunpowder (мерка для пороха): WMong. *qumʒija* (MXTTT); Kh. *xumʒā*; Bur. *xumžā*.

PTurk. ***Kamɨč** scoop, ladle (черпак): OTurk. *qamɨč* (OUygh.); Karakh. *qamɨč* (MK); MTurk. *qamɨč* (IM); Uygh. *qemič*; Khak. *xamɨs*; Tv. *xɨmɨš*; Chuv. (Bulg.) *xumʒa* (< **kamča(h)*); Yak. *xamɨas*, *xomuos*; Dolg. *komuos*.

◊ EDT 626, VEWT 229, ЭСТЯ 5, 248-249, Stachowski 152.

PJpn. ***kámású** a k. of bag (соломенный мешок): Tok. *kàmasu*; Kyo. *kámású*; Kag. *kamásu*.

‖ SKE 94, TMC 1, 370, Мудрак Дисс. 184. Despite Doerfer MT 240 ("semantisch unsicher"), the Turk.-Tung. match seems quite plausible.

✱**kāmV** be weak, oppress: Tung. ***kama-**; Mong. ***kama-**; Turk. ***KĀma-**; Jpn. ***kəmà-r- (~ kuàmà-r-)**; Kor. ***kam-**.

PTung. ***kama-** 1 to oppress 2 to prohibit, be unable to help 3 (being at a) loss (1 притеснять 2 отказывать в помощи, делать назло 3 затруднение, беда): Evk. *kama-* 1, *kama-lit-* 2; Evn. *kamaɣ* 3; Neg. *kama-li-* 1; Ul. *qama-lụ-* 1; Ork. *qama-lị-* 1; Nan. *qama-li-* 1, *qama* 3; Ud. *kama-*, *kamasi-* 'мешать удаче, насылать несчастье (о шаманах)' (Корм. 244), *kamali-* 'прищемить, придавить' (Корм. 245).

◊ TMC 1, 369. Despite Poppe 1966, 191, Evk. *kamaɣa* is not a borrowing < Mong. *qamija* 'relation, concern' (a quite different root, see PA **kàma).*

PMong. ***kama-** 1 scab, herpes 2 infection, epidemics (1 чесотка, парша 2 зараза, эпидемия): MMong. *qamāwu* (IM); WMong. *qamaɣu* 1, *qama-* 'to be mangy' (L 923); Kh. *xamū*; Bur. *xamū* 1, *xamšag* 2; Kalm. *xamū*; Ord. *xamū*; Dag. *xamū* (Тод. Даг. 173), (MGCD) *xangu* 1; S.-Yugh. *χamū* 1.

◊ KW 165, MGCD 324.

PTurk. ***KĀma-** 1 become blinded, dumb 2 (set) teeth on edge 3 to be tired, pine, droop (1 слепнуть, глохнуть 2 набивать оскомину 3 уставать, изнемогать): OTurk. *qamaš-* (Orkh.) 3; Karakh. *qama-* (MK, KB) 1, 2; Tur. *kamaš-* 1; Az. *Gamaš-* 1; Turkm. *Gāmaš-* 2; MTurk. *qamaš-* (Pav. C., Бор. Бад., MA) 1, 2; Uzb. *qɛmɛš-* 1; Uygh. *qamaš-* 2; Tat. *qamaš-* 3; Bashk. *qamaš-* 2; Kirgh. *qama-* 2; Kaz. *qama-* 2; KKalp. *qamas-* 2; Kum. *qama-* 2; Nogh. *qama-* 2.

◊ VEWT 228, ЭСТЯ 5, 242-243, 246-247. Cf. also Kirgh., Kaz. *qam* 'sorrow', Turkm. *Gam GajGɨ* 'mischief, sorrow'. Turk. > MMong. (MA) *qama-* id. (see Щербак 1997, 197).

PJpn. ***kəmà-r- (~ kuàmà-r-)** be in a difficult position (быть в затруднительном положении): Tok. *komár-*; Kyo. *kómár-*; Kag. *kòmàr-*.

◊ JLTT 712.

PKor. ***kam-** to be unable to, to be insufficient for (быть неспособным, недостаточным для ч.-л.): Mod. *kam-gi-*.

◊ SKE 91-92.

‖ KW 165, EAS 47, SKE 91-2. The Kor. parallel is found only there; as for the Japanese word, it is not attested in any OJ or MJ sources, so the PJ reconstruction is uncertain. One should also note irregular PJ vocalism and tone (*-a- with high tone would be expected). This all makes the Kor.-Jpn. aspect of the etymology dubious.

✱**kána** to be satisfied: Tung. ***kan-dari-**; Mong. ***kanu-**; Turk. ***Kān-**; Jpn. ***kánáransu**.

PTung. ***kan-dari-** to be fed up, tired of (надоесть, наскучить): Evk. *kandari-*.

◊ TMC 1, 372.

PMong. ***kanu-** be satisfied, thankful (быть удовлетворенным, благодарным): MMong. *qan-* 'утолить (жажду)' (MA); WMong. *qanu-*, *qan-* (L 930); Kh. *xana-*; Bur. *xana-*; Kalm. *xan-*; Ord. *xan-*; Mongr. *xani-* (SM 156), *xanə-*.

◊ KW 166, MGCD 325.

PTurk. ***Kān-** to be satisfied (быть удовлетворенным): OTurk. *qan-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *qan-* (MK, KB, IM); Tur. *kan-*; Az. *Gan-*; Turkm. *Gān-*; MTurk. (OKypch.) *qan-* (AH); Uzb. *qɔn-*; Uygh. *qan-*; Tat. *qan-*; Bashk. *qan-*; Kirgh. *qan-*; Kaz. *qan-*; KBalk. *qan-*; KKalp. *qan-*; Kum. *qan-*; Nogh. *qan-*; Khak. *xan-*; Shr. *qan-*; Oyr. *qan-*; Tv. *xan-*; Yak. *xan-*; Dolg. *kan-*.

◊ EDT 632, VEWT 230, ЭСТЯ 5, 251-252, Stachowski 136.

PJpn. ***kánáransu** necessarily, certainly (обязательно): OJpn. *kanarazu*; MJpn. *kánárazu*; Tok. *kanarazu*.

◊ Formally *kanarazu* is a negation of *kanari* 'enough' ('not enough' > 'necessarily'). The latter is not attested in RJ, and the modern dialects speak rather in favour of **kànárì*.

‖ EAS 114, KW 166, Poppe 70 (but despite Ozawa 192-193 and АПиПЯЯ 72, PJ **kànàp-* should be attributed to **kʹȁno*). The root is very similar to **kʹāno*, both phonetically and semantically, but the opposition of **Kān-* and **Kon-* in Turkic does not allow to unite them. The hypothesis of Mong. **kanu-* being borrowed from Turkic (see Щербак 1997, 133) is possible, but not very probable.

✱**kanti** dewlap, peritoneum: Tung. ***kanda**; Mong. ***kančir**; Turk. ***Kandɨr (*Kantɨr)**; Jpn. ***kinta**.

PTung. ***kanda** dewlap (подгрудок): Man. *qanda*; Nan. *qando*.

◊ TMC 1, 372.

PMong. ***kančir** peritoneum (подгрудок): WMong. *qančir* (L 927); Kh. *xančir*; Bur. *xanšar* 'belly muscles'; Kalm. *xančər* 'belly muscles' (KPC); Ord. *xančir maxa* 'stomach of a meagre, skinny animal', *xančir kün* 'thin person'.

PTurk. ***Kandɨr (*Kantɨr)** membrane (мездра, пленка на мясе, остающаяся после снятия шкуры): Karakh. *qandɨr* (MK); Chuv. *xundъ*, e.g. in *tə^{w}plə^{w} pɨržъ xund-i* 'appendix (anat.)' (dial.).

◊ EDT 635.

PJpn. ***kinta** gills (жабры): OJpn. *kjida*.

‖ PT and PM reflect a suffixed form **kanti-rV*.

✱**kȁntʹV** to reach, attain: Tung. ***kānta-**; Mong. ***kan[t]u-**.

PTung. ***kānta-** to attain, reach (by hand) (доставать, дотягиваться): Ul. *qanta-*; Nan. *qāndačị-*, (On.) *qāntačị-*

◊ TMC 1, 373.

PMong. ***kan[t]u-** to head towards, to address (направляться к, обращаться к): MMong. *qantuqala-* 'show (?)' (SH); WMong. *qandu-* (MXTTT); Kh. *xanda-*; Bur. *xanda-*; Kalm. *xandə-* (KPC); Ord. *xandu-*; Dag. *xanda-*.

◊ MGCD 325.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss. Cf. perhaps Chuv. *xondъ* 'protect', 'influence' etc. (if not < Mong.). Cf. also OJ *katug-* 'to carry' (although this may be a variant of *kataga-*, a compound of *kata* 'shoulder' + *aga-* 'lift, raise').

✱**kȁnu** swan: Tung. ***kāŋgu**; Mong. ***kuna**; Kor. ***kón**.

PTung. ***kāŋgu** a k. of duck (вид утки): Evk. *kan-dirā*, dial. *koŋor*; Evn. *qōŋāl*; Neg. *kaŋgu*, *kōŋalān*, *koŋodō*; Man. *χoŋGo(lo)n*; Ul. *qaŋGụlị*; Ork. *qoŋGolo*; Nan. *qāŋGọ*; Ud. *kaŋgu* (Корм. 245).

◊ TMC 1, 373-374, 410. Because of recurring long vowel in Evn., Neg. and Nan. shortness in dialectal Evk. forms should be probably regarded as secondary (misrecorded length?).

PMong. ***kuna** swan (лебедь): MMong. *qun* (HY 14, SH); WMong. *quna*, *qun*, *quŋ* (L 986); Kh. *xun*; Bur. *xun(g)*; Kalm. *xunə*; Ord. *xun*.

◊ KW 197.

PKor. ***kón** swan (лебедь): MKor. *kón*; Mod. *koni*.

◊ Nam 50, KED 136.

‖ SKE 123.

✱**kaŋne** helminth: Tung. ***kaŋa(r)**; Turk. ***Kɨna**.

PTung. ***kaŋa(r)** helminth (глист): Evk. *kaŋir*; Evn. *qaŋṛ*; Neg. *kaŋaj*; Nan. *kāŋa* (On.); Ork. *qaŋaị* 'a k. of fish (навага)'; Orch. *kaŋa* 'salmon'.

◊ TMC 1, 374.

PTurk. ***Kɨna** helminth (глист): Kirgh. *qɨna* 'вредитель хлебных злаков'; Khak. *xɨna*; Oyr. *qɨna*.

◊ VEWT 264.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**káŋV** dog: Tung. ***kači-kān**; Turk. ***KAŋ-čɨk**; Kor. ***kàŋ-**.

PTung. ***kači-kān** puppy (щенок): Evk. *kačikān*; Evn. *qačịqan*; Neg. *kačịxān*; Ork. *kēčike*; Nan. *kejče(kẽ)*; Ud. *kasʿanǯiga*; Sol. *xasxã̄*.

◊ TMC 1, 385.

PTurk. ***KAŋ-čɨk** 1 bitch 2 female (1 сука 2 самка): OTurk. *qančɨq* (OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *qančɨq* (MK) 1; Tur. *kanǯɨk* 2; Az. *GanǯɨG* 1; Turkm. *Ganǯɨq* 1; MTurk. *qančɨq* (Pav. C., Houts., Qutb.), *qančuq* (AH) 1; Uzb. *qɛnǯiq* 1; Uygh. *qančuq*, *qanǯiq* (dial.) 1; Bashk. *qansɨq*, *qansaj* 1; Kirgh. *qančɨq* 1; Kaz. *qanšɨq*, *qaŋšɨ* 1; KKalp. *qanšɨq* 1; Kum. *qančɨq* 1; Nogh. *qanǯɨq* 1.

◊ VEWT 230, ЭСТЯ 5, 255-256, Лексика 190. The original *-ŋ- is probably preserved in Kaz. *qaŋšɨ*.

PKor. ***kàŋ-** 1 dog 2 puppy (1 собака 2 щенок): MKor. *kàhí* 1, *kàŋʼàčí* 2; Mod. *kã̄* 1, *kaŋažɨ* 2.

◊ Nam 8, 28, KED 65, 61. The form *kàhí* points to a suffixed **kàŋ-h-* (< **kaŋV-k-*). With *-ń- cf. also MKor. *kàńʼuàńí* 'a k. of dog' (Liu 50).

‖ The TM form may belong here if it goes back to **kaŋ-čikān* (= PT **Kaŋčɨk*, MKor. *kàŋʼàčí*). See SKE 84-85, TMC 1,385, Menges 1984, 270-271, АПиПЯЯ 296, Дыбо 9; TMN 3, 520 ("alles sehr unsicher").

✱**kăpi** to break, fragile: Tung. ***kab-**; Mong. ***kebere-**; Turk. ***gebre-**.

PTung. ***kab-** 1 to break, destroy, press 2 to squeeze, knead (1 ломать, разрушать, давить 2 мять): Evn. *qawṛq-*, *qawṛl-* 1; Neg. *kawjụ-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 357, 358. The root is expressive and has several variants: **kab-* (see above); **kapu-* reflected in Man. *qafur* 'crackling', Nan. *qapo-qapo* id., Ul. *qapụ(r)* id., Orok *qapụli-* 'to break', Evn. *qabṛr-*, Evk. *kapu-* id. (see TMC 1, 377-378); **kupu-* in Manchu *kufujen* 'fragile'.

PMong. ***kebere-** 1 fragile 2 to break down (1 хрупкий 2 ломаться): MMong. *keberek* (HY 54) 1, *kebge-*, *kebke-* 'zu Staub zertreten' (SH); WMong. *kebereg*, *keberig* 1, *kebere-*, *kebire-* 2 (L 439); Kh. *xevreg* 1, *xevre-* 2; Bur. *xebreg* 1; Kalm. *kewreg*, *kū̃rəg* 1; Ord. *kewerek* 1; Bao. *kurəg*; S.-Yugh. *kebreg*; Mongr. *kērig* (SM 198), *kēreG*.

◊ KW 229-230, MGCD 338.

PTurk. ***geb-re-** 1 to become weak, fragile 2 fragile (1 слабеть, становиться хрупким 2 хрупкий): Karakh. *kevre-* 1, *kevrek* 2 (MK); Tur. *gevre-* 1, *gevrek* 2; Gag. *gevrek* 1; Az. *kövräk* 2; Uzb. *kuwrak* 2; Tat. *köjrök* 2 (KCTT); Bashk. *käwert* 'a tree rotten inside'; Kirgh. *küjrö-* 1; Kaz. *küjrek* 2; Khak. *kibrek* 2; Chuv. *kavraj-* 1; Yak. *kebirē-* 1 (possibly < Mong.).

◊ VEWT 244, 245, EDT 691, ЭСТЯ 3, 7-9. Turk. > Hung. *kőrő* 'fragile' Gombocz 1912.

‖ EAS 145, Владимирцов 153-154, 258, Poppe 45. One cannot exclude Mong. < Turk. in this case. An expressive Western isogloss. Cf. also **kʿě̆pʿe* (and Ozawa 201).

✸**k[ā]pʿá** to cover, sack: Tung. ***kup-**; Mong. ***kab-t-**; Turk. ***Kāp**; Jpn. ***kàmpú-**.

PTung. ***kup-** 1 to cover 2 cloth 3 sheath, boxing 4 sack 5 knee covers 6 hat 7 cover (n.) 8 wadded coat (1 покрывать 2 одежда 3 футляр 4 мешок 5 наколенники 6 шапка 7 покрышка 8 ватный кафтан): Evk. *kuptu-*, *kupu-* 1, *kupu* 7, *kupō* 5, *kupe* 2; Evn. *kupke* 4, *kubi* 5, *qụptụ* 6, *köbǯe* 2; Neg. *kuptin-* 1, *koptịn* 7; Man. *xubtu* 8; Ul. *kup* 1 (expr. adv.); Ork. *qụptụ-* 1, *qōpomị* 2; Nan. *koptō̃* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 434, 476. Evk. *kupe* > Dolg. *kopō*, see Stachowski 153. Manchu *xubtu* has variants *xukdu*, *xuktu* (> Nan. *xuktu*, Neg. *xuktu* etc.) - which is probably a secondary merger with a Mong. loanword (Mong. *kügdü*, v. sub **kugi).*

PMong. ***kabt-** sack (мешок): WMong. *qabta-ɣa(n)* (L 899); Kh. *xavtga*; Kalm. *xaptəxə*, *xaptrɣə*; Ord. *GabtarGa*; Dag. *xartag* (Тод. Даг. 174); Mongr. *sdarGa* 'petite bourse, blague, poche' (SM 333).

◊ KW 167, 180. Mong. *qabtaɣa*, *qabturɣa* > Evk. *kapturga* etc. (see Poppe 1966, 195, TMN 1, 384-385, Doerfer MT 39); > Kirgh. *qaptɨrɣa* etc. (ЭСТЯ 5, 271-272).

PTurk. ***Kāp** 1 sack 2 to surround (1 мешок 2 окружать): Karakh. *qap* 1 (MK); Tur. *kap* 1; Gag. *qap* 1; Az. *Gab*; Turkm. *Gāp* 1, *Gāba-* 2; MTurk. *qap* 1 (MA, IM), *qaba-* 'to besiege' (Бор. Бад.); Uzb. *qɔp* 1; Uygh. *qap* 1, dial. *qaba-* 2; Krm. *qap* 1; Tat. *qap* 1; Bashk. *qap* 1; Kirgh. *qap* 1; Kaz. *qap* 1; KBalk. *qap* 1; KKalp. *qap* 1; Kum. *qap* 1; Nogh. *qap* 1; SUygh. *qap* 1; Khak. *xap* 1; Shr. *qap* 1; Oyr. *qap* 1; Tv. *xap* 1; Tof. *qap/b-* 1; Yak. *xappar* 1 (?).

◊ VEWT 233, TMN 3, 366-367, EDT 578 (should be separated from **kab*!) ЭСТЯ 5, 159, 266-267 (with a partial confusion with another root, probably of Mongolian origin, see under **KAmug*), 266-267. Despite Doerfer (ibid.) the resemblance with **Kāpuk* 'bark' is only superficial. See also notes to **K(i)amak* / **K(i)apak* 'forehead, eyebrow/eyelid'.

PJpn. ***kàmpú-** helmet (шлем): OJpn. *kabut(w)o*; MJpn. *kàbúto*; Tok. *kábuto*; Kyo. *kàbútò*; Kag. *kabutó*.

◊ JLTT 431.

‖ KW 167, 180, Poppe 17, 18, 43, Цинциус 1984, 76-77. Mergers with phonetically close roots (e. g. **kʿapʿa* 'barrier', **kʿopʿe* 'film, covering', **kobe* 'clothing', **kʿāpʿV* 'bladder') were possible - which may explain some vocalic and prosodic irregularities.

✱**kăpʿè** to squeeze, press together: Tung. ***kap-**; Mong. ***kajiči**; Turk. ***Kɨp-**.

PTung. ***kap-** 1 together 2 to press, squeeze together 3 couple 4 gripe 5 trap (1 вместе 2 давить, прижимать 3 пара 4 тиски, зажим 5 капкан): Evk. *kapkal-* 2; Neg. *kap* 1, *kapel* 5; Man. *qab(a)* 3, *χafira-* 2, *χafiraqu* 4; SMan. *havirəhun*, *ńavirəhun* (2619) 'narrow, tight'; Ul. *qap* 1, *qapụra-* 2, *qapụraqụ* 4, *qapalị* 5; Ork. *qap* 1, *qapịra* 4; Nan. *qap* 1, *qapịra-* 2, *qapịraqo* 4, *qapalị* 5; Orch. *kapali* 1; Ud. *käfi-* 2 (Корм. 247), *kabʿau* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 376, 378-379.

PMong. ***kajiči** scissors (ножницы): MMong. *xajiči* (HY 21), *qaiči* (MA); WMong. *qajiči(n)* (L 912); Kh. *xajč*; Bur. *xajša*; Kalm. *xäčə*; Ord. *xäči*; Dag. *kaič* (Тод. Даг. 148: *kaiči*, *xaiči*), *kajči* (MD 181); Dong. *qaiči*; Bao. *χiči*; S.-Yugh. *χaiči*; Mongr. *xəʒi*, *xəći* (SM 166), *xaiči*.

◊ KW 180, TMN 1, 448, MGCD 318. Mong. > Oyr. *qajči* etc. (ЭСТЯ 5, 209-211); Evk. *kajič* etc., see Poppe 1966, 193, TMN 1, 449, Doerfer MT 64-65.

PTurk. ***Kɨp-** 1 to press together 2 scissors 3 tongs 4 to cut (with scissors) (1 сжимать 2 ножницы 3 клещи): Karakh. *qɨftu* (MK) 2; Tur. *kɨpti* (dial.) 2, *kɨ(r)p-* 4; Az. *Gɨrp-* 4; Turkm. *Gɨp-* 1; MTurk. *qɨpti* 2 (Houts., Ettuhf.); Krm. *qɨpti* 2; KBalk. *qɨpti* 2; Khak. *xɨpti* 2, *xɨpla-* 4; Shr. *qɨpti* 2, *qɨpla-* 4; Oyr. *qɨpta* 2, *qɨpčɨn-* 1; Chuv. *xɨpčъk* 3; Yak. *kɨptɨj* 2, *kɨbɨt-*, *kɨbɨj-* 1; Dolg. *kɨptɨj-* 2.

◊ VEWT 234, EDT 582, ЭСТЯ 6, 221-222, 224, Stachowski 168.

‖ KW 180, Владимирцов 270, Poppe 48. A Western isogloss. Despite Doerfer's doubts (TMN 1, 450), the Turk. and Mong. forms cannot be separated from each other. It is interesting also to mention the forms meaning 'to wink' (< *'press eyelids together') among the reflexes of PT **Kɨp-* (usually confused with **Kɨp-* 'spark') and the TM derivative **kapta-* (usually confused with **kapta-* 'flat'). Cf. also **kʿapʿV*.

✱**kàra (~ kʿ-)** opposite, enemy: Mong. ***kar-**; Turk. ***Kar-**; Jpn. ***kàtà-**.

PMong. ***kar-** 1 foreign, alien 2 to be related to, connected with (1 чужой, иностранный 2 иметь отношение к, быть связанным с): WMong. *qari* 1, *qari-lča-* 2 (L 937, 939); Kh. *xaŕ* 1, *xarilca-* 2; Bur. *xari* 1, *xarilsa-* 2; Kalm. *xäŕə* 1; Ord. *xari* 1, *xarilčin*, *xarilčan* 'mutually'.

◊ KW 171. Cf. also MMong. *qaryu-*, *qarya-*, Kalm. *χaryə-* 'to meet' (KW 169).

PTurk. ***Kar-** 1 opposite 2 be opposite, meet 3 bandit (1 противоположный 2 встречаться 3 разбойник): OTurk. *qarši* (OUygh.) 1; *qaraqči* (OUygh.) 3; Karakh. *qaršu* (MK, KB), *qarši* (KB) 1, *qaraqči* (KB) 3, *qaraqla-* (MK) 'to rob'; Turkm. *Garši-* 2; *Garaq* 3; MTurk. *qaraq* (Pav. C., Abush.) 3; Uzb. *qɛrɛqči* 3; Tat. *qaraq* 3; Bashk. *qaraq* 3; Kirgh. *qaraqči* 3; KKalp. *qaraqši* 3; Kum. *qaraq* 3; Nogh. *qaraq* 3; Chuv. *xirəś-* 2; *xorax* 3; Yak. *xar*, *xār* 1 (Пек.); *xar-da* 'retaliation'; *xaris-* 'to fight (with each other)'; Dolg. *kar-da* 'retaliation', *karis-* 'to fight'.

◊ VEWT 235, ЭСТЯ 5, 294-295, 326-327, Ашм. XVI, 219-220, Федотов 2, 365-366, Stachowski 139, 140. Chuv. *xirəś-* may actually reflect a different root (see **gerüĺ-*), or a contamination. Turk. *qarši* > Mong. *qarsi* (Clark 1980, 41). Cf. also **Karma* 'robbery'.

PJpn. ***kàtà-** enemy, opposite (враг, противник): MJpn. *kàtàkjì*; Tok. *katakí*; Kyo. *kátàkì*; Kag. *katakí*.

◊ JLTT 443.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 276, Мудрак Дисс. 89. Cf. **kéro*. In PTM cf. perhaps **(x)arča-* 'to meet, oppose (an animal during hunting)' (TMC 1, 53) - a root that should be kept distinct from **ača-* 'to meet'. In this case the reconstruction **k'àra* should be preferred for PA.

✱**kara (~ -u)** to look, observe: Tung. ***kara-**; Mong. ***kara-**; Turk. ***Karak**; Kor. ***kàrm-**.

PTung. ***kara-** 1 to guard, protect 2 to watch (1 беречь, защищать 2 наблюдать): Evk. *karama-*, *karma-* 1, *kara-m-na-* 'to envy'; Evn. *qarɣu̯s-* 1 (Arm.), *qarqi̯-* 'to wait'; Man. *qarma-* 1 (perhaps also *χarša-*, TMC 1, 380); SMan. *qarmə-* (797) 1; Ul. *qarGa-ču̯-* 2; Ork. *qarGa-* 2; Nan. *qarGa-či̯-* 2;

◊ TMC 1, 381-382. The Evk. form *kar(a)ma-* is cited from Lee 1958 (quoting Shirokogoroff 1944 which was unavailable to us).

PMong. ***kara-** 1 to look 2 patrol, watch (1 смотреть 2 патруль, караул): MMong. *qara-* 1, *qara'ul* (SH) 2, *qara-* (MA, HYt) 1; WMong. *qara-* 1, *qaraɣul* 2 (L 932, 933); Kh. *xara-* 1, *xarūl* 2; Bur. *xara-* 1; Kalm. *xarə-* 1; Ord. *xara-* 1; Mog. *qara-* 1 (Ramstedt 1906); Dag. *xarāla-* 1 (Тод. Даг. 174), *xarōl* 2; S.-Yugh. *χarūl* 2, *χarəmul* 'sight'; Mongr. *xarụ̄la-* (SM 164), *xarə-* 1; *xarəmul* 'sight'.

◊ KW 169, MGCD 329, 331, 334. Mong. > Chag. etc. *qara-*, *qarawul* (see TMN 1, 401, Щербак 1997, 208; a backloan from Turkic is probably ZM *qarawol* (8-6a) 'vanguard'), ЭСТЯ 5, 288-289, 290-291.

PTurk. ***Karak** 1 eye-ball 2 eye 3 a gentle address ("my dear") (1 зрачок 2 глаз 3 ласковое обращение): OTurk. *qaraq* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *qaraq* 2 (MK, KB); Tur. *köz karasi* 1, Osm. (XV) *qaraq* 2; Az. *göz Garasi* 1; Turkm. *Garaq* 1; MTurk. *qaraq* (Pav. C., Бор. Бад., Sangl.) 1, (Abush.) 2; Uzb. *qɔrɛčiq* 1; Uygh. *qar(i)čuq* 1; Kirgh. *qaraq* 3, dial. *qareq* 1, 2; Kaz. *qaraq* 3, *qarašiq* 1; KKalp. *qaraq* 3, *qarašiq* 1; Nogh. *qarašiq* 1; Khak.

xarax 2, dial. *xarači* 1; Shr. *qaraq* 2; Oyr. *qaraq* 1, 2; Tv. *qaraq* 2; Tof. *qaraq* 2; Chuv. *koś xori* 1; Yak. *xarax* 2; Dolg. *karak* 2.

◊ VEWT 235-236, TMN 3, 434-436, EDT 652, Ашм. VII, 36, ЭСТЯ 5, 295-296, Лексика 210, Stachowski 138. Deriving **Karak* from **Kara* 'black' (see also TMN 1, 401) is highly dubious both for semantic and morphological reasons; forms like Tur. *göz karasi* result from secondary reanalysis. Cf. also the forms **Kara-la-* 'to stare' (Az. *qarala-*, Uygh. *qarala-*, see ЭСТЯ 5, 289), **Karaj-* 'to watch, preserve' (Yak. *xaraj-*, Dolg. *karaj-*; Yak. *xaris* 'care, wariness', Dolg. *karistā-* 'to care, beware', see Stachowski 138, 140) - which, in contrast to *qara-* 'look' (< Mong.) are unlikely to be borrowed.

PKor. ***kàrm-** 1 to keep, preserve 2 to wash the dead, bury (1 хранить 2 обмывать покойника, хоронить): MKor. *kàrm-* 1, 2; Mod. *kam-čhu-* 'to hide'.

◊ Nam 22, KED 50.

‖ KW 169, VEWT 235 (the TM forms in TMC 1,380 - Man. *qara-*, *qarun* etc. - are obviously borrowed from Mongolian, see Doerfer MT 51, 138, Rozycki 135), Lee 1958, 114, АПиПЯЯ 287.

✱**kàra(ma)** thin stick, rod: Tung. ***kar-**; Turk. ***Karmak**; Jpn. ***kàrimə̀**; Kor. ***kármó**.

PTung. ***kar-** rod, thin branch (прут, лоза): Evk. *kar*, *kari*, *karê*.

◊ TMC 1, 379. Cf. perhaps also Orok *qarụmaḷima* 'children's sledge' (?).

PTurk. ***Karmak** 1 fishing rod 2 hook (1 удочка 2 крюк): Karakh. *qarmaq* (KB) 1,2; Tur. *karmuk* 2, dial. *garmaɣ* 1; Az. *GarmaG* 1,2; Turkm. *Garmaq* 1,2; MTurk. *qarmaq* (IM, MA) 1, 2; Uzb. *qɛrmɔq* 2; Uygh. *qa(r)maq* 1,2; Tat. *qarmaq* 1,2; Bashk. *qarmaq* 1,2; Kirgh. *qarmaq* 1,2; Kaz. *qarmaq* 1,2; KKalp. *qarmaq* 1,2; Nogh. *qarmaq* 1,2; Khak. *xarmax* 1,2; Shr. *qarbaq* 1,2; Oyr. *qarmaq* 1,2; Tv. dial. *qarmaq* 1,2.

◊ VEWT 238, ЭСТЯ 5, 309-310 (usually considered to be derived from **Karba-*, but this is phonetically dubious).

PJpn. ***kàrimə̀** axle, metal tube for axle (ось, втулка): OJpn. *karimo*; MJpn. *kàmò*.

◊ JLTT 436.

PKor. ***kármó** axle, metal tube for axle (ось, втулка): MKor. *kármó*.

◊ Nam 19.

‖ The root is not widely represented, but seems reliable; the meaning 'axle' in Kor.-Jpn. has developed < 'thin stick'.

✱**kare** bow, to shoot from a bow: Tung. ***kar-**; Mong. ***karbu-**; Turk. ***Kirí / *kiriĺ**.

PTung. ***kar-** 1 to kill 2 to fight (1 убивать 2 драться): Evk. *kare-* 1; Ork. *karamači-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 380, 381.

PMong. ***karbu-** to shoot from a bow (стрелять из лука): MMong. *qarbu* (HY 39, SH), *qarbu-* (MA); WMong. *qarbu-* (L 936); Kh. *xarva-*; Bur. *xarba-*; Kalm. *xarwə-*; Ord. *xarwa-*, *xarwu-*; Mog. *qarbuxči* 'gun' (Weiers);

Dag. *xarba-*, *xarma-* (Тод. Даг. 174); *harebe-* (MD 157); Bao. *χurə-*; S.-Yugh. *χarwu-*; Mongr. *xarmu-* (SM 164).

◊ KW 177, MGCD 331. Mong. *qarbu-* > Evk. *garpa-*, *garpū-* etc. (TMC 1, 142).

PTurk. ***Kɨrɨ́ / *kirí́*** bow string (тетива): OTurk. *kiriš* (OUygh.); Karakh. *kiriš* (MK); Tur. *kiriš*; Az. *kiriš*; Turkm. *kiriš*; MTurk. *kiriš* (Pav. C., IM, AH, Qutb.); Krm. *kiriš*; Tat. *kereš*; Bashk. *kereš*; Kirgh. *kirič*; Kum. *kiriš*; Nogh. *kiris*; Khak. *kərəs*, *xɨrɨs*; Shr. *kiriš*; Oyr. *kiriš*; Tv. *kiriš*; Chuv. *xirlü*; Yak. *kiris*, *kɨrɨs*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 5, 71-72, Лексика 578.

‖ A Western isogloss. Cf. **kàra.*

✱**karmo** a k. of aquatic bird: Tung. ***karmu- / *karbu-***; Turk. ***Kordaj (< *Korm-daj ?)***; Jpn. ***kàmə́mái (~-ia)***; Kor. ***kə̀rmjə́kí***.

PTung. ***karmu- / *karbu-*** 1 a k. of swallow 2 a k. of duck (1 ласточка береговая 2 утка-чернеть): Evk. *karbukī* 2; Nan. *qarmor* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 379. Cf. also **komparī* 'heron' (< **karmorī*?), see TMC 1, 413.

PTurk. ***Kordaj (< *Korm-daj ?)*** pelican; swan (пеликан; лебедь): Karakh. *qordaj* (MK); Uygh. *qodaj* 'swan'; Khak. *xordɨ* 'heron'; Oyr. *qordoj* 'heron'.

◊ VEWT 282, EDT 649, Лексика 173, ЭСТЯ 6, 79. Cf. also Shor q*oromčuq* 'полунощник' (птица). Turk. > Mong. *qorda* (KW 187).

PJpn. ***kàmə́mái (~-ia)*** gull (чайка): OJpn. *kamame*; MJpn. *kàmómé*; Tok. *kàmome*; Kyo. *kàmòmé*; Kag. *kamomé*.

◊ JLTT 436.

PKor. ***kə̀rmjə́kí*** gull (чайка): MKor. *kə̀rmjə́kí*, *kərmjəkɨi*; Mod. *kalmägi*.

◊ Nam 20, KED 45.

‖ Martin 232-233, Лексика 173. Cf. perhaps MMong. *qara'una* (HY 15) 'a k. of bird'. The tone correspondence between Kor. and Jpn. is irregular. Like many bird names, an expressive and rather unreliable root.

✱**kàrò(mV) (~ kʿ-)** a k. of weed, cockle: Tung. ***kara (~ *x-)***; Mong. ***karaɣu, *karbaɣur***; Turk. ***KAramuk***; Jpn. ***kàràmùsì***; Kor. ***kə̀ráč***.

PTung. ***kara (~ *x-)*** a k. of weed (негодная трава, плевел): Man. *χara*.

◊ TMC 1, 379.

PMong. ***karaɣu, *karbaɣur*** 1 darnel grass, smut 2 privet, a k. of shrub or weed (волоснец даурский, Elymus) (1 плевел, головня 2 вид кустарника или сорного растения (волоснец даурский, Elymus)): WMong. *qaraw*, (L 933) *qaraɣu* 1, *qarbaɣur* 2; Kh. *xarū* 1, *xarvor* 2; Bur. *xarbūl*, *xarbūr* 2.

PTurk. ***KAramuk*** cockle (куколь): Karakh. *qaramuq* (MK); Tur. dial. *karamuk*; MTurk. *qaramuq* (Pav. C., MA); Uzb. *qɔrɛmuɣ*; Uygh.

qarimuq; Tat. *qaramɨq* (Sib.); Kirgh. *qaramɨq*; Kaz. *qaramɨq*; KKalp. *qaramɨq*; Kum. *qaramčɨq*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 5, 296-297.

PJpn. ***kàràmùsì*** Boehmeria frutescens, a k. of hemp (вид конопли, Boehmeria frutescens): MJpn. *kàràmùsì*; Tok. *karamushi*.

◊ JLTT 439. Analysed within Jpn. as *kara* 'China' + *musi* 'ramie', which may be a folk etymology.

PKor. ***kǎràč*** Setaria viridis; Lolium temulentum (Setaria viridis; Lolium temulentum): MKor. *kǎràs*; Mod. *karažɨ*.

◊ Nam 11, KED 10.

‖ Lee 1958, 112 (Tung.-Kor.). Turkic has **KAra-* (not **Kora-*), obviously influenced by **Kara-* 'black'. Cf. similar weed names: Turk. **Küreŋ* 'sedge' (ЭСТЯ 5, 147-148), Mong. *küresün*, *kürmenli*, *kürümeli* id.

✱**kărsi** fox, marten: Tung. ***karsi***; Mong. ***kirsa***; Turk. ***KArsak**.

PTung. ***karsi*** marten (куница): Man. *χarsa*; Nan. *qarsa*; Ud. *kahä* (Корм. 246).

◊ TMC 1, 361.

PMong. ***kirsa*** steppe fox (степная лиса): MMong. *kirsa* (HY 10); WMong. *kirsa* (L 472); Kh. *x́ars*; Kalm. *kirsə*; Ord. *girsa*.

◊ KW 232. Mong. > Kirgh. *qirsa*, Yak. *kirsa* (VEWT 267), Evk., Evn., Man. *kirsa* 'steppe fox' (TMC 1, 399, Rozycki 140); but the TM names for 'marten' are genuine, despite Doerfer MT 142.

PTurk. ***KArsak*** steppe fox (степная лиса): OTurk. *qarsaq* (OUygh.); Karakh. *qarsaq* (MK); Turkm. *Garsaq*; MTurk. *qarsaq* (IM, Ettuhf.); Uzb. *qɛrsɔq*; Tat. *qarsaq*; Bashk. *qarhaq*; Kirgh. *qarsaq*; Kaz. *qarsaq*; KKalp. *qarsaq*; Nogh. *qarsaq*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 5, 313, Лексика 161, TMN 3, 442.

‖ Новикова 1972, 129-130, Лексика 161. A Western isogloss.

✱**kàru (~ k´-)** black: Mong. ***kara***; Turk. ***Kara***; Jpn. ***kùruà-***.

PMong. ***kara*** black (черный): MMong. *qara* (HY 41, SH), *qara* (IM), *qăra* (MA); WMong. *qara* (L 931); Kh. *xar*; Bur. *xara*; Kalm. *xarъ*; Ord. *xara*; Mog. *qarō*; ZM *qarā* (13-8); Dag. *xara*, *xar* (Тод. Даг. 174), *hare* (MD 157); Dong. *qara*; Bao. *xera*; S.-Yugh. *xara*; Mongr. *xara* (SM 158).

◊ KW 168, MGCD 328. Mong. > Evk. *karā*, Man. *qara* etc. 'black (of horse)' (TMC 1, 379, Doerfer MT 99, Rozycki 101, 133); > MKor. *kara* (*mǎr*), see Lee 1958, 119).

PTurk. ***Kara*** black (черный): OTurk. *qara* (Orkh., Yen., OUygh.); Karakh. *qara* (MK, KB); Tur. *kara*; Gag. *qara*; Az. *Gara*; Turkm. *Gara*; Sal. *Gara*; Khal. *qara*; MTurk. *qara* (MA, IM, Pav. C., AH, Бор. Бад.); Uzb. *qɔrɛ*; Uygh. *qara*, dial. *qare*; Krm. *qara*; Tat. *qara*; Bashk. *qara*; Kirgh. *qara*; Kaz. *qara*; KBalk. *qara*; KKalp. *qara*; Kum. *qara*; Nogh. *qara*; SUygh. *Gara*; Khak. *xara*; Shr. *qara*; Oyr. *qara*; Tv. *qara*; Tof. *qara*; Chuv. *xora*; Yak. *xara*; Dolg. *kara*.

◊ VEWT 235, TMN 3, 426-432, EDT 643-4, ЭСТЯ 5, 286-289, 299-100, Лексика 592-593, Stachowski 138, Федотов 2, 362.

PJpn. ***kùruà-** black (черный): OJpn. *kurwo-*; MJpn. *kùrò-*; Tok. *kuró-*; Kyo. *kúrò-*; Kag. *kuró-*.

◊ JLTT 833.

‖ EAS 107, Владимирцов 324, ОСНЯ 1, 338, АПиПЯЯ 54-55, 73, 103-104, 274. Despite TMN 3, 427, Щербак 1997, 134, there is no need to regard the Mong. word as borrowed from Turkic (although it is not excluded).

✱**kărV** a k. of bird: Tung. ***kara-***; Mong. ***kar-***; Turk. ***K(i)ar-***.

PTung. ***kara-*** 1 woodcock 2 hazel grouse 3 wild birds (ducks, geese) 4 jackdaw 5 a k. of bird 6 rook 7 black heron 8 cormorant (1 вальдшнеп 2 рябчик 3 дикие птицы (утки, гуси) 4 галка 5 вид птицы 6 грач 7 черная цапля 8 баклан): Evk. *kara* 1, *karakī* 2; Neg. *karaxị̄* 3; Man. *qaraki* 6, *qaralǯa* 7, *qarasu* 8; Ork. *qarị* 4; Nan. *qarqaj* 5.

◊ TMC 1, 379.

PMong. ***kar-*** 1 grey crane 2 swallow (1 серый журавль 2 ласточка): MMong. *xarijača* (HY 14) 2; WMong. *qarkira* 1 (L 940), *qarijačai* 2 (L 938); Kh. *xarācaj* 2; Bur. *xarāsgaj* 2; *xarxali* 'чекан (птица из семейства дроздовых)'; Kalm. *xarādā* 2 (KPC); Ord. *xarāčǟ* 2; Dong. *qaranča* 2; Mongr. *xara(n)ćiGə* (SM 159), *xarabǯaGē* 2, *xarančiGē* 2.

PTurk. ***K(i)ar-*** 1 heron, crane 2 swallow, swift (1 цапля, журавль 2 ласточка): OTurk. *qarlɨɣač* (OUygh.) 2; Karakh. *qarlɨɣač*, *qarɣɨlač* (MK) 2; Tur. *karkara* 1, *kɨrlanɣɨč*, *kɨrlɨk* 2; Az. *GaranGuš*, *Garaɣloš* 2; Turkm. *Garqara* (dial.) 1, *Garlavāč* 2; MTurk. *qarluwač*, *qarluɣač* (Sangl., Pav. C., MA), *qarlaɣač* (Houts.), *qarlawuč* (AH); Uzb. *qɛrqɛrɛ* 1, *qɛldirɣɔč* 2; Uygh. *qaqira* 1, *qalɣač* (dial.) 2; Tat. *qarlɨɣač* 2; Bashk. *qarlɨɣas* (dial.) 2; Kirgh. *qarqɨra* 1, *qardɨɣač* 2; Kaz. *qarqɨra* 1, *qarlɨɣaš* 2; KBalk. *qarɨlɣač* 2; KKalp. *qarlɨɣaš* 2; Kum. *qarlaɣač*, *qarlɨɣač* 2; Nogh. *qarlɨɣaš* 2; Khak. *xarlaɣas*, *xarlɨɣas* (dial.) 2; Shr. *qarlāš* 2; Oyr. *qarlaɣaš*, *qarɨlɣaš* 2; Yak. *xaraŋaččɨ* 2.

◊ EDT 657, ЭСТЯ 5, 306-309; Лексика 175-176.

‖ A Western isogloss. See Лексика 175, Pelliot HMP 573 (Doerfer TMN 3, 499: "unsicher"). Like many bird names, the root is expressive and probably onomatopoetic in origin.

✱**kasa** to prohibit, be in one's way: Tung. ***kas-***; Mong. ***kasi-***; Jpn. ***kasi-m-***; Kor. ***kàsír-***.

PTung. ***kas-*** 1 to reproach 2 to look down on (1 упрекать 2 пренебрежительно глядеть): Evn. *qas-* 1; Man. *qasana-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 382.

PMong. ***kasi-*** to have a bitter experience, become frustrated (не удаваться, разочаровываться): WMong. *qasira-* (L 942); Kh. *xašir*,

xašra-; Bur. *xašar* 'хлопоты, беспокойство'; *xašar-* 'испытывать отвращение'; Ord. *Gašara-*; S.-Yugh. *Gašar-*.

◊ MGCD 334.

PJpn. ***kasi-m-*** annoying, noisy (надоедливый, шумный): OJpn. *kasi-ma-si*; MJpn. *kasi-ma-si*, *kasi-ga-ma-si*; Tok. *kashimashi-*.

◊ JLTT 831.

PKor. ***kàsír-*** to oppose, defy (противостоять, пренебрегать): MKor. *kəsír-*; Mod. *kəsiri-*.

◊ Liu 42, KED 85.

‖ Cf. **kesa*, **gi̯aso.*

✱**kaserV (~ kʹ-)** young cow, heifer: Mong. ***kasirag***; Turk. ***Kisir***.

PMong. ***kasirag*** a 3-year-old cow, heifer (трехлетняя корова, телка): WMong. *qasiraγ* (L 942); Bur. *xašarag* 'двухгодовалый телок, двухлетний бычок', *xašarag bāxaldaj* 'двухлетний медведь'.

◊ Mong. > Khak. *xazira* etc.; cf. also (from *xašrag*?) Kaz. *qašar*, Chag. *qačarža*, see ЭСТЯ 5, 343; Russ. dial. *kačarák* and similar forms, see Аникин 275, 276.

PTurk. ***Kisir*** 1 barren (cow) 2 barren mare (1 яловая (корова) 2 яловая кобыла): Karakh. *qisir* 1, *qisraq* 2 (MK); Tur. *kisir* 1, *kisrak* 2; Gag. *qisir* 1, *qisiraq* 2; Az. *Gisir* 1, *GisraG* 2; Turkm. *Gisir* 1, *Gisraq* 2; Khal. *qisir* 1; MTurk. *qisir* (Pav. C.) 1, *qisiraq* 2 (Houts., Ettuhf.); Uzb. *qisir* 1; Uygh. *qisir* 1; Krm. *qisir* 1, *qisiraq* 2; Tat. *qisir* 1; Bashk. *qiθir* 1, *qiθiraq* (dial.) 2; Kirgh. *qisir* 1, *qisiraq* 2; Kaz. *qisir* 1, *qisiraq* 2; KBalk. *qisir* 1; KKalp. *qisir* 1, *qisiraq* 2; Kum. *qisir* 1; Nogh. *qisir* 1; SUygh. *qisiraq* 2; Khak. *xizir* 1, *xizirax* 2; Shr. *qizir* 1; Oyr. *qizir* 1; Tv. *qizir* 1, *qiziraq* 2; Chuv. *xəzər* 1, *kəsre* 2; Yak. *kitarā-* 'стать стародойною, яловеть'; Dolg. *kitarak* 'barren'.

◊ EDT 668-669, VEWT 267, 268, ЭСТЯ 6, 249-251, Stachowski 170. Turk. > Kalm. *kīsr*, KW 234 (but Doerfer TMN 3, 476 objects, saying that Kalm. is a "dialektische Variante von kūsr < ke'ü-ser"); > Mong. *qusuraŋ / kisuraŋ* 'barren (cow)' > Man. *kisari.*

‖ A Turk.-Mong. isogloss., with many later interlingual loans.

✱**kāšu(kV)** to tickle: Tung. ***kašaka-***; Mong. ***giǯige***; Turk. ***Kīčik, *gīči-***; Jpn. ***kúsú(n)kúr-***.

PTung. ***kašaka-*** 1 to tickle 2 to become scabby 3 scabs (1 щекотать 2 паршиветь 3 парша, струпья): Evk. *kačaka-* 1; Neg. *kačaxa-* 1; Man. *qasana-*, *qasqana-* 2, *qasqa(n)* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 382, 385.

PMong. ***giǯige*** tickle (щекотка, щекотать): WMong. *giǯige*, *geǯige*; *geǯigele-*, *geǯigene-*, *giǯigene-* (L 381); Kh. *giǯig*; Bur. *gežegendehe(n)*; Kalm. *giǯŋne-*.

◊ KW 135.

PTurk. ***Kīčik, *gīči-*** 1 itching, tickling 2 to tickle (1 зуд, щекотка 2 щекотать): Karakh. *kiči-*, *qiči-la-* (v.) (MK); Tur. *giǯik-* 2, *giǯik*, *giǯik* 1;

Turkm. *gīǯi* 1, *Gɨǯɨq* 1, *gīǯe-* 2; MTurk. *giǯik* 1 (Pav. C.); Krm. *kiči-* 2; Tat. *keče-* (dial.) 2; KBalk. *kičüw* 1; Tv. *kiǯi-* 2; Tof. *kiǯi-* 2; Chuv. *kəźə* 1.

◊ VEWT 260, 269, ЭСТЯ 3, 42-43, 6, 186-187, TMN 3, 567, EDT 591, 695. The back row variant is interacting with PT **Kič-* 'to scrape, itch' q. v. sub **kʿi̯ùčù.*

PJpn. ***kúsú(n)kúr-** to tickle (щекотать): Tok. *kùsugur-*; Kyo. *kúsúgúr-*; Kag. *kusugúr-*.

◊ JLTT 717.

‖ ЭСТЯ 3, 43. Some irregularities are due to expressivity.

✱katʿ[a] (~ -t-) to mix, join: Tung. ***kata-**; Mong. ***kudku-**; Turk. ***Kat-**; Jpn. ***kata-**.

PTung. ***kata-** 1 to tie hard 2 band 3 friend (1 крепко привязывать 2 лента, тесьма 3 друг): Evn. *qataq* 3; Neg. *kataɣa-* 1, *katɨxa* 3; Man. *χata* 2; Ul. *qatara-* 1; Ork. *qatara-* 1; Nan. *qatara-* 'to grasp one's hair'.

◊ TMC 1, 384.

PMong. ***kudku-** to mix (смешивать): WMong. *qudqu-* (L 981); Kh. *xutga-*; Bur. *xudxa-*; Kalm. *xutxə-* (KPC); Ord. *Gudxu-*; Dag. *korku-*; Dong. *quduɣu-*; Bao. *doGə-*; S.-Yugh. *qudGə-*; Mongr. *GusGu-* (SM 128).

◊ MGCD 394. Mong. > Evk. *kutku-* etc., see Doerfer MT 111.

PTurk. ***Kat-** to mix, add, tie to (смешивать, добавлять): OTurk. *qat-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *qat-* (MK, KB); Tur. *kat-*; Az. *Gat-*; Turkm. *Gat-*; MTurk. *qat-* (Sangl., MA, Pav. C., Qutb.); Uygh. *qat-*; Tat. *qat-*; Bashk. *qat-*; Kirgh. *qat-*; Kaz. *qat-*; KBalk. *qat-*; KKalp. *qat-*; Kum. *qat-*; Nogh. *qat-*; Khak. *xat-*; Shr. *qat-*; Oyr. *qat-*; Tv. *qa't-*; Tof. *qa't-*; Chuv. *xodъš* 'mixture'; Yak. *xat-* (but *kɨtar-* 'to mix'); Dolg. *kat-*.

◊ EDT 594-595, VEWT 241, ЭСТЯ 5, 336, 337-338, Stachowski 141, Федотов 2, 373-374.

PJpn. ***kata-** to mix, join, unite (смешивать, соединять): OJpn. *kata-*; MJpn. *kata-*.

◊ JLTT 706.

‖ The Mong. vocalism is not quite clear.

✱kā́tʿe to knock (of hooves), trot: Tung. ***kata- / *kete-**; Mong. ***katari-**; Turk. ***Kītɨr-**; Kor. ***kə̀thí-**.

PTung. ***kata- / *kete-** to knock (with hooves), sound of knocking (стучать (копытами), подражание стуку): Neg. *keter-keter*; Man. *kete-qata*; Ul. *ketes*; Ork. *qatam*, *qatar*, *qatari*; Nan. *keter-keter*.

◊ TMC 1, 384, 456. Other expressive variants are: Man. *kitir* seme 'quick (of horse trot)' (TMC 1, 400), **kute-* (TMC 1, 440).

PMong. ***katari-** to trot (скакать, бежать рысью): WMong. *qatari-* (L 945); Kh. *xatira-*; Bur. *xatar* 'рысь'; Kalm. *xatərə-* (KPC); Ord. *Gatari-*, *Gatira-*; Dag. *katrə-* (Тод. Даг. 148: *katara-*), *katere* (MD 182).

◊ MGCD 336. Mong. > Manchu *katara-* 'to trot' (see Rozycki 135).

PTurk. ***Kītɨr-** to walk, go round (ходить, обходить вокруг): Tur. *kɨdɨr-* (dial.); Turkm. *Gɨdɨr-* (dial.); Uzb. *qidir-*; Krm. *qɨdɨr-*; Tat. *qɨdɨr-* (dial.); Bashk. *qɨδɨr-*; Kirgh. *qɨdɨr-*; *qɨdɨŋ* 'семенящий при беге (о жив.)'; Kaz. *qɨdɨr-*; KBalk. *qɨdɨr-*; KKalp. *qɨdɨr-*; Kum. *qɨdɨr-*; Nogh. *qɨdɨr-*; Yak. *kɨtɨgɨras* 'проворный, быстрый, резвый (о звере), скороход'.

◊ ЭСТЯ 6, 185.

PKor. ***kə̀thí-** to stumble (спотыкаться): MKor. *kə̀thí-*.

◊ Nam 36.

‖ An expressive root, but seems to be common Altaic.

✱**kébà(rV)** field, steppe: Tung. ***keber-**; Mong. ***keɣere**; Jpn. ***kápí**.

PTung. ***keber-** plain, steppe, meadow (равнина, степь, луг): Evk. *kewer*, *kewe-kte*; Evn. *kēr-ke*; Sol. *xeber*.

◊ TMC 1, 443.

PMong. ***keɣere** steppe, desert (степь, пустыня): MMong. *ke'er* (SH, HY 4), *keher* 'desert' (IM); WMong. *keɣere* (L 443); Kh. *xēr*; Bur. *xēre* 'steppe; taiga'; Kalm. *kērə* (KPC); Ord. *kēre*; Dag. *xēr*, *kēr* (Тод. Даг. 149); *hēre* (MD 159); S.-Yugh. *kēre*.

◊ TMN 1, 484, MGCD 337.

PJpn. ***kápí** valley between mountains (долина между гор): OJpn. *kapji*; MJpn. *káfi*.

◊ JLTT 433.

‖ EAS 89, Poppe 48, АПиПЯЯ 14, 68. Despite Poppe 1972, 97, TMN 1, 485, Doerfer MT 94, TM cannot be borrowed from Mong.

✱**kə́či** night, evening: Mong. ***keči-**; Turk. ***gēč (-e)**; Jpn. ***kisə**.

PMong. ***keči-** day before yesterday (позавчера): Dag. *kečig udur* (Тод. Даг. 150), *kečihe* (MD 182).

PTurk. ***gēč (-e)** 1 long time 2 late 3 be late 4 night 5 evening 6 yesterday (1 долго 2 поздний 3 опаздывать 4 ночь 5 вечер 6 вчера): OTurk. *keč* 1, 2, *keč-* 3, *keče* 4, 5 (OUygh.); Karakh. *keč* 1, 2 (KB, MK), *keč-* 3 (MK), *kečä* 4, 5 (KB, MK); Tur. *geč* 2, *geǯe* 4; Gag. *geǯä* 4; Az. *geǯä* 4; Turkm. *gīč* 2, *gīǯe* 4; Sal. *gäǯi* 4; Khal. *kīečä* 4; MTurk. *geče* 4 (Pav.C.); Uzb. *keča* 4, 6; Uygh. *käčä* 5; Krm. *geǯe* 4; Tat. *kič* 5, *kičɛ* 5, 6; Bashk. *kis* 5, *kisä* 5, 6; Kirgh. *keč* 2, *kečē* 4, 5; Kaz. *keš* 2, 5, *kešä* 5, 6; KBalk. *keč* 5, *keče*; KKalp. *keš* 2, 5; Kum. *geče* 4; Nogh. *keš* 2, 5; SUygh. *kiče* 4 (Mal.); Khak. *kiǯē* 6; Shr. *kečik* 5 (Верб.); Oyr. *keč* 2, 5, *keče* 6; Tv. *keǯē* 5; Tof. *keǯe* 5; Chuv. *kaś* 5; Yak. *kiehe* 5; Dolg. *kiehe* 5.

◊ VEWT 245, EDT 692-3, 694-5, ЭСТЯ 3, 40-41, 50-51, Лексика 82, Stachowski 147.

PJpn. ***ki(n)sə** last night (прошлой ночью): OJpn. *kjiso*; MJpn. *kiso*.

◊ JLTT 452. OJ also has *kjinopu* 'yesterday' (modern *kinō*), which may be a contraction < **kisə-nə-pu* (with a not quite clear -pu: is it = *pi 'day'?).

‖ See Лексика 82: rather dubious, because of very scanty attestation in Mongolian.

✱**kĕčʿá** slanting, oblique: Tung. ***kečeri-**; Mong. ***keče**; Turk. ***Kač-**; Jpn. ***kàntúa**; Kor. ***kjə́čh**.

PTung. ***kečeri-** to turn, change sides (поворачивать(ся)): Ul. *kečeri-mbuči-*; Nan. *kečeri-*.

◊ TMC 1, 456.

PMong. ***keče** 1 slope 2 to be slanting, oblique, steep (1 склон, откос 2 косой, пологий, крутой): WMong. *keč* 1 (L 440: *keče* 2); Kh. *xec* 1; Bur. *xesɨ-* 2; Kalm. *kecə* 1 (KPC); Dag. *keči* 'edge, bank, shore' (MD 182); Dong. *qeča* 'shore' (Тод. Дн.).

PTurk. ***Kač-** slanting (косой): Tur. *kačɨk*; Tat. *qaʒaj-* (Sib.); Khak. *xaʒɨ-*, *xasxax* 'bent backward'; Shr. *qazɨr-* 'to bend'; Tv. *xažɨj-tɨr*; Chuv. *xoś-* 'to bend'.

◊ VEWT 217, Ашм. XVI 242-246.

PJpn. ***kàntúa** angle, corner (угол): MJpn. *kàdó*; Tok. *kádo*; Kyo. *kàdó*; Kag. *kadó*.

◊ JLTT 432.

PKor. ***kjə́čh** side (сторона): MKor. *kjə́čh*; Mod. *kjət* [*kjəth*].

◊ Nam 44, KED 128.

‖ Cf. **kʿi̯ŏʒa*, **kéčʿa* (the three roots are sometimes difficult to distinguish). The medial -j- in Kor. is not quite clear.

✱**kéčʿà** side: Jpn. ***kátà**; Kor. ***kə̀čh**.

PJpn. ***kátà** side, direction; form, shape (сторона, направление; форма, вид): OJpn. *kata*; MJpn. *kátà*; Tok. *katá*; Kyo. *kátà*; Kag. *káta*.

◊ JLTT 442.

PKor. ***kə̀čh** outer appearance, exterior (внешний вид, внешность): MKor. *kə̀čh*; Mod. *kəʒuk*, *kət* [*kəth*].

◊ Nam 40, KED 87, 104.

‖ A Kor.-Jpn. isogloss. See Martin 241, АПиПЯЯ 297 (with some confusion of Kor. **kə̀čh* 'exterior' and **kĕč-* 'near; end, limit', see under **kèčʿa*, **kʿi̯oʒa*). The root seems very similar to both **kèčʿa* and **kʿi̯ŏʒa*, but in fact cannot be reduced to either of them. It is not even excluded that the root does not exist at all: Kor. *kə̀čh* 'exterior side' may be just a variant of *kàčh* 'skin' (see under **káčʿu*), while Jpn. *kátà* may go back to PA **kʿada* 'side, to turn' (q.v.).

✱**kejbe** to lie: Tung. ***kebi-**; Mong. ***keb-**; Jpn. ***kəjə-**; Kor. ***kìbúr-**.

PTung. ***kebi-** to bow down, lie low (пригнуться, лечь ничком): Man. *keb*, *keo* (seme); Ul. *kebile-*.

◊ TMC 1, 442.

PMong. ***keb-** 1 to lie 2 to bow down (1 лежать 2 склоняться, нагибаться): MMong. *kibtä-*, *kĕbtä-* (MA), *kebte-*, *kebde-*, *gebte-* (SH) 1; WMong. *kebte-* 1 (L 439), *kebiji-* 2; Kh. *xevt-* 2, *xevij-* 2; Bur. *xebte-*; Kalm. *keptə-*; Ord. *gebte-*; Mog. *teftä-*; KT *tebtä* (11-1a); Dag. *kert-*, *kerte-* 1 (Тод.

Даг. 150), *kerete-* 1 (MD 183); Dong. *kiʒie-*; Mongr. *kidē-* (SM 200) 'to lie (of animals)'.

◊ KW 226, MGCD 339.

PJpn. ***kəjə-*** to lie (лежать): OJpn. *koju-*.

◊ JLTT 711.

PKor. ***kìbúr-*** to bow down, be sloping, decline (наклоняться): MKor. *kì'úr-*; Mod. *kiul-*.

◊ Nam 79, KED 272.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 294, Ozawa 203-204, SKE 114.

✱kḗjna (~ g-) crab; tick: Turk. ***gĒne***; Jpn. ***kání***; Kor. ***kəi***.

PTurk. ***gĒne*** tick, name of different parasites (клещ, назв. различных паразитов): Tur. *gene, kene*; Az. *gänä*; Turkm. *gǟnä*; Uzb. *kana*; Kaz. *kenä*; KKalp. *kene*.

◊ VEWT 251, TMN 3, 615-616, ЭСТЯ 5, 63-64, Лексика 183. Voiced *g- and front row vocalism speaks against the theory of Turk. being < Pers. *kana* (although some forms like Khalaj *kana* and Turkm. dial. *kǟnä* may have been influenced by the Persian word - which itself has so far no Iranian etymology and must be regarded as a Turkic loanword).

PJpn. ***kání*** crab (краб): OJpn. *kani*; MJpn. *kání*; Tok. *kàni*; Kyo. *kání*; Kag. *káni*.

◊ JLTT 437.

PKor. ***kəi*** crab (краб): MKor. *kəi*; Mod. *kē*.

◊ Liu 51, KED 106.

‖ Martin 229, Miller 1980, 161-162, 1985a, 81, 1986, 48, Лексика 183. Medial *-j- has to be reconstructed to account for loss of resonant in Korean.

✱keju (~ kʿ-) to boil: Mong. ***kajira-***; Turk. ***Kąjɨn-***; Kor. ***kò'ɨ-***.

PMong. ***kajira-*** to burn, roast (жарить): WMong. *qajira-*, *qaɣari-* (L 907); Kh. *xajr-*; Bur. *xajra-*; Kalm. *xǟr-*; Dag. *xaira-* (Тод. Даг. 172), *xāri-* (Тод. Даг. 174); S.-Yugh. *qʿąjru-* 'to boil' .

◊ KW 180. Mong. > Man. *χari-* etc. (TMC 1, 463, Doerfer MT 142).

PTurk. ***Kąjɨn-*** to boil (Intr.) (вариться): OTurk. *qajɨn-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *qajna-* (MK, KB); Tur. *kajna-*; Gag. *qajna-*; Az. *Gajna-*; Turkm. *Gajna-*; MTurk. *qajna-* (Qutb., IM); Uzb. *qɛjnɛ-*; Uygh. *qajna-*; Tat. *qajna-*; Bashk. *qajna-*; Kirgh. *qajna-*; Kaz. *qajna-*; KKalp. *qajna-*; Nogh. *qajna-*; Khak. *xajna-*; Oyr. *qajna-*; Tv. *xajɨn-*; Yak. *kīj-* (*kɨńńɨ-*); Dolg. *kɨjnar-*, *kījnar-* (trans.).

◊ VEWT 222, ЭСТЯ 5, 203-205, Stachowski 168, 171.

PKor. ***kò'ɨ-*** to boil (варить): MKor. *kò'ɨ-*; Mod. *kō-*.

◊ Nam 48, KED 137.

‖ A possible derivative is PA **keju-ŕ(ga)* 'kettle': PT **Kāŕgan* (ЭСТЯ 5, 186-188 - a contraction < **Kaj-rgan* ?); Mong. *kaji-sun* (< **kajir-sun*); PTM **kejren* (TMC 1, 444); see KW 169; ЭСТЯ 5, 188. In that case PA *k- should be reconstructed.

✱**kèju** to pass beyond: Tung. ***kēj-**; Turk. ***Kej-**; Jpn. ***kúaja-**.

PTung. ***kēj-** 1 to go astray 2 to become wild (of a reindeer) (1 заблудиться, уйти в сторону 2 одичать (о домашнем олене)): Evk. *kēj-* 1; Evn. *kējun-* 1; Neg. *kej-* 2.

◊ TMC 1,444.

PTurk. ***Kej-** to go away (уходить): Chuv. *kaj-*.

◊ Attested only in Chuvash; PT antiquity is dubious.

PJpn. ***kúaja-** to pass over, transgress (переходить, миновать): OJpn. *kwoja-*; MJpn. *kója-*; Tok. *kòe-*; Kyo. *kóé-*; Kag. *koé-*.

◊ JLTT 710.

‖ The Jpn. form goes back to **keju-(ga)-*. The Turkic parallel raises doubts: the isolated Chuv. form may stem from Mari *kaj-* 'to go' (< FU **käwe*, UEW 654), as suggested in VEWT 221.

✱**kekŋV** breast, chest, ribs: Tung. ***keŋ-tire**; Mong. ***keŋgir-**; Turk. ***gEgrek**.

PTung. ***keŋ-tire** 1 breast, chest 2 side (of body) (1 грудь 2 бок): Evk. *keŋtire* 1; Evn. *kēntъre* 1; Nan. *keŋtere* 1; Ud. *keŋte* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 451.

PMong. ***keŋgir-** chest (грудь): WMong. *keŋgirdeg*; Kh. *xenxerceg*, *xenxreg*; Kalm. *keŋgrtəg*, *keŋkrdəg*; Dag. *kenger* (Тод. Даг. 149).

◊ KW 226. Mong. > Man. *keŋgeri*, Sol. *xeŋer* (see Doerfer MT 138); Kirgh. *keŋirdek*.

PTurk. ***gEgrek** lower soft ribs (нижние мягкие ребра): Tur. *geɣrek*; Turkm. *gejrek*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 3, 14, Дыбо 307, Лексика 276.

‖ Дыбо 307, Лексика 232, 276. A Western isogloss.

✱**kekʹV** palate, throat: Tung. ***kexere**; Mong. ***kekü-**; Turk. ***gekir-dek**.

PTung. ***kexere** hard palate (твердое *нёбо*): Ul. *kekere*, *kexere*, *xexere*; Nan. *xexere*; Orch. *kexe*; Ud. *ke* (Корм. 253).

◊ TMC 1, 445.

PMong. ***kekü-** 1 throat cavity 2 upper part of body, thorax (1 глоточная полость 2 верхняя часть туловища): WMong. *keküdeg* 2 (L 446: *keküdeg*, *keküreg*), *kükege* 1; Kh. *xexdeg* 2, *xüxē* 1; Ord. *geχüdek* 2.

PTurk. ***gekir-dek** throat, trachea, cartilage (глотка, трахея, хрящ): Tur. *gegirtlek* (dial.); Turkm. *kekirdek*; MTurk. *kekirtek* (MA); Uzb. *kekirdak*; Uygh. *keki(r)däk*; Tat. *kikertäk* (KCTT); Bashk. *kigerläk* (dial.); Kirgh. *kekirtek*; KKalp. *kegirdek*; Nogh. *kekirdevik*; Chuv. *kagъr*.

◊ VEWT 248, ЭСТЯ 5, 26, Лексика 232. In many languages the word was influenced by the verb **gēkir-* 'to belch'.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**kela (~ kʹ-, -o)** to rise, jump up, soar: Mong. ***kali-**; Turk. ***Kạl(ɨ)-**.

PMong. ***kali-** to fly, soar (парить): WMong. *qali-* (L 919); Kh. *xali-*; Bur. *xali-*; Kalm. *xälə́-*; Ord. *xali-*.

◊ KW 176.

PTurk. ***Kạl(ɨ)-*** 1 to rise 2 jump up (1 подниматься 2 подпрыгивать): OTurk. *qalɨ-* (OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *qalɨ-* (MK, KB) 2; Tur. *kalk(ɨ)-* 2, *kal-dɨr-* (caus.); Az. *Galx-* 1, *Gal-dɨr-* (caus.); Turkm. *Galk-* 1, *Gal-dɨr-* (caus.); MTurk. *qalq-* (Pav. C., Буд.) 1, (Houts., IM) 2, *qal-dur-* (caus.) (Pav. C.); Uzb. *qalq-* 1, *qalqi-* 1, 2; Tat. *qalq-* 1,2; Bashk. *qalq-* 1; Kirgh. *qalqɨ-* 1; Kaz. *qalqɨ-* 1; KKalp. *qalqɨ-* 1; Kum. *qalq-* 1; Nogh. *qalq-* 1; Khak. *xalɨ-* 1,2 (dial. Sag.); Oyr. *qalɨ-* 1,2; Tv. *xalɨ-* 1,2; Yak. *kɨlɨj-* 1,2.

◊ VEWT 226, ЭСТЯ 5, 224-226.

‖ KW 163, 176, 177, ОСНЯ 1, 335. A Turk.-Mong. isogloss; but a suffixed form **kel-k'a-* may be discoverable in OJ *kaker-* 'to fly, soar' (see Miller-Street 1975, 73-75, Street 1985, 641).

✱**kele (~ -i, -o)** daughter-in-law, bride: Tung. ***keli***; Turk. ***gẹlin***.

PTung. ***keli*** 1 relative-in-law 2 girl, sister (1 свойственник, -ца 2 девушка, сестра): Evk. *keli(n)* 1, *kiliwlī* 2; Evn. *keli* 1; Neg. *keli* 1, *kelewlị* 2; Man. *keli* 1; Ul. *keli(n)* 1; Ork. *keli(n)* 1; Nan. *keli* 1; Orch. *keli* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 393, 446.

PTurk. ***gẹlin*** bride, daughter-in-law (невеста, невестка): OTurk. *keliŋ-ün* (Orkh., Coll.), *kelin* (OUygh.); Karakh. *kelin* (MK, KB); Tur. *gelin*; Gag. *gelin*; Az. *gälin*; Turkm. *gelin*; Sal. *kein*, *kiin* (ССЯ); Khal. *kälin* (*gälin* < Az.); MTurk. *kelin* (Sangl., Pav. C., Бор. Бад.); Uzb. *kelin*; Uygh. *kelin*; Krm. *kelin*; Tat. *kilen*; Bashk. *kilen*; Kirgh. *kelin*; Kaz. *kelin*; KBalk. *kelin*; KKalp. *kelin*; Kum. *gelin*; Nogh. *kelin*; SUygh. *kelin* (Malov); Khak. *kilən*; Shr. *kelin*; Oyr. *kelin*; Tv. *kelin*; Tof. *helin*, *henni-*; Chuv. *kin*, *kilən-*; Yak. *kijīt* (*plur.).

◊ VEWT 248, EDT 719, ЭСТЯ 3, 16-18, Лексика 302.

‖ ОСНЯ 1, 296, Räsänen 1955, 18:3, 9. A well known Turk.-Tung. isogloss. Despite Doerfer TMN 3, 667 (Tung.-Turk.: "...der Vergleich zweifelhaft bleibt"; Turk. **gelin* < *gel- 'come' - "ethnologisch sehr überzeugende Etymologie"...), the relation between PT **gẹl-* 'to come' and **gẹlin* 'daughter-in-law' is purely folk-etymological.

✱**kelta(rV)** variegated, spotted: Tung. ***kelder***; Mong. ***kaltar***; Turk. ***Kartal***.

PTung. ***kelder*** 1 variegated, spotted 2 mole (1 пестрый, пятнистый 2 родимое пятно): Evn. *keldъr* 2; Neg. *keldejin* 1; Ul. *kelderu(n)* 1; Ork. *kelderu* 1; Orch. *kegdi* 1; Ud. *kedei* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 446.

PMong. ***kaltar*** variegated, dirty, brown (of horse) (пестрый, грязный, гнедой (о лошади)): WMong. *qaltar* (MXTTT); Kh. *xaltar*; Bur. *xaltar*; Kalm. *xaltər* (KPC); Ord. *Galtar*; Mog. ? *kala* 'spotted' (Weiers); Dag. *kaltār* (Тод. Даг. 148).

◊ Mong. > Manchu. *qaltara* 'a brown horse with white around the mouth and eyes' (see Rozycki 131).

PTurk. ***Kartal** variegated (sheep) (пестрый (баран)): Karakh. *qartal qoj* (MK).

◊ EDT 648-649.

‖ A Western isogloss; cf. perhaps OJ *kata-na-* 'dirty' (if not = *kitana-* id.). Turkic reflects a metathesized form (**Kartal* < **Kaltar*).

✸**kèĺčo** to scrape, rub: Tung. ***keli-**; Mong. ***kalča-**; Turk. ***Kạĺči-**; Jpn. ***kàsù-r-**; Kor. ***kǎr-**.

PTung. ***keli-** 1 knife, blade 2 to cut, cut out (1 нож, лезвие 2 резать, вырезать): Evk. *keli* 1; Evn. *kēlre* 1; Ork. *keli-* 2; Nan. *keli-* 2; Ud. *keli-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 446.

PMong. ***kalča-** 1 to flay, tear off 2 to be flayed (1 сдирать, отдирать 2 облезать (о коже)): MMong. *qalčaruqsan nuqai* 'облезлая собака' (MA 289); WMong. *qalčala-* 1, *qalcara-* 2 (L 918: *qalčar-*); Kh. *xalcla-* 1, *xalcra-* 2; Bur. *xalsar-* 2; Kalm. *xalcṛ-* 2.

◊ KW 163.

PTurk. ***Kạĺči-** to scrape (скрести, царапать): Karakh. *qaši-* (MK); Tur. *kaši-*; Az. *Gaši-*; Turkm. *Gaša-*; MTurk. *qaši-* (Abush., MA); Uzb. *qaši-*; Tat. *qaši-*; Bashk. *qaši-*; Kirgh. *qaši-*; Kaz. *qasɨ-*; KKalp. *qasɨ-*; Nogh. *qasɨ-*; Chuv. *xiś-*; Yak. *kɨhɨj-*.

◊ VEWT 240, ЭСТЯ 5, 348, Мудрак 98. Turkic is a probable source of MMong *qaši'ur* 'scraper' (cf. Chag. *qašaγu* etc., see Щербак 1997, 135).

PJpn. ***kàsù-r-** to scrape (скрести, царапать): MJpn. *kàsù-r-*; Tok. *kasúr-u*; Kyo. *kásúr-*; Kag. *kasúr-*.

◊ JLTT 705.

PKor. ***kǎr-** to rub, polish (тереть, полировать): MKor. *kǎr-*; Mod. *kāl-*.

◊ Nam 20, KED 43-44.

‖ Цинциус 1984, 81-82, АПиПЯЯ 75, Мудрак Дисс. 89-90.

✸**kèĺǯo** bald, bald spot: Mong. ***kalǯa-**; Turk. ***KAĺ(č)ga**; Jpn. ***kàsìrà**; Kor. ***kór(čhí)**.

PMong. ***kalǯa-** bald, having a white blaze (лысый (о человеке), со звездочкой (о лошади)): MMong. *qalǯan*, *qalčaγai* (MA); WMong. *qalǯa(n)*, *qalǯi(n)*, *qalčaγai* (L 918, 922-923); Kh. *xalǯan*, *xalcgaj*; Bur. *xalzan*, *xalsagai*; Kalm. *xalcъγǟ* 'haarlos, grasslos'; Ord. *xalǯan*; Dag. *xalǯin*; S.-Yugh. *GalǯaŋGar*.

◊ KW 163, MGCD 319. The forms with -lč- are a result of contamination with **kalča-* 'to rub, flay, tear off' (v. sub **kèĺčo*); but neither can be borrowed from Turkic, despite Щербак 1997, 135. Mong. > Chag. *qalčiγaj*; Manchu *qalǯa* etc. (see TMC 1, 366, Rozycki 130) > MKor. *kančjá mǎr* (Lee 1964, 190).

PTurk. ***KAĺ(č)ga** white spot, white blaze (белое пятно, лысина): Karakh. *qašγa* (MK); Tur. *kaška*; Az. *GašGa*; Turkm. dial. *GašGa*; MTurk. *qašqa* (AH, MA); Uzb. *qɛšqɛ*; Uygh. *qašqa*; Tat. *qašqa*; Bashk. *qašqa*; Kirgh. *qašqa*, *qačqa*; Kaz. *qasqa*; KBalk. *qašxa*; KKalp. *qasqa*; Nogh. *qasqa*; Khak. *xasxa*; Shr. *qašqa*.

◊ VEWT 241, ЭСТЯ 5, 350-351. Cf. also the probable deriving stem in Tuva *xaš* 'worked thin leather', Tof. *xaš* 'naked, napless (skin)' (Рас. ФиЛ 186).

PJpn. ***kàsìrà** head (голова): OJpn. *kasira*; MJpn. *kàsìrá*, *kàsìrà*; Tok. *kashirá*; Kyo. *káshìrà*; Kag. *kashirá*.

◊ JLTT 441 ('head; chief'). The word means 'head' (also 'head part', 'chief part') in most modern and Middle Japanese sources (explicitly so in Wamyōshō); KKJ (p. 232) also lists the meaning 'hair of head' (attested in Tosa Nikki), obviously secondary, with a rather natural semantic transition. IKJ (p. 297) glosses the word as "denoting the whole head including the hair and face", as opposed to *kaube* (= *kami-be*) denoting only the top of the head and to *atama* "fontanelle". The only clear OJ (Man'yōshū 4346) example (kasira kakinade...) may be well translated (and usually is translated) as 'stroking the head'. Therefore the idea (see Vovin 2000) that the original meaning of *kasira* was 'hair of head' (the meaning that was always expressed in Japanese as *kami*) is most certainly wrong - just as his attempt to link it with the rather obscure Old Korean 麻帝核試 (MC *mạ-tìej-xạ̈ik-śì*) 'hair of head'. The latter should be probably read as [*məri-γak-si*], where *məri-* is 'head', while -γak-si may stand for *kark-[si]* - with *kark-* being identical to MKor. *kārki* 'mane', modern *məri-kharak* 'hair of head'. Despite the uncertainty of Old Korean readings in general and of -si in Old Korean -γak-si, it seems much more reasonable to link the Old Korean and later Korean sources than to invent a new Old Korean word **kasi* 'hair' and compare it with a wrongly interpreted Old Japanese word.

PKor. ***kór(chí)** brain, marrow (мозг): MKor. *kor*, *kór-chí*; Mod. *kol*.

◊ Nam 51, KED 156. The meaning 'head' in modern dialects proves that the original meaning was 'brain, head' (in literary Korean the word usually means 'marrow' while 'brain' is expressed as *məri-k:ol*, lit. "head brain"). The meaning 'marrow' may have been additionally induced by the analogy with *kol-su* (MKor. *kor-sju*) 'bone marrow', borrowed from MC 骨髓 *kot-sjwé*; but Kor. **kor* itself has of course nothing to do with MC *kot* 'bone'.

‖ KW 163, Poppe 17 (Doerfer TMN 3, 479: "aus phonetischen Gründen unsicher"). The meaning 'head' in Kor.-Jpn. (whence 'brain' in Kor.) is secondary, with a universally usual semantic shift (< 'bald spot'; cf. Slavic **golъ* 'bare, naked' and **golva* 'head' etc.; see Фасмер 1, 429). -chí in MKor. may either reflect the variation of the reflexes of *-Íǯ- (it is interesting to note also MKor. *kǎrčhjəŋ* 'young skin of a plant', which may actually reflect the same root), or a compound with -chi 'stuff, thing'. Cf. also **keĺčo* 'to scrape, rub': the two roots tend to be confused with each other.

✱**kéma (~ kʿ-, g-)** stove, cauldron: Turk. ***Kemeke**; Jpn. ***kámá**; Kor. ***kàmá**.

PTurk. ***Kemeke** stove, stove hole (печь, углубление в печи): Kirgh. *kemege*; Khak. *kimege*; Shr. *kebege*; Oyr. *kemege*; Chuv. *kъ^{w}maga*.

◊ VEWT 250, ЭСТЯ 5, 35-36, Мудрак 94, Лексика 359.

PJpn. ***kámá** stove (печь, очаг): OJpn. *kama*, *kama-dwo*; MJpn. *kámá*; Tok. *kàma*, *kamado*; Kyo. *kámá*; Kag. *káma*.

◊ JLTT 435.

PKor. ***kàmá** cauldron (котел): MKor. *kàmá*; Mod. *kama*.

◊ Nam 4, KED 14.

‖ SKE 90.

✱**kə̌ma (~ -o)** to gnaw, bite: Tung. ***kem-ki-**; Mong. ***kemeli-**; Turk. ***gEmür-**; Jpn. ***kàm-**.

PTung. ***kem-ki-** to bite (of a dog, goose) (кусать, хватать за ноги): Man. *kemki-*.

◊ TMC 1, 448. Attested only in Manchu, but probably archaic (cf. the external evidence).

PMong. ***kemeli-, *kemi-** 1 to gnaw 2 to bite (1 грызть 2 кусать): MMong. *kemile-* 1 (MA); WMong. *kemeli-*, *kemele-* (L 451), *kemile-* 1; *kemki-* 2 (DO 413); Kh. *ximle-*, *xemle-* 1; Bur. *ximel-* 1; Kalm. *kemḷ-* 1; Ord. *kemele-* 1, *kemχel-* 2; Dag. *keme-* (Тод. Даг. 149) 1 (MGCD *keḿ-*, *kemi-*); Bao. *kamel-* 2; S.-Yugh. *kemle-* 1 (MGCD *kelme-*); Mongr. *xamla-* 1.

◊ KW 225, MGCD 348, 350. Cf. also *kemki-* 'to grind, to bite'.

PTurk. ***gEmür-** to gnaw (грызть, глодать): Karakh. *kemür-* (MK); Tur. *gemir-*, *kemir-*; Gag. *kemir-*; Az. *gämir-*; Turkm. *gemir-*; MTurk. *kömür-* (Sangl., Abush.); Uzb. *kemir-*; Uygh. *kemi(r)-*; Krm. *kemir-*; Tat. *kimer-*; Bashk. *kimer-*; Kirgh. *kemir-*; Kaz. *kemir-*; KBalk. *kemir-*; KKalp. *kemir-*; Kum. *gemir-*; Nogh. *kemir-*; Khak. *kimər-*; Oyr. *kemir-*; Tv. *xemir-*; Tof. *xemir-*; Yak. *kömürüö* 'spongy bone'.

◊ VEWT 251, EDT 723, ЭСТЯ 3, 18-19, Лексика 262.

PJpn. ***kàm-** to bite (кусать): OJpn. *kam-*; MJpn. *kàm-*; Tok. *kám-*; Kyo. *kàm-*; Kag. *kám-*.

◊ JLTT 703.

‖ KW 225, АПиПЯЯ 112, 274, Лексика 262. Borrowing in Mong. from Turk. is impossible (despite Щербак 1997, 126); the Manchu form, however, may be < Mong. (see Rozycki 137).

✱**kemŕa** shoulderblade: Tung. ***kende**; Mong. ***kemde-**; Turk. ***[k]Ebŕe**.

PTung. ***kende** shoulderblade (лопатка): Evk. *kendekē*; Evn. *kēndъt*; Neg. *kendexe*; Ork. *kende*.

◊ TMC 1, 448.

PMong. ***kemde-** bone in horse's foot (кость в ноге лошади): Kalm. *kemdəgṇ*.

◊ KW 224.

PTurk. ***[k]Ebŕe** shoulderblade (лопатка): Tur. *kebze* 'shoulderblade, augury'; Gag. *kebze*; Az. *gäbzä* 'handle'; Turkm. *kebze*; MTurk. *kebze* 'shoulder' (Sangl.); Tat. *kɛwsɛ* 'tree stem'; Bashk. *kɛwδɛ* 'body'; Kaz. *kebze*, *köwzö* (R); KKalp. *kebze* 'breast'.

◊ VEWT 245, EDT 905, Лексика 242-243. The quality of the initial velar is not quite clear: the Az. form perhaps preserves an archaism, while other Oghuz forms may be kypchakisms; otherwise its Altaic connections become more dubious. KKalp. *kepše* 'shoulderblade' quoted in VEWT means in reality 'a small shovel' (Russ. лопатка), from Pers. *kapča* = Osm. *kepče* 'ein grosser Löffel' (VEWT 254).

‖ Дыбо 306, Лексика 243. A Western isogloss.

✱**kemV** a k. of fruit with seeds inside: Tung. ***kemu-kte**; Mong. ***kemeke**; Kor. ***kām**.

PTung. ***kemu-kte** 1 rowan (berry) 2 a k. of berry, shamrock (1 рябина (ягода) 2 кислица, костяника): Evk. *kempi* 1 (Sakh.); Orch. *kēmukte* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 448.

PMong. ***kemeke** small pumpkin, cucumber, gourd (маленькая тыква, огурец, арбуз): WMong. *kemeke* (L 451); Kh. *xemx*.

PKor. ***kām** persimmon (хурма): MKor. *kām*; Mod. *kām*.

◊ Liu 29, KED 49.

‖ One is also tempted to compare PJ **kákí* 'persimmon' (< **kem-k'a*), but the word can be alternatively compared with TM **gaka-kta* 'cranberry' (TMC 1, 136). Cf. also other similar plant names: **ki̯omga*, **gi̯aŋu*, **k'éma*.

✱**kènda** a k. of ungulate animal: Tung. ***kēnde**; Mong. ***kandagaj**; Turk. ***KAt**.

PTung. ***kēnde** harnessed deer (упряжной олень): Evn. *kēnde*; Man. *x́anči-la-* 'to gather in herds (of deer in summer)'.

◊ TMC 1, 448, 461.

PMong. ***kandagaj** elk (лось): MMong. *qandaqai* (SH); WMong. *qandaγai* (L 927); Kh. *xandgai*; Bur. *xandagai*; Kalm. *xandəγā* (KPC); Dag. *xandag* (Тод. Даг. 173); S.-Yugh. *χandaχan*.

◊ MGCD 325. Mong. > Evk. *kandaγā* etc., see TMC 1, 372, TMN 1, 420, Rozycki 132; > Russ. Siber. *kandagáj*, see Аникин 255.

PTurk. ***KAt (?)** a fabulous animal, unicorn (сказочное животное, единорог): OTurk. *qat* (OUygh.: Chin.-Uygh. Dict.); MTurk. (Xwar.) *qat* (Oghuz-nama).

◊ VEWT 241, TMN 4, 393, EDT 593. Somewhat dubious: the word may represent a rendering of Sanskr. *khaḍga* 'rhinoceros' (through Tokharian?); cf. OUygh. *ktki* 'id.'.

‖ A Western isogloss; not quite reliable because of poor attestation (and possible borrowed nature?) in Turkic and TM. Cf. OJ. *kédá-mono* 'animal' (?).

✱**ke(n)da (~ -o)** a k. of coniferous tree: Tung. ***kende-**; Turk. ***Kạdɨ**.

PTung. ***kende-** a k. of tree (вид дерева): Nan. *kendele(n)*, *kendelē(n)* (Он.) 'thuja'; Orch. *kēndēlē* 'name of a tree'; Ud. *kendele* 'red tree' (Корм. 254).

◊ TMC 1, 449.

PTurk. ***Kạdɨ** pine tree (сосна): Khak. *xara-xazɨ*; Tv. *xadɨ*; Tof. *xadɨ*; Chuv. *xɨrъ*; Yak. *kɨtɨan* 'juniper'.

◊ ЭСТЯ 5, 291-292, Мудрак Дисс. 179. Most languages reflect the compound **Kara-kạdɨ* (borrowed in Mong. as *qarayai* 'larch').

‖ A not quite certain Turk.-Tung. isogloss; Helimski 1995 supposed a loan in Turk. < Sam. **kaətị̂ə*.

✱**kenta** threshold, gate: Tung. ***kende-**; Jpn. ***kántuà**.

PTung. ***kende-** 1 threshold 2 to hinder, obstruct (1 порог 2 загораживать, отгораживать): Neg. *kende* 1; Ul. *kenderxi(n)* 1, *kenʒi-* 2; Nan. *kenderxĩ* 1, *kēnʒi-* 2; Orch. *kenderku*, *kenderxi* 1, *kēndi-* 2; Ud. *kondopti* 1 (Корм. 250).

◊ TMC 1, 448.

PJpn. ***kántuà** gate (ворота): OJpn. *kadwo*; MJpn. *kádò*; Tok. *kádo*; Kyo. *kádò*; Kag. *kadó*.

◊ JLTT 431. The Kyoto and Kagoshima accent is quite irregular - obviously, due to a merger with **kàntúa* 'corner'.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss.

✱**kènʒé** late: Mong. ***kenʒe**; Turk. ***gEnč**; Jpn. ***kànsə́**.

PMong. ***kenʒe** late, aftermath; late-grown crop, late-born child (поздний урожай, поздний ребенок): WMong. *kenʒe* (L 454); Kh. *xenʒ*; Bur. *xenze*; Kalm. *kenzə* (KPC); Ord. *kenʒi* 'late-born (about the second lamb or yeanling of the same year)', *kenʒile-* 'agneler deux fois par an'; Mongr. *kinʒēle-* 'agneler deux fois par an' (SM 204).

◊ Mong. > Chag. *kenʒe* etc. (see ЭСТЯ 3, 20-21); Evk. *kenʒe* etc., see TMN 1, 488, Doerfer MT 131, Rozycki 138.

PTurk. ***gEnč** young, child (молодой, ребенок): OTurk. *kenč* (OUygh.); Karakh. *kenč* (MK, KB); Tur. *genč/ʒ-*; Gag. *genč/ʒ-*; Az. *gänʒ*; Krm. *genč*.

◊ EDT 727, ЭСТЯ 3, 20-21, VEWT 252 (not < Pers., despite Räsänen; see TMN 1, 488).

PJpn. ***kànsə́** last year; last night (прошлый год; прошлая ночь): OJpn. *kozo*; MJpn. *kòzó*.

◊ JLTT 460.

‖ Ramstedt 1951, 66. Despite TMN 1, 488, Clark 1980, 43 hardly borrowed in Mong. from Turk. (the semantics is too different for a borrowing).

✱**kēńa** front leg, armpit, angle: Tung. ***keńe- / *kuńe-**; Mong. ***ka(i)**; Turk. ***Kājnat**; Jpn. ***kanai**.

PTung. ***keńe- / *kuńe-** 1 shin 2 stockings (1 голень, колено 2 унты): Evk. *keńete*, *kuńetu* 2; Evn. *kēńeče* 2, *kȭnčen* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 420, 449.

PMong. ***ka(i)** front legs (передние ноги): MMong. *qa, qaji(n)* (SH); WMong. *qa, qaɣa* (L 895: *qa* 'the part of the foreleg of an animal between the shoulder and the knee'); Kh. *xaa*; Bur. *xa*; Kalm. *xā*.

◊ KW 166.

PTurk. ***Kājnat** 1 wing 2 fin (1 крыло 2 плавник): OTurk. *qanat* (OUygh.- YB) 1; Karakh. *qanat* (MK, KB) 1; Tur. *kanat* 1, 2; Gag. *qanat* 1; Az. *Ganad, gänäd* (dial.) 1; Turkm. *Gānat* 1; Sal. *qanat* (Kakuk,ССЯ); MTurk. *qanat* (Abush., MA) 1; Uzb. *qanɔt* 1; Uygh. *qanat* 1; Krm. *qanat* 1, 2; Tat. *qanat* 1; Bashk. *qanat* 1; Kirgh. *qanat* 1; Kaz. *qanat* 1; KBalk. *qanat* 1, 2; KKalp. *qanat* 1; Kum. *qanat* 1; Nogh. *qanat* 1; SUygh. *qejnat* 1; Khak. *xanat* 1, 2; Shr. *qanat* 1; Oyr. *qanat* 1, 2, *qanar* 2; Chuv. *śonat* 1, 2; Yak. *kɨnat*, *kɨǰɨat* 1; Dolg. *kɨnat* 1.

◊ VEWT 230, TMN 3, 518, EDT 635, ЭСТЯ 5, 252-253, Федотов 2, 137, Лексика 149-150, Stachowski 168. Initial *ś-* in Chuv. is unclear (effect of *-j-?).

PJpn. ***kanai** rule, gusset (наугольник, ластовица): MJpn. *kane*; Tok. *kane*.

‖ ОСНЯ 1, 304; Дыбо 312-313; VEWT 230, Лексика 149-150. Cf. also Kalm. *xanə* 'маховые перья' (KW 165, АПиПЯЯ 289); but due to restricted distribution in Mong. this form should be rather considered a Turkism (see Щербак 1997, 133).

✱**kə̀ńu** distress, envy: Tung. ***kēńe-**; Mong. ***ken- / *kin-**; Turk. ***köń- (~ -j-)**; Jpn. ***kuna-**.

PTung. ***kēńe-** 1 be superstitious 2 to praise, flatter 3 to speak, tell 4 to curse, rebuke 5 to doubt, suspect (1 быть суеверным 2 хвалить 3 говорить, объяснять 4 ругать 5 сомневаться, подозревать): Evk. *kēńe-* 2; Evn. *kēńew-* 1; Neg. *kēńe-* 2; Man. *xendu-* 3, *kenexunǯe-* 5; Jurch. *xen-du-ru* (467) 3; Ork. *ken-* 3, *kene-* 2; Ud. *keni-* 4; Sol. *xēnī-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 448, 449-450.

PMong. ***ken- / *kin-** 1 psychosis, distress 2 to grudge, envy (1 психоз, расстройство 2 завидовать): MMong. *kinetu* 'злопамятный' (MA); WMong. *kenege* 1 (L 453), *kinu-* 2 (L 470); Kh. *xenē* 1, *x́ana-* 2; Bur. *xenē* 'болезненность'; Ord. *kenē* 'maladie chronique'; Mongr. *ćinʒi*, *ćinći* 'colère' (SM 451).

◊ Mong. *kinu-* > Man. *kinu-* id. (see Rozycki 140).

PTurk. ***köń- (~ -j-)** 1 to suffer, grieve 2 to regret 3 to envy 4 to be angry 5 to offend 6 grief, sorrow (1 страдать, горевать 2 жалеть 3 завидовать 4 гневаться 5 обижать 6 печаль): Karakh. *küj- ~ köj-*: *köŋli küjüp* 'with pain in one's heart' (MK), *küj-* 4 (KB); Az. *göjnä-* 2; Turkm. *köj-* 1; Khal. (*jirek*) *kiẹn-* 1; Uzb. *kuj-*, *kujin-* 1; Uygh. *köj-*, *köjün-* 1; Tat. *köjü-*, *köjen-* 1; Bashk. *köj-* 1, *köjönös* 6; Kirgh. *küj-*, *küjün-* 1; Kaz. *küj-*, *küjin-* 1; KBalk. *küj-*, *küjün-* 1, *küjük* 'envious'; KKalp. *küj-*, *küjin-* 1; Kum.

güj- 1; Nogh. *küj-*, *küjün-* 1; Khak. *köj-* 3; Oyr. *küj-dür-* 5, *küjün-* 3; Chuv. *kəʷvəś-* 3.

◊ EDT 726. In all languages the root is completely homonymous with the reflexes of **köń-* 'to burn' (v. sub **kʿùńe*), which throws doubts on its etymological independence.

PJpn. ***kuna-** madness, psychosis (сумасшествие, психоз): OJpn. *kuna-tabure*; *kata-kuna* 'stupid, obstinate'.

◊ JLTT 443.

‖ In Turkic one would expect **geń-*; the root, however, has since the oldest texts almost completely merged with PT **köń-* 'to burn', so as to become almost indistinguishable from the latter. See also notes to **gȕno*.

✱**kə̏ŋi** hollow, empty: Tung. ***keŋ-**; Mong. ***keŋ-, *köŋ-**; Turk. ***geŋiŕ**; Kor. ***kíń-**.

PTung. ***keŋ-** 1 emptiness 2 to empty 3 hole, ice-hole 4 emptied (1 пустота 2 опорожнять 3 впадина, прорубь 4 опустевший): Evk. *keŋku-tēk* 1, *keŋre* 3, *keŋgur* 4; Evn. *kə̄ŋkī-* 2, *kēŋgule* 3; Ud. *keŋku* 1 (Корм. 254).

◊ TMC 1, 450-451.

PMong. ***keŋ-, *köŋ-** 1 to be empty, hollow, sunken 2 hole, hollow (1 быть пустым, полым, впалым 2 дыра, полость): WMong. *keŋkeji-* (L 454), *köŋkeji-* (L 489) 1, *köndei* (L 487) 2; Kh. *xenxij-*, *xönxij-* 1, *xöndöj* 2; Bur. *xünxi* 'hollow under ice'; Kalm. *köndä* 2 (KPC); Ord. *köŋχī-* , *xoŋxə̄-*; Dag. *kuēndī* 2 (Тод. Даг. 150); Mongr. *keŋgī* (SM 196), *koŋ* 1.

◊ MGCD 374. Mong. > Kirgh. *köŋdöj* etc. (see ЭСТЯ 5, 106-107); > Dolg. *keŋkej-*; Yak., Dolg. *köŋdöj* (see Stachowski 145, 156).

PTurk. ***geŋiŕ** nasal cavity (полость носа): Tur. *geniz*; Az. *gäniz*, *gänzik*; Turkm. *geŋz-ew* 'nasal'; Kirgh. *keŋilžer*; Yak. *keŋerī* 'bridge of nose'.

◊ ЭСТЯ 5, 27, Лексика 216.

PKor. ***kíń-** nest (гнездо): MKor. *kís* 'nest', *kíń-* 'to nest'; Mod. *kit* (*kis*).

◊ Nam 83, KED 282.

‖ ЭСТЯ 5, 107 (Mong.-Tung.). In Mong. the root has several expressive variants (cf. also PA **kʿeŋa*). In Kor. an early palatalization occurred (*-ŋi- > -ń-). See also notes to PA **kʿə̄mŋV* 'wide'.

✱**keŋV** to bite, gnaw: Tung. ***keŋi-**; Turk. ***KEŋdi-**.

PTung. ***keŋi-** to bite, gnaw (кусать, глодать): Evk. *keŋi-*; Neg. *kēŋi-*; Nan. *keŋne-*.

◊ TMC 1, 450.

PTurk. ***KEŋdi-** to gnaw (глодать): Karakh. *keŋdi-* (KB); Khak. *keŋne-* (R. Sag.); Shr. *keŋdi-*.

◊ VEWT 253 (all forms found only in Radlov's dictionary: R 2, 1071, 1072).

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**kēpu** to chew: Tung. ***keb-**; Mong. ***kebi-**; Turk. ***gēb-**; Jpn. ***kùp-**.

PTung. ***keb-** 1 to gnaw, bite (with front teeth) 2 to pierce through 3 a big arrow (1 грызть, кусать (передними зубами) 2 продырявить 3 большая стрела, пробивающая насквозь): Evk. *kewde-* 2; Evn. *kēwri-* 1; Man. *kejfule-* 2, *kejfu* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 442.

PMong. ***kebi-** to chew (жевать): MMong. *kebi-* (MA); WMong. *kebi-* (L 439); Kh. *xeve-* (Gomb.); Bur. *xibe-* 'жевать (только о жвачных животных)'; Kalm. *kew-*; Ord. *kewe-*; S.-Yugh. *kewə-*; Mongr. *kēji-* (SM 199), (MGCD *kē-*).

◊ KW 229, MGCD 348.

PTurk. ***gēb-** to chew (жевать): Karakh. *kev-* (MK); Tur. *gev-*; Gag. *gevše-*; Az. *göjüš* 'cud'; Turkm. *gǟvü-š* 'cud'; Sal. *küšä-*; Khal. *kǟviš* 'cud'; MTurk. *keviš* 'cud' (MA, Pav. C.); Uzb. *kawša-*; Uygh. *köjši-*; Krm. *kövše-n-*; Tat. *küšä-*; Bashk. *köjöš* 'cud'; Kirgh. *küj-š-ö-*; Kaz. *küjis* 'cud'; KKalp. *güjse-*; Kum. *güjše-*; Nogh. *küjze-*; Khak. *kipse-n-*; Shr. *kepže-n-*; Oyr. *kepše-*; Tv. *kegže-n-*; Tof. *kegže-*; Chuv. *kavle-*; Yak. *kebī-*.

◊ VEWT 244, EDT 687, ЭСТЯ 3, 5-7.

PJpn. ***kùp-** to eat (есть): OJpn. *kup-*; MJpn. *kùf-*; Tok. *kú-*; Kyo. *kù-*; Kag. *kù-*.

◊ JLTT 718.

‖ KW 229, Poppe 20, 46, ОСНЯ 1, 293, АПиПЯЯ 15, 69, 109, 279, Ozawa 208-209, Дыбо 14, Лексика 227. Correspondences are regular except for low tone in Jpn. (high tone would be expected).

✱**kĕpV** upper part of body (trunk): Tung. ***keb-te**; Mong. ***keberdeg**; Turk. ***gebde**.

PTung. ***keb-te** 1 belt 2 to bulge (of belly) (1 пояс, набрюшник 2 выпятить живот): Evk. *kebder-* 2; Man. *xebtexe* 1; Jurch. *xebu-de* (227) 1.

◊ TMC 1, 387-8, 442.

PMong. ***keberdeg** body (rump, breast and belly) (тело, туша (крестец, грудь и живот)): WMong. *keberdeg*; Kalm. *kewrdg*; Ord. *kemerdek* 'thorax, chest'.

◊ KW 229.

PTurk. ***gebde** upper part of body (верхняя часть тела): OTurk. *kövdöŋ* (OUygh.); Tur. *gövde*; Az. *gövdä*; Turkm. *gövde*, *gövre*; Uzb. *gavda*; Krm. *gövde*; Tat. *gɛwdɛ* (dial.); Kirgh. *kȫdö*, *kȫdön*; Kaz. *kewde*; KKalp. *gewde*, *kewde*; Nogh. *kewde*; Chuv. *xevte*, *xəvtü* 'power'.

◊ EDT 688, VEWT 259, ЭСТЯ 3, 52-53, Егоров 297, Федотов 2, 339-340, Дыбо 5, Лексика 267.

‖ Дыбо 5, Лексика 267. A Western isogloss. The root is sometimes difficult to distinguish from **kēpʹV* 'belly' and **kʹeba* 'corpse', due to natural contaminations.

✱**kḗpʹà** face, shape: Tung. ***kepe**; Mong. ***keɣe**; Turk. ***gēp**; Jpn. ***kápúa**.

PTung. ***kepe** 1 jaw 2 gills 3 boards (on boat's front) (1 челюсть 2 жабры 3 передние доски (на лодке)): Evk. *kewe* 1; Evn. *kewē* 1; Ul. *kepi(n)* 2, 3; Ork. *kepi* 3; Nan. *kepĩ* 2, 3.

◊ TMC 1, 442-443, 451. Despite Poppe 1974, 132, Evk. *kewe* has nothing to do with Mong. *köbege* 'edge'.

PMong. ***keɣe** ornament, form, example (украшение, форма, пример): WMong. *kege(n)* (L 442); Kh. *xē*; Bur. *xē*; Kalm. *kē*.

◊ KW 230. Mong. > Tat. *kijä*, Turk. *kija* etc. (VEWT 247).

PTurk. ***gēp** form, example, image (форма, пример, изображение): OTurk. *kep* (~ -i-) (OUygh.); Karakh. *keb* (~ -i-) (MK); Turkm. *gäp̄*; MTurk. *käp* (AH); Kirgh. *kep*; KKalp. *kep*; Kum. *kep*; Nogh. *kep*; SUygh. *kep*; Khak. kip; Shr. *käp*; Oyr. *kep*; Tv. *xep*; Chuv. *kap*; Yak. *kiep*.

◊ EDT 686, VEWT 253, ЭСТЯ 5, 44-45 (> Mong. *keb*, see Щербак 1997, 127). Bulg. > Old Slav. *kapь*. Turk. > Hung. *kép* 'image', see Gombocz 1912.

PJpn. ***kápúa** face (лицо): OJpn. *kap(w)o*; MJpn. *káfó*; Tok. *kào*; Kyo. *káó*; Kag. *káo*.

◊ JLTT 438.

‖ A good common Altaic root; the original meaning is 'face' or 'jaws', with a more abstract meaning 'shape' developed in the Western area (a very usual semantic development).

✱**kḗpʹV** belly: Tung. ***kepel-**; Mong. ***keweli**; Turk. ***gēp-**.

PTung. ***kepel-** belly, stomach (живот, желудок): Evn. *kъbъl*, *kēbъl*; Man. *xefeli*, *xefali*; SMan. *kevələ*, *xevələ* 'stomach, belly; bosom' (87); Jurch. *xefuli* (508).

◊ TMC 1, 387-388.

PMong. ***keweli** belly; pregnancy (живот; беременность): MMong. *ke'eli* (HY 47, SH), *kähäl* (IM), *kili* (MA); WMong. *kegel*, *kebel* (L 438, 442: *kegeli*, *kebeli*); Kh. *xēl*, arch. *xevel*; Bur. *xēli*; Kalm. *kēlə*, *kewl*; Ord. *kēl* 'foetus'; Dag. *kēli* (Тод. Даг. 149, MD 182); Dong. *kieli*; Bao. *kele*; Mongr. *kēle* (SM 198).

◊ KW 230, MGCD 337.

PTurk. ***gēp-** 1 to swell, swollen (of belly) 2 to become pregnant, pregnant 3 to be arrogant, inflated (1 пухнуть (о животе) 2 беременеть, беременная 3 чваниться, важничать): Tur. *gebe* 2; Gag. *gebe* 2; Az. *gäbiz* 'constipation'; Turkm. *gäb̄e* 1; MTurk. *gebe* 2 (Pav. C.); Tat. *kəpər-*, *kəprəj-* 3; Bashk. *kəpəj-* 1, *kəprəj-* 3; Kirgh. *kebeže*, *keber* 1; Kaz. *kebeže* 1; KKalp. *kep-*, *gebeže* 1; Tv. *xever-* 1; Chuv. *kabar* 'insatiable, gluttonous'; Yak. *kiebir-* 3.

◊ ЭСТЯ 3, 36. The root is partially confused (and contaminated) with *gebre- 'to die, corpse' (v. sub *kăpi).

‖ Владимирцов 205. Despite Doerfer MT 93, Rozycki 104 the TM forms cannot easily be explained as mongolisms (except Sol. *kêli*). The root is homonymous (except for the final vowel which is in this case unknown) with *kēp'a 'shape', and one wonders if it is in fact not the same root, but semantically influenced by another similar one, PA *kepV 'upper part of body'.

✱**kéra** belly; body, ribs: Tung. ***kerimuk**; Turk. ***Kạrɨn**; Jpn. ***kárá-(n)tá**; Kor. ***kari**.

PTung. ***keri-muk** intestine, part of stomach (кишка, внутренность желудка): Evk. *kerimek*; Evn. *korịmkị*.

◊ TMC 1, 453.

PTurk. ***Kạrɨn** belly (живот): OTurk. *qarɨn* (OUygh.); Karakh. *qarɨn* (MK, KB); Tur. *karɨn*; Gag. *qarɨn*; Az. *Garɨn*; Turkm. *Garɨn*; Sal. *qarɨn-taš* 'a relative' (ССЯ); Khal. *qārɨn*; MTurk. *qarɨn* (Sangl., Houts., AH, MA, IM); Uzb. *qɔrɨn*; Uygh. *qerin*; Krm. *qarɨn*; Tat. *qarɨn*; Bashk. *qarɨn*; Kirgh. *qarɨn*; Kaz. *qarɨn*; KBalk. *qarɨn*; KKalp. *qarɨn*; Kum. *qarɨn*; Nogh. *qarɨn*; SUygh. *qarɨn*; Khak. *xarɨn*; Shr. *qarnɨ*; Oyr. *qarɨn*; Tv. *xɨrɨn*; Tof. *xɨrɨn*; Chuv. *xɨrъm*; Yak. *xarɨn* 'rumen; belly'.

◊ VEWT 238, EDT 661, ЭСТЯ 5, 321-322, Лексика 277.

PJpn. ***kárá(n)tá** body (тело): Tok. *kàrada*; Kyo. *kárádá*; Kag. *karáda*.

◊ JLTT 438. The meaning 'body' is attested late, but there are some attestations of *kara* 'stem, stalk' (= 'body') already in Man'yōshū, apparently different from *kara* 'shell'.

PKor. ***kari** rib(s) (ребро, ребра): MKor. *kari-spjə*; Mod. *kalbi*.

◊ Nam 3, KED 46.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 281, Дыбо 5, Лексика 277. Ramstedt (SKE 89) compares the Kor. form with Mong. *qarbiŋ* etc. (see *k'i̯áŕme), but this seems improper (the modern form *kalbi* goes back to MKor. *kari-spjə*). The Japanese form is somewhat insecure due to its late attestation and unclear suffix. In Mong cf. perhaps *kerseŋ* 'brisket'.

✱**kèra (~ -ŕ-)** to bind, wind around: Tung. ***kerge- (*kergi-)**; Mong. ***kere-**; Jpn. ***kàràm-**.

PTung. ***kerge- (*kergi-)** 1 circle, ring 2 to bind into bunches 3 to reel 4 bunch (1 круг, кольцо 2 связывать (в пучки) 3 наматывать 4 связка, пучок): Neg. *kejgeli* 1; Man. *xergi-*, *xerči-* 3; Ul. *kergi* 4, *kergin-* 2; Ork. *kejgeli* 1; Nan. *kergi* 4; Orch. *keǯe-* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 444. The Manchu form obviously belongs here and has nothing to do with Evk. *herke-* and MMong. *hergi-* (q. v. sub *p'erkV), despite Rozycki 105.

PMong. ***kere-** to bind, join, unite (привязывать, соединять): WMong. *kere-*; Kh. *xere-*; Bur. *xere-*; Kalm. *ker-*; Ord. *kere-*, *kerü*.

◊ KW 227.

PJpn. ***kàràm-** to wind around, to cling to (обвиваться, цепляться): OJpn. *karamar-*; MJpn. *kàràm-*; Tok. *karám-*; Kyo. *kárám-*; Kag. *karám-*.

◊ JLTT 704. The accent in Kagoshima is irregular (possibly under literary influence).

‖ EAS 107, KW 227, SKE 104, Poppe 79-80.

✱**kḗrdu (~ kʿ-)** a k. of bird of prey: Mong. ***kaǯir**; Turk. ***Kạ̄rt-**; Jpn. ***kútí**.

PMong. ***kaǯir** vulture (гриф, стервятник): MMong. *qaǯir* 'mythical bird' (MA 406); WMong. *qaǯir* (L 949); Kh. *xaǯir*.

◊ Mong. > Kirgh. *qaǯir* etc., see ЭСТЯ 5, 183-184.

PTurk. ***Kạ̄rt-** falcon, hawk (сокол, ястреб): Tur. *kartal*; Turkm. dial. Gartal; MTurk. *qartal* (Houts., AH, Sangl.); Kirgh. *qartɨɣa*; Kum. *qartaq*; Khak. *xartɨɣa*; Shr. *qartaɣa*; Tv. *xartɨɣa*; Yak. *kīrt*, *kīrdaj*; Dolg. *kīrt*.

◊ VEWT 239, ЭСТЯ 5, 316-318, Лексика 169, Stachowski 172. Turk. **Kartɨgaj* > MMong. *qarčigaj* (SH *qarčiqai*), WMong. *qarčiɣai* (see TMN 1, 404), whence again late MTurk. *qarčɨɣaj* (see TMN 1, 404-405, Щербак 1997, 208). Loans from Mong. are Man. *qarčin* 'kite' and MKor. *karčikəi* 'yellow falcon' (see Lee 1958, 119, 1964, 191).

PJpn. ***kútí** falcon (сокол): OJpn. *kuti*; MJpn. *kútí*.

◊ JLTT 467, Miller 1979.

‖ KW 170, Лексика 169.

✱**kergV (~ *kʿ-)** paunch: Mong. ***kerken-**; Turk. ***Kergük**.

PMong. ***kerken-** paunch (of ruminating animals) (сетка желудка (жвачных животных)): WMong. *kerkeneg* (MXTTT); Kh. *xerxneg*; Bur. *xerxinseg*.

PTurk. ***Kergük** paunch (сетка желудка): Karakh. *kergük* (MK); Tv. *kergijek*.

◊ EDT 742, Рас. ФиЛ 203.

‖ A Turk.-Mong. isogloss (with assimilation in Mong. **kerken-* < **kergen-*, cf. similarly in **kʿúrgo*); cf. perhaps also Evk. (Tokk.) *ker* 'membrane' (TMC 1, 452).

✱**kèro** back, to return: Mong. ***kari-**; Turk. ***gErü**; Jpn. ***kə̀tàpa-**.

PMong. ***kari-** 1 to come back, return; to answer 2 answer; return (1 возвращаться; отвечать 2 ответ; возвращение): MMong. *qāri-* (IM), *qari-* (HY 34, 40, SH) 1, *γari'ūn* 2; WMong. *qari-* (L 937) 1; Kh. *xaŕ-* 1; Bur. *xari-* 1, *xaŕū* 2; Kalm. *xäŕ-* (KPC) 1; Ord. *xari-* 'retourner, mourir'; Mog. *qari-* (Ramstedt 1906) 1; Dag. *hari-* (MD 157), *xari-* 1; *xarō* (Тод. Даг. 174) 2; Dong. *qari-* 1; Bao. *χārə-* 1; S.-Yugh. *χarə-* 1; *χaru* 2; Mongr. *xari* 'réponse, vengeance' (SM 162), *xari-* (SM 162), *xarə-* 1; *xarū* 2.

◊ TMN 1, 380, MGCD 332, 333. Mong. > Manchu *qaru* 'reward, revenge, recompence, retribution' etc. (see Rozycki 134).

PTurk. ***gErü** back (назад, сзади): OTurk. *kerü* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *kerü* (MK); Tur. *geri*; Gag. *gēri*; Az. *geri*; MTurk. *kerü* (MA); Tat. *kire*; Kirgh. *keri*; Kaz. *keri*; KBalk. *kire*; KKalp. *keri*; Kum. *geri*; Nogh. *keri*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 3, 27. Turk. > MMong. *geru* (SH) 'back side'.

PJpn. ***kə̀tàpa-** to answer (отвечать): OJpn. *kotapa-*; MJpn. *kòtàfa-*; Tok. *kotáe-*, *kotaé-*; Kyo. *kòtàè-*; Kag. *kòtàè-*.

◊ JLTT 713 (treating the verb as a historical compound of *kətə* + *apa-*, which is hardly plausible). The forms reveal some variation between **kə̀tàpa-* and **kə̀tápa-*.

‖ Cf. perhaps Nan. *kerxe* 'hump' (< 'back').

✱**kéro** to fight, kill: Tung. ***kere-, *kerbe-**; Mong. ***kere-**; Turk. ***gEröĺ-**; Jpn. ***kə́r-**; Kor. ***kūr-**.

PTung. ***kere-, *kerbe-** 1 kill 2 to fine 3 to slander 4 to revenge (1 убивать 2 штрафовать 3 клеветать 4 мстить): Evk. *kerbe-* 1, *keremī-* 3, *keremǯu* bi- 4; Man. *keru-le-* 2, *keru-n* 'fine'.

◊ TMC 1, 381, 452, 453, 454.

PMong. ***kere-** 1 to quarrel, to fight 2 to be angry (1 ссориться, драться 2 сердиться): MMong. *kere-* (SH), *kiräldu-* (MA), *keurde-* (IM) 1; WMong. *kere-*, *kereldü-* (L 457) 1, *kereče-* 2; Kh. *xerelde-* 1; Bur. *xerelde-* 1; Kalm. *keṛldə-* 1; Ord. *kerelde-*; Mog. *kerälda-*; ZM *keräldu-* (17-3b); Dag. *xerəldə-*; S.-Yugh. *kerēlde-* 1; Mongr. *kərēdi-* 1 (SM 198), (MGCD *kəreldə-*), *kərū* 'quarrel' (SM 199).

◊ KW 227, MGCD 344, 345.

PTurk. ***gEröĺ-** to quarrel, fight, wrestle (ссориться, драться, бороться): OTurk. *keriš-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *keriš-* (MK), *küreš-* (MK, KB); Tur. *güreš-*; Gag. *güreš-*; Az. *güläš-*; Turkm. *göreš-*; MTurk. *küreš-* (MA), *güreš-* (Sangl.); Uzb. *kuraš-*; Uygh. *küräš-*; Krm. *küreš-*; Tat. *köräš-*; Bashk. *köräš-*; Kirgh. *keriš-*, *küröš-*; Kaz. *keris-*, *küres-*; KBalk. *küreš-*; KKalp. *keris-*, *güres-*; Kum. *küreš-* (dial.); Nogh. *küres-*; Khak. *küres-*; Shr. *küreš-*; Oyr. *keriš-*, *küreš-*; Tv. *xüres-*; Tof. *xireš-*, *xüreš-* ; *xire-* 'to start a fight'; Chuv. *kəreš-*; Yak. *küres* 'wrestling'.

◊ EDT 747-748, ЭСТЯ 3, 79-81, 5, 50-51, Федотов 1, 280. The peculiar variation of *keriš-* and *küreš-* in old sources allows perhaps to reconstruct the original shape **geröĺ-*.

PJpn. ***kə́r-** 1 to kill 2 to curse (1 убивать 2 ругать): OJpn. *koros-* 1, *kor-* 2; MJpn. *kórós-* 1; Tok. *kòros-* 1; Kyo. *kórós-* 1; Kag. *korós-* 1.

◊ JLTT 713.

PKor. ***kūr-** to curse, deprecate (ругать, порицать): MKor. *kūr-*; Mod. *kul-* (arch.).

◊ Nam 62, KED 217. Cf. also MKor. *kòr'āp-* 'to be rude, coarse' (Nam 51), modern *kol* 'anger' (KED 156).

‖ EAS 146, KW 227, Poppe 18, 79, Murayama 1962, 110. Cf. **kàra.*

✱**kĕru (~ *kʿ-)** old, worn out: Mong. ***kari-, *kar-si-**; Turk. ***Kạrɨ**; Jpn. ***kùtà-**.

PMong. ***kari-, *kar-si-** to weaken, become old (слабеть, стареть): WMong. *qari-* (MXTTT); Kh. *xari-*, *xarši-*; Bur. *xaraši-*; Kalm. *xäŕ-* (KPC).

PTurk. ***Kạrɨ** 1 old 2 old woman or man 3 to become old (1 старый 2 старуха, старик 3 стареть): OTurk. *qarɨ* 1, *qarɨ-* 3 (OUygh.); Karakh.

qarɨ (MK, KB) 1, *qarɨ-* (MK, KB) 3; Tur. *karɨ*, *kart* 1; Gag. *qarɨ* 1,2 (also 'woman'); Az. *Garɨ, Gart* 2,1; Turkm. *Garrɨ* 1, *Garra-* 3; MTurk. *qarɨ* (MA, Abush.) 1, *qarɨ-* (MA, Abush.) 3; Uzb. *qari* 1, *qari-* 3; Uygh. *qeri* 1,2, *qeri-* 3; Tat. *qarɨ*, *qart* 1; Bashk. *qarɨ*, *qart* 1; Kirgh. *qarɨ*, *qart* 1, *qarɨ-* 3, *qart* 3; Kaz. *qarɨ* ~ *qɛri*, *qart* 1; KKalp. *qarɨ*, *γarrɨ* 1; Kum. *qart* 1; Nogh. *qart* 1; Khak. *kirə* 1, *kirə-* 3; Shr. *qarɨ* 1, *qarɨ-* 3; Oyr. *qarɨ* 1, *qarɨ-* 3; Tv. *qɨrɨ-* 3; Tof. *qɨrɨ-* 3; Yak. *kɨrɨj-* 3; Dolg. *kɨrɨj-* 3.

◊ EDT 644, TMN 3, 440, ЭСТЯ 5, 311-312, 314-316, Лексика 84-85, Stachowski 169, 170.

PJpn. ***kùtà-*** to be tired, worn out (уставать, изнашиваться): Tok. *kutabiré-*; Kyo. *kútábíré-*; Kag. *kùtàbìrè-*.

◊ JLTT 717. Cf. also redupl. *kuta-kuta* (ni) 'tired, worn out (adv.)'; with a different (emphatic?) accent: MJ *kutabari* 'a person who is too old (sl.)', mod. Tokyo *kutabàr-* 'to live too long (sl.)', Kyoto *kútábár-*, Kagoshima *kutabár-* id.

‖ Cf. also Turk. **Kurt-ga* 'old woman' (see ЭСТЯ 6, 168-169).

✱**keru(ÍV)** a k. of predator: Tung. ***kelte- (< *kerelte-?)***; Mong. ***kereldüg***; Turk. ***KArɨĺ-***; Jpn. ***kunturi***; Kor. ***kar-***.

PTung. ***kelte- (< *kerelte-?)*** wolverine (росомаха): Evk. *keltefkī*; Evn. *költekken*; Neg. *keltelkēn*.

◊ TMC 1, 447.

PMong. ***kereldüg*** animal resembling the bear but smaller (животное, похожее на медведя, но меньше): WMong. *kereldüg* (MXTT); Kh. *xereldeg* (Gomb.).

PTurk. ***KArɨĺ-*** wolf (волк): Tur. *kaškɨr*, dial. *kašɣɨr* 'a bear'; Uzb. dial. *qɛšqir*, dial. *qɛršiqul*; Krm. *qašqɨr*; Kirgh. *qarɨšqɨr*; Kaz. *qasqɨr*; KKalp. *qasqɨr*; Nogh. *qarɨsqɨr*, *qasqɨr*; Chuv. *kaškъr* < Qypch..

◊ Лексика 160., ЭСТЯ 5, 352.

PJpn. ***kunturi*** wolverine (росомаха): Tok. *kuzuri* (orth. *kuduri*).

PKor. ***kàr-*** tiger (тигр): MKor. *kar-wəm*, *kar-pəm*; Mod. *kalbəm*.

◊ HMCH 185, Nam 19, KED 46. A compound with **pəm* 'tiger, leopard' (v. sub *pʹuma).

‖ The root must have denoted some big predator, probably the wolverine. Cf. also MMong. (HY 10) *qarxulax* 'small tiger'.

✱**késa** to suffer: Tung. ***kesē-***; Mong. ***keseɣe-***; Turk. ***kes-***; Jpn. ***kásíká-***; Kor. ***kjəs-***.

PTung. ***kesē-*** 1 to suffer 2 to punish 3 scoundrel, rogue 4 to torture, lacerate 5 sad (1 страдать 2 наказывать 3 мерзавец, негодяй 4 мучить 5 печальный): Evk. *kesē-* 1; Neg. *keseɣī-* 2; Man. *kesemburu* 3; Jurch. *ke-si-ge-bulu* (368) 5; Ul. *keseučи-* 4; Nan. *kesū-li-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 454-455.

PMong. ***keseɣe-** to punish, correct (наказывать, исправлять): MMong. *kese'e-* (SH); WMong. *keseɣe-* (L 459); Kh. *xesē-*; Bur. *xehē-*; Kalm. *kes-* 'be punished'.

◊ KW 228.

PTurk. ***kes-** 1 ban, prohibition 2 to punish, accuse, fine 3 tired, smashed 4 to scoff 5 guilt, flaw 6 to appoint 7 obstinate 8 to speak roughly, be in one's way, hinder 9 to be hungry, in distress (1 запрет 2 назначать наказание, обвинять, штрафовать 3 усталый, разбитый 4 издеваться 5 вина, недостаток 6 устанавливать, назначать 7 упрямый 8 говорить грубо, мешать, подводить 9 голодать, испытывать нужду): OTurk. *kesetkü* 1 (OUygh., Chin.-Uygh. Voc. - R); Tur. *kes-* 2, *kesik* 3, *kesin-* 4; Az. *käsir* 5; Turkm. *kesgitle-* 6, *kesir* 7, *kes-* 2; Uygh. *kɛs-* 2, *kesir* 5; Tat. *kisɛt-* 2; Bashk. *kiθɛt-* 'to warn'; Kirgh. *kes-* 2, *kesir* 5; Kaz. *kes-* 2, *keser* 'contemptuous', 5; Tv. *ke'ze-* 'to be punished, scared'; Chuv. *kas-* 8, *kazъl-* 9; Yak. *kes* 'forbidden', *keset-* 'to punish, give a lesson'.

◊ VEWT 258.

PJpn. ***kásíká-** to be exhausted, wasted (истощаться, чахнуть): OJpn. *kasika-*; MJpn. *kásíká-*; Tok. *kajike-*.

◊ JLTT 707.

PKor. ***kjəs-** to suffer, undergo, experience (подвергаться, страдать): MKor. *kjəs-*; Mod. *kjək*:-.

◊ Nam 44, KED 114.

‖ KW 228, Poppe 18, 65. Cf. **kasa*. The Turkic form points rather to *kʿ-; if the TM forms are borrowed from Mong. (see Doerfer MT 69), we should rather reconstruct PA **kʿésa*.

✱**késu** thing, sort, order: Tung. ***kese**; Mong. ***küsü-nüg**; Jpn. ***kúsá**; Kor. ***kə̀s / *kàs**.

PTung. ***kese** word, order (слово, указ): Man. *xese*; SMan. *xesə* 'edict' (1351); Ork. *kese*; Ud. *kehie*.

◊ TMC 1, 483 (Man. > Sol., Neg., Oroch, Nan. *xese*; Dag. *xes*, Тод. Даг. 175).

PMong. ***küsü-nüg** list, chart, column (of a register) (список, таблица, графа): WMong. *küsünüg* (L 508); Kh. *xüsneg*; Bur. *xüsneg* 'line, column'; S.-Yugh. *kösnüg*.

◊ MGCD 403.

PJpn. ***kúsà** sort, kind (вид, род): OJpn. *kusa*; MJpn. *kúsà*.

◊ JLTT 465.

PKor. ***kə̀s / *kàs** thing (вещь): MKor. *kə̀s / kàs*; Mod. *kət* [*kəs*].

◊ Nam 24, 39, KED 103.

‖ Mong. **küsünüg* < **kesü-* (with secondary vowel assimilation).

✱**kesV (~ kʿ-, -i-)** luck, joy: Mong. ***kesig**; Kor. ***kìs-**.

PMong. ***kesig** 1 luck, prosperity, grace 2part of the sacrificed meat (1 счастье, удача, благополучие 2 часть мяса жертвенных живот-

ных, которую раздают людям): MMong. *kešig* (SH) 2; WMong. *kesig* (L 460); Kh. *xišig*; Bur. *xešeg*; Kalm. *kišəg*; Dag. *keši* (Тод. Даг. 150); Mongr. *kəšəg* 1, 2 (SM 199).

◊ KW 233, MGCD 346. Doerfer (TMN 1, 469) gives the meaning as 'Teil, Anteil, Glück, Schicksalslos' and regards the word as borrowed < Turk. **kesik* (should be rather **kesek*) 'piece'. The sources available to us, however, only give the meaning 'luck, grace' (see L 460, KW 233 etc.) which is absent in Turkic. Therefore the word is hardly borrowed < Turkic.

PKor. ***kìs-** to rejoice (радоваться): MKor. *kìs-*; Mod. *kip:ɨ-*.

◊ Nam 83, KED 267.

‖ SKE 113, Poppe 65. A Mong.-Kor. isogloss; the TM forms (see TMC 1, 455) probably < Mong., see Doerfer MT 116, Rozycki 139.

✱**kĕta (~ -tʹ-, -o, -u)** mule, barren: Tung. ***ketem**; Mong. ***kači-**; Turk. ***KAtɨr**.

PTung. ***ketem** barren (of a female deer) (бесплодная (о важенке оленя)): Evk. *ketem*; Evn. *ketъm*; Neg. *ketem*.

◊ TMC 1, 456.

PMong. ***kači-** a k. of mule (вид мула): MMong. *qači-dut* (pl. < **qačit*) (SH), *qačir* (LH).

PTurk. ***KAtɨr** mule (мул): Karakh. *qatɨr* (MK, KB); Tur. *katɨr*; Az. *Gatɨr*; Turkm. *Gatɨr*; MTurk. *qatɨr* (AH, Houts., IM); KBalk. *qadɨr*; Nogh. *qatɨr*.

◊ VEWT 242, ЭСТЯ 5, 339-340, TMN 3, N° 1395. The Turkic form may well be borrowed < Iran., cf. Saka *khaḍara-* 'mule'. Here -ḍ- points to *rd, cf. Sogd. *γrtr'k* < **xarataraka* 'mule' (for a quite similar compound cf. Pers. *astar* 'mule' < **assa-tara* 'horse from one side'(Bailey 70). Doerfer is concerned about lack of length in Turkic, but length is likewise lacking in Saka and other Iranian forms. The only phonetic difficulty is the Turkic reflex -t-, because Saka ḍ in the Saka-Uygh. glossary (14th c.) renders Turkic -r-. In one obvious Saka loan the Saka -ḍ- is indeed rendered as -r-: cūḍāṃ 'stadium' (Av. *čarətu-*) > OT (Hap. by MK) *čurām* 'a shot with a light far-flying arrow. However, if 'mule' is borrowed, it is hardly a Xinjiang loanword but rather a Common Turkic, and perhaps from another Iranian language (Sogdian?).

‖ A Western isogloss. Mong. > Chag. *kačir* 'mule' etc. (see VEWT 217). The Mong. form itself may have been borrowed from Turk. (see Щербак 1997, 137), but may as well be genuine. The Tung. parallel makes the theory of Turk. < Iran. (Sogd. *γrtr'k*, see TMN 3, 393 with literature) rather improbable.

✱**kétʹò** much, many, excessively: Tung. ***kete, *kēter**; Mong. ***ketü**; Jpn. ***kátù**; Kor. ***kə̀tə̀k-**.

PTung. ***kete, *kēter** 1 big 2 many 3 elder 4 almost (1 большой 2 много 3 старший 4 почти): Evk. *kēter* 1, *kete* 2; Evn. *kēter* 1; Neg. *kētej* 1; Ul. *ketele* 4; Ork. *ketette* 4; Nan. *kēte* 3, *ketēle* 4; Orch. *kēte* 1, *kete* 4; Ud. *kete* 'more' (Корм. 213), *ketige* 4.

◊ TMC 1, 455-456. The form *kēte(re)* (with a long vowel) observed in some languages may have been influenced by **kādara* 'big' (cf. e. g. Orok *kādara*); the relationship between **kete* and **kāda(ra)* is somewhat obscure.

PMong. ***ketü** too much, excessively (слишком много, чрезмерно): WMong. *ketü* (L 460); Kh. *xet*; Bur. *xete*; Kalm. *ketərkǟ*; Ord. *getü*, *getürχī*.

◊ KW 228.

PJpn. ***kátù** moreover, additionally (кроме того, более того, дополнительно): OJpn. *katu*; MJpn. *katu*; Tok. *kátsu*; Kyo. *kátsù*; Kag. *kátsu*.

◊ JLTT 444. Probably **kátù* (Kyoto 2, Kagoshima A), but the Tokyo accent is irregular.

PKor. ***kǎtǎk-** full (полный): MKor. *kǎtǎk-* / *kǎtǎik-*; Mod. *kadɨk-*, *kat:ɨk-*.

◊ Nam 9, KED 9.

‖ EAS 47, KW 228, SKE 84, Poppe 18, 50, Miller 1985a, 81. Despite Doerfer MT 64, the TM form is hardly borrowed from Mong.

✱**kétʿò (~kʿ-, g-, -o-)** similar: Jpn. ***kə́tə́**; Kor. ***kǎth-**.

PJpn. ***kə́tə́** resemblance, similarly (сходство, (суфф.) похоже на, как): OJpn. *koto*; MJpn. *-gótóku*; Tok. *-gotoku*.

PKor. ***kǎth-** to be similar, resemble (быть похожим): MKor. *kǎth-*, *kǎt-*; Mod. *kat-* [*kath-*].

◊ Nam 20, 28, KED 64.

‖ SKE 99, Martin 241. A Kor.-Jpn. isogloss.

✱**ki (~ *kʿi)** to do, to make: Mong. ***ki-**; Turk. ***Kɨl-**; Jpn. ***kì-túk-**.

PMong. ***ki-** to do, to make (делать): MMong. *ki-* (SH, HYt), *ke-* (LH), *ki-* (MA); WMong. *ki-* (L 462); Kh. *xij-*; Bur. *xe-*; Kalm. *ke-* (KPC); Ord. *kī-*; Mog. *ki-* (Weiers); Dag. *xī-*, *kī-* (Тод. Даг. 150), *kī-*, *šī-* (MD 183, 216); Dong. *kie-*; Bao. *ke-* (Тод. Бн.), *giə-*; S.-Yugh. *gə-*; Mongr. *gi-* (SM 135), *gə-*.

◊ MGCD 348. Mong. > Evk. *ke-* id.

PTurk. ***Kɨl-** to do, to make (делать): OTurk. *qɨl-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *qɨl-* (MK); Tur. *kɨl-*; Az. *Gɨl-*; Turkm. *qɨl-*; MTurk. *qɨl-* (Pav. C., MA); Uzb. *qil-*; Uygh. *qil-*; Krm. *qɨl-*; Tat. *qɨl-*; Bashk. *qɨl-*; Kirgh. *qɨl-*; Kaz. *qɨl-*; KBalk. *qɨl-*; KKalp. *qɨl-*; Kum. *qɨl-*; Nogh. *qɨl-*; Khak. *xɨl-*; Shr. *qɨl-*; Oyr. *qɨl-*; Tv. *qɨl-*; Chuv. *əś-xəl* 'делá'; Yak. *kɨn-*; Dolg. *gɨn-*.

◊ EDT 616, VEWT 263, ЭСТЯ 6, 205-206, Stachowski 88. Turk. **Kɨl-ɨnč* 'deed' > Mong. *kilinče* 'sin' (see Clark 1980, 43).

PJpn. ***kì-túk-** to build (строить): OJpn. *kjiduk-*; MJpn. *kìtúk-*; Tok. *kizúk-*; Kyo. *kízúk-*; Kag. *kízúk-*.

◊ JLTT 710. The accent in Kyoto and Kagoshima is somewhat aberrant, but old sources and Tokyo point to **kì-*.

‖ KW 223, Владимирцов 260, Poppe 19, ОСНЯ 1, 309. One of the common Altaic monosyllabic verbal stems. In view of the external evidence, -l- in PT is to be regarded as a historical suffix.

✱**kĭba (~ -p-)** a k. of foliage tree: Tung. ***kibē**; Turk. ***Kɨbak / *Kabak**; Jpn. ***kàpài (~ -ia)**.

PTung. ***kibē** birch bark (береста): Evk. *kiwe*, *kiwē*, *kīwe*; Evn. *kīwe*.

◊ TMC 1, 390. Cf. also Nan. dial. *koerē* 'ash tree' (TMC 1, 420).

PTurk. ***Kɨbak / *Kabak** white poplar, willow (белый тополь, ива): Tur. *kavak*; Gag. *qavaq*; Az. *GovaG*; MTurk. *qawaq* (Houts.); Uygh. *qapaq* (Jarr.); Tat. *quvaq*; Bashk. *qɨwaq*; Oyr. *qāq*, dial. *qabaq*; Tv. *xāk*; Tof. *xã̄k*; Chuv. *хъ^{w}va*.

◊ VEWT 215, ЭСТЯ 5, 170-171, TMN 3, 534-535. The variant **Kabak* is probably secondary, due to vowel assimilation; *qapaq* in Uygh. is also secondary - a contamination with **Kap-* 'cover'.

PJpn. ***kàpài (~ -ia)** a k. of cypress or Thuja (вид кипариса или туи): OJpn. *kap(j)e*; MJpn. *kàfê*.

◊ JLTT 432.

‖ The reflexes point to a tree with distinct bright bark, probably birch (cf. also PU **kojwV* 'birch' compared in МССНЯ 330, ОСНЯ 1, 300).

✱**kìjá** a k. of grass: Tung. ***kijo-kta**; Mong. ***kija-**; Turk. ***Kɨj(g)ak**; Jpn. ***kàjá**; Kor. ***kójōm**.

PTung. ***kijo-kta** brier (шиповник (плоды и кусты)): Evn. *kēkto* 'unripe berry'; Man. *ḱōḱōn* 'name of an edible plant'; Ul. *qojoqto*; Ork. *qijoqto*; Nan. *qioqto*; Orch. *kijokto*; Ud. *kökto*, *kiokto* (Корм. 251).

◊ TMC 1, 387.

PMong. ***kija-** young fresh grass on river banks (молодая свежая трава на берегу реки): WMong. *kijaǯa*; Kalm. *kāzə*; Dag. *ḱān* 'вострец' (Тод. Даг. 148).

◊ KW 222.

PTurk. ***Kɨj(g)ak** sedge (осока): Tur. *kɨjak* (dial.) 'marsh'; Az. *gijax* (dial.) 'grass name'; Turkm. *Gɨjaq* 'пырей волосатый'; Khal. *qijāq* 'soft plants as animal food'; MTurk. *qijaγ* (Pav. C.) 'cut dried grass'; Uzb. *qijɔq*; Uygh. *qijaq* 'grass'; Krm. *qɨjaq* 'bulb'; Tat. *qɨjaq* 'leaves of cereals'; Bashk. *qɨjaq* 'leaves of cereals'; dial. *qɨjγaq* id., 'пырей'; Kirgh. *qɨjaq* 'острец', *qɨjγaq* 'sedge'; Kaz. *qɨjaq* 'grass name'; KKalp. *qɨjaq* 'reed leaves'; Kum. *qɨjaq*; Nogh. *qɨjaq*; Khak. *xɨjγanax*; Oyr. *qɨjγaq*; Chuv. *хъja* (ЭСТЯ: *хъjax*).

◊ VEWT 262, ЭСТЯ 6, 201-202. Turk. > Mong. *kijag* id. (Kalm. *kāg*, KW 222, Khalkha *xiag*, Bur. *x̌āg*, Ord. *kāg*, cf. TMN 3, 566). Cf. also Karakh. (MK) *qajačuq* 'a fragrant mountain grass'.

PJpn. ***kàjá** Miscanthus sinensis (мискант): OJpn. *kaja*; MJpn. *kàjá*; Tok. *káya*; Kyo. *káyá*; Kag. *kayá*.

◊ JLTT 446. All forms point to **kàjá* except Kyoto which is aberrant.

PKor. ***kójōm** a k. of jujube, lotus persimmon (вид ююбы, лотосовая хурма): MKor. *kójōm*; Mod. *kojom*.

◊ HMCH 173, Liu 66, KED 147.

‖ The root denotes some wild-growing grass with sharp edges or thorns. In Kor. there probably occurred a secondary vowel assimilation (**káj-* would be expected). Some interaction with **kúja* 'nut' was possible, especially in the Kor.-Jap. area.

✱**kijmV** vapour, steam; anger: Tung. ***kīmu-**; Mong. ***kimura-**; Turk. ***Kɨjm-**; Kor. ***kīm**.

PTung. ***kīmu-** 1 to be inimical 2 enmity (1 враждовать 2 враг, вражда): Man. *kimu-le-* 1, *kimun* 2; Nan. *kīmu-lē-* 1, *kīmur* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 394. Man. > Dag. *kimun* (Тод. Даг. 150).

PMong. ***kimura-** to be in disorder, conflict (быть в беспорядке, в конфликте): WMong. *kimura-* (L 468); Kh. *x́amra-*; Bur. *ximar-*; Kalm. *kimṛ-*; Ord. *kimara-*; S.-Yugh. *xemral* 'chaos'.

◊ KW 231, MGCD 353.

PTurk. ***Kɨjm-** to move (двигаться): Karakh. *qɨmɨt-* (MK); Tur. *kɨmɨlda-*; Az. *Gɨmɨldan-*; Turkm. *Gīmɨlda-*; Uzb. *qim-*; Uygh. *qimil* 'movement'; Bashk. *qɨjmɨlda-* 'шевелиться'; Kirgh. *qɨjmɨl* 'movement'; Kaz. *qɨjmɨl* 'movement'; KBalk. *qɨmɨlda-*; Khak. *xɨjmɨra-*; Oyr. *qɨjmɨqta-*.

◊ VEWT 262.

PKor. ***kīm** steam, vapour, breath, smell (пар, дыхание, запах): MKor. *kīm*; Mod. *kīm*.

◊ Liu 118, KED 281.

‖ KW 231, SKE 112, TMC 1, 394. Cf. similar semantic development in **ábo* q.v.

✱**kìkú** to bite; rub, scrape: Tung. ***kik-**; Mong. ***kegʒe-**; Turk. ***Kik-**; Jpn. ***kùkúm-**.

PTung. ***kik-** 1 to bite 2 to cut oneself (by rubbing at a rope) 3 to become torn (of a rope, chain) (1 кусать 2 порезаться (о веревку) 3 порваться (о веревке, цепи)): Evk. *kik-* 1; Evn. *qiq-* 1 (Новикова 1980, 183); Neg. *kik-* 1; Nan. *kikia-* 2 (Он.), *kikpē-* 3 (Он.).

◊ TMC 1,391-392. The dialectal Evk. variant *kêk-* is expressive, but by no means < Mong. *kiqa-* 'irritate, intimidate', as suggested in Poppe 1972, 103.

PMong. ***kegʒe-** to scrape off, to incise (соскребать, надрезать): WMong. *kegʒe-*, (L 444:) *kegʒe-le-*; Kh. *xegʒi-*, *xegʒle-*; Ord. *kegʒil-*.

PTurk. ***Kik-** to rub, grind (at each other) (тереть, скрести (друг о друга)): Karakh. *kik-* 'to sharpen and whet a knife', *kikčür-* 'whet a knife' (MK); Yak. *kikirī-* 'to rub with a noise'.

◊ VEWT 270, EDT 710, 714.

PJpn. ***kùkúm-** to take into mouth (брать в рот, держать во рту): MJpn. *kùkúm-*; Tok. *kukum-*.

◊ JLTT 715.

‖ A derivative **kìkú-čV* is probably observable in Karakh. *kikčür-* = PM **kegǯe-*.

✱**kímo** to arrange, intend: Tung. ***kim-**; Mong. ***kima-**; Turk. ***Kɨm-**; Jpn. ***kímá-**.

PTung. ***kim-** 1 to prepare, arrange 2 to check, investigate, to concentrate on (1 готовиться, собираться 2 исследовать, проверять): Evn. *qim-* 1; Man. *kimči-* 2; SMan. *kimači-* (1852) 2.

◊ TMC 1, 394.

PMong. ***kima-** 1 to arrange 2 intention, effort, care (1 заботиться о, устраивать 2 намерение, усилие, забота): WMong. *kimaγa* 2, *kimaγada-* 1 (L 467); Kh. *x́amga-* 1; Bur. *x́amga-* 1; Kalm. *kimɛ*: 2; Dag. *kimči-* 'to control, check' (< Man.).

◊ KW 231, MGCD 353.

PTurk. ***Kɨm-** 1 to wish, intend 2 to persuade (1 желать, намереваться 2 убеждать): MTurk. *qɨmsa-n-* 1; Tat. *qɨmɨn-* (Sib.) 1; KBalk. *qɨmtɨm* 'желание'; Oyr. *qɨm-* 2, *qɨmzɨn-* 1; Chuv. *xəmlen-* 'вдохновляться, воодушевляться'; Yak. *kɨmārdā-*, *kumārdā-* 'заботиться, беспокоиться', *kumsugur-* 'завидовать'.

◊ VEWT 263.

PJpn. ***kímá-** to decide, arrange (решать, постановлять): MJpn. *kimar-*; Tok. *kìmar-*, *kìme-*; Kyo. *kímár-*, *kímé-*; Kag. *kimár-*, *kimé-*.

◊ JLTT 708.

‖ KW 231.

✱**kìpˀé** bran, millet: Tung. ***kipe**; Mong. ***kibag**; Turk. ***kẹpek**; Jpn. ***kìmpí**.

PTung. ***kipe** a k. of wild millet (просо (боровое)): Man. *xife*.

◊ TMC 1, 467.

PMong. ***kibag** small pieces of food, rot (кусочки пищи, труха): Bur. *xibag*; Mongr. *kajaG* 'son des céréales, robe ou écorce des fèves, pois' (SM 197).

PTurk. ***kẹpek** bran (отруби): Karakh. *kepek* (MK); Tur. *kepek*; Gag. *kepek*; Az. *käpäk*; Turkm. *kepek*; MTurk. *kebek* (IM); Uzb. *kepɛk*; Uygh. *kepɛk*; Tat. *kibɛk*; Bashk. *kɛbɛk*; Kirgh. *kebek*; Kaz. *kebek*; KKalp. *kepek*, *kebek*; Kum. *gebek*; Nogh. *kebek*; Khak. *kibək*; Tv. *xevek*; Chuv. *kibek*, *kimək* (dial.).

◊ EDT 688; ЭСТЯ 5, 47.

PJpn. ***kìmpí** millet (просо): OJpn. *kjimji*; MJpn. *kìbí*; Tok. *kíbi*; Kyo. *kìbí*; Kag. *kibí*.

◊ JLTT 450.

‖ One of several similar PA roots (see **kʿā́pʿa*, **kʿepa*, **kʿi̯ā̀bu*, **gébo*).

✸**kìpʿí (~ -e, -o)** attentive, strict: Tung. ***kib-ča-**; Mong. ***kib(i)-si-**; Jpn. ***kìmpì-si-**.

PTung. ***kib-ča-** prudence, moderation (бережливость, умеренность): Man. *xibča-n*.

◊ TMC 1, 465. Attested only in Manchu, but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***kib(i)- / *kebi-** 1 to be attentive, cautious 2 council, deliberation (1 быть внимательным, осторожным 2 совещание): WMong. *kibsi-*, *kibisi-* 1, *kebei* (L 438) 2; Kh. *xevej* 2; Kalm. *kiwšə-* 1, *kewī-* 2.

◊ KW 233.

PJpn. ***kìmpì-si-** strict, solemn (суровый, торжественный, строгий): MJpn. *kìbì-si*; Tok. *kibishí-*; Kyo. *kíbíshì-*; Kag. *kibíshi-*.

◊ JLTT 831. Accent in Kagoshima is irregular.

‖ A common derivative **kìpʿí-čV* is reflected in all branches.

✸**kìro** to cut, mince: Tung. ***kire-**; Mong. ***kira-**; Turk. ***Kɨr-**; Jpn. ***kìr-**.

PTung. ***kire-** 1 to mince 2 to be broken off, break off 3 to gnaw (1 крошить, резать на куски 2 отламываться, отламывать 3 грызть): Evk. *kirge-* 3; Evn. *qịrGъ̣-* 3; Ul. *kirki-ču-* 3, *kiri* 'front tooth'; Ork. *keren-* 1, *kirī-* 'скалить зубы'; Nan. *qịarqịalị-*, *kerkieli-* 3, *kermē-* 2;

◊ TMC 1, 398, 453, 454. Cf. also Evk. *kiramkī*, *kīrke* 'fish-fork', *kirur* 'scraper' possibly derived from the same root.

PMong. ***kiru-** to mince, cut small (размельчать, мелко резать): MMong. *keru* 'in small pieces' (SH); WMong. *kira-*, *kiru-* (L 473); Kh. *x́ar-*; Bur. *kirma-*; Kalm. *kur-*; Dag. *kereči-* (MD 182); Mongr. Cf. *ćiri-* 'avoir la taille affaissée, se pelotonner' (SM 457).

◊ KW 244. Cf. also WMong. *kirbe-*, Kalm. *kirwə-* 'to cut off' (KW 233).

PTurk. ***Kɨr-** 1 to break, demolish 2 small 3 to scrape, shave (1 ломать, разрушать 2 маленький 3 скрести, брить): Karakh. *qɨr-* 3 'to scrape; to tear out'; Tur. *kɨr-* 1; Gag. *qɨr-* 1; Az. *Gɨr-* 1; Turkm. *Gɨr-* 1, 3; Sal. *qɨr-* 3; Khal. *qɨr-* 1; MTurk. *qɨr-* 1, 3 (Pav. C.), 1, 'to cut off' (Бор. Бад.); Uzb. *qir-* 3; Uygh. *qi(r)-* 3; Krm. *qɨr-* 1, 3; Tat. *qɨr-* 3; Bashk. *qɨr-* 1, 3; Kirgh. *qɨr-* 3; Kaz. *qɨr-* 3; KBalk. *qɨr-*; KKalp. *qɨr-* 3; Kum. *qɨr-* 1, 3; Nogh. *qɨr-* 3; SUygh. *qɨr-* 3; Khak. *xɨr-* 3, 'to cut'; Shr. *qɨr-*; Oyr. *qɨr-* 3; Tv. *qɨr-* 3; Tof. *qɨr-* 3; Chuv. *xər-* 1; Yak. *kɨrɨj-* 'to shear, cut'; *kɨra* 2; Dolg. *kɨrɨj-* 'to shear, cut'; *kɨra* 2.

◊ VEWT 265; EDT 643; TMN 3, 567, Лексика 382, ЭСТЯ 6, 227-229, Stachowski 168, 170. The Yak. form *kɨra* 'small' is a rather transparent semantical derivative, although it is not usually listed among the reflexes of PT **Kɨr-*.

PJpn. ***kìr-** to cut (резать): OJpn. *kjir-*; MJpn. *kìr-*; Tok. *kír-*; Kyo. *kìr-*; Kag. *kìr-*.

◊ JLTT 709.

‖ KW 244, Menges 1982.

✱**kirsi (~ kʿ-)** a k. of big wild animal: Mong. ***kirs**; Jpn. ***kisa**.

PMong. ***kirs** rhinoceros (носорог): MMong. *kers* (HY 9); WMong. *kiris*, *kers* (L 472); Kh. *xirs*.

◊ Clark 1980, 39 considers to be < Turkic, but what is the source?

PJpn. ***kisa** elephant (слон): OJpn. *k(j)isa*; MJpn. *kísà*, *kìzá*.

◊ JLTT 451.

‖ An interesting Mong.-Jpn. isogloss.

✱**kī́rsu** a k. of vessel, receptacle: Turk. ***gīŕ**; Kor. ***kɨ̀rɨ́s**.

PTurk. ***gīŕ** 1 a k. of box 2 to hide 3 mystery (1 вид ящика 2 прятать 3 тайна): Karakh. *kiz* 1, *kizle-* 2 (MK); Tur. *gizle-* 2, *giz* 3; Az. *gizlä-* 2; Turkm. *gīzle-* 2; Yak. *kistē-* 2; Dolg. *kistē-* 2.

◊ EDT 756, 760, VEWT 273, ЭСТЯ 3, 43, Stachowski 149.

PKor. ***kɨ̀rɨ́s** vessel (сосуд): MKor. *kɨ̀rɨ́s*; Mod. *kɨrɨt* [*kɨrɨs*].

◊ Liu 98, KED 236.

‖ A Turk.-Kor. isogloss. Cf. also Nan. *kiriske* 'рюмка' (?) (TMC 1, 398).

✱**kɨ̀ɨ́a** a k. of bird of prey: Tung. ***kīran**; Turk. ***Kɨŕ-, *Kɨrguj**.

PTung. ***kīran** a k. of eagle, falcon (вид орла, сокола): Evk. *kīran*; Ud. *käi* 'орлан-белохвост' (Корм. 246).

◊ TMC 1, 397.

PTurk. ***Kɨŕ-, *Kɨrguj, *Kɨragan** 1 hawk, falcon 2 faultless (of a bird of prey) (1 ястреб, сокол 2 ловкий, бьющий без промаха (о ловчей птице)): Karakh. *qɨrɣuj* 1 (MK); Tur. *kɨrɣaj*, *kɨrɣɨ* 1, *kuran* (dial.) 'hawk', *kɨrkaw* (dial., R.) 'a k. of hawk'; Az. *Gɨrɣɨ* 1; Turkm. *Gɨrɣɨ* 1; MTurk. *qirɣu* (Pav. C.), *qɨrɣɨ* (Ettuhf.) 1; Uzb. *qirɣij* 1, *qirɔnqara* 'орел-могильник'; Uygh. *ɣurɣuj*, *qarɣaj* 1 (dial.); Krm. *qɨrɣɨj*, *qɨrqɨn*, *qɨrxɨn* 1; Tat. *qɨrɣɨj* 1 (dial.); Bashk. *qɨjɣɨr* (dial.) 1; Kirgh. *qɨrān*, *qɨran* 1, 2, *qɨrɣɨj*, *qɨjɣɨr* 1, *qɨrɣɨjek* 'young hawk'; Kaz. *qɨran* 2, *qɨrɣɨj* 1; KKalp. *qɨran* 2, *qɨrɣɨj* 1; Kum. *qɨrɣɨj* 1; Khak. *xɨza* 1, *xɨrɣɨjax* 'young hawk'; Chuv. *xərxi* 1, *xərɛn* 'kite'; Yak. *kɨrbɨj* 'серый сокол, сокол-чеглок, ястреб' (?).

◊ VEWT 266, 269, EDT 654-655, ЭСТЯ 6, 231, 232-235. Turk. **Kɨrguj* 'falcon' > Mong. *kirɣui*, see Щербак 1997, 139.

‖ EAS 113, ЭСТЯ 6, 231. A Turk.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**kíso** to press, squeeze, rub: Tung. ***kis-k-**; Mong. ***kisa-**; Turk. ***Kɨs-**; Jpn. ***kə́sə́nká-**; Kor. ***kɨ̀s-**.

PTung. ***kis-k-** 1 to touch, stroke, sharpen (a knife) 2 tongs, vice (1 касаться, тереться, точить (нож) 2 клещи, тиски): Evk. *kiski* 2, Man. *xisχa-* 1 ; Nan. *kiskie*, (On.) *kiskiẽ* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 399, 466. The Evk. and Nan. forms are considered to be borrowed < Russ. *тиски*, but the Man. form is no doubt genuine.

PMong. ***kisa-** to contract, shorten; to hamper, impede (сокращать, мешать, задерживать): WMong. *kis(a)-* (L 473: *kisa-*); Kh. *x́as-*; Bur. *x́aha-* 'to be greedy'; Kalm. *kis-*.

◊ KW 233.

PTurk. ***Kɨs-** 1 short 2 narrow 3 to squeeze (1 короткий 2 узкий 3 сдавливать): OTurk. *qɨsγa* (Orkh.) 1; Karakh. *qɨs-* 3 (MK, KB), *qɨsɨγ* 2 (MK), *qɨsqa* 1 (KB), *qɨsγa* 1 (MK); Tur. *kɨsa* 1, *kɨs-* 3; Gag. *qɨsa* 1; Az. *Gɨsa* 1; Turkm. *GɨsGa* 1, *Gɨs-* 3; Sal. *qɨsGa* 1; MTurk. *qɨsqa* 1 (Abush.), *qɨs-* (MA); Uzb. *qisqa* 1; Uygh. *qisqa* 1; Krm. *qsɨqa* 1; Tat. *qɨsqa* 1, *qɨs-* 3; Bashk. *qɨsqa* 1; Kirgh. *qɨsqa* 1; Kaz. *qɨsqa* 1; KBalk. *qɨsxa* 1; KKalp. *qɨsqa* 1; Nogh. *qɨsqa* 1; SUygh. *GɨsGa, qɨsGa* 1; Khak. *xɨsxa* 1, *xɨs-* 3; Oyr. *qɨsqa* 1; Tv. *qɨsqa* 1, *qɨ's-* 4, *qɨzɨ̄* 2; Tof. *qɨ'sqa* 1, *qɨ's-* 4; Chuv. *xəzək* 2, *xəs-* 4; Yak. *kɨhaj-* 3; Dolg. *kɨhalga* 'straits, sorrow' (= Yak. *kɨhalga*).

◊ PT **Kɨs-ga* 'short' is derived from PT **Kɨs-* 'to press, squeeze'. See VEWT 267, EDT 665-7, ЭСТЯ 6, 251-253, Stachowski 167.

PJpn. ***kə́sə́nká-** to scrape, plane (скрести, строгать): MJpn. *kosoga-*; Tok. *kòsoge-*; Kyo. *kósógé-*; Kag. *kosogé-*.

PKor. ***kɨ̀s-** 1 to press 2 with force, strongly 3 to stop, put an end to smth. (1 давить, угнетать 2 с силой, сильно 3 прекращать): MKor. *kɨ̀s-nùrí-* 1, *kɨ̀s-* 3, *kɨ́s* 2; Mod. *kɨčhi-*, *k:ɨčhi-* 3 (< **kɨs-čhi-*).

◊ Nam 75, KED 241. High tone recorded in the adverb is not quite clear (perhaps expressive; one cannot exclude, however, that it is original, being replaced in the verbal stem by the productive low tone).

‖ Poppe 19, 65, 116, VEWT 267, KW 233 (without the Korean parallel), АПиПЯЯ 285. The original meaning may be reconstructed as 'press, scrape off by pressing' (whence 'sharpen' and other meanings). Tone correspondences seem to be regular, but cf. notes on the Korean tone above.

✱**kiso (~ *kose, kʿ-, g-)** certainly, verily: Jpn. ***kəsə**; Kor. ***kɨ́s**.

PJpn. ***kəsə** indeed, verily (emph. particle) (действительно, именно (усил. частица)): OJpn. *koso*; MJpn. *koso*; Tok. *koso*.

PKor. ***kɨ́s** certainly, without fail (точно, определенно): MKor. *kɨ́s*.

◊ Nam 74.

‖ A Kor.-Jpn. isogloss.

✱**kítʿu (~ kʿ-)** to wait, take time: Mong. ***kičiɣe-**; Jpn. ***kútúrə(n)k- (~ -ua-)**; Kor. ***kìtɨ́r'ó-**.

PMong. ***kičiɣe-** to try, be diligent, polite (прилагать усилия, заботиться, остерегаться): MMong. *kiče'e-* (HY), *kiči'e-*, *kičije-* (SH); WMong. *kičige-* (L 463: *kičije-*); Kh. *xičē-*; Bur. *xešē-*; Ord. *gečē-*; Dag. *kičē-* (MD 183, Тод. Даг. 150: *kičē̆-*); *kičēl* 'careful, prudent'; S.-Yugh. *kəčī-*; *kəčīl* 'careful, prudent'.

◊ MGCD 345, 351. Mong. > Evk. *kiče-* etc.; Oyr. *kiče-*, Yak., Dolg. *kičej-* etc., see TMN 1, 487, Doerfer MT 80, Rozycki 139, Kał. MEJ 38, Stachowski 147.

PJpn. ***kútúrə(n)k- (~ -ua-)** to relax, feel at ease (расслабляться): MJpn. *kútúróg-*; Tok. *kutsuróg-*; Kyo. *kútsúróg-*; Kag. *kùtsùròg-*.

◊ JLTT 718. Tokyo and Kagoshima have irregular accent pointing to a variant **kùtùrə̀(n)k-*.

PKor. ***kìtɨ́r'ó-** to wait (ждать): MKor. *kìtɨ́r'ó-*; Mod. *kidari-*.

◊ Nam 78, KED 262. Cf. also *kìth-* 'to remain'.

‖ Cf. **ki̯ū́di, *gode* (with possible contaminations).

✸**kíǯV (?)** to lose, disappear: Tung. ***kiǯ-**; Jpn. ***kíjá-**.

PTung. ***kiǯ-** to lose (терять): Nan. *kị̄ǯo-*.

◊ TMC 1, 391.

PJpn. ***kíjá-** to disappear, be extinguished (пропадать, гаснуть): OJpn. *kjija-*, *ka-*; MJpn. *kíjá-*; Tok. *kìe-*; Kyo. *kíé-*; Kag. *kié-*.

◊ JLTT 708.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss; rather dubious because of scarce attestation in TM.

✸**ki̯ā́čʿù** hole; mouth: Tung. ***kuči-n**; Mong. ***kačir**; Turk. ***KĒčir**; Jpn. ***kútí**.

PTung. ***kuči-n** 1 well 2 dimples (1 колодец 2 ямочки (на щеках)): Man. *χučin* 1; SMan. *qočin* 1 (547); Jurch. *xuĉi* 1(56); Nan. *qočị* 2; *χočĩ* 1 (< Man.).

◊ TMC 1, 419, 475.

PMong. ***kačir** cheek (щека): MMong. *qačar* (HY 45, SH), *qačər* (IM), *qačar* (LH) Г; WMong. *qačir*, *qačar* (L 901); Kh. *xacr*, *xacar*; Bur. *xasar*; Kalm. *xačṛ*; Ord. *Gačar*; Dag. *xačir* (Тод. Даг. 175), (MGCD, Тод. Даг. 148) *kačir*; *kačire* (MD 181); Dong. *qɨǯa*, *qɨča*; Mongr. *xaʒ́ar* (SM 148), *xaǯar*.

◊ KW 173, MGCD 336.

PTurk. ***KĒčir** 1 trachea 2 cartilage (1 трахея 2 хрящ): Tat. *käčerkä* 'a small hair on the back of a baby' (?); Kirgh. *kečir* 'cartilage of the shoulderblade bone'; Khak. *kiǯər* 2; Shr. *kečirtke* 2; Oyr. *ked'ir* 1; Tof. *keǯir* 2, *keǯir bōs* 1.

◊ VEWT 246. Length is indicated by voicing in Tof. and lack of pharyngealization.

PJpn. ***kútí** mouth (рот): OJpn. *kuti*; MJpn. *kútí*; Tok. *kùchi*; Kyo. *kúchí*; Kag. *kúchi* (= *kúT*).

◊ JLTT 467.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 111. For Jpn. cf. also Koguryo /*xuče*/ 'mouth'. The root must have basically meant 'mouth or throat cavity' (whence 'mouth', 'cheek' (originally probably 'inner side of cheek') and 'trachea'), with a secondary development > 'cavity in general' > 'well' in TM.

✱**kiadi** to put on, wear: Mong. ***kedü- / *keǯi-**; Turk. ***ged-**; Jpn. ***kí-**.

PMong. ***kedü- / *kedi-** 1 to wear a garment 2 saddle cloth (1 надевать одежду 2 попона): WMong. *kedür-* 1 (L 442), *keǯim* 2 (L 462); Kh. *xeǯim* 2; Bur. *xeder-* 1; Kalm. *ködr-* 1, *keǯəm* 2; Ord. *kedür-* 1.

◊ KW 236. Mong. > Chag. *keǯim* etc. (ЭСТЯ 5, 18-19; see Щербак 1997, 205, Лексика 546). Mong. *keǯim* itself may be an old Turkic loanword, see TMN 1, 462.

PTurk. ***ged-** to put on (надевать): OTurk. *ked-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *keδ-* (MK); Tur. *gij-*; Gag. *gī-*; Az. *gej-*; Turkm. *gej-*; Sal. *kij-*; Khal. *käd-*; MTurk. *kej-* (AH, Ettuhf.); Uzb. *kij-*; Uygh. *kej-*, *kij-*; Krm. *kij-*; Tat. *kij-*; Bashk. *kĭj-*; Kirgh. *kij-*; Kaz. *kĭj-*; KKalp. *kij-*; Kum. *gij-*; Nogh. *kij-*; SUygh. *kez-*; Khak. *kis-*; Shr. *kes-*; Oyr. *kij-*; Tv. *ket-*; Yak. *ket-*; Dolg. *ket-*.

◊ EDT 700, VEWT 246, ЭСТЯ 3, 12-13, Лексика 472-473, Stachowski 146.

PJpn. ***kí-** to put on, wear (надевать, носить (одежду)): OJpn. *ki-*; MJpn. *kjí-*; Tok. *kì-*; Kyo. *kí-*; Kag. *kí-*.

◊ JLTT 709.

‖ KW 236, Poppe 19, Ozawa 197-199, JOAL 72, 73, 136, АПиПЯЯ 72. A possible TM match is Man. *adu* = Jurch. *ha-du* 'clothes' < **xadu* (TMC 1, 6); this would make us reconstruct **kʿajdi* and suppose a secondary (assimilatory) voicing in Turk. **ged-* < **ked-*.

✱**kiàdi** seam, to sew, lace: Tung. ***kiade-le-**; Mong. ***kaǯi**; Turk. ***K(i)adi-**; Kor. ***kjə̀d-**.

PTung. ***kiade-le-** to lace, befringe (обшивать, окаймлять): Evk. *kə̂d́elē-*.

◊ TMC 1, 443. Attested only in Evk., but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***kaǯi** seam, facing; to face (шов, кант; обшивать): WMong. *qaǯi*, *qaǯi-* (L 948); Kh. *xaǯ*; Bur. *xaža* 'серебряная оправа'.

◊ Cf. also WMong. *qadaγ*, Khalkha *xadag* 'folded silk cloth'.

PTurk. ***K(i)adɨ-** 1 to sew, sew together 2 leather belt (1 шить, сшивать 2 кожаный пояс): Karakh. *qaδu-* 1, *qaδɨš* 2 (MK); Tur. *kajiš* 2; Gag. *qajɨš* 2; Az. *Gajɨš* 2; Turkm. *Gaja-* 1, *Gajɨš* 2; Sal. *qajɨš* 2; MTurk. *qajɨš* 2 (Pav. C.); Uzb. *qajɨš* 2 (dial.); Krm. *qajɨš* 2; Tat. *qajɨ-* 1, *qajɨš* 2; Bashk. *qaj-* > Chuv. *xaj-* 1, *qajɨš* 2; Kirgh. *qajɨ-* 1, *qajɨš* 2; Kaz. *qajɨ-* 1, *qajɨs* 2; KBalk. *qajɨš* 2; KKalp. *qajɨ-* 1, *qajɨs* 2; Kum. *qajɨ-* 1, *qajɨš* 2; Nogh. *qajɨ-* 1, *qajɨs* 2; Khak. *xās* 2; Oyr. *qajɨš* 2; Yak. *xatɨs* 2.

◊ VEWT 219, TMN 3, 408, EDT 596, 607, ЭСТЯ 5, 199, 218, Лексика 386.

PKor. ***kjə̀d-** to weave, plait (ткать, заплетать): MKor. *kjə̀t-* (-r-); Mod. *kjət-* (-r-).

◊ Liu 56, KED 115.

‖ TMC 1, 443.

✱**kiádu (~ kʿ-)** relative: Mong. ***kadum**; Turk. ***Kādɨn**; Kor. ***kjərăi**.

PMong. ***kadum** relative by marriage (свойственник): MMong. *qadum* (MA), *qadom* (IM), *qadəm* (LH); WMong. *qadum* (L 903); Kh.

xadam; Bur. *xadam*; Kalm. *xadm̥*; Ord. *xadam*; Dag. *xadam* (Тод. Даг. 172); Dong. *Gadun*; S.-Yugh. *Gadəm*; Mongr. *Gadim* (SM 116).

◊ KW 158, MGCD 314. Mong. > Evk. *kadum*, see Poppe 1966, 195, Doerfer MT 125.

PTurk. ***Kādɨn** relative-in-law (свойственник): OTurk. *qadɨn* (Yenis., OUygh.); Karakh. *qaδɨn* (MK, KB), *qadɨn* (KB), *qajɨn* (IM); Tur. *kajɨn*; Az. *Gajɨn*; Turkm. *Gājɨn*; MTurk. *qajɨn* (Pav. C., MA, Houts.); Uzb. *qɛjin*; Uygh. *qejin*; Tat. *qajɨn*; Bashk. *qajnɨ*; Kirgh. *qajɨn*; Kaz. *qajɨn*; Kum. *qajɨn*; Nogh. *qajɨn*; Khak. *xazɨn*/ *xastɨ*; Shr. *qazɨn*; Oyr. *qajɨn*; Tv. *qatɨ*; Tof. *xattɨ*; Chuv. *xoń*.

◊ VEWT 218, ЭСТЯ 5, 215-216, Лексика 309, Федотов 2, 358.

PKor. ***kjərăi** relatives (родственники): MKor. *kjə̀rǎi*; Mod. *kjəre*.

◊ Nam 41, KED 111.

‖ KW 158, Poppe 52. Despite TMN 3, 579, Щербак 1997, 132 Mong. is hardly < Turk. Cf. also Evn. *kēde* 'friend' (TMC 1, 443). The Kor. word is compared alternatively (JLTT 438) with OJ *kara* ʿclan, family', but the latter seems to have a better match in TM **kal-*, see **kala*.

✸**ki̯ǎgru** to bake, boil: Tung. ***kurgi-**; Mong. ***kaɣur-**; Turk. ***KAgur-**; Jpn. ***kùrì-dà**; Kor. ***kɨ̀rh-**.

PTung. ***kurgi-** to burn, catch fire (гореть, вспыхивать): Evk. *kurgi-*; Neg. *kurgi-sin-*; Man. *χur-še-*; Ul. *kurǯi-*; Sol. *xudǯi-*.

◊ TMC 1, 435.

PMong. ***kaɣur-** to roast, bake, fry (жарить, печь): MMong. *qawur-* (MA) 1; WMong. *qa(ɣ)uru-*, (L 910:) *qaɣur-*, *qaɣuur-*, *quɣur-*; Kh. *xūr-*; Bur. *xūra-*; Kalm. *xūr-*; Ord. *xūr-*; Mog. ZM *qouro* (14-6b) 'to boil, roast'; Dong. *kuru-*; Mongr. *kurgu-* (SM 216).

◊ KW 201, 204. Southern forms seem to reflect front vocalism.

PTurk. ***KAgur-** to roast, fry (жарить): Karakh. *qaɣur-*, *qoɣur-*, *qovur-* (MK); Tur. *kavur-*; Gag. *qa'ur-*; Az. *Govur-*; Turkm. *Govur-*, *Gavɨr-* (А-Б); MTurk. *qavur-* (Houts., Pav. C., MA); Uzb. *qɔwur-*, dial. *qɔɣur-*; Uygh. *qoru-*; Krm. *qavur-*; Tat. *quwɨr-*; Bashk. *quwɨr-*, dial. *qɨwɨr-*; Kirgh. *kūr(u)-*; Kaz. *quwɨr-*; KKalp. *quwɨr-*; Nogh. *quwɨr-*; Khak. *xōr-*; Shr. *qōr-*; Oyr. *kūr-*; Tv. *xōr-*.

◊ VEWT 220, ЭСТЯ 5, 175-177.

PJpn. ***kùrì-dà** kitchen (кухня): OJpn. *kurija*; MJpn. *kùrìjà*; Tok. *kùrija*; Kyo. *kúríjá*; Kag. *kurijá*.

◊ JLTT 464. The accent in Tokyo and Kyoto is irregular (pointing to **kúrí-dá*), but Kagoshima together with RJ point to original low tone.

PKor. ***kɨ̀rh-** to boil (варить(ся)): MKor. *kɨ̀rh-*; Mod. *k:ɨr(h)-*.

◊ Nam 74, KED 250.

‖ Mong. may be < Turk. (see TMN 3, 542, Щербак 1997, 132), but may well be genuine, see KW 202, Владимирцов 206, Poppe 48. Ko-

rean has the typical "verbal" low tone. The specific medial cluster explains somewhat irregular vowel behaviour in Kor.

✱**kia̯jo** strong odour, smoke: Tung. ***koja**; Mong. ***kej**; Turk. ***KAjɨr**; Jpn. ***káiN-púri**.

PTung. ***koja** secretion of a musk deer (струя кабарги): Ul. *qoja*; Nan. *qoja*.

◊ TMC 1, 404.

PMong. ***kej** 1 air, atmosphere 2 wind (1 воздух, атмосфера 2 ветер): MMong. *ke* (=*kəi* HY 1), *kei* (SH), *kī* (IM), *kǐji* (MA) 1; WMong. *kei* (L 444) 1; Kh. *xij* 1; Bur. *xī* 1; Kalm. *kī* 1; Ord. *kī*; Mog. *kei* 1,2; ZM *kei* 1,2 (19-4a); Dag. *xein*, *kein*, *kīn* 2 (Тод. Даг. 149), *hejn* 2, *hejse-* 'to blow' (MD 159), *hij* 1 (MD 162); Dong. *kei* 1, 2; Bao. *ki* 2; S.-Yugh. *kī* 1; Mongr. *kī* (SM 199) 1, 2.

◊ KW 233-234, MGCD 347. Mong. > Evk. *kei* etc., see Doerfer MT 102.

PTurk. ***KAjɨr** castoreum, the odorous secretion of the beaver (мускус, пахучие выделения бобра): OTurk. *qajɨr* (OUygh.); Karakh. *qunduz qajɨrɨ* (MK); MTurk. *qajɨr* (Sangl.); Tat. Sib. *qajɨr*; Khak. *xajɨr*; Shr. *qajɨr*.

◊ VEWT 222, EDT 678-679.

PJpn. ***káiN-púri (~ *kiá-)** smoke (дым): OJpn. *k(j)eburi*; MJpn. *kébúri*; Tok. *kèmuri*; Kyo. *kémúrí*; Kag. *kemúi*.

◊ JLTT 448. Historically a compound with **pur-* 'to wave' (or **pur-* 'to snow, rain'); the Ryukyu variant **kaiNpusi* may reflect a different suffixation (or the influence of **mus-* 'to boil, steam'). Simple **kai* is also attested in OJ as *ke* 'vapour, breath'; the word is traditionally regarded as borrowed < MChin. *khìj* id., but the vocalism is somewhat strange (one would rather expect OJ *ki* - which, as a matter of fact, is also attested and is the normal Goon / Kanon reading of the character 氣).

‖ АПиПЯЯ 109, 277, Мудрак Дисс. 103 (see also **gia̯ūbe*, **kia̯aju*, with a possibility of contaminations). Note that both in MMong. and OJ the root is sometimes treated as borrowed from MChin. *khìj* (see, e.g., Rozycki 139) - which is not totally excluded, but somewhat dubious (very early attestation both in Mongolian and Japanese texts, and unexplained vocalism).

✱**kia̯jú** wind, air: Tung. ***kuje**; Mong. ***kuj**; Turk. ***KAj**; Jpn. ***kùjù-r-**; Kor. ***kùrì-**.

PTung. ***kuje** whirlwind, snow storm (метель, пурга): Neg. *kuje*; Orch. *kue*, *kuwe*; Ud. *kue* (Корм. 253).

◊ TMC 1, 425.

PMong. ***kuj** whirlwind (вихрь): WMong. *qui* (L 982); Kh. *xuj*; Bur. *xuj*; Kalm. *xū̄* (KPC); Ord. *xuj*; S.-Yugh. *χui*.

◊ MGCD 386. Mong. > Chag. *qujun*, Oyr. *qujun* etc. (see Лексика 43-44, ЭСТЯ 6, 117-118).

PTurk. ***KAj** 1 shaman spirit 2 throat singing (1 шаманский дух 2 горловое пение): SUygh. *qaj* 1; Khak. *xaj* 2; Shr. *qajla-* 2; Oyr. *qajla-* 2; Chuv. > Mari *xoj* 'Gespräch'.

◊ VEWT 221. If the original meaning is 'air movement' (cf. the external evidence), cf. also Chuv. *kü* 'strong odour'.

PJpn. ***kùjù-r-** to smoke, fume (дымить(ся)): MJpn. *kùjù-r-*; Tok. *kuyúr-*; Kyo. *kúyúr-*; Kag. *kùyùr-*.

PKor. ***kùrì-** be smelly, stinking (вонять, пахнуть): MKor. *kùrì-*; Mod. *kori-*, *kuri-*.

◊ Liu 83, KED 200.

‖ Cf. **kia̯jo:* the two roots seem to be distinct, but certainly contaminations were possible. Kor. **kuri-* < **kuju-ri-*, cf. the Jpn. form.

✸**kia̯ka (~ -kˊ-)** shell: Tung. ***kiaK-ta / -ikta**; Jpn. ***kàkî**.

PTung. ***kiaK-ta / -ikta** 1 skin 2 shell (1 кожа 2 раковина): Evk. *kêkikta* 1; Man. *qaiqari* 2; Ul. *qiaqta* 2; Nan. *qäχta* 2; Orch. *kiakta* 2; Ud. *käkta* (/*käxta*) (Корм. 246).

◊ TMC 1, 386-387.

PJpn. ***kàkî** shell, oyster (раковина, устрица): OJpn. *kakji*; MJpn. *kàkì*; Tok. *káki*; Kyo. *kàkî*; Kag. *kakí*.

◊ JLTT 434.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 293. A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss; seems quite reliable (linking the Jpn. form with Kor. *kur* by Martin 238 should be rejected).

✸**k[ia̯]ma** a k. of aquatic bird: Tung. ***k[ia]m-**; Mong. ***kemerleg**; Jpn. ***kàmuâ**; Kor. ***kàmà'ótí**.

PTung. ***k[ia]m-** diver (гагара): Evn. *kā̆milŋa* / *kiamilŋa*; Ork. *qojomo* 'a k. of duck'.

◊ TMC 1, 388, 404. Cf. also Man. *xumudu* / *xumtu* 'bustard' (TMC 1, 447). The vocalic reconstruction is not quite clear.

PMong. ***kemerleg** a k. of pheasant-like bird (вид птицы, похожей на фазана): WMong. *kemerlig* (MXTTT); Kh. *xemerleg*.

PJpn. ***kàmuâ** duck (утка): OJpn. *kamwo*; MJpn. *kàmò*; Tok. *kámo*; Kyo. *kàmô*; Kag. *kamó*.

◊ JLTT 436.

PKor. ***kàmà'ótí** cormorant (баклан): MKor. *kàmà'ótí*; Mod. *kamauʒi*.

◊ Nam 4 (HMCH 184), KED 15.

‖ Despite some problems with vocalism, the root seems reliable.

✸**kiă̯mò** ghost, spirit: Tung. ***kum-**; Mong. ***keme-**; Turk. ***Kiam**; Jpn. ***kàmù-i**.

PTung. ***kum-** evil spirit (злой дух): Nan. *kumtu* (Bik.); *qōmio* (On.) 'helping spirit, human-shaped figurine of a god'.

◊ TMC 1, 431. Attested only in Nanai (with a not quite clear vowel variation in dialects, but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***keme-** 1 to divine on bones 2 to speak, explain (arch.) (1 гадать по костям 2 говорить, объяснять): WMong. *keme-* 1,2 (L 450); Kh. *xemē-* 2; Kalm. *kemɛ:-* 1.

◊ KW 224.

PTurk. ***Kiam** 1 shaman 2 to shamanize, come into movement (1 шаман 2 камлать, приходить в движение): OTurk. *qam* 1, *qamla-* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *qam* (MK, KB) 1; Tur. *kam* 1; MTurk. *qam* 1 (AH, IM, Pav. C.), *qamla-* 2 (Sangl.); Krm. *qamʒɨ* 1; Tat. *qam* 1 (Sib.); Khak. *xam* 1, *xamna-* 2; Shr. *qam* 1; Oyr. *qam* 1, *qamda-* 2; Tv. *xam* 1; Tof. *xam* 1; Chuv. *jomъś, jumъźə* 1; Yak. *xam-nā-* (*xam-sā-*) 2; Dolg. *kamnā-* 2.

◊ VEWT 228, TMN 3, 402-406, ЭСТЯ 5, 240-241, Егоров 348-349, Федотов 1, 486, Stachowski 136.

PJpn. ***kàmù-i** god, spirit (бог, дух): OJpn. *kami*; MJpn. *kàmì*; Tok. *kamí*; Kyo. *kámi*; Kag. *kàmí*.

◊ JLTT 435. OJ *kamu-* in compounds (*kamu-nusi* etc.).

‖ Мудрак Дисс. 192 (Turk.-Mong.). Cf. perhaps also MKor. -kím in *nīm-kím* 'master, Lord' (if -kím is not borrowed < Jpn. *kimi*, see under **kiŋo*).

✱**kiamp´a** top, top of head: Tung. ***kiama / *kiapa**; Turk. ***k(i)amak / *k(i)apak**; Jpn. ***kàm(p)-**; Kor. ***kàmá**.

PTung. ***kiama / *kiapa** 1 temple 2 face (1 висок 2 лицо): Evk. *kẽwa* 2; Ork. *qẽmi* 1; Nan. *qãf* (Bik.) 1; Ud. *keämikta* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 386.

PTurk. ***K(i)amak / *K(i)apak** 1 forehead 2 front part 3 eyelid 4 eyebrow (1 лоб 2 передняя часть 3 веко 4 бровь): Karakh. *qapaq* 3 (MK); Tur. *kabak* 'bald', dial. *kabag* 1, 2, 'face', 'skull'; Az. *GabaG* 2, (poet.) 'face'; Turkm. *GābaG* 3; MTurk. *qabaq* 1, 2 (Sangl., Бор. Бад.); Uzb. *qɔvɔq* 3; Uygh. dial. *qawaq* 3; Tat. *küz qabaɣɨ* 3, dial. taw *qabaɣɨ* 'mountain slope'; Bashk. *qabaq* 3, 'precipice'; Kirgh. *qabaq* 3, 'pitfall'; Kaz. *qabaq* 3, 'place under the forehead; edge of shore'; KKalp. *qabaq* 3, 'cleft'; Kum. *göz qabaɣɨ* 3; Nogh. *qabaq* 3; SUygh. *qavaq* 'nose bridge' (ЯЖУ); Khak. *xamax* 1; Shr. *qamaq*, *qabaq* 1; Oyr. *qamaq*, *qabaq* 4, dial. 1; Tv. *xavaq* 1; Tof. *qabaq* 4.

◊ VEWT 228, ЭСТЯ 5, 161, Лексика 199-200. An extremely complicated case: forms meaning 'eyelid' are traditionally analysed as derived from **Kap-* 'to cover' - but the Turkm., Uzb. and Uygh. forms clearly contradict such a derivation by displaying unmistakable vowel length. A trace of the original meaning 'forehead, eyebrow' (later shifted to 'eyelid') in the Kypchak languages (not distinguishing vowel length) may be found in expressions meaning 'to frown (one's forehead, eyebrows)': Kirgh. *qabaq tüj-*, *bürkö-*, Kaz., KKalp. *qabaq tüj-*. The form **Kāpak* may have been additionally influenced by PT **Kāp* 'sack; to surround' (v. sub **k[ā]p´á*), **Kāp(ak)* 'caul, hymen' (v. sub **k´āp´a*). The variation of *-m- and -p- (cf. the archaic Siberian reflexes with -m-) is parallelled by a similar variation in TM and Japanese and may reflect an original cluster, but may have been an innovation due to the contaminations with **Kap-* and **Kāp.*

PJpn. ***kàm(p)-** 1 top 2 head (1 верх, верхушка 2 голова): OJpn. *kamji* 1; MJpn. *kàmí* 1, *kabu(ri)* 2; Tok. *kámi* 1, *káburi*, *kàburi* 2; Kyo. *kàmí* 1, *kábúrí* 2; Kag. *kamí* 1, *kaburí* 2.

◊ JLTT 431, 435.

PKor. ***kàmá** crown of head (верхушка головы): MKor. *kàmá*; Mod. *kama*.

◊ Liu 20, HMCH 51, KED 14.

‖ PKE 68 (Kor.-Turk., without Japanese parallels), АПиПЯЯ 279, Лексика 200. Tone correspondence between Kor. and Jpn. is irregular. The variation between *-m- and *-p- in most subgroups reflects the PA cluster *-mpʿ-, possibly with later interdialectal loans.

✸**ki̯ǎmù** beaver; bear: Tung. ***kuma**; Turk. ***Kạma**; Jpn. ***kùmà**; Kor. ***kōm**.

PTung. ***kuma** seal (нерпа, тюлень): Evk. *kuma*; Evn. *qụma*; Neg. *koma*.

◊ TMC 1, 430.

PTurk. ***Kạma** 1 beaver 2 otter (1 бобер 2 выдра): Uygh. *qama* 2; Tat. *qama* 2; Bashk. *qama* 2; KKalp. *qama* 2; Khak. *xam-nos*, *xam čat* (Верб.) 1; Shr. *qamna(γɨ)* 2; Oyr. *qamdu* 2; Chuv. *xъʷma* 'beaver, marten'.

◊ ЭСТЯ 5, 242, Лексика 162, Мудрак Дисс. 145. Also PT **Kam-tuŕ* 'beaver, otter' (VEWT 228, Лексика 162) (**Kam-tuŕ* may be a compound < **Kama+*utɨŕ* 'otter' q.v. sub **óŋdu*; Leksika ibid., however, suggests rather **Kam-luč*, with a diminutive *-luč. There is also a variant **Kun-tuŕ* (with **Kunu* 'wolverine'? - see, however, TMN 3, 524, with a suggestion of Turk. < Pers.).

PJpn. ***kùmà** bear (медведь): OJpn. *kuma*; Tok. *kumá*; Kyo. *kúmà*; Kag. *kumá*.

◊ JLTT 463.

PKor. ***kōm** bear (медведь): MKor. *kōm*; Mod. *kōm*.

◊ Nam 51, KED 161.

‖ EAS 155, SKE 122-123, Дыбо 9, Martin 225, Лексика 162.

✸**ki̯àntú** a k. of vessel: Tung. ***kondi**; Mong. ***kundaga**; Turk. ***Kendük (*Kentük)**; Jpn. ***kùntá**.

PTung. ***kondi** scoop, box (ковш, черпак, ящик): Neg. *konǯaxan*; Ul. *konǯoko*; Ork. *χondoqqo* 'кисет'; Nan. *kunǯi*, *kunǯučẽ*; Orch. *kōndi*; Ud. *konǯi*.

◊ TMC 1, 409, 412, 470.

PMong. ***kundaga** a small vessel (небольшой сосуд): WMong. *qundaγa(n)* (L 986); Kh. *xundaga*; Bur. *xundaga*; Ord. *xundaGa*.

◊ Mong. > Man. *xuntaxa* (see Rozycki 112).

PTurk. ***Kendük (*Kentük)** 1 large earthenware jar for storing flour 2 bin, crib for flour, grain (1 большой глиняный сосуд для муки 2 ларь, закром для муки, зерна): Karakh. *kendük* (MK - Ganch.) 1; Az. *kändi* 2; Khal. *kändi* 'basket'; MTurk. *kündük* 'jug' (Sangl.); Uzb. *kandik* 2;

Kirgh. *kendik* 'room for grain, fuel' (may be < Pers.); Chuv. *kandi* 'round wooden bowl'.

◊ EDT 729. Clauson regards the word as an unequivocal iranism. The Iranian forms are: Pekhl. *kndwg* (> Armen. *k'andouk*), Pers. *kandū*, *kandūk* 'big earthenware vessel for storing grain', Osset. *xaendyg* 'pail for pickled cheese'. Persian is the source of Syr. *kndwk-*, Arab. *kandūǰ* 'big vessel for grain'. Also related is Sak. *khadīrakya* (**xandīra-*) 'a vessel' (possibly, some basket-work, see Bailey 71, Аб. 4, 173). Abayev derives the above forms from Iran. **kan-* 'to dig' - which is not quite plausible (in a participle we would expect the zero grade vocalism; unclear is the labial vowel in the suffix; semantics raises doubts). On the other hand, all the above Iranian forms can be well explained as Turkisms, including the Saka form - with the suffix -rak (a wellknown suffix for receptacles, see Bang 1918). External parallels provide the final support for such a decision. Middle Greek *kóndü* 'potárion' may be < Bulg., cf. the Chuv. semantics (see Фасмер sub *кандия*; cf. also other European words possibly having the same source).

PJpn. ***kùntá** pipe (трубка): OJpn. *kuda*; MJpn. *kùdá*; Tok. *kúda*; Kyo. *kùdá*; Kag. *kudá*.

◊ JLTT 461.

‖ The root appears well reconstructable for PA, with a common derivative **ki̯àntú-kV* (PT **Kendük* = PM **kundaga* = PTM **kondi-kā-n*.

✱**k[i̯a]ŋe** a k. of board: Tung. ***küŋile**; Mong. ***kaŋga**; Turk. ***K(i)aŋ**.

PTung. ***küŋile** skis (лыжи-голицы): Evk. *kiŋlē*; Evn. *kiŋna*; Neg. *kiŋne*; Ul. *kuŋgilte*; Ork. *kuŋgilte*; Nan. *kuŋgilte*; Orch. *kiŋile*; Ud. *kiŋgile*.

◊ TMC 1, 396. Evk. > Dolg. *kiŋle* (see Stachowski 148).

PMong. ***kaŋga** a k. of board, cross-bar (вид доски, распорки): WMong. *qaŋγa*; Kh. *xaŋga*; Kalm. *xaŋgə*.

◊ KW 166. Mong > Kaz. *qaŋa* 'доска' etc., VEWT 232.

PTurk. ***K(i)aŋ** 1 vehicle, cart 2 skis, sleigh (1 повозка 2 лыжи, сани): OTurk. *qaŋlɨ* (OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *qaŋlɨ* (MK) 1; Tur. *kaγnɨ*, dial. *kannɨ*, *kangɨllɨ* 1; Sal. *γaŋlɨ* 1; MTurk. *qaŋlɨ* (Sangl., Houts., AH) 1; Khak. *xaŋā* 1; Shr. *qaŋna* 2; Tv. *xã̄k* 2; Tof. *qaŋha* 2 (ФиЛ 91).

◊ TMN 3, 531, EDT 638, ЭСТЯ 5, 259-260, Лексика 533.

‖ A Western isogloss. Despite vocalic irregularity, the TM forms are hard to separate from Turko-Mongolian.

✱**ki̯àpì** depth; edge: Tung. ***kiabu-**; Mong. ***köb-**; Jpn. ***kìpà**; Kor. ***kìphí-**.

PTung. ***kiabu-** bottom of boat (дно лодки): Ul. *kêwu(n)*; Nan. *kiõ*; Orch. *kā̄u*.

◊ TMC 1, 390.

PMong. ***köb-** 1 depth 2 edge, side (1 глубина 2 край, бок): WMong. *köb* 1 (L 475), *köbege(n)*, *köbüge* (L 476) 2; Kh. *xöv* 1, *xövge*, *xövȭ* 2; Bur. *xübȭ* 2; Kalm. *köwɛ* 2; Ord. *köwȭ* 2; Dag. *kuwē*, *kugē* 2 (Тод. Даг. 150); Mongr. *koG* (SM 212) 1.

◊ KW 242. Mong. > Evk. *kuwē*, Man. *kubu-*, *kubuxen* (TMC 1, 423, Poppe 1966, 192, Doerfer MT 132), Turk. *köbe* etc. (VEWT 285, ЭСТЯ 5, 80-81).

PJpn. ***kìpà** edge, side (край, бок): OJpn. *kjipa*; MJpn. *kìfà*; Tok. *kiwá*; Kyo. *kíwà*; Kag. *kiwá*.

◊ JLTT 452.

PKor. ***kìphí-** deep (глубокий): MKor. *kìphí-*; Mod. *kip-* [*kiph-*].

◊ Nam 80, KED 283.

‖ Martin 230. Korean has a 'verbal' low tone and a secondary monophthongization (*-jə- > -i-). In Mong. one has to assume labial assimilation **köb-* < **keb-*.

✱**kia̯pˀa** turtle, crayfish: Tung. ***kiakp- / *kiapk-**; Mong. ***kab-**; Jpn. ***kap- / *kam-**; Kor. ***kə̀púp**.

PTung. ***kiakp- / *kiapk-** 1 crayfish 2 tick (1 рак 2 клещ): Ork. *qêqparị* 1; Orch. *kā̆pi* 2; Ud. *käfi* 2 (Корм. 247), *keäfi* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 388.

PMong. ***kab-** 1 crayfish 2 turtle (1 рак 2 черепаха): WMong. *qabči* 1 (L 896); Kh. *xavč* 1; Bur. *xabšāxaj* 1; Kalm. *xawxəntə* 2 (КРС); Dag. *xabil* 2 (Тод. Даг. 172).

◊ Dag. > Sol. *xabil* id.

PJpn. ***kap- / *kam-** 1 turtle 2 frog (1 черепаха 2 лягушка): OJpn. *kame* 1, *kapjeru*, *kapadu* 2; MJpn. *kàmè* 1, *kaferu*, *kafadu* 2; Tok. *káme* 1, *kàeru*, *kàwazu* 2; Kyo. *kàmê* 1, *kàèrú*, *kàwàzú* 2; Kag. *kamé* 1, *kaerú*, *kawázu* 2.

◊ JLTT 432, 435, 446. Original accent is not quite clear.

PKor. ***kə̀púp** turtle (черепаха): MKor. *kə̀púp*; Mod. *kəbuk*.

◊ Nam 32, KED 85.

‖ Martin 244 (Kor.-Jpn.). PJ **kama-* presupposes a nasal suffix (**kia̯pˀa-nV*). A very similar fish name is found in TM (Oroch *kiampai* 'чилимс', Nan. *qā̆fu* 'гольян (озерный)', see TMC 1, 397); cf. also a quite isolated Turkm. *kepir* 'carp' (if not from Pers. *kopur*, see ЭСТЯ 5, 47). Whether these forms reflect the same root is yet to be determined.

✱**kià̯pˀù (~ kˀ-, -e-u, -a-u)** hoof, heel: Mong. ***kajir-**; Jpn. ***kupi-(mpi)su**; Kor. ***kúp**.

PMong. ***kajir-** to hit with a hoof (бить копытом): MMong. *qaji-* (SH) 'to tread'; WMong. *qajir-* (L 913: *qaira-*); Kh. *xajr-*; Bur. *xajra-*; Kalm. *xā̆r-*; Ord. *xā̆r-*.

◊ KW 180.

PJpn. ***kupi-(mpi)su** heel (пятка): OJpn. *kupjipjisu*; MJpn. *kúbísù*, *kúfísù*; Tok. *kùbisu*, *kìbisu*; Kyo. *kúbìsù*; Kag. *kubísu*.

◊ JLTT 461. Original accent is not quite clear: Kyoto points rather to LLL, Tokyo and Kagoshima - to HHH, while RJ has an exceptional type HHL: this is all probably due to the elision of a medial syllable.

PKor. ***kúp** hoof (копыто): MKor. *kúp*; Mod. *kup*.

◊ Liu 90, KED 220.

‖ Whitman 1985, 182, 226 (Kor.-Jpn.). Cf. Chag. (VEWT 281) *kopuk* 'eine vorteilhafte (stehende) Stellung des Knöchels beim Spiel'. In TM cf. **kōkčān* 'hoof' (TMC 1, 405-406) - perhaps < **kōpčān*, cf. Evk. Tott. *kopčan*.

✱**kiăro** crow, raven: Tung. ***kori**; Mong. ***kerije**; Turk. ***KArga**; Jpn. ***kara-su**; Kor. ***kǎr-**.

PTung. ***kori** a mythical bird (mediator) (мифическая птица (медиатор)): Ork. *qorị*; Nan. *qorị*; Orch. *kōri*.

◊ TMC 1,415.

PMong. ***kerije** crow, raven (ворон(а)): MMong. *kiriä* (MA), *kere'e* (SH); WMong. *kerije(n)* (L 458); Kh. *xerē(n)*; Bur. *xirē*, *xeŕē*; Kalm. *kerē*; Ord. *kerē*; Dag. *xerē* (Тод. Даг. 175); S.-Yugh. *kərī*; Mongr. *kərē* (SM 198).

◊ KW 226, MGCD 343. Mong. > Evk. *kerê* etc., see TMN 1, 464, Doerfer MT 96, Rozycki 138.

PTurk. ***KArga** crow (ворона): OTurk. *qarγa* (OUygh.); Karakh. *qarγa* (MK, KB); Tur. *karγa*; Az. *Garγa*; Turkm. *GarGa*; MTurk. *qarγa* (Houts., AH, IM, Qutb., Pav. C.), *qarqa* (MA); Uzb. *qɛrγɛ*; Uygh. *qa(r)γa*; Tat. *qarγa*; Bashk. *qarγa*; Kirgh. *qarγa*; Kaz. *qarγa*; KBalk. *qarγa*; KKalp. *qarγa*, *γarγa*; Kum. *qarγa*; Nogh. *qarγa*; Khak. *xarγa*; Shr. *qarγa*; Oyr. *qarγa*; Tv. *qārγan*; Tof. *qarγan*.

◊ VEWT 237, TMN 3, 384, ЭСТЯ 5, 303-304, Лексика 171. Turk. > Mong. *qarγa* (Щербак 1997, 134).

PJpn. ***kara-su** crow (ворона): OJpn. *karasu*; MJpn. *kàrásu*; Tok. *kàrasu*; Kyo. *kàràsù*; Kag. *karásu*.

◊ JLTT 439. Accent relations are quite unclear.

PKor. ***kǎr-** crow, jackdaw (ворона, галка): MKor. *kǎr-kàmàkói*; Mod. *kalgamagwi*.

◊ Nam 20, KED 42.

‖ Дыбо 8, Лексика 171. In Turk. cf. also **Kuŕgun* 'raven' (see TMN 3, 468-469, ЭСТЯ 6, 107-108).

✱**kiăru** need, necessity: Tung. ***kor-pi-**; Mong. ***kara**; Turk. ***gẹrge-**; Kor. ***kari- (?)**.

PTung. ***kor-pi-** to be, make in time (успеть, сделать к сроку): Neg. *kotpị-*; Ul. *qorpị-*; Ork. *qụlpị-*; Nan. *qorpị-*.

◊ TMC 1, 419.

PMong. ***kara** 1 envy 2 in need, jobless 3 miserly (1 зависть 2 нуждающийся, безработный 3 скупой): WMong. *qara* 1, *qaraγu*, *qaram* 3 (L 934, 935); Kh. *xar* 1, *xarū*, *xaram* 3; Bur. *xara* 1; Kalm. *xarā* 2, *xarəm* 'compassion; miserliness', *xarū* 'jealous; miserly; careful' (KPC); Ord. *xaramči* 3; Dag. *xarmači(n)* 3 (Тод. Даг. 174), *hareme* 3 (MD 157).

PTurk. ***gẹrge-** 1 to need 2 necessity, necessary 3 to stay away, dare not (1 нуждаться 2 необходимость, необходимый 3 не осмеливать-

ся): OTurk. *kerge-* 1 (OUygh.), *kergek* 2 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *kerge-* 1, *kerek* 2 (MK, KB); Tur. *gerek* 2; Az. *gäräk* 2; Turkm. *gerek* 2; Khal. *kerek* 2; MTurk. *kẹrek* 2 (Sangl.); Uzb. *kerak* 2; Uygh. *keräk* 2; Krm. *kerek* 2; Tat. *kiräk* 2; Bashk. *käräk* 2; Kirgh. *kerek* 2; Kaz. *kerek* 2; KBalk. *kerek* 2; KKalp. *kerek* 2; Kum. *gerek* 2; Nogh. *kerek* 2; SUygh. *kerek* 2; Khak. *kirek* 2; Shr. *kerek* 2; Oyr. *kerek* 2; Tv. *xerek* 2; Tof. *xerek* 2; Chuv. *kir-lə* 2; Yak. *kerej-* 3, *kerex* 2; Dolg. *kerek* 2.

◊ VEWT 256, EDT 742, 743, ЭСТЯ 3, 25-26, Stachowski 145. Turk. > Mong. *kereg* (see Щербак 1997, 127).

PKor. ***kari-** miserly (скупой): MKor. *karin-čuməni* (a comp. with *čuməni* 'pocket'); Mod. *karin-sɨrəp-*, *karin-čuməni*.

◊ Liu 20, KED 14 (Martin's derivation < *kanrin* < Chin. seems dubious).

‖ Cf. also **kʿi̯ùru* 'heavy, difficult'.

✸**ki̯áta** salmon, a k. of fish: Tung. ***kiata**; Mong. ***kadaraŋ**; Turk. ***K(i)atɨr- (~-d-)**; Jpn. ***kátú-**.

PTung. ***kiata** 1 salmon 2 dead fish (after releasing roe) 3 to weaken (1 лосось 2 мертвая рыба (после икрометания) 3 слабеть): Evk. *kê̂ta* 1; Evn. *qā̈ta* 1; Neg. *kê̂ta* 1; Man. *ḱata* 1, *ḱatu-* 3; Ul. *kê̂ta* 2; Ork. *qê̂ta* 2; Nan. *qā̈ta-* 3; Orch. *kiata* 2, *kiata-* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 389. TM > WMong. *kete*, Kalm. *ketə* (KW 228); Russ. *кета*.

PMong. ***kadaraŋ** 1 grayling 2 ruff (1 хариус 2 ерш): MMong. *qadara* 'k. of fish' (SH); WMong. *qadaraŋ* 2, (L 903) *qadara* 1; Kh. *xadar* 1, *xadraŋ* 2; Bur. *xadaran* 1; Kalm. *xadərṇ* 'тарань' (KPC).

◊ Mong. > Evk. *kadara* etc. (not vice versa, despite Doerfer MT 103).

PTurk. ***K(i)atɨr- (~-d-)** 1 grayling 2 sturgeon (1 хариус 2 осетр): Tv. *qadɨrɣɨ* 1; Yak. *xatɨ̄s* 2.

◊ VEWT 219.

PJpn. ***kátú-** 1 tuna fish 2 to become hungry (1 тунец 2 голодать): MJpn. *kátúwó* 1, *katuwa-* 2; Tok. *kàtsuo* 1, *katsué-* 2; Kyo. *kátsúó* 1, *kátsúé-* 2; Kag. *katsúo* 1, *kàtsùè-*.

◊ JLTT 444. Historically a compound with **(d)ibua* 'fish'. Despite the difference in accent, the verbal stem seems to belong here etymologically: cf. the verbal meaning 'to weaken, die (after releasing roe)' in most TM languages.

‖ An interesting root, demonstrating the acquaintance of the speakers with the way of life of the salmon (weakening and dying after releasing roe). Note a common derivative **ki̯áta-rV* in the Turko-Mongolian area.

✸**ki̯ā́tu** sharp tool; notch: Tung. ***kota**; Mong. ***godoli**; Turk. ***gēt-**.

PTung. ***kota** 1 knife 2 knife on a shaft (1 нож 2 рогатина (тесак на древке)): Evk. *koto* 2; Evn. *qotqān* 1; Neg. *koto* 1; Nan. *qoto* 1; Sol. *koto* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 418. Doerfer (TMN 1, 486) tries to derive TM **kota* from Mong. **kituga* (v. sub **kʿi̯ōtʿe*), but this is probably a different root.

PMong. ***godoli** a k. of arrow (вид стрелы): MMong. *qodoli* (SH); WMong. *γodoli* (L 358: *γoduli* 'horn-tipped arrow'); Kh. *godil*; Bur. *godli* 'стрела с роговым или деревянным наконечником'; Kalm. *γodəli*; Ord. *Godoli*.

◊ KW 149, TMN 1, 425. Mong. > MKor. *kotorí* (see Lee 1964, 192).

PTurk. ***gēt-** to indent, notch, crack (делать зарубку, надрез): Karakh. *ked-* (OKypch., AH); Tur. *get-*; Turkm. *gā̄t-*; Khal. *kā̄tük* ʿindent'; MTurk. *ket-* (MA); Uzb. *ketük* (n.); Tat. *kit-*; Bashk. *kit-*; Kirgh. *ket-*; Kaz. *ketik* (n.); KKalp. *ketik* (n.); Nogh. *ketik* (n.); Chuv. *kat-*.

◊ VEWT 259, ЭСТЯ 3, 30-31, 5, 65-66, EDT 700-701.

‖ A Western isogloss. In Mong. one has to suppose assimilation: *godoli* < **kodoli*. Cf. **kʿi̯ōtʿe*.

✸**ki̯á[tʿ]ó** stern, steering oar: Tung. ***kude**; Mong. ***kitüge**; Turk. ***KAdɨk**; Jpn. ***kántí**.

PTung. ***kude** 1 stern 2 steering oar (1 задняя часть судна, корма 2 рулевое весло): Man. *xude* 1, 2; Nan. *kude* 2; Ud. *kude* 'носовая переборка бата (большой долбленой лодки)' (Корм. 252).

◊ TMC 1, 424.

PMong. ***kitüge** stern, steering oar (корма, рулевое весло): WMong. *kiteg* (L 474 *kitüge*); Kh. *xiteg*.

PTurk. ***KAdɨk** wooden trough (выдолбленная из дерева колода): Karakh. *qaδɨq* (MK: Argu).

◊ EDT 597. The form, although isolated, is clearly different from **K(i)aj-guk* (v. sub **gǎjá*), attested both in Old Turkic and modern languages.

PJpn. ***kántì** steering wheel, steering oar (руль, рулевое весло): OJpn. kadi; MJpn. *kádì*; Tok. *káji*; Kyo. *kájì*; Kag. *káji*.

◊ JLTT 447. Regular except for the Tokyo accent (**kají* would be expected).

‖ Reasons for voicing in TM and Turkic are not clear (assimilative development in a suffixed form **ki̯átʿó-gV*?; note that in PTM we can also reconstruct **kudege* - the -ge would have been lost in all languages where the root is attested).

✸**ki̯aǯurV** sand, steppe, earth: Tung. ***kuǯur-**; Mong. ***kuǯir**; Turk. ***Kạjɨr**.

PTung. ***kuǯur-** to cover, bury (with soil) (заваливать (землей)): Neg. *kuǯuj-*.

◊ TMC 1,424 (an isolated Negidal form, but with probable external parallels).

PMong. ***kuǯir** salty earth (солончак): MMong. *qəǯər* (IM); WMong. *quǯir* (L 994); Kh. *xuǯir*; Bur. *xužar*; Kalm. *xuǯr*; Ord. *xuǯir*, Guǯir; Dag. *xod́ir* (Тод. Даг. 176; MGCD *xoǯir*); S.-Yugh. *χuǯir*; Mongr. *xoʒ́ir* 'soude' (SM 170).

◊ KW 195, MGCD 385. Mong. > Man. *xuǯiri* (see Doerfer MT 104, Rozycki 112 - but not Evk. *kudu).*

PTurk. ***Kạjɨr** 1 salt steppe 2 sandbank 3 gravel 4 sand (1 солончак 2 песчаный берег 3 гравий 4 песок): Karakh. *qajɨr* 1, 4 (MK Oghuz); Tur. *kajɨr* 2; Turkm. dial. Gajir 3, 4; MTurk. (OKypch.) *qajɨr* (Houts. 94, AH 74); Uzb. dial. *qɛjir* 3; Kaz. *qajɨr* 2; KKalp. *qajɨr* 2; Kum. *qajɨr* 3; Nogh. *qajɨr* 4; Tv. *xajɨr* 1; Chuv. *хъjър* 4; Yak. *xajɨr tās* 3.

◊ VEWT 221-222, EDT 678, ЭСТЯ 5, 206, 217, Лексика 97. Turk. > WMong. *qajir*, Kalm. *xā̄r* (KW 180).

‖ VEWT 222 (Turk.-Mong.), АПиПЯЯ 287, Лексика 97. A Western isogloss.

✱kio̯či (~ -e, *kio̯ačo) nasty: Tung. ***kus-**; Mong. ***kečeɣü**; Turk. ***KAč-**; Kor. ***kùč-**.

PTung. ***kus-** hate, uneasiness (неловкость, тоска, отвращение): Man. *kušu-n*.

◊ TMC 1, 441. Cf. perhaps Nan. *kusi-* 'to drive away, frighten off (cattle)'.

PMong. ***kečeɣü** difficult, unpleasant (трудный, неприятный): MMong. *kɛču* 'stupid' (IM), *keče'u(n)*, *keča'u* 'hard; stupid' (SH), *kecəo'u* 'verstockt' (HYt); WMong. *kečegü*, (L 440:) *kečegüü*; Kh. *xecū̄*; Bur. *xesū̄*; Kalm. *kecū̄*; Ord. *gečū̄*; Dag. *kečū* (Тод. Даг. 150).

◊ KW 229, TMN 1, 462. Mong. > Manchu *keču* 'fierce, cruel' etc. (see Rozycki 135).

PTurk. ***KAč-** 1 panic and disorder 2 crazy 3 (to act) inimically, cattily 4 annoyance 5 joke 6 to mock (1 паника и беспорядок 2 безумный 3 (поступать) назло, злобствовать 4 досада 5 шутка 6 насмехаться): Karakh. *qačɨš* 1 (MK); Tur. *kačɨk* 2; Khak. *xača-* 3, *xačaɣ* 4; Shr. *qažaŋ* 5; Oyr. *qačaš* 3 (adj.); Tv. *qɨžɨrt-* 6.

◊ VEWT 217, EDT 593. MK's gloss is analysed as a reciprocal derivative < **KAč-* 'to flee', but this is obviously a folk etymology.

PKor. ***kùč-** nasty (противный, плохой): MKor. *kùč-*; Mod. *kut-* [*kuč-*].

◊ Nam 64, KED 223.

‖ Mong. *keče-ɣü* and some Turkic forms (e.g. Khak. *xača-ɣ*) reflect a common derivative **kio̯či-gV*.

✱kio̯ód[o] to go, walk: Tung. ***kiad-**; Mong. ***ködel-**; Jpn. ***kájuáp-**; Kor. ***kəd-**.

PTung. ***kiad-** mountain pass (горный перевал): Evk. *kêdris*.

◊ TMC 1, 386. Attested only in Evk., but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***ködel-** 1 to move 2 to work (1 двигаться 2 работать): MMong. *kotɛlči* 'servant' (IM), *kudäl-* (MA), *kodol-*, *godol-* (SH, HYt); WMong. *ködel-* 1, 2; Kh. *xödl-* 1, 2; Bur. *xüdel-* 1, 2; Kalm. *ködl-* 1, 2; Ord. *ködöl-* 1, 2; Mog. *kütäl* 'work'; Dag. *xudele-* 1 (Тод. Даг. 179), *hudele-*, *hudule-* (MD 165); Dong. *gošielu-* 1, 2; Bao. *gudel-*, *gudal-* 1; S.-Yugh. *gödöl-*; Mongr. *gudoli-* (SM 139) 1.

◊ KW 235, MGCD 404.

PJpn. ***kájuáp-** to walk, go back and forth (ходить): OJpn. *kajwop-*; MJpn. *kájóf-*; Tok. *kàyo-*; Kyo. *káyó-*; Kag. *kayó-*.

◊ JLTT 707.

PKor. ***kəd-** walk (ходить): MKor. *kət-* (*kər-*); Mod. *kət-* (*kər-*).

◊ Nam 32, 37, KED 95.

‖ Martin 245, АПиПЯЯ 15, 16, 71, 103, 279 (but the Turkic parallel has to be attributed to a different root, see **gāt'i*). In TM one would rather expect *kid- - but the PTM reconstruction is dubious anyway (based only on one dialectal Evk. form).

✱**ki̯ójbu** pale: Tung. ***kiaba-**; Mong. ***kubakaj**; Turk. ***Kuba / *Koba**; Jpn. ***kú-i**.

PTung. ***kiaba-** pale (бледный): Evk. *kẽwama*; Evn. *kẽmakụ*; Neg. *kẽm-dị*, *kẽr*; Ul. *qẽm-šị*; Ork. *qêmo-tto-*; Nan. *qịa-gšа*, *qịa-m*; Orch. *kã̄m*; Ud. *keäl-keäl*.

◊ TMC 1, 386.

PMong. ***kubakaj** pale, withered (бледный, засохший): MMong. *qubi* 'yellow (horse)' (SH); WMong. *qubaqai* (L 976); Kh. *xuvxai*; Bur. *xubxaj*; Kalm. *xōxn̥*; Ord. *xuwaxã̄*.

◊ KW 192. Mong. > Oyr. *qubayai.*

PTurk. ***Kuba / *Koba** pale yellow, pale grey (желтоватый, сероватый): Karakh. *quba* (MK); Uzb. *quw*; Tat. *quwa*, *qɨw* (dial.); Kirgh. *qū*; Kaz. *quw*; KKalp. *quw*; Kum. *quw*; Nogh. *quw*; SUygh. *qo*; Khak. *xū*; Oyr. *qō*, *qū*; Tv. *xuwa*.

◊ VEWT 295, EDT 581, ЭСТЯ 6, 94-96, 98-99. Turk. > Mong. *quba*, *quwa* (KW 191, Щербак 1997, 142; Mong. *quba*, however, also means 'amber' and may be borrowed also from Chin. *hu-p'o*, see L 976, Rozycki 111) > Man. *quwa.*

PJpn. ***kú-i** yellow (желтый): OJpn. *ki*; MJpn. *kí*; Tok. *kì-iro-*; Kyo. *kíiro-*; Kag. *kīre*.

◊ JLTT 449. The root **kú-* is proved by compounds like OJ *ku-gane* 'yellow metal, gold'.

‖ Владимирцов 210. *-jb- is reconstructed to account for Mong. -b- rather than *-ɣ-. Note, however, that modern Turkic and Mongolian forms interact actively: some Turkic forms may be backloans from Mong. *quwa* (which itself is probably a Turkism, see above).

✱**ki̯olo (~ k'-, -Í-, -i̯u-)** long; far: Mong. ***kolo**; Kor. ***kìr-**.

PMong. ***kolo** far (далекий): MMong. *kolo* (HY 52), *qolo* (SH), *qula* (IM), *qulă* (MA); WMong. *qolo*, (L 956) *qola*; Kh. *xol*; Bur. *xolo*; Kalm. *xolə*; Ord. *xolo*; Mog. *qolō*; ZM *qolā* (6-8a); Dag. *xolo*, *xol* (Тод. Даг. 177), *hole* (MD 163); Dong. *Golo*; Bao. *xolo*, (MGCD) *Golo*; S.-Yugh. *xolo*; Mongr. *xolo*, *Golo* 'tres, fort' (SM 170), *xulo* (SM 180).

◊ KW 182, MGCD 361.

PKor. ***kìr-** 1 long 2 to prolong (1 длинный 2 удлинять): MKor. *kìr'ú-* 2; Mod. *kīl-* 1, *kirɨ-* 2.

◊ Nam 81, KED 264, 279

‖ АПиПЯЯ 295. A Mong.-Kor. isogloss. The Mong. form cannot be compared with TM **gora* 'far' (despite Poppe 18).

✸**ki̯oĺa** to steal, deceive: Tung. ***kola**; Mong. ***kula-gai**; Turk. ***K(i)aĺ-**; Jpn. ***kasu-m-**.

PTung. ***kola** 1 cunning 2 deceit 3 to deceive 4 catching thieves (1 хитрый 2 ложь 3 обмануть 4 поимщик воров и разбойников): Evk. *kolo* 1; Man. *χolo* 2, *χolto-* 3, *χuǯa-či* 4; SMan. *holə* 'lie, falsehood' (1308).

◊ TMC 1, 407, 476.

PMong. ***kula-gai** 1 robber, thief 2 to steal (1 вор, грабитель 2 красть): MMong. *qulasun* (HY 32), *qulaqai* (SH, HYt) 1, *qoɣla-* (IM) 2, *qulaq-* (MA) 2; WMong. *qulaɣai* 1 (L 983); Kh. *xulgai* 1; Bur. *xulgaj* 1; Kalm. *xulxǟ*, *xulxā* 1; Ord. *xulaGǟ*; Mog. *qulaɣɛi*; ZM *qolaɣaj* (11-1b); Dag. *xualag* 1; *hualehe* 1 (MD 165); Dong. *GuGi* 1 (MGCD: *Gulaɣəi, Guɣəi), Gula-* 2; Bao. *Golai* 1; S.-Yugh. *χulaGai* 1; Mongr. *xorGwə̄* 1 (SM 172), *xulaGa-* 'voler' (SM 180), (MGCD *xulGai*).

◊ MGCD 388. Cf. also WMong. *qulduŋ*, Kalm. *xuldəŋ* 'cunning' (KW 196); on some other derivatives and probable loanwords in Turkic see ЭСТЯ 6, 131. Mong. > Man. *xulxa* etc., see Doerfer MT 82, Rozycki 112.

PTurk. ***K(i)aĺ-** 1 lazy, vile (in addressing a slave) 2 lazy, stubborn (1 ленивый, негодный (обращение к рабу) 2 ленивый, упрямый): Karakh. *qašaŋ* (MK) 1; MTurk. *qašaŋ* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *qaššaŋ* 'poor, beggar'; Uygh. *qaššaq* 1, 2, *qašaŋ* 2; Bashk. dial. *qaššaq* 1, 2, dial. *qašan* 2; Kirgh. *qašaŋ* 2; KKalp. *qasaŋ* 2; Oyr. *qažaŋ* 2; Chuv. *xъli* 'невзрачный, плохонький', *xъlin* 'хитрец, упрямец, лодырь, лентяй'.

◊ EDT 673, ЭСТЯ 5, 348-350. Turk. > WMong. *qašaŋ* 'slow, lazy' (Clark 1980, 42); some of the modern Turkic forms may be borrowed back from Mong. (as certainly is Chuv. *xažan).*

PJpn. ***kasu-m-** to steal, rob (красть, грабить): OJpn. *kasum-*, *kasume-*; MJpn. *kású-ma-*, *kàzò-f-*.

◊ JLTT 705. Accentuation is not quite clear (variants *kàzòf-* and *kású-ma-* in RJ).

‖ Illich-Svitych ОСНЯ 1, 329 lists MKor. *kul-* 'to lie', but this is probably = MKor. *kūr-* 'to blow', due to a character misidentification by Lee Kee-mun (1958, 112).

✸**ki̯ȍĺe** quiver, ornaments for quiver: Tung. ***kulmaki**; Mong. ***kul-da-**; Turk. ***Keĺ**; Jpn. ***kə̀nsìrì**.

PTung. ***kulmaki** vessel for spoons, knives etc. made of birch bark (берестяной сосуд для ложек, ножей и т.п.): Neg. *kulumux*; Ul. *kolomo*, *kulumu*; Ork. *xulmew*, *xulmeu*; Nan. *kurmī*, *xurmu*; Orch. *kolomon*, *kulumun.*

◊ TMC 1, 429. Contaminated with *kormaki, see sub *kúra(mV).

PMong. ***kul-da-** 1 to glue (strips of birch bark on a bow) 2 thin strips of bone, horn or wood with which furniture, etc. is decorated (1 приклеивать (полоски бересты к луку) 2 тонкие полоски кости, рога или дерева для украшения мебели и т.п.): WMong. *qulda-* 1, *qulda-sun* 2 (L 984); Kh. *xulda-* 1, *xuldās* 2; Bur. *xuldāha(n)* 'coffin made of birch-bark or felt' (?).

PTurk. ***Keĺ** quiver (колчан): OTurk. *keš* (OUygh., Yenis.); Karakh. *keš* (MK); MTurk. *keš* (Qutb., MA, IM); Krm. *keš*, *kes*; Kirgh. *keš* (R); Tv. *xeš* (Todzh., Рас. ФиЛ 188); Tof. *xeš* 1; Yak. *kesex* (Пек.).

◊ VEWT 258, EDT 752, MNT 1697, ЭСТЯ 5, 60-61 (see ibid. the literature on the history of arms).

PJpn. ***kə̀nsìrì** chape, stripes and ornaments for quivers, furniture etc. (оковка ножен, полосы и украшения для колчанов, мебели и т.п.): MJpn. *kòzìrì*; Tok. *kojiri*.

◊ JLTT 460.

‖ An interesting common Altaic cultural term (although Mong. -u- here is not quite regular; one would expect -i-/-e- or -ö-).

✱**kiomga** a k. of grass: Tung. ***kumga**; Mong. ***kamkag, *kamgaɣul**; Turk. ***KAmgak**.

PTung. ***kumga** a k. of grass (вид травы): Evn. *qomāmma* 'name of a plant with edible root'; Ork. *qumɣa* 'a k. of grass plant'.

◊ TMC 1, 408, 430.

PMong. ***kamkag, *kamgaɣul** a k. of grass, Salsula (вид травы, Salsula): MMong. *qamqa'ulsun* 'ein Kraut, Unkraut' (SH), *kamqa'ul* 'tumble-weed' (HY 7); WMong. *qamqaɣ* (L 926), *qamqaɣul*; Kh. *xamxag* 'солянка холмовая, желтая полынь', *xamxūl* 'tumble-weed'; Bur. *xamxūl* 'tumble-weed'; Kalm. *xamxəg*, *xamxūl*; Ord. *xamxaq*, *xamxūli*; Dong. *xanxou*; Mongr. *xaŋGu* (SM 157), *xānGul*.

◊ KW 164, MGCD 324.

PTurk. ***KAmgak** saltwort, Salsula (солянка, поташник, Salsula): OTurk. *qamɣaq* (OUygh.); Karakh. *qamɣaq* (MK); Turkm. *Gamaq*; MTurk. *qamɣaq* (Qutb., Pav.C), *qamqaq* (Houts.); Uzb. *qɔmɣɔq*; Uygh. *qamɣaq*; Bashk. *qamɣaq*; Kirgh. *qamɣaq*; Kaz. *qaŋbaq*; KKalp. *qaŋbaq*; Kum. *qammaq*; Nogh. *qambaq*.

◊ EDT 627, VEWT 229, ЭСТЯ 5, 244-245.

‖ A Western isogloss. The root tends to contaminate with **k'ema* q.v. (and cf. also **kemV*, **giaŋu*, **gokV*). The Mong. form may be < Turk. (cf. Щербак 1997, 198), but may as well be genuine.

✱**kionŋu (~ k'-)** dandruff, mould: Mong. ***kine**; Turk. ***Koŋak**.

PMong. ***kine** mould (плесень): WMong. *kine* (MXTTT); Kh. *xine*.

PTurk. ***Koŋak** dandruff (перхоть): Tur. *konak*; Turkm. *Goŋaq*.

◊ VEWT 280.

‖ A Turk.-Mong. isogloss.

✱**kio̯ńo (~ k´-)** a k. of weed: Mong. ***köɣene**; Turk. ***Konak**; Jpn. ***kə̀mài**; Kor. ***kìńím**.

PMong. ***köɣene** a creeping weed (стебель ползучий): WMong. *kögene* (MXTTT); Kh. *xȫnö*.

PTurk. ***Konak** 1 millet 2 Timothy grass (1 просо 2 тимофеевка, щетинник зеленоколосый): OTurk. *qonaq* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *qonaq* 1 (MK); Sal. *qonax*; MTurk. *qonaq* 1 (AH, MA), *qonaɣ* 1 (Pav. C.); Uzb. *qụnɔq* 1; Uygh. *qonaq* 1; KKalp. *qonaq*; Nogh. *qonaqaj* 1; Tv. *xonaq* 2.

◊ EDT 637, Лексика 458-459, ЭСТЯ 6, 57. OT *qojaq* is a ghost-word. Turk. > WMong. *qonaɣ*, *qonuɣ* 'millet'.

PJpn. ***kə̀mài** rice (рис): OJpn. *kome*; MJpn. *kome*; Tok. *komé*; Kyo. *kómè*; Kag. *komé*.

◊ JLTT 455.

PKor. ***kìń-** 1 weed 2 to be overrun with weeds (1 сорняк 2 зарасти сорняками): MKor. *kìńím* 1, *kìń-* 2; Mod. *kiim* 1, kit- [*kis-*] 2.

◊ Nam 79, 83, KED 273, 283.

‖ The tone correspondence between Kor. and Jpn. is irregular. Note, however, that the reconstruction of low tone in PJ in this case is based only on the Kagoshima form (MJ accentuation is unattested, while Kyoto and Tokyo may point both to *LL and to *HL). Therefore a reconstruction **kə́mài* for PJ is not completely excluded. Medial -n- in Turkic is not quite clear (-ń- would be expected); still the relation of the Turkic form remains probable. See also Robbeets 2000, 109.

✱**kio̯pu** a k. of vessel: Tung. ***kiaba-**; Mong. ***kob-**; Turk. ***Kobga**.

PTung. ***kiaba-** 1 bladder of *kaluga* fish used for storing oil 2 bobber (1 пузырь калуги, употребляемый для хранения масла 2 поплавок): Evk. *kewilde* 2; Evn. *qoŋldъ* 2; Ul. *qêụrị* 1; Ork. *qêwrị* 1; Nan. *qịawarịa* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 390, 442.

PMong. ***kob-** 1 groove 2 pit, channel 3 ventricle of the heart 4 gutter, trough (1 желоб 2 яма, канава 3 желудочек сердца 4 корыто): WMong. *qobil* 1, *qobudal* 2,3, *qobul* 4 (L 949, 950); Kh. *xovil* 1, *xovdol* 2, 3, *xovol* 4; Bur. *xobō* 1, 4, *xobol* 1, 2, 4 *xobdol* 3; Kalm. *xowdəl* 3 (KPC).

PTurk. ***Kobga** pail, bucket (ведро): OTurk. *qovɣa* (OUygh.); Karakh. *qova* (MK Oghuz); Tur. *kova*, *koɣa*; Az. *Gova*; Turkm. *Gova*; MTurk. *qova* (AH), *qopqa* (Pav. C., Бор. Бад., Abush.); Uzb. *qawɣa* (dial.); Krm. *qova*, *qopqa*; Kaz. *qawɣa*; KKalp. *qawɣa*, *ɣawɣa*; Nogh. *qawɣa*; Tv. *xuva*.

◊ EDT 583-584, ЭСТЯ 6, 12-13. Turk. > Mong. *qobuɣa* 'bucket, trough'.

‖ A Western isogloss. Cf. also **kobu*, **gupu* (with possible contaminations).

✱**ki̯òpù** a k. of aquatic bird: Tung. ***kiab-**; Jpn. ***kùpìnà**.

PTung. ***kiab-** sea gull (морская чайка): Ul. *qêwara*; Ork. *qêwu*.

◊ TMC 1, 386.

PJpn. ***kùpìnà** a k. of water bird (болотный пастушок, Rallus aquaticus indicus): OJpn. *kupjina*; MJpn. *kùfìnà*; Tok. *kuina*.

◊ JLTT 462.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss. It is worth noting Yak. *kuba* 'swan' - usually derived from PT **Kugu*, but with a quite inexplicable -b-; it is, in fact, possible that some other Turkic forms - cf. Turkm. Guv, Nogh. *quv* etc. also go back to PT **Kub(a)* - naturally confused in most modern languages with the reflexed of **Kugu* (see under **kūgu*).

✱**ki̯ȍr[i]** to roll, churn: Tung. ***kur-**; Mong. ***kor- / *kör-**; Turk. ***Kiār-**; Jpn. ***kurum-**.

PTung. ***kur-** 1 churn-staff 2 to wrinkle, shrink 3 to roll, rotate 4 to wrap round, tie round (1 мутовка 2 мяться, комкаться 3 вращаться, вертеться 4 обвернуть, спутать): Evk. *kurā-* 4; Evn. *koroldāwna* 1, *qorị-* 2; Man. *χorgi-*, *χurgi-* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 416, 417, 435, 471. Man. *χurgiku* 'whirlpool' > Dag. *xurgi* id. (Тод. Даг. 180).

PMong. ***kor- / *kör-** 1 to roll, rotate 2 to bend, become twisted 3 to wrinkle, become curved 4 to whirl (of water, wind) (1 крутить, вращать 2 гнуть, изгибаться 3 морщиться, искривляться 4 вертеться, кружиться (о воде, ветре)): MMong. *korbe-* (SH) 1, *kurbe-* 'to wallow' (MA); WMong. *körböl-*, *körbüge-* 1 (L 490: *körbe-*, *körbü-*, *körbi-*), *qorbaji-*, *qorbuji-* 2 (L 988: *qorbuji-*, *qurbuji-*), *qorčaji-* 3 (L 965), *qorulǯa-* 4; Kh. *xorvoj-* 3, *xörvö-* 'to turn over, to upset'; *xorlo* 'circle-shaped object'; Bur. *xoršogor* 'wrinkled, creasy', *xüril-* 4; Kalm. *xorwā* 'crooked' (KPC); Dag. *kurbi-*, *xurbi-*, *xurbu-* (Тод. Даг. 180); S.-Yugh. *körwö-*; *korlo* 'wheel'; Mongr. *xurbā-*; *korlo*, *gulōr* 'wheel'.

◊ MGCD 375, 399. Mong. > Evk. *kurbu-* etc., see Doerfer MT 61, Rozycki 146.

PTurk. ***Kiār-** to mix (смешивать): Karakh. *qar-* (MK Oghuz); Tur. *kar-*; Turkm. *Gār-*; MTurk. *qar-* (Abush.); Uzb. *qɔr-*; KKalp. *qarɨ-*; Chuv. *jor-*, *jur-*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 5, 285, EDT 642-643, Ашм. IV, 351-352, Федотов 2, 490-491.

PJpn. ***kurum-** to wrap (заворачивать): MJpn. *kurume-*; Tok. *kurúm-*; Kyo. *kúrúm-*; Kag. *kurúm-*.

◊ JLTT 717. Accent unclear.

‖ EAS 147, Poppe 107, Ozawa 204. An expressive root with not quite secure vocalic correspondences. Cf. also notes to **k'úlo*.

✱**ki̯òrtème** pear, fruit: Mong. ***kedemen**; Turk. ***gErtme**; Jpn. ***kù(n)tàmənə̀**.

PMong. ***kedemen** pear (груша): WMong. *kedemen*; Kh. *xedmen*; Kalm. *kedmn*.

◊ KW 222.

PTurk. ***gErtme** pear (груша): Tur. *germešik* 'cornus sanguinea'; MTurk. *kertme* 'яблоко, груша' (OKypch.: AH, Houts., CCum.), *kirni* 'quince'; Krm. *gertme*; KBalk. *kertme*; Kum. *gertme*; Nogh. *kertpe*.

◊ VEWT 257. Perhaps < **gürt-me*, cf. the attested OT (MK-Osm., see EDT 738) *kürt* 'mountain tree for making bows, Pyrus'; (AH) *kürt* 'quince'.

PJpn. ***kù(n)tàmònò** fruit (плод, фрукт): OJpn. *kudam(w)ono*; MJpn. *kùdàmònò*; Tok. *kudámono*; Kyo. *kúdámònò*; Kag. *kudamonó*.

◊ JLTT 461.

‖ KW 222. Cf. Nan. *kutumiekte* 'currant, gooseberry'.

✱**kio̯óru** rank, position, measure: Tung. ***kiaru**; Mong. ***kiri**; Turk. ***Kur**; Jpn. ***kúrá**; Kor. ***kòrǎ-**.

PTung. ***kiaru** gauge, mould (for net meshes) (шаблон (для ячей сети)): Ul. *qiṛul*; Nan. *qiṛol*; Orch. *kā̄ro*.

◊ TMC 1, 389.

PMong. ***kiri** measure, degree (мера, степень): WMong. *kiri*, *kire* (L 472); Kh. *xir*; Bur. *xire*; Kalm. *kirə* (KPC); Ord. *kere*, *keri*.

◊ Mong. > Oyr. *kīrä*, Evk. *kire* etc. (KW 232).

PTurk. ***Kur** 1 rank, stage, row 2 similar, equal 3 one of a pair, odd 4 time (1 ранг, степень, ряд 2 сходный, равный 3 один из двух, нечетный 4 время, раз): OTurk. *qur* 1, 4 (OUygh.); Karakh. *qur* 1, 4 (MK); Tur. *kor* 1, *kur* 1, 4 (dial.); Turkm. *Gor* 'layer'; MTurk. *qur* 4 (AH, Pav. C.); Uzb. *qur* 4 (dial.); Uygh. *qur* 'line' (dial.); Tat. *qor* 4; Bashk. *qor* 4, (dial.) 'row of coins'; Kirgh. *qur* 4; SUygh. *qor* 4; Chuv. *хъrax* 2,3; Yak. *kurduk* 2.

◊ EDT 642, ЭСТЯ 6, 73, 151-152, VEWT 301-302 (to be distinguished from **Kur* 'belt'). ЭСТЯ (ibid.) distinguishes between **Kor* 'layer, row' and **Kur* 'time' - but the roots, even if distinguished originally, became quite confused already in Old Turkic. Turk. > Hung. *kor* 'age', see Gombocz 1912.

PJpn. ***kúrá** 1 place, position 2 to compare (1 место, положение 2 сравнивать): OJpn. *kura*, *kura-wi* 1, *kuraba-* 2; MJpn. *kura*, *kúrá-wí* 1, *kúrába-* 2; Tok. *kùrai* 1, *kùrabe-* 2; Kyo. *kúráí* 1, *kúrábé-* 2; Kag. *kurái* 1, *kurabé-* 2.

◊ JLTT 464, 716.

PKor. ***kòrǎ-** to be equal, similar (быть равным, похожим): MKor. *kòrǎ-*; Mod. *korɨ-*.

◊ Nam 46, KED 140.

‖ Martin 228.

✱**kio̯osa** to enclose, enclosure: Tung. ***kosi-**; Mong. ***kasi-**; Turk. ***Kasɨ**.

PTung. ***kosi-** 1 to enclose 2 enclosure 3 to graze (1 огораживать 2 заграждение 3 пасти): Evn. *kös-* 1, *köstiŋ* 2, *kösči-* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 420. Attested only in Evn., but having plausible Turkic and Mongolian parallels.

PMong. ***kasi-** 1 to enclose 2 fence, enclosure (1 огораживать 2 забор, ограждение): WMong. *qasi-* 1 (L 941), *qasiɣa* (L 942: *qasiɣa*, *qasija(n)*) 2; Kh. *xaši-* 1, *xašā* 2; Bur. *xašā* 2; Kalm. *xašā* 2 (KPC); Ord. *Gaši-* 1, *Gašā* 2; Dag. *xaši-* 1, *xaši* 2 (Тод. Даг. 175), *kuši-* 1, *kuśē* 2 (Тод. Даг. 152); S.-Yugh. *qušā* 2.

◊ MGCD 334. Mong. > Kirgh. *qašā* etc., see ЭСТЯ 5, 346; > Man. *χasχan* 'fence' (Rozycki 103).

PTurk. ***Kasɨ** enclosure (загон, огороженное место): Karakh. *qasɨ* (MK); Tur. *qasu* (dial.); Tv. *qazanaq* 'shed, kennel'; Chuv. *xožъ* 'space, surroundings'

◊ EDT 666, ЭСТЯ 5, 346-347.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✸**ki̯òtʿè** to singe, heat: Tung. ***koto-ran-**; Mong. ***kete**; Turk. ***Kat-**; Jpn. ***kə̀tài (~ -ua-)**.

PTung. ***koto-ran-** to singe, burn (опалять, обжигать): Evk. *koto-ron-mī* (Bac.).

PMong. ***kete** (fire) steel (огниво): MMong. *kete* (SH), *kete* (MA); WMong. *kete* (L 460); Kh. *xet*; Bur. *xete*; Kalm. *ketə*; Ord. *gete*; S.-Yugh. *kede*; Mongr. *kide* (SM 200), *kəde*.

◊ KW 228, MGCD 346.

PTurk. ***Kat-** 1 to heat (oven) 2 (fire) steel 3 to bake (1 топить печь 2 огниво 3 печь): Kirgh. *qatɨr-* 3; Chuv. *xot-* 1; Yak. *xatat* 2.

◊ Ашм. XVI, 256, ЭСТЯ 5, 335 (connected with **kat-* 'dry', but in fact a different root because of the Chuvash form). However, if Mari *oltaš* 'heat' is from Bulg., the original form could be **Kal-t-* and should be removed from the etymology (cf. Федотов 2, 372).

PJpn. ***kə̀tài (~ -ua-)** an instrument (iron, soldering-iron) (утюг, паяльник): MJpn. *kòtè*; Tok. *kòte*; Kyo. *kóté*; Kag. *koté*.

◊ Accent in Tokyo and Kyoto points rather to **kə́tái*, but RJ and Kagoshima reflect low tone.

‖ A common derivative **ki̯òtʿè-rV* is reflected in Kirgh. *qatɨ-r-* = Evk. *koto-ro-n-*.

✸**ki̯uču** to cry, cough: Tung. ***kusi-**; Mong. ***kuča-**; Turk. ***Kɨč-gɨr-**; Jpn. ***kusam-**; Kor. ***kìčhɨ́-m**.

PTung. ***kusi-** noise (шум): Evk. *kusīlīn*; Evn. *qụsъ̣lъ̣n*; Man. *quwas* (?); Nan. *χosor-χosor;* ; (On.) *kusi-* 'to drive away by shouting'.

◊ TMC 1, 439.

PMong. ***kuča-** to bark (лаять): MMong. *xučam* (HY 16), *quča-* (SH), *quča-* (MA); WMong. *quča-*, *quči-* (L 979); Kh. *xuc-*; Bur. *xusa-*; Kalm. *xucə-*; Ord. *Guča-*; Mog. *quĭča-*; Dag. *koči-* (Тод. Даг. 150, MD 183); Dong. *quǯa-*; Bao. *xeča-* (MGCD *χəǯa-*); S.-Yugh. *quǯa-*; Mongr. *xuʒ́a-* (SM 174), *xuǯa-*.

◊ KW 200, MGCD 394.

PTurk. ***Kɨč-gɨr-** to shout, cry (кричать): Az. *GɨšGɨr-*; Uygh. *qičqir-*; Tat. *qɨčqɨr-*; Bashk. *qɨsqɨr-*; Kirgh. *qɨčqɨr-*; KBalk. *qɨčɨr-*; Kum. *qɨčɨr-*; Khak. *xɨsxɨr-*; Shr. *qɨšɨr-*; Oyr. *qɨčɨr-*; Tv. *qɨšqɨr-*; Yak. *kɨskɨj-* 'to whistle'.

◊ VEWT 261. Turk. > WMong. *qaskira-*, Kalm. *xäškr-* (KW 178).

PJpn. ***kusam-** sneeze (чихание): MJpn. *kusame*; Tok. *kushámi*; Kyo. *kúshàmì*; Kag. *kushámi*.

◊ Accent reconstruction is unclear. Cf. also OJ *kutut-* 'to snore'.

PKor. ***kìčhí-** 1 cough 2 to sneeze (1 кашель 2 чихать): MKor. *kìčhí-m* 1; Mod. *kičhim* 1, *kičhi-* 2.

◊ Nam 79, KED 275.

‖ An onomatopoeic root, but seems to be well reconstructable for PA.

✱**kᵢ̯ūčʿú** to slander, swear: Tung. ***kočі-**; Mong. ***kočі**; Turk. ***Kīč-**; Jpn. ***kùntə̀-k-**; Kor. ***kùčíčh-**.

PTung. ***kočі-** 1 to chant, praise 2 to deceive, lie 3 to harm (of an evil ghost), to interrupt (1 петь песни, восхвалять 2 лгать, обманывать 3 вредить (о злом духе), препятствовать): Evk. *kočі-nʒa-* 1, *kočut-* 2; Man. *χoššo-* 2; Nan. *qoča-lị-* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 419, 420.

PMong. ***kočі-** nickname, slander (издевательство, клевета, кличка): WMong. *qočі* (L 951); Kh. *xoč*; Kalm. *xoč-l-* 'to slander'; Ord. *Gočі* 'detractor; reprimand, chicane'.

◊ KW 191.

PTurk. ***Kɨč-** to criticize, malice (критиковать, злобствовать): Karakh. *qɨčur-* (MK); Turkm. *Gɨʒɨt* 'reproach'; Tat. *qɨʒɨ-* (R.); Kirgh. *qɨʒɨn-*; Khak. *xɨsxar-* 'to reproach, blame', *xɨʒɨr-* 'to tease smb.'; Tv. *qɨžɨrɨ-* 'to tease, ridicule'; Yak. *kīhɨr-*.

◊ EDT 59.

PJpn. ***kùntə̀-k-** to lure, convince; to complain (убеждать, уговаривать; жаловаться): MJpn. *kudok-*; Tok. *kudók-*; Kyo. *kúdók-*; Kag. *kùdòk-*.

◊ JLTT 715.

PKor. ***kùčíčh-** to swear (ругать): MKor. *kùčíč-*; Mod. *k:uʒit-* [-č-].

◊ Nam 61, KED 207.

‖ The tone in Jpn. is irregular; the form should be perhaps separated and compared with Mong. *qaʒi-* 'to hate, blame, tease' (L 948), allowing to reconstruct a separate PA root **kadu* (~ kʿ-, -e-).

✱**kᵢ̯ū́di** to attend, be respectful: Tung. ***kidu-**; Turk. ***gū̄d-**; Kor. ***kìrí-**.

PTung. ***kidu-** 1 to respect 2 to think, remember (1 уважать, почитать 2 думать, вспоминать): Man. *kidu-* 2; SMan. *kidu-* 'to have affection for' (1870); Nan. *kidu-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 391. Cf. also Man. *kedere-* 'to guard' (1, 443) > Dag. *kedereg* 'police' (Тод. Даг. 148).

PTurk. ***gū̃d-** 1 to wait 2 to attend 3 to respect 4 to graze (1 ждать 2 прислуживать 3 почитать 4 пасти): OTurk. *küd-* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *küδ-* 1, 3 (MK, KB); Tur. *güt/d-* 4; Gag. *güt-* 4; Az. *güt/d-*; MTurk. *küt-* 'to lead cattle away from pasture' (Pav. C., Sangl.); Uzb. *kut-* 1, 2; Uygh. *küt-* 1; Krm. *küt-* 4; Tat. *köt-* 1, 4; Bashk. *köt-* 1, 4; Kirgh. *küj-* 1, *küt-* 1, 2; Kaz. *küt-* 2; KBalk. *küt-* 4; KKalp. *küj-*, *küt-* 1, 2; Kum. *küt-* 'выполнять'; Khak. *küzet-* 4; Oyr. *küj-* 1, *küt-* 2, 4; Yak. *kū̃t-* 1; Dolg. *kū̃t-* 1.

◊ EDT 701, VEWT 306, 312, ЭСТЯ 3, 107-108 (the variant **gū̃t-* is morphologically secondary, actually = **gū̃dü-t-*). The proposed derivation (see ЭСТЯ 108) from **gü-* (**kü-*), attested only in the OUygh. doublet *kü- közeδ-* 'protect and keep' (see EDT 686) is far from certain (the meaning of *kü-* here is not quite clear; *közeδ-* is probably < **göŕ-* 'see, eye' = Yak., Dolg. *köhüt-* 'wait'; Khak. *küzet-* above can reflect both *-ŕ- and *-d-).

PKor. ***kìrí-** to praise (восхвалять): MKor. *kìrí-*; Mod. *kiri-*.

◊ Nam 78, KED 265.

‖ Cf. **kitʿu*, **gode* (with possible contaminations).

✱**ki̯udu** shore, border: Tung. ***kudē**; Mong. ***kiǯaɣar (< *kiǯi-ɣar)**; Turk. ***Kɨdɨg**; Jpn. ***kui (~ -ə-)**.

PTung. ***kudē** 1 shore, land 2 to land (1 суша, берег 2 причаливать): Evk. *kudē* 1; Man. *kude-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 424.

PMong. ***kiǯaɣar** border (граница): MMong. *kiǯa'ar* (HY 50), *kiǯi'ar* (SH), *qiǯāt* pl. (MA 221); WMong. *kiǯaɣar* (L 474); Kh. *x́aʒgār* (< WMong.); Bur. *xizār*; Kalm. *kizā̃r*, *kizɛ̄r*; Ord. *kiǯagār* (< Kh. or WMong.); Mog. *qɨʒi* 'край' (Weiers); Dag. *kiǯār* (Тод. Даг. 150); Dong. *Gɨǯa*; Mongr. *giʒ́ār* (SM 136), *gəǯār*.

◊ KW 233, MGCD 351.

PTurk. ***Kɨd-** 1 edge, border, seashore, frontier 2 margin, edging (1 край, граница, берег 2 опушка, кайма): OTurk. *qɨdɨɣ* (OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *qɨδɨɣ* (MK) 1; Tur. *kɨjɨ*, *kɨj* 1; Kirgh. *qɨjū* 2; Kaz. *qɨjɨw* 2; KKalp. *qɨjɨw* 2; Kum. *qɨjɨw* 2; Nogh. *qɨjuw* 2; SUygh. *qɨzɨɣ* 1; Shr. *qɨjɨɣ* 2; Oyr. *quju* 1; Tv. *qɨdɨɣ* 1, 2; Chuv. *xərə* 1; Yak. *kɨtɨ̄* 1, 2.

◊ EDT 598, VEWT 261, Лексика 94, ЭСТЯ 6, 196-197, 203. The root is also attested in verbal function (**Kɨdɨ-* 'to border, hem'), see ЭСТЯ 6, 196.

PJpn. ***kui (~ -ə-)** fortress (укрепление, крепость): OJpn. *ki*.

◊ JLTT 449.

‖ EAS 46, KW 233, Владимирцов 171, 318, Poppe 19, Лексика 94. Cf. perhaps MKor. *kɨ̀th* 'edge'. The Jpn. form must have originally meant 'border fortification, fortress'; there is hardly any reason to regard it as borrowed from Old Paekche, despite Miller 1979).

✱**kiujilV** a k. of bird: Tung. ***kilu-**; Mong. ***kojil-**; Jpn. ***kiari (~ *kairi)**; Kor. ***kɨirjə́kí (~ *kɨ́rjə́kí)**.

PTung. ***kilu-** 1 grey goose 2 heron 3 gull 4 swan (1 серый гусь (казарка) 2 цапля 3 чайка 4 лебедь): Evk. *kuluk* 3; Evn. *kiĺarqa* 'name of a bird', *kular* 3; Man. *kilaχun* 2; Ul. *qīlala* 1; Nan. *kulikte* 4; Ud. *kilai* 3 (Корм. 248).

◊ TMC 1, 392-393, 429.

PMong. ***kojil-** wild turkey (улар (горная индейка)): WMong. *qojiluγ* (MXTTT); Kh. *xojlog*.

PJpn. ***kiari (~ *kairi)** a k. of marsh bird (plover) (вид болотной птицы, сероголовый чибис (Microsarcops cinereus Blyth.)): OJpn. *k(j)eri*; MJpn. *keri*; Tok. *keri*.

◊ Attested already in Man'yōshū (Eastern songs), but absent from JB.

PKor. ***kɨirjə́kí (~ *kɨ́rjə́kí)** goose (гусь): MKor. *kɨirjə́kí*, *kɨ̀rjə̀kí*, *kɨrəki*, *kɨ̀rə̀kí*; Mod. *kirəgi*.

◊ Nam 66, 67, 76, Liu 96, 97, 109, 113, KED 264. The variant *kɨirjə́kí* is attested later than *kɨrjəki*, but accounts well for the modern form with -i- (regularly < -ii-). The most plausible PK reconstruction appears to be **kɨirə́kí* (although **kɨ́rjə́kí* is also not excluded).

‖ Poppe 1950, 575, Lee 1958, 114. In the Kor.-Jpn. area some confusion of this root with PA **gàjrV* 'wild goose' was possible.

✱**kiúli** a k. of foliage tree: Tung. ***kilde**; Jpn. ***kírí**; Kor. ***koro-**.

PTung. ***kilde-** lime tree (липа): Evk. *kilden*; Ul. *kilde(n)*; Nan. *kildẽ*; Orch. *kigde*.

◊ TMC 1, 393.

PJpn. ***kírí** Paulownia tomenfosa (павлония войлочная): OJpn. *k(j)iri*; MJpn. *kírí*; Tok. *kìri*; Kyo. *kírí*; Kag. *kíri*.

◊ JLTT 451.

PKor. ***koro-** a k. of maple (вид клена): Mod. *koroswe-namu*.

‖ An Eastern isogloss.

✱**kiuma (~ -io-, -o)** a blood-sucking insect: Tung. ***küme (~ -i-)**; Turk. ***KumĺUj**; Kor. ***kəmərí**.

PTung. ***küme (~ -i-)** 1 flea 2 gnat, mosquito (1 блоха 2 мошка, комар): Evk. *kimāje* 2; Evn. *kime* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 394.

PTurk. ***KumĺUj** a louse or tick full of blood (вошь или клещ, напившийся крови): Karakh. *qumšuj* (MK).

◊ EDT 629. An expressive variant may be represented in OT (MK) *kömiče* 'gnat' (EDT 722).

PKor. ***kəmərí** leech (пиявка): MKor. *kəmərí*; Mod. *kəmərí*.

◊ Liu 41, KED 84.

‖ Cf. **kumi*, **kajamV*.

✱**kiumo** sand, dust: Tung. ***kime (~ -ü-)**; Mong. ***kumaki**; Turk. ***Kum**.

PTung. ***küme** 1 shore, sand beach 2 hill, elevation 3 wild pig's lair (1 морской берег, пляж 2 холм, возвышенность 3 лежбище кабана): Evn. *kimewun* 1; Nan. *kumčien* 2 (Он.), (Bik.) *kum'i* 3 (Сем); Orch. *kīma* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 394-395.

PMong. ***kumaki** earth; sand grains (земля, пыль, тонкий песок): MMong. *qumaqi* (Hp), *qumaki* (HY 3), *qomaq* (Lig. VMI), *qomaqi* (MA); WMong. *qumaγ*, *qumaki* (L 985); Kh. *xumag*, *xumxi*; Bur. *xumxi*; Kalm. *xuməg* (KPC); Ord. *xumuχi(n)*, *xumiχi(n)*; Mongr. *xumoG* 'poussière, pierres etc. mêlées aux grains qu'on vient de battre' (SM 182).

◊ Mong. > Nan. *gumuxī* 'dust'.

PTurk. ***Kum** sand (песок): OTurk. *qum* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *qum* (MK); Tur. *kum*; Gag. *qum*; Az. *Gum*; Turkm. *Gum*; Sal. *Gum*; MTurk. *qum* (Pav. C., MA); Uzb. *qum*; Uygh. *qum*; Krm. *qum*; Tat. *qom*; Bashk. *qom*; Kirgh. *qum*; Kaz. *qṵm*; KBalk. *qum*; KKalp. *qum*; Nogh. *qum*; SUygh. *qum*, *qom*; Khak. *xum*; Shr. *qum*; Oyr. *qum*; Tv. *qum*; Tof. *xum*; Chuv. *xъʷm*; Yak. *kumax*; Dolg. *kumak*.

◊ VEWT 299, EDT 625, Лексика 102, ЭСТЯ 6, 133-134, Stachowski 160. Turk. > WMong. *qum*, Kalm. *xum* 'sand' (KW 196; TMN 3, 508), Hung. *homok* (Gombocz 1912).

‖ Poppe 68. A Western isogloss. Mong. cannot be explained as a Turk. loanword, despite TMN 3, 508-509, Щербак 1997, 143 (conversely, late Turkic forms like Oyr., Kaz. *qumaq* etc. are evidently < Mong.).

✱**kiúne** person; people, country: Tung. ***kün-**; Mong. ***küγün, *-m-**; Turk. ***Kün**; Jpn. ***kúní**.

PTung. ***kün-** 1 relative, kinsman 2 name of a Manchu clan 3 name of the Evens in Yakutia (1 родственник, член рода 2 название маньчжурского клана 3 название якутских эвенов): Evn. *qiŋgalaq* 3; Man. *χunčixin* 1, *xunčun* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 395, 477.

PMong. ***küγün, *-m-** person (человек): MMong. *gu'un* (HY 27, SH), *komon*, *kumnɛt* (IM), *kuw(u)n* (MA); WMong. *kümün* (L 501); Kh. *xün* (pl. *xümüs*), *xömün* (< WMong.); Bur. *xün*; Kalm. *kün*, *kümṇ*; Ord. *kün*, *kümün* (<lit.); Mog. ZM *ku* (10-7a), *kut* ibid.; Dag. *xuar* (Тод. Даг. 178), *huare* (MD 165); Dong. *kun*; Bao. *kuŋ*; S.-Yugh. *kūn*; Mongr. *kun* (SM 211).

◊ KW 246, 249, MGCD 398.

PTurk. ***Kün** people (народ): OTurk. *elgün* (OUygh.); Karakh. *el kün* (KB); Tur. *elgün* (Osm. XIV c.); MTurk. *el wa kün* (Sangl.), *elgün* (Pav. C.), *elgün* (Oghuz-nama), *elgün* 'goverment, realm' (Ettuhf.).

◊ VEWT 309, TMN 3,656-7, Лексика 317, EDT 121-122, 725-726 (with doubts).

PJpn. ***kúní** country (страна): OJpn. *kuni*; MJpn. *kúní*; Tok. *kùni*; Kyo. *kúní*; Kag. *kúni*.

◊ JLTT 463.

‖ KW 249, VEWT 309 (Turk.-Mong.), АПиПЯЯ 294, TMN 3, 656-657 (with criticism). The Mong. form is somewhat difficult: one has to suppose original **künün* with velar (> **küŋün* > **küɣün*) and labial (> **kümün*) assimilations.

✸**ki̯ùpʿu** silk, mulberry: Tung. ***kupen**; Mong. ***kib**; Turk. ***Kɨp**; Jpn. ***kùpá**; Kor. ***kīp**.

PTung. ***kupe(n)** threads (нитки): Neg. *xupen*; Ul. *xupe(n)*; Ork. *kupe(n)*; Nan. *kupẽ*; Orch. *xupe*.

◊ TMC 1, 478.

PMong. ***kib** silk (шелк): MMong. *kip* (HY 'boiled silk cloth' 23, SH), *kib* (IM) 'lining'; WMong. *kib*, *kijib* (L 465); Kh. *xiv*; Bur. *xib*; Kalm. *kib*, *kiwŋ*; Ord. *keb* 'bad quality silk'.

◊ KW 233.

PTurk. ***Kɨp** fabric (ткань): Bashk. *qɨptɨr* 'перешитая в подборку (о шубе)'; Kirgh. *qɨpɨq* 'kerchief, sash'; KBalk. *qɨppa* 'skein, clew'; Khak. *xɨp* 'lining, covering'; Yak. *kɨbɨas* 'шерсть оленя ранним летом'.

◊ VEWT 265.

PJpn. ***kùpá** mulberry tree (тут, тутовое дерево): OJpn. *kupa*; MJpn. *kufa*; Tok. *kúwa*; Kyo. *kùwá*; Kag. *kuwá*.

◊ JLTT 468.

PKor. ***kīp** silk (шелк): MKor. *kīp*; Mod. *kīp*.

◊ Nam 82, KED 282.

‖ SKE 113. Cf. also Mong. *köbüŋ* 'cotton' (> Oyr. *köböŋ*, Tuva *xöveŋ*, Khak. *köböŋ* etc., see ЭСТЯ 5, 108-109 (with some confusion of this root and Turk. **köpe* 'cloth' < **kʿopʿe* q.v. and Turk. **köp-* 'swell, foam' < **kʿopʿi* q.v.); > Man. *kubun* id., see Doerfer MT 102). In fact, it would be tempting to consider Mong. **kib* as a Turkic loanword (despite the fact that the Turk. **Kɨp* is not widely spread and late attested, it cannot be < Mong.), because Mong. -i- is not quite regular here, while *köbüŋ* is a perfect phonetic match.

✸**ki̯ùpʿù** thought, attention: Tung. ***kob-ta**; Mong. ***kuji-**; Turk. ***Kɨpɨ-**; Jpn. ***kùpà-**.

PTung. ***kob-ta** esteem (уважение, почтение): Man. *qobto*.

◊ TMC 1, 402. Attested only in Manchu, but having probable external parallels; cf. also Man. *χofán* 'skilled, dexterous' (TMC 1, 472).

PMong. ***kuji-** crafty, artful (ловкий, хитрый): WMong. *quji-ɣur*, *quji-qur* (L 982); Kh. *xujgūr*.

PTurk. ***Kɨpɨ-** 1 sense, invention, cleverness 2 to invent, think of (1 смысл, изобретательность, ум 2 выдумывать): Kirgh. *qɨbačɨ* 'experi-

enced person'; Khak. *xɨbɨ-*; Oyr. *qɨbɨ-*; Chuv. *xъ^{w}bъ^{w}l* 'dexterous'; Yak. *kɨp* 'dexterously'.

◊ VEWT 260.

PJpn. ***kùpà-tata-*** to plan, project (планировать, предполагать): MJpn. *kùfà-tata-*; Tok. *kuwa-dáte-*; Kyo. *kùwà-dàtè-*; Kag. *kùwà-dàtè-*.

◊ JLTT 718. Hardly unitable with OJ *kupatata-* 'to stand on tiptoe'.

‖ KW 233.

✱**kiure** woodcock, woodpecker: Tung. ***kürekte***; Mong. ***kur***; Turk. ***Körtük**.

PTung. ***kürekte*** woodpecker (дятел): Evk. *kirekte*; Neg. *kijekte*; Man. *kurexu*; Ul. *kurekte*; Ork. *kurekte*; Nan. *kurekte*; Orch. *kijoki*; Ud. *kēxi* (Корм. 248), *kiexi*.

◊ TMC 1, 399.

PMong. ***kur*** woodcock, black grouse (глухарь, тетерев): WMong. *qur*, *qoru* (L 968, 987); Kh. *xur*; Bur. *xura*; Kalm. *xorə* 'глухарь', *xurə* 'тетерев' (КРС).

◊ Mong. > Kirgh. *qur* etc., see ЭСТЯ 6, 155-156.

PTurk. ***Körtük*** 1 woodcock 2 turkey 3 black-cock (1 вальдшнеп 2 индюк 3 тетерев): Tat. *kürkä* 2; Bashk. *kürkä* 2; Kirgh. *kürp* 2; Kaz. *kürke-tawɨq* 2; Khak. *kürkü*, dial. *kürtkü* 'black-cock', *kürles* (Sag.) 'grouse'; Shr. *kürtük* 3; Oyr. *kürtük* 3, *kürte* 1; Tv. *kürtü* 3; Tof. *hü'rtü* 3; Chuv. *kъ^{w}rka* 2; Yak. *körčöx* 'young spring duck, already able to fly'.

◊ VEWT 311, Федотов 1, 258.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**kiurumV** to wink: Tung. ***korim- / *kirim-***; Turk. ***kirm- / *Kɨrm-***.

PTung. ***korim- / *kirim-*** 1 to wink 2 eyelash 3 inner side of eyelid (1 мигать 2 ресница 3 внутренняя сторона века): Evk. *korimi-* 1, *kirimkīn* 2; Evn. *qorъm-* 1, *kirimki* 2; Neg. *kīmkī* 2; Ork. *qolpiqta* 3; Sol. *xurmult(e)* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 398, 415, 2, 352.

PTurk. ***kirpik*** eyelash (ресница): OTurk. *kirpik* (OUygh.); Karakh. *kirpik* (MK); Tur. *kirpik*; Gag. *kirpik*; Az. *kirpik*; Turkm. *kirpik*; Khal. *kirpik*; MTurk. *kirpik* (Sangl., Pav. C.), *kirpük* (MA); Uzb. *kiprik*; Uygh. *ki(r)pik*; Krm. *kirpik*; Tat. *kerfek*; Bashk. *kerpek*; Kirgh. *kirpik*; Kaz. *kərpək*; KKalp. *kirpik*; Kum. *kirpik*; Nogh. *kirpik*; SUygh. *kirmik*; Khak. *kərbək*; Oyr. *kirbik*; Tv. *kirbik*; Chuv. *xъrbъx*, *xъrbъk*, (dial.) *xъrbu*; Yak. *kirbäj*, *kirbī* 'edge'.

◊ VEWT 272, EDT 737-738, ЭСТЯ 5, 74-75, Федотов 2, 333-334, Лексика 213. Cf. also the verb **Kirm- / *Kirp-* 'to wink' (ЭСТЯ 6, 221). The front row variant here is probably secondary.

‖ A Turk.-TM isogloss; cf. **kumi*. Doerfer (MT 240) tries to refute the comparison (by deriving the Turk. forms from *kirpi* "hedgehog" and the TM forms from kiri- "to glitter") - quite unconvincingly.

✸**ki̯úŕu** a k. of vehicle: Tung. ***kur-**; Mong. ***kür-dün**; Turk. ***Kɨŕak, *Kɨŕagu**; Jpn. ***kúrúmá**.

PTung. ***kur-** 1 humming-top 2 screw 3 spool (1 юла, волчок 2 винт 3 катушка (для ниток)): Evk. *kur*, *kuriwuk* 2; Evn. *kūruken* 1; Nan. *kurke* (On.) 3.

◊ TMC 1, 438; 2, 352.

PMong. ***kür-dün** wheel (колесо): MMong. *gurdun* (HY 17), *gurdu(n)* (SH); WMong. *kürdü(n)* (L 504); Kh. *xürd(en)* 'prayer wheel'; Bur. *xürde* 'prayer wheel', *xürǖg* 'шарниры, на которые навешивается наружная дверь'; Kalm. *kürdə* 'цилиндр с молитвенным текстом' (KPC); Ord. *kürdü*; Dag. *kurde* (Тод. Даг. 151), *kuredu*, *kurese* (MD 185).

◊ Mong. > Manchu *kurdun* 'a Buddhist cycle, samsara' (see Rozycki 147).

PTurk. ***Kɨŕak, *Kɨŕagu** sledge (сани): Tur. *kɨzak*; Az. *xizäk*; MTurk. *qɨzaq* (AH); Uygh. *quzuq* 'bed'; Tat. *qɨzaw* 'кузов'; Bashk. *quδɨ* 'лукошко'.

◊ VEWT 269.

PJpn. ***kúrúmá** vehicle, carriage (повозка): OJpn. *kuruma*; MJpn. *kúrúmà*; Tok. *kùruma*; Kyo. *kúrúmá*; Kag. *kurúma*.

◊ JLTT 465.

‖ Judging from the Turkic evidence, the vehicle in question could have been not a wheeled one, but some kind of sleigh or sledge; however, this may be also a secondary development in Turkic (all other languages point rather to some wheeled carriage or just wheel). Among common derivatives one can mention PT **Kɨŕak* = Evn. *kūruke-n*.

✸**ki̯ǜta (~ -tʿ-)** insufficiency, debt: Tung. ***kōta**; Turk. ***Kɨt**; Jpn. ***kàta-**.

PTung. ***kōta** 1 debt 2 miserly, greedy (1 долг 2 скупой, жадный): Evk. *kōta* 1; Evn. *qōt* 1; Ul. *qota* 2; Ork. *qụta* 2; Nan. *qota* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 417, 439.

PTurk. ***Kɨt** not enough, insufficient (недостаточный, скудный): Tur. *kɨt*; *kɨtlɨk* 'Ungenügendheit, Hungersnot'; Az. *Gɨt*; Turkm. *Gɨt*; MTurk. *qɨt* (AH, IM); Uygh. *qitiɣir* 'miserly'; Krm. *qɨt*; Bashk. *qɨtlɨq* 'hunger' (dial.); Kirgh. *qɨdɨq* 'dwarf', *qɨtɨj-* 'secretive', *qɨtɨraj-* 'lean and small'; Kaz. *qɨtɨqtan-* 'to be offended'; KBalk. *qɨt*; KKalp. *qɨt*; Kum. *qɨt*; Nogh. *qɨt*; Shr. *qɨtɨj* 'miserly'; Tv. *qɨdɨɣ* 'oppressed'; Chuv. *xədəx* 'compulsion'.

◊ VEWT 268, ЭСТЯ 6, 252.

PJpn. ***kàta-** beggar, beggary (нищий, нищенство): OJpn. *kata-no-wi*; MJpn. *kata-wi*, *kata-no-wi* (RJ *kàtáfi*, *kàtafí*).

◊ JLTT 443.

‖ The basic meaning of the root may be formulated as 'having not enough, insufficience' - whence 'debt', 'miser', 'beggar' etc. A Mongolian match is perhaps **kudal* 'lie, liar' (< 'beggar'?).

✱**kiùtí** a k. of fox: Tung. ***kitiri**; Mong. ***küderi**; Jpn. ***kìtúnái**.

PTung. ***kitiri** a k. of fox (лиса-крестовка): Neg. *kiṭiji*; Ork. *kitčiri*; Nan. *kičiri* (On.); Orch. *kiti*.

◊ TMC 1, 400.

PMong. ***küderi** musk-deer, a k. of rat (кабарга, вид крысы): WMong. *küderi* (L 497); Kh. *xüder*; Bur. *xüderi*; Kalm. *küdṛ*; Ord. *küder* 'porte-musc'.

◊ KW 244. Mong. > Kirgh. *küdörö.*

PJpn. ***kìtúnái** fox (лиса): OJpn. *kjitune*; MJpn. *kìtúné*; Tok. *kìtsune*; Kyo. *kìtsùné*; Kag. *kitsuné*.

◊ JLTT 452.

‖ The Mong. form could be alternatively compared with Turk. **Kodan* 'hare' (ЭСТЯ 6, 29-30).

✱**ko (~ *kʿ-)** this: Mong. ***kü**; Turk. ***Kö**; Jpn. ***kə́-**; Kor. ***kɨ**.

PMong. ***kü** deictic particle (указательная частица): MMong. *-gu* (SH); WMong. *ene kü* 'exactly this', *tere kü* 'exactly that'; Kh. *xū*; Ord. *kū* 'a particle'; Dag. *ke, kē* (Тод. Даг. 148).

PTurk. ***Kö** this (этот): Sal. *ku*; SUygh. *gu, go*; Chuv. *ko, kъv.*

◊ Федотов 1, 300-302, Левитская 32-34. Cf. the OT (Orkh., OUygh., MK) emphatic nominal suffix -oq.

PJpn. ***kə́-** 1 this 2 that (1 этот 2 тот): OJpn. *ko-* 1; MJpn. *kó-* 1; *ka-* 2; Tok. *kòre* 1; *ká-re* 'he'; Kyo. *kóré* 1; *ká-rè* 'he'; Kag. *kói* 1.

◊ JLTT 430, 452. High tone in Tokyo *ká-re* is not clear (the stem **ka-* appears to be a merger of **kə́-* and **á-).*

PKor. ***kɨ** this, that (этот, тот): MKor. *kɨ* (*kɨ-i*); Mod. *kɨ*.

◊ Nam 76, KED 231.

‖ EAS 46, Martin 244, АПиПЯЯ 56, 49, 277. The root behaves like **kóʿe* (with a second front vowel).

✱**kobe (~ -i)** cloth, clothing: Tung. ***kuberi**; Mong. ***kubča-**; Turk. ***Köbüŕ / *Kebiŕ**.

PTung. ***kuberi** fur hood; collar (капор (меховой); воротник): Man. *χuberi*.

◊ TMC 1, 473.

PMong. ***kubča-** clothing, dress (одежда): MMong. *qubčasu* (HYt), *qubča* (IM), *qubčasun* (SH); WMong. *qubčasu(n)* (L 976); Kh. *xuvcas*; Bur. *xubsaha(n)*; Kalm. *хорсə, хирсə*; Ord. *Gubčasu, Gubčas*; Dag. *kuačilahe* 'a cloth wrapper, a furoshiki' (MD 184); S.-Yugh. *χabčis*.

◊ KW 186, 197, MGCD 384, TMN 1, 385-386.

PTurk. ***Köbüŕ / *Kebiŕ** carpet, rug (ковер): Karakh. *keviz* (MK); Tur. *köjüz* (dial.); MTurk. *kebiz* (MA), *köwüz* (Xwar.), *köwüz* (CCum.), *kevüz* (AH); Uzb. *kigiz*; Uygh. *kebɛz*, *kɛvɛz*; Bashk. *köjöδ*; Kirgh. *kebez*; KBalk. *küjüz* OL; Kum. *gujuz* (dial.); Nogh. *küjiz*; Khak. *kibəs*; Shr. *kemis*; Oyr. *kebis*; Tv. *xevis*; Chuv. (Bulg.) > ORuss. *kovьrъ* 'carpet'.

◊ EDT 692, ЭСТЯ 5, 83. Turk. > Mong. *kebis* (> Man. *kebisu* etc., see TMC 1, 444), see Clark 1980, 39., Cf. Khalkha *xiv* 'gauze, crêpe', *xövöŋ* 'cotton'. ЭСТЯ 5, 13.

‖ A Western isogloss; see under **k[ā]pʿá* about possible mergers.

✱kóbe (~ kʿ-, -p-, -pʿ-) to freeze: Mong. ***köbsi-**; Jpn. ***kə́pə́r-**.

PMong. ***köbsi-** to freeze (замерзать): MMong. *köbši-* (SH).

PJpn. ***kə́pə́r-** to freeze (замерзать): OJpn. *kop(w)or-*; MJpn. *kófór-*; Tok. *kȍr-*; Kyo. *kŏ́r-*; Kag. *kŏ́r-*.

◊ JLTT 712.

‖ Ozawa 84. A Mong.-Jpn. isogloss. It is interesting to note Evk. dial. *kiwšim* 'fine snow' (< Mong.?).

✱kŏ́bú hollow, cavity: Tung. ***kobi / kebi(ŋe)**; Mong. ***koɣu-su**; Turk. ***Kobuk**; Jpn. ***kúmpuá**; Kor. ***kōr- (?)**.

PTung. ***kobi / kebi(ŋe)** 1 hole, hollow 2 cavity (1 углубление, дупло 2 впадина, углубление): Evn. *qobmiĺa* 1, *kēwŋe*, *kewuŋe* 2; Man. *qobi* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 402, 442. The Manchu form is regarded by Rozycki 141 as borrowed < Mong. *qobil* 'groove' (q.v. sub **kio̯pu*), which is hardly the case.

PMong. ***koɣu-su** empty, hollow (пустой, полый): MMong. *qoʼo-sun* (SH, HYt); WMong. *qoɣusun* (L 953); Kh. *xōson*; Bur. *xōho(n)*; Kalm. *xōsn*; Ord. *xōson*; Mog. *qosun*; Dag. *xōson* (Тод. Даг. 178), *hōson* (MD 164); Dong. *qosun*; Bao. *xosoŋ*; S.-Yugh. *χūsən*; Mongr. *xōʒən* (SM 169), (MGCD *xōsən*).

◊ KW 191, 192-193, MGCD 355. Mong. > Evk. *kōhon*, see Doerfer MT 127.

PTurk. ***Kobu-k** empty, hollow (пустой, полый): OTurk. *qovɨ* (OUygh.); Karakh. *qovɨ*, *qovuq* (MK); Tur. *kovuk*, *gavɨk* (dial.); Turkm. *Govaq, Govuq, Govalč, Govuz*; MTurk. *qovuq* (AH); Uygh. *quaq* (dial.); Khak. *xax*.

◊ VEWT 273, TMN 3, 415, ЭСТЯ 6, 5-6.

PJpn. ***kúmpuá** 1 cavity 2 to be concave, hollow (1 впадина, углубление 3 быть вогнутым, полым): OJpn. *kub(w)o* 1, *kub(w)o-m-* 2; MJpn. *kúbó* 1, *kúbóm-* 2; Tok. *kubo* 1, *kùbo-m-* 2; Kyo. *kúbóm-* 2; Kag. *kubóm-* 2.

◊ JLTT 461, 714.

PKor. ***kōr- (?)** to become hollow (становиться полым, пустым): Mod. *kōl-*.

◊ SKE 122.

‖ SKE 122. Cf. *gupu. The Kor. form *kōr- presupposes *kobVr-; however, it is only found in SKE and may be in fact = *kòrh- 'be hungry, empty' (see *gŏŕa).

✱**kóčè** to nomadize, transport: Tung. ***kuči- (~ -š-)**; Mong. ***köske**; Turk. ***göč-**; Jpn. ***kə́sì**.

PTung. ***kuči- (~ -š-)** 1 to come 2 to wander (1 приходить 2 бродить): Evk. *kuči-* 1, *kičur-* (< *kučir- ?) 2.

◊ TMC 1, 401, 441. Attested only in Evk.; see below on a possibility of borrowing < Yakut.

PMong. ***köske** transportation, mount, cart (транспортировка, повозка, экипаж): WMong. *köske*, *kösge* (L 493); Kh. *xösög*.

PTurk. ***göč-** 1 to migrate, nomadize 2 nomadizing (1 мигрировать, кочевать 2 кочевка): Karakh. *köč-* 1 (MK, KB), *köč* 2 (KB); Tur. *göč-* 1, *göč* 2; Gag. *göč-* 1, *göč* 'luggage'; Az. *köč-* 1, *köč* 2; Turkm. *göč-* 1, *göč* 2; Khal. *keč-* 1; MTurk. *köǯ-* 1, *köč* 2 (Sangl.); Uzb. *kọč-* 1, *kọč* 2; Uygh. *köč-* 1, *köč* 2; Krm. *köč-* 1; Tat. *küč-* 1, *küč* 2; Bashk. *küs* 'рой', *küs-* 1; Kirgh. *köč-* 1, *köč* 2; Kaz. *köš-* 1, *köš* 2; KBalk. *köč-* 1; KKalp. *köš-* 1, *köš* 2; Kum. *göč-* 1; Nogh. *köš-* 1, *köš* 2; SUygh. *köš-* 1; Khak. *kös-* 1; Shr. *köš-* 1, *köš* 2; Oyr. *köč-* 1; Tv. *kö'š-* 1, *kö'š* 2; Tof. *kö'š-* 1, *kö'š* 2; Chuv. *koś-* 1; Yak. *kös-* 1, *kös* 2; Dolg. *kös-* 1, *kös* 2.

◊ EDT 693, 694, Лексика 489, ЭСТЯ 3, 88-90, TMN 3, 622, Stachowski 158, Федотов 1, 315.

PJpn. ***kə́sì** palanquin (паланкин): OJpn. *kosi*; MJpn. *kósì*; Tok. *kóshi*; Kyo. *kóshí*; Kag. *kóshi*.

◊ JLTT 458. Accent in Tokyo and Kyoto is quite irregular.

‖ Poppe 63, KW 241, Владимирцов 377; Лексика 490; TMN 3, 633 ("...nicht hinreichend gesichert"). Despite Щербак 1997, 127, not borrowed in Mong. < Turk. (see also Clark 1980, 56); -s- instead of the expected -č- in Mong. is due to a position within the cluster (*köske* = *köčke*). -č- (or *-š-) in Evk. is, however, more difficult to account for (*-s- would be expected normally), which means that the Evk. words may actually be borrowed < Yakut.

✱**kočʹV (~ kʹ-, -č-)** ram: Mong. ***kuča**; Turk. ***Koč**.

PMong. ***kuča** ram (баран): MMong. *xuča* (HY 12), *qəča* 'lamb' (IM), *quča* (MA); WMong. *quča* (MXTTT); Kh. *xuc*; Bur. *xusa*; Kalm. *xucə* (KPC); Ord. *Guča*; Dag. *koč*; Dong. *quǯa*; S.-Yugh. *quǯa*; Mongr. *xuʒ́a* (SM 174), *xuǯa*.

◊ MGCD 394. Mong. > Evk. *kuča* etc., see Doerfer MT 100; Bur. > Russ. Siber. *xucán*, see Аникин 338-339.

PTurk. ***Koč** ram (баран): OTurk. *qočqar*, *qočuŋar* (OUygh.); Karakh. *qočŋar* (MK); Tur. *koč*, *kočkar*; Gag. *qoč*; Az. *Goč*; Turkm. *Goč*, *GočGar*; Sal. *qošqor*, *qošqur*; Khal. Goč; MTurk. *qoč*, *qočqar* (AH, Pav. C.); Uzb. *γɔč*

(dial.), *qǫčqar*; Uygh. *qočqa(r)*, *qošqa(r)*; Krm. *qoč*, *qočqar*, *qočxar*; Tat. *quč-qar* (dial.); Bashk. *qušqar*; Kirgh. *qočqor*; Kaz. *qošqar*; KBalk. *qocxar*; KKalp. *γoš*, *qošqar*; Kum. *qočqar*; Nogh. *qošqar*; SUygh. *qužγar*; Oyr. *qoč-qor*; Tv. *qošqar*.

◊ Лексика 432, TMN 3, 539, 540-541, EDT 592, ЭСТЯ 6, 87-88. Turk. > Hung. *kos*, see Gombocz 1912; Russ. dial. *kočkór*, *kočkář*, see Аникин 308, 309.

‖ Poppe 62. A Turk.-Mong. isogloss, but hardly borrowed, despite TMN 3, 540, Щербак 1997, 139.

✱**kogĺu (~ -o, -a)** pipe, chimney: Tung. ***kula-n**; Mong. ***koγul-aj**; Turk. ***Koguĺ**.

PTung. ***kula-n** pipe, chimney (труба, дымоход): Neg. *kolan*; Man. *χulan*; SMan. *hulan* (475); Ul. *qụla(n)*; Nan. *qolã*; Orch. *kula(n)*; Ud. *kula(n)*; Sol. *kulan*.

◊ TMC 1, 428. Cf. also Nan. dial. *kulekte*, *keulekte* 'throat', Man. *χolin* 'inner side of cheek'. TM > Dag. *xolil* (Тод. Даг. 177), *xuala* (Тод. Даг. 178).

PMong. ***koγul-aj** throat; pipe (горло; трубка): MMong. *qo'olai* (HY 46, SH), *qūl* (IM), *qulaj* (MA), *qūla* (LH); WMong. *qoγulaj* (L 952); Kh. *xōloj*; Bur. *xōloj*; Kalm. *xōl*, *xōlā̈*; Ord. *xōlȫ*; Mog. *qōlɛi* (Ramstedt 1906); ZM *qolei* (2-5b); Dag. *xōĺē* (Тод. Даг. 177; MGCD *xōĺ*), *hōle* (MD 163); Dong. *Golei*; S.-Yugh. *χolo*; Mongr. *xōlo* (SM 170).

◊ KW 192, MGCD 355. Mong. > Evk. *kōlai* etc., see Doerfer MT 131, Rozycki 142.

PTurk. ***Koguĺ** gutter, cavity, hollow (желоб, впадина, полость): Karakh. *qoγuš* (MK); Tur. *kovuš*; Az. *Goγuš*; MTurk. *qoγuš* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *qavuš*, *qɔvaš*, *quwuš* (dial.); Krm. *qowuš*, *quwuš*; Tat. *quwiš*; Bashk. *qɨwɨš*; Kaz. *quwɨs*; KKalp. *quwɨs*; Kum. *quwuš*; Nogh. *quwɨs*; Khak. *xōs*; Chuv. *xъ^{w}vъ^{w}l*; Yak. *kuohāx*.

◊ The Chuv. form may rather belong to PTurk. **Kob-*. See VEWT 275, EDT 613, ЭСТЯ 6, 18-20, Stachowski 161 (the two roots interact actively).

‖ Владимирцов 365, Poppe 77 (Turk.-Mong.), Дыбо 46. A Western isogloss.

✱**kŏkʿà** to be deficient, damaged: Tung. ***kuKe-**; Mong. ***koki-**; Turk. ***Kōk-**; Jpn. ***káká-**.

PTung. ***kuKe-** 1 to perish 2 dying (1 погибать 2 умирающий): Evk. *kukelčē* 2; Evn. *köke-* 1; Man. *guku-* 1; SMan. *guku-* 'to fall, to be destroyed' (1063).

◊ TMC 1, 169, 427.

PMong. ***koki-** 1 to be damaged 2 damage (1 повреждаться 2 вред): WMong. *qoki-* 1 (L 956: *qoki* 2); Kh. *xoǵ* 2; Bur. *xoxi* 2; Kalm. *xoḱə-* 1; Ord. *Goχiro-* 'to be absolutely destroyed'; Dag. *kokire-* (MD 183) *kokirə-*; S.-Yugh. *χəkər-*.

◊ KW 182, MGCD 369. Mong. > Man. *kokira-*, see Doerfer MT 138.

PTurk. ***Kōk-** 1 to decrease, diminish 2 deficient, empty (1 уменьшаться 2 недостаточный, пустой): OTurk. *qoq-* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *qoq-* 1, *qoquz* 2 (MK); Tur. *kokuz* 2; Turkm. *Govuz* 2; Tat. *quɣɨz* 2 (dial.); Khak. *xox-* 1; Oyr. *qoq-* 1.

◊ EDT 609, 614, ЭСТЯ 6, 35-36.

PJpn. ***káká-** to be deficient (быть недостаточным): OJpn. *kaka-* 'to be deficient; to be damaged'; MJpn. *káká-*; Tok. *kàke-*; Kyo. *káké-*; Kag. *kaké-*.

◊ JLTT 702.

‖ KW 182.

✱**kȍkˊè** breast, to suck; heart: Tung. ***xuku-n / *kuku-n**; Mong. ***kökön**; Turk. ***gökǘŕ**; Jpn. ***kə̀kə̀rə**; Kor. ***kokăi-**.

PTung. ***xuku-n / *kuku-n** breast (fem.) (грудь (жен.)): Evk. *ukun*; Evn. *ökъn*; Neg. *öxön / ökön*; Man. *oxo*, *oGo* 'armpit'; SMan. *ohə* 'armpit'(67); Ul. *kue(n)*, *kuku(n)*; Ork. *qū(n)*, *qō(n)*; Nan. *kū(n)*; Orch. *oko(n)*; Ud. *kosoˊ* (Корм. 251); Sol. *uxũ* 'milk'.

◊ Formally derived from TM **xuku-* 'to suck (breast)', see TMC 2, 254-255.

PMong. ***kökön** breast (fem.), nipple (грудь (женская), сосок): MMong. *kokan* (SH), *keuke* (IM), *kukän* (MA); WMong. *kökü(n)*, *köke(n)* (L 482, 483); Kh. *xöx*; Bur. *xüxe(n)*; Kalm. *kökn̥*; Ord. *göχö*; Mog. *kökä*; ZM *kukä* (2-8a); Dong. *gogo*; Bao. *kugo*; S.-Yugh. *hgön*; Mongr. *kugo* (SM 208).

◊ KW 237, MGCD 403. Mong. > Manchu (sp.) *xuxuŋ* (see TMN 1, 481), probably also Jurch. *xuxun* (541).

PTurk. ***gökǘŕ (/*gögǘŕ), *Kökrek** 1 breast 2 middle of the back 3 reason, sense, emotion 4 female breast (1 грудь 2 поясница, середина спины 3 женская грудь): OTurk. *kögüz* 1, 3 (OUygh.); Karakh. *kögüz* 1 (MK); Tur. *göɣüs* 1, *kökrek* 1 (dial.); Gag. *gȗs* 1; Az. *köks*, *köküs* 1; Turkm. *gövüs* 1, *kükrek* 1; Sal. *göfrix* 4?; MTurk. *kögs*, *kögüs* (Sangl.), *köküs* (MA) 1, *kökrek* (Abush., Бор. Бад.) 1; Uzb. *kụks* 1, 3, *kɔkräk* 1, 4; Uygh. *köküs* 1, *kökräk* 1; Krm. *kökis* 1, *kökräk* 1; Tat. *kögüs* 1 (dial., KCTT), *kükrɛk* 1, 4; Bashk. *kükräk* 1; Kirgh. *kökürök* 1; Kaz. *kökirek* 1; KBalk. *kökürek* 1; KKalp. *kökirek* 1; Kum. *kökürek* 1; Nogh. *kökirek* 1; SUygh. *köküs*, *gȗs* 1; Khak. *kögis* 1; Shr. *kögüs* 1; Oyr. *kögüs* 1, 3; Chuv. *kъʷgъʷr* 1; Yak. *köɣüs* 2; Dolg. *köksü* 'back'.

◊ EDT 714, VEWT 288, ЭСТЯ 3, 54-55, 5, 136-137, Лексика 272-274, Stachowski 155. The Oghuz forms with k- (Turkm. *kükrek*, Tur. dial. *kökrek*) may be < Kypchak, cf. -ü- instead of -ö- in Turkm.

PJpn. ***kə̀kə̀rə** heart (сердце): OJpn. *kokoro*; MJpn. *kòkòró*; Tok. *kokóro*; Kyo. *kókòrò*; Kag. *kokoró*.

◊ JLTT 454. Accent is not quite clear: all dialects and RJ point probably to a low tone on first syllable (except Tokyo: the origin of type 2 in trisyllables is obscure); Kagoshima can reflect any structure with this characteristics; Kyoto points rather to **kə̀kə̀rə*, as opposed to the attested *kə̀kə̀rə́*.

PKor. ***kokăi-** heart of wood, pith, core (сердцевина): MKor. *kokăijaŋ*; Mod. *kogäŋi*.

◊ Nam 45, KED 134.

‖ Poppe 108, Колесникова 1972a, 78-84, Цинциус 1984, 106-107, Martin 248, Murayama 1962, 111, АПиПЯЯ 15, 32, 280, JOAL 147, Дыбо 13, Лексика 272-273, TMN 1, 482 ("Elementarverwandtschaft?"), Doerfer MT 142. Mongolian and TM have a parallel verbal stem 'to suck (breast)', thus the probable semantic development here is 'to suck (breast)' > '(female) breast' > 'breast (in general)' > 'heart'.

✸**kṓkʿe (~ -i)** blue, green: Tung. ***kuKu**; Mong. ***köke**; Turk. ***gȫk**.

PTung. ***kuKu** blue (синий, голубой): Evk. *kuku*, *kuku-šin*; Man. *kuku*; Orch. *kuagǯa*.

◊ TMC 1, 421, 426.

PMong. ***köke** blue, green (синий, зеленый): MMong. *koko* (HY 41, SH), *keuke* (IM), *kukă̄* (MA); WMong. *köke* (L 482); Kh. *xöx*; Bur. *xüxe*; Kalm. *kökə*; Ord. *göχö*; Mog. *kükä*; ZM *kukä* (13-7); Dag. *kuke* (Тод. Даг. 151, MD 185); Dong. *kugie*; Bao. *koge*, (MGCD) *kugo*; S.-Yugh. *hgö*; Mongr. *kugo* (SM 209).

◊ KW 236, MGCD 378.

PTurk. ***gȫk** 1 blue 2 green ("macro-blue" according to Wierzbicka) (1 синий 2 зеленый): OTurk. *kök* 1 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *kök* 1 (MK, KB), 2 (KB); Tur. *gök* 1; Gag. *gök* 1; Az. *göj* 1; Turkm. *gȫk* 1, 2; Sal. *Gux* 1; Khal. *kīek* 2; MTurk. *kök* 1 (MA); Uzb. *kọk* 1, 2; Uygh. *kök* 1, 2; Krm. *kök* 1; Tat. *kük* 1; Bashk. *kük* 1; Kirgh. *kök* 1; Kaz. *kök* 1; KBalk. *kök* 1; KKalp. *kök* 1; Kum. *gök* 1; Nogh. *kök* 1; SUygh. *kük* 1, 2; Khak. *kök* 1; Shr. *kök* 1, 2; Oyr. *kök* 1, 2; Tv. *kök* 1; Tof. *kök* 1; Chuv. *kъʷvak* 1; Yak. *küöx* 1, 2; Dolg. *küök* 1.

◊ VEWT 287, TMN 3, 640-642, EDT 708-9, ЭСТЯ 3, 66-68, Лексика 60, 604, Stachowski 165. In most languages the root also means 'sky'. Turk. > Hung. *kék* 'blue', see Gombocz 1912.

‖ EAS 154, VEWT 287, KW 236, Владимирцов 168, 324, Poppe 56, АПиПЯЯ 288. A Western isogloss. Despite Щербак 1997, 128, Doerfer TMN 3, 641-642, MT 99 and Rozycki 145 there is no need to assume Mong. < Turk. or TM < Mong. (although it cannot be excluded). Derived are probably bird names: Turk. **gȫkerčin* 'dove', **gȫkel* 'he-duck', TM **kukēkī* 'jay', Mong. **kögürǯegene* 'dove' (see Лексика 175; Mong. is hardly borrowed < Turk., despite Clark 1980, 44).

✸**kȍkʿò** rubbish, dirt: Tung. ***kuk-pun**; Mong. ***kokir**; Turk. ***Kok**; Jpn. ***kə̀k- (~ -ua-)**.

PTung. ***kuk-pun** rubbish, dirt (мусор, грязь): Man. *xukun*; Ul. *kukpu(n)*; Nan. *kukpũ*.

◊ TMC 1, 426.

PMong. ***kokir** filth, rubbish; dry dung (грязь; сухой навоз, кизяк): MMong. *qokir* (SH, Козин); WMong. *qokir* (L 956); Kh. *xoxir*; Bur. *xoxir*.

PTurk. ***Kok** dust, ashes (пыль, пепел): OTurk. *qoγ* (OUygh.); Karakh. *qoγ* (MK); MTurk. *qoγ* (AH, Pav. C.); Krm. *qoq*; Kirgh. *qoq*; Nogh. *qoq*; Khak. *xox*; Oyr. *qoq*; Tv. *xoq*; Yak. *xoγoso*.

◊ EDT 609, VEWT 275, 276, Лексика 368. Turk. > Mong. *qoγ*, Kalm. *xog* 'dregs, dirt' (KW 181, Щербак 1997, 165).

PJpn. ***kàk- (~ -ua-)** to urinate, excrete; to stink (мочиться, испражняться; вонять): MJpn. *kòk-*; Tok. *kok-*.

◊ JLTT 712.

‖ An expressive root. Cf. also Turk. **Kıg* 'dung' (VEWT 261), **Kakač* id. (EDT 610).

✱**kȍlé** to be afraid, distressed: Tung. ***kul-**; Mong. ***kulči-**; Turk. ***Köl-**; Jpn. ***kərə́-**.

PTung. ***kul-** 1 to be frightened 2 stupid 3 stiff, silent, sullen (1 цепенеть (от страха) 2 глупый, несмышленый 3 вялый, угрюмый, оцепеневший): Evk. *kululi* 3; Evn. *qụldam-* 2, *qụlụńa* 3; Neg. *kolo-kolo* 3; Man. *quli-* 1; Ul. *qol-qol* 3; Nan. *qol-qol* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 428, 429.

PMong. ***kulči-** to be shy, timid (трусить, робеть): WMong. *qulčij-* (MXTTT); Kh. *xulčij-*.

PTurk. ***Köl-** 1 to be shy, afraid, sullen 2 to be jealous 3 jealousy (1 робеть, пугаться, расстраиваться 2 ревновать 3 ревность): Shr. *külün* 3; Oyr. *köler-*, Tel. *külüneš-* 2; Tv. *xöl-ze-* 1; Chuv. *küle-*, *küleš-* 2.

◊ VEWT 289. Егоров 122-123 confuses the root with **güni* (q. v. sub **kune*); so does Федотов 1, 321.

PJpn. ***kərə́- (~ -u)** to be disappointed, distressed (разочаро-ваться, получать урок): OJpn. *koru-*; MJpn. *kòràs-* (caus.); Tok. *korí-*; Kyo. *kòrì-*; Kag. *kòrì-*.

◊ JLTT 712.

‖ One of the many common Altaic verbs of emotion.

✱**kólè (~ kʹ-)** time: Mong. ***küli-**; Turk. ***Kolu**; Jpn. ***kə́rə̀**.

PMong. ***küli-** to wait (ждать): MMong. *gulišе* (HY 34, SH), *k[u]ličimu-* 'waiting' (IM); WMong. *küliγe-*, *küli-če-* (L 499, 500); Kh. *xülē-*, *xülce-*; Bur. *xülḗ-*; Kalm. *külə-* (KPC); Ord. *külē-*; Dag. *kulčē-* (Тод. Даг. 151: *kulḗčē-*), *kulečē-* (MD 185).

◊ MGCD 398.

PTurk. ***Kolu** 1 period of time 2 originally (1 период времени 2 первоначально): OTurk. *qolu* 1 (OUygh.); Kirgh. *qolu* 2.

◊ EDT 617, Лексика 69-70, Clark 1977, 148-149.

PJpn. ***kə́rə̀** time, period of time (время, период): OJpn. *koro*; MJpn. *koro*; Tok. *koró*, *kóro*; Kyo. *kóròˀ*; Kag. *kóro*.

◊ JLTT 458. The Tokyo variant *kóro* is unclear.

‖ Лексика 69-70.

✸**kōli (~ -e)** to harness: Mong. ***köl-**; Turk. ***gȫl-**.

PMong. ***köl-** to harness (запрягать): MMong. *kol-*, *kolde-* (SH); WMong. *köl-le-* (L 485); Kh. *xöllö-*; Kalm. *köll-*; Ord. *kölö-*.

◊ KW 288.

PTurk. ***gȫl-** 1 to harness 2 harnessed animal (1 запрягать 2 упряжное животное): OTurk. *köl-* 1 (OUygh. - YB), *kölük 2(Orkh.*, OUygh.), 'a vehicle' (OUygh.); Karakh. *kölük* 2 (MK); Tur. *gölük* 2; Turkm. *gȫlük* (dial.) 'vehicle'; *göle* 2; MTurk. *kölük* 2 (Sangl.); Kirgh. *kölük* 2; Kaz. *kölik* 2; KKalp. *kölik* 2; Nogh. *kölik* 2; Khak. *köl-* 1, *köləg* Nom. Act.; Oyr. *kölkö* 2 (possibly < Mong.); Tv. *xöl*, *xölge* 2 (the latter is rather < Mong.); Tof. *hölle-* 1; Chuv. *kül-* 1; Yak. *köl-üj-* 1, *kölö*, *kölgö* 2 (the latter may be < Mong.).; Dolg. *kölüj-* 1.

◊ VEWT 288, EDT 715, 717, ЭСТЯ 3, 69-70, Федотов 1, 320-321, Stachowski 155 (following Kał. MEJ 18 and deriving Yak., Dolg. < Mong.).

‖ A Turk.-Mong. isogloss. Contaminations with several other roots were possible: cf. **gū́ldi, *kʿi̯uli, *kʿiĺa.* Cf. Щербак 1997, 128 (Turk. > Mong.).

✸**kòĺbèkʿV (~ -o-)** hub, wheel hub: Tung. ***kulbuka**; Mong. ***kolkibči**; Turk. ***Koĺ-luk**; Jpn. ***kə̀sìki**.

PTung. ***kulbuka** hub (втулка): Evk. *kulbukā* (dial.).

◊ TMC 1, 428.

PMong. ***kolkibči** 1 hub, bearing 2 cross-bow (1 втулка 2 самострел): WMong. *qolkibči* (L 960: *qolqubči*, *qolqubči numu*); Kh. *xolxiwč*, *xolxowč* 1; *xolxovč-num* 2.

PTurk. ***Koĺ-luk** 1 iron arrow-head 2 arrow with iron head (1 железный наконечник стрелы 2 стрела с железным наконечником): Khak. *xosta* 1, 2; Yak. *kustuk* 2.

◊ VEWT 283. Turk. > Mansi *kuɔšlɔx*. A Siberian word; but deriving it from **Kuĺ* 'bird' is hardly possible, despite Stachowski 162.

PJpn. ***kə̀sìki** hub (ступица колеса): OJpn. *kosikji*; MJpn. *kòsìki*; Tok. *kóshiki*.

◊ JLTT 458.

‖ An interesting common Altaic cultural term.

✸**koĺi (~ kʿ-, -i̯-, -e)** to freeze: Mong. ***köl-de-**; Turk. ***Köĺ-**.

PMong. ***köl-de-** to freeze (замерзать): WMong. *kölde-*, *köldü-* (L 485); Kh. *xöldö-*; Bur. *xülde-*; Kalm. *köld-*; Ord. *köldö-*; Dag. *kuĺde-* (Тод. Даг. 151: *kulde-*, 179: *xulde-*), *hulede-* (MD 166), *xuĺde-*, *xuldu-*; Dong. *guanǯie-*; Bao. *gondə-*; S.-Yugh. *köldǖ-*.

◊ KW 288, MGCD 373.

PTurk. ***Köĺ-** to freeze (замерзать): Tat. *küšek-*; Bashk. *küšek-*; Kaz. *köšü-*; Tv. *köžü-*; Tof. *köšü-*; Yak. *köhüj-*.

◊ VEWT 294, ЭСТЯ 5, 127.

‖ ОСНЯ 1, 305. A Turk.-Mong. isogloss. The root should be distinguished from **kʿoli-* 'shadow, cloud' (although contaminations are possible).

✸**kṓĺi(kV) (~ g-, -e)** young of animals: Mong. ***gölige**; Turk. ***kȫĺek**.

PMong. ***gölige** pup, young dog or cat (щенок, детеныш собаки или кошки): WMong. *gölüge*, *gölige* (L 386); Kh. *gölög*; Bur. *gülge(n)*; Kalm. *gölgə*; Ord. *gölögö*; Dag. *gulug*, *gulgū* (Тод. Даг. 133); S.-Yugh. *gələg*; Mongr. *gorgo* (SM 143), *gulgo*.

◊ KW 137, MGCD 300.

PTurk. ***kȫĺek** young of camel (верблюжонок): Tur. *köšek*, *göšek* (dial.), *gölük* 'cub'; Az. *köšäk*; Turkm. *kȫšek*; MTurk. *köšek* (AH); Uzb. *küšek* (dial.); Bashk. *kölökɛj* 'calf'; KKalp. *köšek* (dial.); Kum. *kilɛj* (dial.) 'cub'; Chuv. > Hung. *kölyök*, see Gombocz 1912.

◊ ЭСТЯ 5, 126-127.

‖ KW 137, Poppe 25, 78. A Turk.-Mong. isogloss. PT has a quite irregular *k-, probably due to contamination with **kičük* 'small, young of animals' q. v.

✸**kṓme (~-o)** mat, carpet: Tung. ***kuma-lān**; Mong. ***köm**; Turk. ***Kōm**; Jpn. ***kə́mə́**.

PTung. ***kuma-lān** a small carpet (made of skins) (коврик (из шкур)): Evk. *kumalān*; Evn. *qṹmnan*; Neg. *komalan*; Ork. *qụmala(n)*; Orch. *kumala*.

◊ TMC 1, 430. Evk. > Dolg. *kumalān* (Stachowski 160).

PMong. ***köm** rawhide, depilated skin (сыромятная шкура): WMong. *köm*; Kh. *xöm*; Bur. *xüm*; Kalm. *köm*; Ord. *köm*.

◊ KW 239.

PTurk. ***Kōm** camel's pack-saddle (верблюжье вьючное седло): Karakh. *qom* (MK); Turkm. *Gōm*; MTurk. *qom* (MA); Uzb. *qụm*; Bashk. *qum*; Kirgh. *qom*; Kaz. *qom*; KKalp. *qom*; Oyr. *qom*; Tv. *qom*; Tof. *xom*.

◊ VEWT 278, Лексика 541, ЭСТЯ 6, 55, Clark 1977, 149. Turk. > WMong. *qom* (KW 184, Щербак 1997, 139), whence Evk. *kōm*, Man. *qomo* (see TMC 1, 408, Doerfer MT 61).

PJpn. ***kə́mə́** straw matting (соломенная циновка, рогожа): OJpn. *komo*; MJpn. *kómó*; Tok. *kòmo*; Kyo. *kómò*; Kag. *kómo*.

◊ JLTT 456.

‖ In the Western area the root denotes basically a carpet or covering (>saddle) made of skins; since in Japanese it is a straw matting, it is not quite clear what sort of mat was denoted by it in PA.

✱**kòmpo** fist, wrist: Tung. ***komba-**; Mong. ***kombo-**; Turk. ***Kop-**; Jpn. ***kə̀mpusi**.

PTung. ***komba-** wrist, hand, spoke-bone (запястье, кисть, плюсна): Neg. *komboxī*; Ork. *qomū*; Nan. *qombio*; Ud. *komugu* (Корм. 249).

◊ TMC 1, 408.

PMong. ***kombo-** round (esp. of hooves) (быть круглым (особ. о копытах)): WMong. *qombuji-* (MXTTT); Kh. *xomboj-*; Bur. *xombi-*, *xomi-* 'flat (of hooves); Ord. *xombõ-* 'avoir une grosse panse et un petite ouverture (vase)'.

◊ L 960 regards WMong. *qombuγur* as a variant of *qomuγur* 'curled, shrivelled', but the Khalkha dictionary strictly distinguishes them.

PTurk. ***Kop-** 1 fist 2 wrist (1 кулак 2 запястье): Kirgh. *qobuq* 'arthritis of metacarpus'; Oyr. *qoboq* 2; Tv. *qowades* 1, Krg. *qofadeš* (< **Kop-adɨĺ*).

◊ Дыбо 194 (though hardly a loanword).

PJpn. ***kə̀mpusi** fist (кулак): MJpn. *kòbùsì*; Tok. *kòbushi*, *kóbushi*; Kyo. *kóbùshì*; Kag. *kobúshi*.

◊ JLTT 453. RJ, Tokyo and Kyoto point to a low tone on the first syllable (although the rest of the word reveals accent variation); only Kagoshima is quite aberrant.

‖ A common derivative **kòmpo-kʿV* is reflected in PT **Kopa-k* = PTM **komba-kī*.

✱**kómpʿi** neck, part of breast: Tung. ***kumpe(ke)**; Mong. ***kömürge**; Turk. ***gömül-dürük**; Jpn. ***kúmpí**.

PTung. ***kumpe(ke)** breast ornaments (нагрудные украшения): Neg. *kumpken*; Ul. *kumpe(n)*; Orch. *kumpe*.

◊ TMC 1, 431.

PMong. ***kömürge** breast ornament of horse (нагрудное украшение): Kalm. *kömṛg*.

◊ KW 239.

PTurk. ***gömül-dürük** breast strap (грудной ремень): Karakh. *kömüldürük* (MK); Tur. *gömüldürük*; Turkm. *gömüldürük*; MTurk. *kömüldürük* (Pav. C.); Tat. *kümältək* (KCTT); Bashk. *küməldərək*; Kirgh. *kömöldürük*; Tof. *hömündürük*.

◊ VEWT 289, EDT 723, ЭСТЯ 3, 71-72, Лексика 552-553. Turk. > Mong. *kömüldürge* (Щербак 1977, 128). Forms like Uygh. *ömüldürük*, Bashk. *ümelderek* (see ЭСТЯ 1, 530, Лексика 553) may be derived from the same stem, under an influence of **ömgen* 'upper part of breast' q.v. sub **emo*; a separate etymology see, however, under **pʿòme*.

PJpn. ***kúmpí** neck (шея): OJpn. *kubji*; MJpn. *kúbí*; Tok. *kùbi*; Kyo. *kúbí*; Kag. *kúbi* (= *kúT*).

◊ JLTT 461.

‖ Cf. also Mong. **köγemej* which can go back to **köme-γej*, cf. potential Turkic loanwords like Chag. *kömekej*, Yak. *kömögöj* etc., see VEWT 289. Such a metathesis, however, is rather uncommon (as well as the rendering of Mong. -γ- by Turkic -k-), and there are obvious loanwords

from the same Mongolian source: Yak., Dolg. *küömej* 'throat' (see Kał. MEJ 88, Stachowski 165). It may well be that the above Turkic words are genuine after all, going back to **gömü-kej* (derived from the same root as **gömül-dürük*), while Mong. *köɣemej* has a quite different origin (e.g. PA **kúŋe* 'middle, heart' q.v.).

✱**kómtV** box, frame: Tung. ***komta-n**; Turk. ***Komta**; Jpn. ***kámátí**.

PTung. ***komta-n** cover, box (крышка, коробка): Neg. *komtaxan*; Ul. *qōmta(n)*; Nan. *qomtã*; Orch. *kumta(n)*.

◊ TMC 1, 409.

PTurk. ***Komta** box (ящик): Tat. *qumta*; Bashk. *qumta*; Khak. *xomdɨ*; Oyr. *qomda*; Tv. *xomdu*.

◊ VEWT 279, ЭСТЯ 6, 6. Relation to Mong. *qobdu* is hardly possible.

PJpn. ***kámátí** door frame (дверная рама): Tok. *kàmachi*; Kyo. *kámáchí*; Kag. *kamáchi*.

◊ JLTT 431. In OJ *kamati* is attested only in the meaning 'cheek-bone(s)', while RJ has *kàfàti* id. This is possibly a specialization of the meaning 'frame, door-frame', additionally (in MJ) influenced by *káfó* 'face'.

‖ A reconstruction **kómVtV* (~ -tʿ-) is also not excluded (and perhaps would account better for the PJ form).

✱**kòna(-kV)** clothes: Tung. ***kuŋge**; Mong. ***kunar**; Jpn. ***kànkà-**.

PTung. ***kuŋge** clothes (одежда): Evk. *kuŋgu*; Evn. *köŋgeke*; Neg. *keŋge*; Nan. *kuŋgu*.

◊ TMC 1, 433.

PMong. ***kunar** clothes (одежда): MMong. *qunar* (SH); WMong. *qunar*, *qunir* (L 986); Kh. *xunar*; Bur. *xunar*; Kalm. *xunər* (KPC); Ord. *xunar*; Dag. *xonor* (Тод. Даг. 177).

PJpn. ***kànkà-** 1 crown 2 to put on (upper clothes) 3 to incur, sustain (1 венец, корона 2 надевать (верхнюю одежду) 3 подвергаться): OJpn. *kage* 1, *kagapur-* 2, 3; MJpn. *kabur-*, *kaubur-* 2, 3; Tok. *kabúr-* 2, *kōmúr-* 3; Kyo. *kábúr-* 2, *kőmúr-* 3; Kag. *kàbùr-* 2, *kȍmùr-* 3.

◊ JLTT 700, 712. Modern *kōmur-* < *kaum(b)ur-* < *kankapur-* (= OJ *kagapur-* with reduction of the middle syllable); the variant *kabur-* is a result of contamination with **kàm(p)-* 'head' (v. sub **kiamp'a).*

‖ PTM and Japanese reflect a common derivative **kòna-kV*.

✱**kőńi (~ -e)** leather, cloth: Mong. ***kön-ʒile**; Turk. ***gȍn**; Kor. ***kȁńȁm**.

PMong. ***kön-ʒile** blanket (одеяло): MMong. *konʒile* (HY 23), *koanʒile* (SH), *kənʒəle* (LH); WMong. *könʒile* (MXTTT); Kh. *xönʒil*; Bur. *xünžel*; Kalm. *könʒl̥* (KPC); Ord. *könʒil* (Тод. ЯМВМ); Mog. *könʒilä* (Ramstedt 1906); Dong. *guanʒulie* (Тод. Дн.); Mongr. *gwənʒilen* (SM 138).

PTurk. ***gȍn** tanned skin, leather (дубленая шкура, кожа): OTurk. *kön* (OUygh.); Karakh. *kön* (MK); Tur. *gön*; Az. *gön*; Turkm. *gȍn*; MTurk.

gön (Sangl.), *kön* (Nahc., Pav. C.); Uzb. *kọn*; Uygh. *kön*; Krm. *gön*; Tat. *kün*; Bashk. *kün*; Kirgh. *kön*; KBalk. *gön*; KKalp. *kön*; Kum. *gön*; Nogh. *kön*; Oyr. *kön*.

◊ VEWT 290-291, EDT 724, ЭСТЯ 3, 72-73, Лексика 384, 476-477. Cf. also **gȫnčük* 'an ornament on shirt' (ЭСТЯ 5, 106).

PKor. ***kằńằm** material, cloth (материал, ткань): MKor. *kằńằm*; Mod. *kām*.

◊ Nam 13, KED 49.

‖ -ằ- in MKor. is probably a result of assimilation (< **kòńằm*). Vovin 1993 compares MKor. *kằńằm* 'material, cloth' with Jpn. **kìnú*, on which see rather **kʿèjní*; see also Robbeets 2000, 109.

✸**kòŋa** brown, black: Tung. ***koŋna-**; Mong. ***koŋ-**; Turk. ***Koŋur**; Jpn. ***kànkâ-i**; Kor. ***kắnắrh**.

PTung. ***koŋna-** black (черный): Evk. *koŋno-mo,-rin*; Evn. *qōŋṭ-*; Neg. *koŋnojīn*; Sol. *xoŋnorĩ*.

◊ TMC 1, 413. Evk. > Dolg. *koŋnomo* (see Stachowski 152).

PMong. ***koŋ-** light brown (светлокоричневый): MMong. *qoŋqor* (SH); WMong. *qoŋɣur* (L 962); Kh. *xongor*; Bur. *xongor*; Kalm. *xoŋgər*; Ord. *xoŋGor*; Dag. *xongŏr*, *kongor* (Тод. Даг. 150), *kongore* (MD 183); S.-Yugh. *χoŋGor*; Mongr. *xoŋxo* (SM 172) 'de couleur rose', (MGCD GoŋGor).

◊ KW 185, MGCD 364. Mong. > Evk. *koŋgōr*, Man. *qoŋGoro* (*morin*) > Kor. *koŋgol* (mal) (see Lee 1958, 119, Rozycki 143).

PTurk. ***Koŋur** red-brown, dark brown (рыжевато-бурый, темно-коричневый): Karakh. *qoŋur* (MK); Tur. *koŋgur* , *goɣur* (dial.); Gag. *qomur*; Az. *Gonur*; Turkm. *Goŋur*; MTurk. *qoŋur* (IM), *qoŋɣur* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *qụŋɣir*; Tat. *qoŋɣɨr*; Bashk. *quŋɨr*; Kirgh. *qoŋur*; Kaz. *qoŋɨr*; KBalk. *qoŋur*; KKalp. *qoŋɨr*; Kum. *qoŋur*; Nogh. *qoŋɨr*; SUygh. *qoŋɨr*; Khak. *xōr*; Oyr. *qoŋɨr*; Tv. *xōr*; Chuv. *xъʷmъʷr*; Yak. *qoŋor*.

◊ VEWT 280-1, TMN 3, 525, EDT 639, ЭСТЯ 6, 62-65.

PJpn. ***kànkâ-i** shadow; reflection (тень; отражение): OJpn. *kage*; MJpn. *kàgé*; Tok. *káge*; Kyo. *kàgê*; Kag. *kagé*.

◊ JLTT 432.

PKor. ***kắnắrh** shadow (тень): MKor. *kắnắr* (*kắnắrh-*); Mod. *kɨnɨl*.

◊ Nam 9, KED 232.

‖ Poppe 72, KW 185, VEWT 281, Whitman 1985, 183, 199, 222, АПиПЯЯ 290, Дыбо 12, Robbeets 2000, 109. The Mongolian form *qoŋɣur* might as well be a Turkism, cf. TMN 3, 525-526, Щербак 1997, 139-140 (note that *qon-dun*, *qoŋ-du* < Chinese). The TM forms, despite Doerfer MT 37, cannot be regarded as mongolisms. In Kor. cf. also *kə̀'úró* 'mirror' (probably a derivative from the same root; semantically cf. Jpn. *kaga-mi* id. - 'mirror' < 'shadow'). Note that **kắnắrh* reflects a suffixed

form *koŋ(a)-rV with assimilation > *konrV, while *kànkâ-i reflects another suffixed form *koŋ(V)-kV (= Mong. *koŋgu-r).

✱**kōŋa** bell: Tung. ***kōŋā-**; Mong. ***koŋku**; Turk. ***Koŋra-**; Jpn. ***káná-i**.

PTung. ***kōŋā-** 1 ringing sound (expr.) 2 bell (1 звук колокольчика (экспр.) 2 колокольчик): Evk. *kōŋākte* 2; Evn. *qōŋat* 2; Neg. *koŋir*, *koŋur* 1; Man. *qoŋgir* 1; Ul. *qoŋGoqto* 2; Ork. *qoŋGoqto* 2; Nan. *qoŋGōqto* 2; Orch. *koŋokto* 2; Sol. *xoŋāttū* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 410.

PMong. ***koŋku** bell (колокольчик): WMong. *qoŋqu* (L 963); Kh. *xonx*; Bur. *xonxo*; Kalm. *xoŋxə* (KPC); Ord. *xoŋxo*; Dag. *kuāngarta*, (Тод. Дar. 178), *kuangarete* (MD 184), *xuangarta*; Dong. *GoŋGon*; Bao. *GoŋGa*; S.-Yugh. *χoŋGo*; Mongr. *xoŋGor*.

◊ MGCD 365.

PTurk. ***Koŋra-** 1 to ring, toll 2 bell (1 звенеть, звонить 2 колокол(ьчик)): Karakh. *qoŋraq*, *qoŋraɣu* 2; Tur. *koŋrak* (dial.) 2; Az. *Gɨmrow* 2; Sal. *koŋor* 2; MTurk. *qumrawu* 2 (AH); Uzb. *qɔŋɨraw* 2; Uygh. *qoŋɣraq*, *qoŋɣiraq* (dial.) 2; Tat. *qɨŋɣɨraw* 2; Bashk. *quŋɨraw* 2 (dial.); Kirgh. *qoŋɣurō* 2; Kaz. *qoŋɨraw* 2; KKalp. *qoŋraw* 2; Kum. *qoŋuraw* 2; Nogh. *qoŋɨraw* 2; Khak. *xoŋra-* 1, *xoŋro* 2; Shr. *qoŋra-* 1, *qoŋrā* 2; Oyr. *qoŋro-* 1, *qoŋrū* 2; Tv. *qoŋɣura-* 1.

◊ VEWT 280, TMN 3, 526, EDT 640, ЭСТЯ 6, 60-61.

PJpn. ***káná-i** bell (колокол): OJpn. *kane*; MJpn. *káné*; Tok. *kàne*; Kyo. *káné*; Kag. *káne*.

◊ JLTT 437.

‖ KW 186, TMC 1, 410. In Jpn. the word is homonymous with *káná-i 'metal', which is probably secondary (but may explain the irregular tone).

✱**kŏŋe** to tear out, uproot: Tung. ***koŋ-**; Turk. ***Koŋur-**; Jpn. ***kənsu-**; Kor. ***kɨ̀ń-**.

PTung. ***koŋ-** to tear out, uproot (выдирать, вырывать): Evk. *koŋdot-*; Evn. *qonŋaq-*, *qonŋal-*.

◊ TMC 1, 410, 412 (the root should be distinguished from *koŋda- 'break, crosswise' q. v. sub *kòŋti).

PTurk. ***Koŋur-** to tear out, uproot (выдирать, вырывать): Karakh. *qoŋur-* (MK); MTurk. *qoŋar-* (Abush., Бор. Бад.); Tv. *xuna-*; Yak. *xoŋun-*, *xoŋnor-*; Dolg. *koŋor-*.

◊ VEWT 281, EDT 640, ЭСТЯ 6, 65, Stachowski 152.

PJpn. ***kənsu-** to uproot (вырывать (с корнем)): OJpn. *kozu-*.

◊ JLTT 714.

PKor. ***kɨ̀ń-** 1 to pull, drag 2 to draw 3 stroke, drawn line (1 тащить, тянуть 2 чертить 3 черта, проведенная линия): MKor. *kɨ̀ń-* 2, *kɨ̀ń-*,

kɨ̀ńɨ̀-, *skɨ̀ń-* 1 (with *sk-* representing expressive gemination), *kɨ̀s* (= **kɨ̀ń*) 3; Mod. *k:ɨ̄l-* 1, *kɨ̄t-* [*kɨs-*] 2.

◊ Nam 69, 75, KED 247, 257.

‖ Whitman 1985, Robbeets 2000, 102. The Jpn. form is historically a compound with **s(u)-* 'to make, do'. In Kor. a palatalization **kŏŋe* > **kŏńe* occurred.

✸**koŋgV** deaf: Tung. ***koŋga**; Mong. ***koŋgor**.

PTung. ***koŋga** deaf (глухой): Neg. *koŋgo*; Ul. *qoŋGo*; Ork. *qoŋGo*; Nan. *qoŋGo*; Orch. *koŋgo*; Sol. *xoŋgō*.

◊ TMC 1, 471. TM > Dag. *xongō*, *kongō* (Тод. Даг. 177).

PMong. ***koŋgor** naive, guileless (простодушный): WMong. *qoŋɣor* (L 962: *qoŋɣur*); Kh. *xoŋgor*; Bur. *xongor*; Ord. *xoŋGor*.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✸**kòŋti (~ -e, *ki̯uŋtu)** to break, break in halves: Tung. ***koŋda-**; Mong. ***könde-le**; Jpn. ***kùntàk-**.

PTung. ***koŋda-** 1 crosswise 2 to break, snap, be broken 3 half (of an object) (1 поперек 2 ломать(ся) 3 половина (предмета)): Evk. *koŋdor* 1, *koŋdorgo-* 2; Evn. *qoŋdъ̣s* 1, *qoŋdъ̣q-* 2; Orch. *kondo* 3; Ud. *kandugu* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 412.

PMong. ***könde-le** crosswise (поперек): MMong. *kondolen* (HY 53); WMong. *köndelen*, *köndülen* (L 488); Kh. *xöndöl*; Bur. *xündelen*; Kalm. *köndəlṇ*; Ord. *köndölön*; Dag. *hundulen* (MD 166), *xundul*; Bao. *guandəlaŋ*; S.-Yugh. *köndölön*; Mongr. *kwəndilen* (SM 206), *kundəlen*.

◊ KW 289, MGCD 374. Mong. > Chag. *köndälän* etc., see TMN 1, 483, Щербак 1997, 205.

PJpn. ***kùntàk-** to break (ломать): OJpn. *kudak-*; MJpn. *kùdàk-*; Tok. *kudák-*; Kyo. *kúdák-*; Kag. *kùdàk-*.

◊ JLTT 715.

‖ Poppe 84 (Tung.-Mong.; Doerfer TMN 1, 483 criticizes Poppe's TM reconstruction **köndes* - which is justified, but does not abolish the parallel).

✸**kopV** to plane, whet: Tung. ***kuba-**; Mong. ***kobiki**; Turk. ***Kobuĺ, *Kobuĺa-**.

PTung. ***kuba-** to plane, scrape (строгать, скоблить): Evk. *kuwa-*; Evn. *qụwụn* 'scraper, drawing-knife'; Neg. *koa-*, *kowa-*; Man. *quwa-fiẋa-*; Ork. *qụwaị*, *qụwaqụ* 'plough'; Nan. *qoatamsa* 'chip, splinter'; Orch. *koa-*, *kua-*, *kuwa-*; Ud. *kua-*.

◊ TMC 1, 421.

PMong. ***kobiki** a k. of chisel with a grooved blade (вид долота с закругленным краем): WMong. *qobki* (L 949: *qobiki*); Kh. *xovxi*; Bur. *xobxol-* 'to plane, scrape off'.

◊ WMong. *qobqul-* 'to tear away' (> Evk. *kopko-*, Man. *qobqolo-* etc., see TMC 1, 414, Doerfer MT 91, Rozycki 141).

PTurk. ***KobuÍ, *KobuÍa-*** 1 sharpened (arrow) 2 to sharpen, plane (1 заостренная (стрела) 2 точить, строгать): OTurk. *qovuša-* (OUygh.) 2; Karakh. *qovša-* (MK) 2; Tur. (Osmanli) *qovuš*, *qoγuš* (XVI c.) 1.

◊ EDT 613-614.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**kŏpʿé** to bend; elevation, convexity: Tung. ***kupe-***; Mong. ***köb- / *küb-***; Turk. ***göpe(ne)***; Jpn. ***kəmpu***; Kor. ***kòp-, *kùp-***.

PTung. ***kupe-*** 1 to swell up 2 hill, mound 3 convex (1 вздуваться, распухать 2 холм, бугор 3 выпуклый): Evk. *kepe-* 1, *kupike*, *kuwudek* 2; Neg. *kupe-* 1; Ul. *kubdu* 2; Nan. *kubdū* 2, *kupul-kupul* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 422, 434, 452. The root actively contaminates with **kepu-* 'to drift, float on the surface' (v. sub **kupʿe).*

PMong. ***köb- / *küb-*** 1 to bend, incline 2 arch, convex, convexity 3 to swell 4 mountain ridge 5 bow-string (1 наклонять, склоняться 2 дуга, выпуклый, выпуклость 3 раздуваться 4 горный хребет 5 тетива): MMong. *k[o]bči* 5 (IM), *kubči*, *kubčin* (MA 219); WMong. *köbüre-*, *küber-* 1, *köbügür*, *kübügür* 2, *köbkeji-* 3, *köbči* 4 (L 475, 476, 477); Kh. *xüvre-* 1, *xövxij-* 3, *xövč* 4, 5; Bur. *xübše* 4, 5; Kalm. *köwkə-* 3, *köwčə* 4, 5 (KPC); Dag. *kubeči* 5 (MD 184).

PTurk. ***göpe(ne)*** haystack (стог сена): Tur. *geben*; Tat. *kübe*; Bashk. *kübɛ*; Kum. *keben*; Tv. *xöpēn*; Chuv. *koba*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 5, 15, 80, Федотов 1, 308-309. Turk. > Hung. *kepe* 'sheaf', see Gombocz 1912.

PJpn. ***kəmpu*** lump, hump (шишка, горб): Tok. *kobú*; Kyo. *kòbû*; Kag. *kóbu*.

◊ JLTT 453. PJpn. accent is unclear.

PKor. ***kòp-, *kup-*** to be bent (быть изогнутым): MKor. *kòp-*, *kup-*; Mod. *kop-*, *kup-*.

◊ Nam 52, 63, KED 163, 220.

‖ Cf. **gi̯ŏ́pʿe, *kʿàpe* (in Mong. and TM also a partial contamination with **kupʿe* 'light, float'). See also notes to **kʿepʿorV* 'curved bone'.

✱**kŏ́pʿi (~ -e)** navel: Mong. ***köj***; Turk. ***gŏ̄pek***; Kor. ***kop***.

PMong. ***köj*** navel (пупок): MMong. *kī* (IM), *qui* (SH); WMong. *köi*, (L 498:) *küi*; Kh. *xüj* 'umbilical cord'; Bur. *xüj*; Kalm. *kī*; Ord. *kū̄* 'umbilical cord'.

◊ KW 234. Cf. also Bur. *xübšerge* 'umbilical cord'.

PTurk. ***gŏ̄pek*** navel (пупок): Karakh. *köbek* (IM); Tur. *göbek*; Gag. *göbek*; Az. *göbäk*; Turkm. *gŏ̄bek*; MTurk. *köbek* (Sangl.); Krm. *köbek*; Tat. *kübäk* (dial.); Chuv. *kъ^{w}vaba*.

◊ VEWT 285, EDT 688, ЭСТЯ 3, 52, Федотов 1, 247. Cf. also probably from the same root: Chuv. *kə^{w}pśa* 'vagina', Tat. *köpšä* 'pipe-like stalk'.

PKor. ***kop** navel (пупок): MKor. *pǎi-s-kop*; Mod. *pǎk:op*.

◊ Nam 253, KED 743.

‖ MKor. *pǎi-s-kop* has also a variant *pǎi-s-pok* - which must be secondary in the light of external evidence.

✱**kŏpʹV** all: Tung. ***kupukte**; Mong. ***kow**; Turk. ***Kop**.

PTung. ***kupu-** 1 all 2 whole (1 весь 2 целый): Evk. *kūkte* 1; Neg. *kepukte* 1; Ul. *kupte* 2; Ork. *kupukte* 2; Nan. *kupukte* 2; Ud. *kufula*, *kufule* 2; Sol. *xokkoʒi* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 426 (some forms listed should be qualified as mongolisms).

PMong. ***kow** all (весь): WMong. *qou*; Kh. *xū*; Bur. *xū*; Kalm. *xō*; Dag. *xō, xua* (Тод. Даг. 176); Mongr. *xṻ-la*, *xṻ-lo* (SM 180).

◊ KW 191. Mong. > Sal. *kʹō* 'all, various'.

PTurk. ***Kop** all (весь): OTurk. *qop* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *qop* (MK).

◊ VEWT 281, EDT 579.

‖ KW 191, Владимирцов 255, АПиПЯЯ 15, 27, 289, Дыбо 12. A Western isogloss (possible Kor.-Jpn. reflexes see under **kʹópʹi*).

✱**kóre** to freeze: Tung. ***kuri-**; Mong. ***kör**; Turk. ***Kört**; Jpn. ***kə́r-**.

PTung. ***kuri-** 1 to freeze (of ice on window) 2 snow drift (1 намерзнуть (о льде на окне) 2 сугроб, намет снега): Evk. *kurêr-* 1; Evn. *kurilke* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 436-437.

PMong. ***kör** 1 dense, thick snow 2 to freeze (1 толстый сугроб 2 замерзать, остывать): MMong. *kor-be* 'iced, cold' (HY 6); WMong. *kör* 1, *körü-* 2 (L 490); Kh. *xör* 1, *xörö-* 2; Bur. *xür* 1, *xüre-* 2; Kalm. *kör* 1, *kör-* 2 (KPC); Ord. *kör-* 2; S.-Yugh. *kör* 1, *kör-*, *körgö-* 2; Mongr. *kori-* 'se geler' (SM 215), *korə* 1.

◊ MGCD 375, 376.

PTurk. ***Kört** snow drift, deep snow (сугроб, глубокий снег): OTurk. *kürtük* (OUygh.); Tur. *kürt* (dial.), *gürtük*; Uygh. *kürt*; Tat. *kört*; Bashk. *kört*; Kirgh. *kürtük*; Kaz. *kürt*, *kürtək*; KBalk. *kürt*; Kum. *kürt*; Nogh. *kürtək*; Khak. *körtək*; Shr. *kürt*; Oyr. *körtük*, *kürt*; Tv. *xörtük*; Chuv. *kərt* (Anatri); Yak. *kürʒük*.

◊ EDT 739, ЭСТЯ 5, 149-150.

PJpn. ***kə́r-** to freeze (замерзать, застывать): OJpn. *kor-*; MJpn. *kór-*; Tok. *kór-*; Kyo. *kòr-*; Kag. *kór-*.

◊ JLTT 713. Accent in Tokyo and Kyoto is irregular (pointing to a variant **kàr-*).

‖ VEWT 311, KW 240.

✱**kòrke** a k. of vessel: Tung. ***kurke**; Mong. ***korgu**; Turk. ***Körke**; Kor. ***kúkì**.

PTung. ***kurke** vessel made of birch bark (сосуд из бересты): Evk. *kurken* 'биток для сбора ягод'; Ul. *kurke*; Ork. *kurke*; Nan. *kurke*; Orch. *kukke*; Ud. *kuku* (Корм. 252).

◊ TMC 1, 426, 437.

PMong. ***korgu** a k. of vessel (вид сосуда): WMong. *qorγu* (L 965); Kh. *xorgo*; Dag. *xorgo* (Тод. Даг. 177).

PTurk. ***Körke** wooden dish, bowl (деревянное блюдо, чаша): Karakh. *körge* (MK); MTurk. *körge* (Abush.), *körege* (Sangl.); Krm. *körege*; Oyr. *kürgü* 'ein grosses Birkenrindengefäss'; Chuv. *korga* 'scoop'.

◊ EDT 742, VEWT 311, Федотов 1, 372.

PKor. ***kúkì** vessel, dipper, a measure of weight (сосуд, черпак, мера веса): MKor. *kúkì*; Mod. *kugi*.

◊ Liu 82, HMCH 243, KED 196.

‖ A good common Altaic root, denoting some kind of big vessel (used as a measure of weight in the Eastern area).

✱**koru** a k. of big fish: Tung. ***koru**; Mong. ***korbu**; Turk. ***Kor(t)-**; Jpn. ***kùntírà**; Kor. ***kòrài**.

PTung. ***koru** pike (щука): Evn. *kōrike*, *kurike* 'a k. of fish (род мальмы)'; Neg. *kojčān*; Man. *xoro*; Ul. *qorụ*.

◊ TMC 1, 404, 420. Manchu has also a front-row variant *kure* 'tench' (also *kurče*, *kurčin* 'a k. of sea fish'), see TMC 1, 438 (cf. also Ul., Nan. *kuere* 'амур белый', TMC 1, 445); the Manchu word was borrowed > WMong. *küre*, Kalm. *kür* 'tench' (see Doerfer MT 144).

PMong. ***korbu** beluga, white fish (белуга, белая рыба): WMong. *qorbu* (L 965); Kh. *xorov*; Kalm. *xorwə* (KPC).

◊ Cf. also WMong. *qarba* 'a k. of fresh-water fish' (or is it < 'carp'?).

PTurk. ***Kor(t)-** 1 burbot 2 pike 3 huso, beluga (1 налим 2 щука 3 белуга): Tat. (KCTT) *qurtɨ* 1, *qurtan* 2; Kaz. *qortpa* 3; Nogh. *qortpa* 3; Khak. *xortɨ* 1 (Sag.); Shr. *qortu* 1; Oyr. *qortu* 1; Chuv. ? *kъrtъš*, *kъrъš* 'ruff' (= Mari *kɨrɨš*, *kərkke* 'trout').

◊ Федотов 1, 260. For Chuv. *kъrtъš* cf. also Tat. *qirtɨš* (the direction of borrowing is unclear).

PJpn. ***kùntírà** whale (кит): OJpn. *kudira*; MJpn. *kùdírà*; Tok. *kùjira*; Kyo. *kùjírà*; Kag. *kujirá*.

◊ JLTT 468. The Kyoto accent is aberrant.

PKor. ***kòrài** whale (кит): MKor. *kòrài*; Mod. *korä*.

◊ Liu 63, KED 138.

‖ Accent correspondence between Kor. and Jpn. is irregular.

✱**kŏ̀ru (~ -ŕ-)** nut: Tung. ***kuri**; Jpn. ***kùrù-i**; Kor. ***kǎ́rái**.

PTung. ***kuri** cone, nut (шишка, орех): Man. *χuri* 'fir cone'; Jurch. *xuri* (127) 'fir cone'; Nan. *kori-či* 'water nut', *kore-kta* 'pine cone'.

◊ TMC 1, 416, 417, 478.

PJpn. ***kùrù-i** chestnut (каштан): OJpn. *kuri*; MJpn. *kùrì*; Tok. *kurí*; Kyo. *kúrì*; Kag. *kurí*.

◊ JLTT 464. For *-u cf. OJ *kuru-su* 'chestnut grove'.

PKor. ***kǎrái** wild walnut (дикий грецкий орех): MKor. *kǎrái*; Mod. *karä*.

◊ Nam 11, KED 11.

‖ Дыбо 11, Whitman 1985, 193, 231, Menges 1984, 274-275. Basically an Eastern isogloss: the Turkic forms of the type *koz* are most probably borrowed from Iranian. There are also forms reflecting **koŕak* (VEWT 285), but they may also reflect a contamination of the root **Koŕ* (or the borrowed *koz*) with the genuine root **kusɨk* (e.g. Tuva ku"suk), see **kušu*.

✱**kósV (~ -u-)** chain, ring: Tung. ***kosa**; Jpn. ***kúsárì**; Kor. ***kùsɨ́r**.

PTung. ***kosa** 1 stone ring 2 ring, pectoral (1 каменное кольцо 2 кольцо, обруч): Ul. *qoso(n)* 2; Ork. *qoso* 1; Orch. *koso* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 417.

PJpn. ***kúsárì** chain (цепь): OJpn. *kusari*; *kusar-* 'to be linked, chained together'; MJpn. *kúsárì*; Tok. *kùsari*; Kyo. *kúsárí*; Kag. *kusári*.

◊ JLTT 466. Modern dialects point rather to **kúsárí*.

PKor. ***kùsɨ́r** pearl(s) (жемчуг): MKor. *kùsɨ́r*; Mod. *kusul*.

◊ Liu 84, KED 204.

‖ An Eastern isogloss. Cf. Old Koguryo **kos* 'gem, jewel' (see Miller 1979, 10).

✱**kŏše** edge, protrusion: Tung. ***koša**; Mong. ***kosiɣu**; Turk. ***Kösri**; Jpn. ***kùisì (~ -ài-)**; Kor. ***kìsɨ́rk**.

PTung. ***koša** river bend, cape, angle (излучина реки, мыс, угол): Evk. *kočo*; Evn. *qoč*; Neg. *kočo*; Man. *χošo*; Ul. *χočụ*; Orch. *kočīmdi* 'curved'; Ud. *koso(n)*.

◊ TMC 1, 419. A complicated case: Manchu has also *qočo* (borrowed from some Amur language?).

PMong. ***kosiɣu** protrusion, beak (выступ, клюв): MMong. *xoši'un* (HY 15), *qoši'un* (SH); WMong. *qosiɣu(n)*, *qusiɣu(n)* (L 970); Kh. *xošū*; Bur. *xušūn*; Kalm. *xošūn*, *xušūn*; Ord. *Gušū*; Mog. ZM *qošun* (8-5b); Dong. *qušun*; Mongr. *Gošə* (SM 126).

◊ KW 190, TMN 1, 406-407.

PTurk. ***Kösri** 1 sides of the chest 2 wind-screen, bill (1 боковые части груди 2 козырек): Karakh. *küsri* 1 (MK); Chuv. *kъʷzъʷr-uk* 2.

◊ Chuv. > Russ. *козырек* (on the possible Turkic origin of the Russian word see Фасмер 2). See EDT 751.

PJpn. ***kùisì (~ -ài-)** bank, shore (берег, край): OJpn. *kisi*; MJpn. *kìsì*; Tok. *kishí*; Kyo. *kíshí*; Kag. *kishí*.

◊ JLTT 451. Kyoto has an irregular accent (**kíshì* would be expected).

PKor. ***kìsɨ́rk** protrusion, edge of roof (выступ, край крыши): MKor. *kìsɨ́rk*; Mod. *kisɨk* [*kisɨlk*].

◊ Nam 79, KED 269.

‖ SKE 113-114, EAS 102. The Kor.-Jpn. forms are not quite regular: in Kor. one would rather expect **kísìrk* (so probably we are dealing with a metathesis); the diphthong -ui- in Japanese (as in the few other similar cases) has a not quite clear origin. It may well be that the Jpn. form is related to **kui* 'fortress' < *'border', see **ki̯udu* - although the suffixation is peculiar.

✱**kóši** lever: Tung. ***kuši-pun (~ -č-)**; Mong. ***kösi-**; Turk. ***köse-**; Jpn. ***kúsàpì**; Kor. ***kosak**.

PTung. ***kuši-pun (~ -č-)** pole, lever (жердь, вага): Ul. *kuspu(n)*; Nan. *kučipũ*.

◊ TMC 1, 439.

PMong. ***kösi-** 1 to prop, move with a lever 2 lever (1 подпирать, двигать рычагом 2 рычаг): WMong. *kösi-* 1, *kösiγür* 2 (L 492); Kh. *xöši-* 1, *xöšū̄r* 2; Bur. *xüše-* 1, *xüšū̄rge* 2; Kalm. *köšū̄rγə* 2 (KPC); Ord. *göšö-* 1, *göšū̄rge* 2.

PTurk. ***köse-** 1 to stir with a poker 2 poker (1 помешивать кочергой 2 кочерга): Az. *kösöv* 2; Turkm. *köse-* 1, *kesevi* 2; MTurk. *köse-* (AH) 1, *küsegü* (IM) 2; Uygh. *kösεj* 2; Tat. *kisεw* (dial.) 2; Bashk. *keθεw*, *küδεw*, *küθεk* 2; Kirgh. *kösö-* 1, *kösō̄* 2; Kaz. *köse-* 1, *kösew* 2; KBalk. *kösew* 2; KKalp. *köse-* 1, *kösew* 2; Kum. *kösew* 2; Nogh. *köse-* 1; Khak. *közes* 2; Oyr. *közū̄š* 2; Tv. *köze-* 1; Chuv. *küsek* 'lever, stick'.

◊ ЭСТЯ 5, 119-121. The regular reflex would be expected as **göse-*; the shape *köse-* is probably due to the influence of **kō̄ŕ* 'glowing coals' (cf. in MK: *köze-* 'to stir with a poker').

PJpn. ***kúsàpì** wedge, brace, clinch (клин, скоба, шпонка): MJpn. *kúsàfi*, *kúsàbì*; Tok. *kùsabi*; Kyo. *kúsábí*; Kag. *kusabí*.

◊ JLTT 465. The word has a rare accent structure HLL.

PKor. ***kosak** a piece of wood reinforcing a dovetail joint (деревянная распорка): Mod. *kosak*.

◊ KED 144.

‖ The root (as a verb) meant basically 'to use a prop or lever', whence an instrumental noun **kóši-pʿV* (TM **kuši-pu-n*, PJ **kúsà-pì*, possibly also Mong. *kösi-γü-r*).

✱**kòtʿe** hole: Tung. ***kota-**; Mong. ***kota-gar**; Turk. ***göt**; Kor. ***kút**.

PTung. ***kota-** 1 concave, cavity 2 to bend upwards (1 впалый, впадина, углубление 2 выгибаться): Evk. *koto-kon* 1; Evn. *qotańa* 1; Man. *χotoro-* 2; Ul. *qotom-* 2; Nan. *qotajgã* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 418.

PMong. ***kota-gar** hollow (n.) (впадина, впалый): WMong. *qota-γar* (L 972: *qotuγur*); Kh. *xotgor*; Bur. *xotogor*; Kalm. *xotəγər*, *xotxər*; Ord. *GotoGor*.

◊ KW 190.

PTurk. ***göt** anus, buttocks (задница, ягодицы): Karakh. *köt* (MK); Tur. *göt*; Gag. *göt*; MTurk. *köt* (MA, Pav. C.), MKypch. *köt* (CCum., Ettuhf.); Uzb. *ket*; Krm. *köt*; Kirgh. *köt*; Chuv. *kot*.

◊ VEWT 294, EDT 700, ЭСТЯ 3, 84-85, TMN 3, 618, Мудрак 50, Лексика 281, Федотов 1, 316. Cf. also **gütük* 'tailless'.

PKor. ***kút** hole, pit (дыра, яма): MKor. *kút*; Mod. *kut*, *kudəŋi*.

◊ Nam 62, KED 197, 216.

‖ Лексика 281. Derived are Turk. **göten(e)* 'stomach' (ЭСТЯ 3, 85), Mong. **kotuγa-* id. (> Evk. *koto* etc., see Doerfer MT 103-104); cf. also TM **kuta* id. (TMC 1, 418, 439), see Doerfer ibid.

✱**kŏtʿi** to lift, raise: Tung. ***kutu-**; Mong. ***kötü-**; Turk. ***göt-**; Jpn. ***kutu-**.

PTung. ***kutu-** 1 to drag 2 mountaineering 3 to raise, lift (1 тащить, волочить 2 подъем (в гору) 3 поднимать): Evn. *kötъγ*, *kötъŋe* 2; Man. *xete-* 3; Nan. *kutu-* 1; Orch. *kotolo* 'sleigh'.

◊ TMC 1, 418, 421, 483. Man. > Ul., Nan. *xete-* 'raise, lift'.

PMong. ***kötü-** 1 to lead 2 hill 3 to be high, lift the breast (1 вести 2 холм 3 возвышаться, поднимать грудь): MMong. *kotol-* 1 (HY 39, SH); WMong. *kötüle-* (L 493: *kötül-*, *kötel-*) 1, *kötül* 2 (L 493: *kötül*, *kötel*), *köteji-* 3; Kh. *xötlö-* 1, *xötöl* 2; Bur. *xütel-* 1, *xütel* 2; Kalm. *kötl-* 1, *kötl* 2, *kötī-* 3; Ord. *götöl-* 1, *götöl* 2; Dag. *kutlē-* 1 (Тод. Даг. 152: *kutule-*), *kutelē-* (MD 185); Bao. *kutel-* 1 (Тод. Бн.); S.-Yugh. *kütēl-* 1; Mongr. *kudor* (SM 206), 2 (MGCD *kudol*), *kudoli-* (SM 206), *kudolə-* 1.

◊ KW 242, MGCD 378. TMN 1, 323. Kalm. *kötr-* 'to lift' may be borrowed < Turk. Mong. > Man. *kutule-* (see Doerfer MT 118, Rozycki 147; but Nan. *kutu-* can hardly be explained as a loan).

PTurk. ***göt-** to rise, raise (поднимать(ся)): OTurk. *kötür-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *kötür-* (MK, KB); Tur. *götür-*; Gag. *götür-*; Az. *göt-*; Turkm. *göter-*; Khal. *ketür-*, *ketir-*; MTurk. *köter-* (Abush., MA); Uzb. *kọtar-*; Uygh. *kötär-*; Krm. *köter-*; Tat. *kütɛr-*; Bashk. *kütär-*; Kirgh. *kötör-*; Kaz. *köter-*; KBalk. *kötür-*; Kum. *göter-*; Nogh. *köter-*; SUygh. *küter-* (ЯЖУ); Khak. *ködər-*; Shr. *ködür-*; Oyr. *ködür-*; Tv. *ködür-*; Tof. *kö'tür-*; Yak. *köt-*; *kötör* 'bird'; Dolg. *köt-* 'to fly; run'.

◊ VEWT 294, EDT 706, ЭСТЯ 3, 86-88, Stachowski 158. Cf. also Karakh. *kötki* 'hill', *kötü* 'the roof of a house' (MK, EDT 701).

PJpn. ***kutu-** to turn upside down (переворачиваться (вверх дном)): OJpn. *kutu-kapjer-*; MJpn. *kútú-kafer-*; Tok. *kutsugáe-*; Kyo. *kútsúgáé-*; Kag. *kùtsùgàè-*.

◊ JLTT 718. The PJ accent is not clear. Cf. also OJ *katug-* 'to carry on the shoulders' (perhaps < *kutug-* under the influence of *kata* 'shoulder', *kataga-* 'carry on the shoulder').

‖ EAS 147, KW 242, TMN 1, 459.

✱**kòtʹV (~ kʹ-, -u-)** village, locality: Mong. ***koto**; Turk. ***Kutu**; Kor. ***kót**.

PMong. ***koto** 1 town, group of huts 2 family, home (1 город, деревня 2 семья, дом): MMong. *qutan* 'hurdle' (MA), *qoton* (SH, HYt); WMong. *qota(n)*, *qotu(n)* (L 972) 1; Kh. *xot* 1; Bur. *xoto(n)* 1; Kalm. *xotn*, *xotə* 1; Ord. *Goto* 1, 'cote'; Dag. *xoton*, *koton* 1 (Тод. Даг. 178); Dong. ? *kide* 2; Bao. *kute*, *kete* 2; S.-Yugh. *χoto* 1; Mongr. kudu (SM 206) 2.

◊ KW 190, MGCD 368. Mong. > Kirgh., Chag. *qotan*; Evk. *koton* etc. (Doerfer MT 81, Rozycki 109).

PTurk. ***Kutu** group of people (группа людей): Karakh. *qutu* (KB).

◊ EDT 596.

PKor. ***kót** place, locality (место, местность): MKor. *kót*; Mod. *kot* [*kos*].

◊ Nam 50, KED 164.

‖ EAS 154, SKE 127.

✱**kúbé** to wish, hope, like: Tung. ***kub- / *keb-**; Mong. ***köw-, *küw-, *köɣe-r**; Turk. ***güb-**; Jpn. ***kuámpə̀- (~ -ú-)**.

PTung. ***kub- / *keb-** 1 friendly, lovingly 2 bride (1 милый, любящий 2 невеста): Evk. *kuwer* 2; Man. *keb*, *keo* 1; Nan. *kewēli* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 423, 443.

PMong. ***köw-, *küw-, *köɣe-r** 1 joy, happiness 2 wish 3 proud 4 percent, profit 5 to become excited, boast (1 радость, счастье 2 желание 3 гордый 4 процент, прибыль 5 возбуждаться, хвастаться): WMong. *köwr*, *köger* 1, *köger(e)-*, *kögeri-* 5 (L 479); Kh. *xṏr* 1, *xṹ* 4, *xṏrö-* 5; Bur. *xṏrṹ* 'babbler, gabby; merry', *xṏrxṹ* 'boastful'; Kalm. *kṹ* 2, *kṏr* 3; Ord. *kṏrö-* 'sʹexalter'.

◊ KW 243, 249.

PTurk. ***güb-** 1 to be proud, arrogant, enjoy self-respect 2 to hope 3 proud (1 быть гордым, надменным 2 надеяться 3 гордый): OTurk. *küvez* 3, *küven-* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *küvez* 3, *küven-* 1 (MK); Tur. *güven-* 1, 2; Az. *güvän-* 1,2; Turkm. *gövne-* 'to approve'; MTurk. *küven-* 1 (Sangl.); Bashk. *köjäδ* 3; Nogh. *küjez* 3.

◊ VEWT 306, EDT 690, ЭСТЯ 3, 91-92.

PJpn. ***kuámpə̀- (~ -ú-)** to flatter (льстить): OJpn. *kwobu-*; MJpn. *kóbú-*; Tok. *kòbi-*; Kyo. *kóbí-*; Kag. *kobí-*.

◊ JLTT 710.

‖ KW 243, Владимирцов 212, EAS 113, Poppe 48, 82. Despite TMN 1, 486, Mong. is not < Turk.

✱**kubirgV (~ k´-)** drum: Mong. ***keɣürge / *köɣürge**; Turk. ***Kübrüg**.

PMong. ***keɣürge / *köɣürge** drum (барабан): MMong. *ke'urge*, *ko'urge* (SH), *korge* (HY 19); WMong. *kögerge*, *kögürge* (L 480); Kh. *xōrög*.

◊ Mong. > Chag. *kewürge*, see TMN 1, 473-475.

PTurk. ***Kübrüg** drum (барабан): OTurk. *kübrüg* (OUygh.); Karakh. *küvrüg* (MK); Tur. *kewrüg* (Osm.); MTurk. (Xwar.) *küwrü* (Qutb), *küvrüg* (IM).

◊ EDT 690-691.

‖ A Turk.-Mong. isogloss - but despite TMN 1, 473-475, hardly borrowed in Turk. from Mongolian.

✱**kúbù (~ -o-, -p-)** pole, shaft: Tung. ***kobil**; Turk. ***Kubak (~ -p-)**; Jpn. ***kúpì**.

PTung. ***kobil** mast (мачта): Ul. *qowụl*; Nan. *qojol*; Orch. *kōwi*.

◊ TMC 1, 403.

PTurk. ***Kubak (~ -p-)** arrow shaft (древко стрелы): Tat. *qubaq* (Sib.); Shr. *qubu* 'pole'.

◊ VEWT 295.

PJpn. ***kúpì** pole, post (шест, столб): OJpn. *kupji*; MJpn. *kúfi*; Tok. *kúi*; Kyo. *kúì*; Kag. *kuí*.

◊ JLTT 462. Some accent irregularities are due to contraction.

‖ The root is not widely spread, but seems to be reliable.

✱**kūči** power: Tung. ***kusū̄-**; Mong. ***küči-n**; Turk. ***gū̄č**; Kor. ***kóčǎk**.

PTung. ***kusū̄-** 1 to fight 2 fight 3 strength, power (1 драться, биться 2 драка, бой 3 сила): Evk. *kusī-* 1, *kusīn* 2; Evn. *kusi-* 1, *kusin* 2; Neg. *kusī-* 1, *kusun* 3; Man. *xusun* 3; SMan. *husun* 3 (171); Jurch. *xiu-sun* (513) 3; Ul. *kusu(n)* 3; Ork. *kusu(n)* 3; Nan. *kusũ* 3; Ud. *kuhi* 3; Sol. *xusuši* 'strong, powerful'.

◊ TMC 1, 438-439.

PMong. ***küči-n** power, strength (сила): MMong. *kočer-* (IM), *kučin* 'old age' (MA), *gučи(n)* 'strength' (SH, HYt); WMong. *küči*, (L 496:) *küčü(n)*; Kh. *xüč*; Bur. *xüše(n)*; Kalm. *küčn̥*; Ord. *güči(n)*; Dag. *kuči* (Тод. Дар. 152, MD 184); Dong. *kučie*; S.-Yugh. *kuʒən*; Mongr. *kuʒi* (SM 207).

◊ KW 249, MGCD 403.

PTurk. ***gū̄č** power (сила): OTurk. *küč* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *küč* (MK, KB); Tur. *güʒ*; Gag. *güč*; Az. *güʒ*; Turkm. *gū̄č*; Khal. *kīič*; MTurk. *küč* (Sangl., Pav. C., MA); Uzb. *kuč*; Uygh. *küč*; Krm. *küč*; Tat. *köč*; Bashk. *kös*; Kirgh. *küč*; Kaz. *küš*; KBalk. *küč*; KKalp. *küš*; Kum. *güč*; Nogh. *küš*; SUygh. *kuš*; Khak. *küs*; Shr. *küš*; Oyr. *küč*; Tv. *küš*; Tof. *küš*; Yak. *kū̄s*; Dolg. *kū̄s*.

◊ VEWT 306, EDT 693, ЭСТЯ 3, 96-98, Stachowski 166.

PKor. ***kóčǎk** 1 extreme, very powerful 2 at most (1 чрезвычайный, очень сильный 2 самое большее): MKor. *kóčǎk-hă-* 1; Mod. *koʒak* 2.

◊ Nam 48, KED 148.

‖ EAS 96, KW 249, Владимирцов 165, Poppe 63, 112, АПиПЯЯ 16. High tone in Kor. is not clear. Despite TMN 3, 627, Щербак 1997, 128, Mong. is hardly borrowed from Turkic; TM cannot be borrowed from Mong., despite Rozycki 113. In АПиПЯЯ (p. 77) the root was compared with PJ **kìsV-* 'to contest'. The latter, however, has better Tungus parallels: TM **gali-* 'to contest' (TMC 1, 138), see **gaĺi*.

✱**kū́či (~ kʹ-, g-, -čʹ-, -o, -u)** to hold in arms: Turk. ***Kūč-**; Kor. ***kòč-**.

PTurk. ***Kūč-** to embrace (обнимать): OTurk. *quč-* (Yen., OUygh.); Karakh. *quč-* (MK); Tur. *kuǯ-*, *koč-*; Az. *Guǯ-*; Turkm. *Guč-*; MTurk. *quč-* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *quč-*; Krm. *quč-*; Tat. *qoč-*; Kirgh. *quč-*; Kaz. *quš-*; KKalp. *quš-*; Yak. *kūs-*; Dolg. *kūs-*.

◊ EDT 590, VEWT 295-296, ЭСТЯ 6, 105-106, Stachowski 163. Shortening in Turkm. is unclear (length in Yak. and voicing -č- > -ǯ- in Tur., Az. point to *-ū-).

PKor. ***kòč-** to hold in two arms (держать двумя руками): MKor. *kòč-*.

◊ HMCH 342, Nam 54.

‖ A Turk.-Kor. isogloss.

✱**kùdá** to be submerged; to pour out: Tung. ***kodori-**; Turk. ***Kud-**; Jpn. ***kàntùk-**.

PTung. ***kodori-** 1 to scoop 2 scoop (made of birch bark) (1 черпать 2 ковш (берестяной)): Ul. *qodụrpụ(n)* 2; Nan. *qodori-* 1 (On.), *qodorịqo*, *qodorpõ* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 403.

PTurk. ***Kud-** 1 to pour out (water) 2 to pour 3 well (1 лить 2 сыпать 3 колодец): OTurk. *qud-* 1 (OUigh.), *quduɣ* 3 (OUygh.); Karakh. *quj-* 1 (MK), *quδuɣ* 3 (MK, QB); Tur. *kuju* 3, *qujɨ* 3 (dial.); Gag. *quju* 3; Az. Guju 3; Turkm. Guj- 1, 2, Gujɨ 3; MTurk. *quj-* 1 (Sangl.), *qujɨ* 3 (Pav.C.); Uzb. *quj-* 1; Uygh. *quj-* 1; Krm. *quj-* 1, *quju* 3; Tat. *qoj-* 1, 2, *qojɨ* 3; Bashk. *qoj-* 1, 2, *qojɨ* 3 (dial.); Kirgh. *quj-* 1, 2; Kaz. *quj-* 1, 2, *qujɨ* 3 (dial.); KBalk. *quj-* 1, 2, *quju* 3; KKalp. *quj-* 1, 2, *qujɨ* 3; Kum. *quj-* 1 *quju* 3; Nogh. *quj-* 1, 2, *qujɨ* 3; SUygh. *quz-* 1; Khak. *xus-* 1, 2 (dial.); Shr. *quspaq* 'большой туес' (?); Tv. *qut-* 1; Tof. *qut-/d-* 1; Chuv. *xɨv-* 1, 2; Yak. *kut-* 1, 2.

◊ VEWT 296, EDT 596, 598, ЭСТЯ 2000, 109-111, 119-120, Мудрак Дисс. 102, Федотов 2, 379. The root contained undoubtedly *-d-, but variants with *-j- are attested unusually early. Turk. > MMong. *γuduh* (SH), WMong. *quduɣ* (whence backwards > Turkm. Guduk, Uygh. *quduq*, Khak. *xutux* etc.), see EDT ibid., KW 194, Щербак 1997, 143, TMN 1, 395-396, Stachowski 162.

PJpn. ***kàntùk-** to dive (нырять, погружаться): OJpn. *kaduk-*; MJpn. *kàdùk-*; Tok. *kazúk-*; Kyo. *kázúk-*.

◊ JLTT 707.

‖ Evk. *kudu*, *kuduk* 'saline; spring with salted water; well, spring' is semantically distant from the other TM forms and very probably bor-

rowed from Mong. (however not from Mong. *quǯir*, despite Doerfer MT 104, but rather from *quduɣ* 'well' - itself borrowed from Turkic, see above). One can mention Mong. *küdese-* 'to swim (of a snake)', but both the vocalism and the meaning seem to be somewhat aberrant.

✱**kude** relative-in-law: Mong. ***kuda**; Turk. ***güde-**.

PMong. ***kuda** relative-in-law (сват, свойственник): MMong. *guda* 'match-maker, parent-in-law' (HY 32), *quda* (SH); WMong. *quda* (L 979); Kh. *xud*; Bur. *xuda* 'сват', *xudagɨ* 'сватья'; Kalm. *xudə*; Ord. *xuda*; Dag. *xodugu*, (Тод. Даг. 176) *xodog*, (Тод. Даг. 178) *xuada*; Dong. *Gudaɣi*; S.-Yugh. *Gudā*; Mongr. *Guda* (SM 123), *Gudā*.

◊ MGCD 384. Mong. > Chag. *quda* etc. (see TMN 1, 424, Лексика 310, ЭСТЯ 6, 102-103), Chuv. *xъda* (Róna-Tas 1973-1974), Man. *xuda* etc., see KW 194, Щербак 1997, 208, Doerfer MT 81-82.

PTurk. ***güde-** 1 son-in-law 2 guest (1 зять 2 гость): OTurk. *küdegü* 1, *küden* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *küdegü* 1, *küden* 2 (MK, KB); Tur. *güveji* 1; Gag. *güvā̄* 1; Az. *gijev* 1; Turkm. *gijev* 1; Sal. *kui* 1 (ССЯ); Khal. *kideji* 1; MTurk. *küjew* 1 (Abush., Sangl.); Uzb. *kujɔw* 1; Uygh. *küjoɣul* 1 (**küjö-oɣul*); Krm. *gijav* 1; Tat. *kijäw* 1; Bashk. *kejäw* 1; Kirgh. *küjõ* 1; Kaz. *küjew* 1; KBalk. *kijew* 1; KKalp. *küjew* 1; Kum. *gijev* 1; Nogh. *kijew* 1; SUygh. *kuzeɣɨ* 1; Khak. *kəzö* 1; Shr. *küze* 1; Oyr. *küjü* 1; Tv. *küdē* 1; Tof. *hüdā̄* 1; Chuv. *kərü* 1; Yak. *kütüö* 1; Dolg. *kütüö* 1.

◊ EDT 703, 704-705, ЭСТЯ 3, 43-45, Лексика 297-298, Stachowski 166. Turk. > Mong. *küdegü*; Yak. > Evk. *kutē*.

‖ A Turk.-Mong. isogloss.

✱**kugi (~ -k-, -e)** quilted clothes, trousers: Tung. ***kukču**; Mong. ***küg-dü**; Kor. ***kă'oi (~ *ko'ăi)**.

PTung. ***kukču** 1 sleeping-bag 2 clothes with quilted sleeves (1 спальный мешок 2 одежда с зашитыми рукавами): Evk. *kukču* 1, 2; Evn. *qu̇čṵ* 1, 2.

◊ TMC 1, 427.

PMong. ***küg-dü** thick quilted trousers, wadded trousers (толстые ватные штаны): WMong. *kügdü* (L 497); Kh. *xügd*.

◊ Mong. > Man. *xukdu*, *xuktu* 'quilted coat', Nan. *xuktu* id. etc. (see TMC 1, 476).

PKor. ***kă'oi (~ *ko'ăi)** dressing for the lower part of body (одежда для нижней части тела): MKor. *kă'oi*, *ko'oi*; Mod. *koi*.

◊ Nam 15, 48, KED 148. Martin treats the word as a loanword < MC *khò* 'trousers' + *ʔij* 'clothes'; however, the word means both 'trousers' and 'skirt' in MKor.; the compound is not found in Chinese proper; and the MKor phonology cannot be explained < Chinese. Modern *koi* (orth. *ko'ii*) may be a secondary modification under Chinese influence.

‖ Although not very widely represented, the root appears to be Common Altaic.

✸**kȕgù** swan: Tung. ***kūku**; Turk. ***Kugu**; Jpn. ***kùkùpí**; Kor. ***kòhài**.

PTung. ***kūku (/*xūku)** swan (лебедь): Evk. *ūk-si*; Evn. *ụ̄-sị*; Neg. *xūk-si*; Ul. *kuku*; Ork. *kuku* / *kukku*; Nan. *kuku*; Orch. *kūku;* Ud. *kūxi*.

◊ TMC 1, 426-427; 2, 336.

PTurk. ***Kugu** swan (лебедь): OTurk. *quɣu* (Yen., OUygh.); Karakh. *quɣu* (MK); Tur. *koɣu*, *kuɣu*; Az. *Gu*, *Guɣu*; Turkm. *Guv*; MTurk. *quɣu* (Ettuhf.), *qu* (Pav. C., AH); Uzb. *quw*; Uygh. *quw*; Krm. *quɣu*, *qoɣu*, *quw*; Tat. *qū*, *qu* (Буд.); Sib. *quɣɨ* 'polar duck'; Kirgh. *qū*; Kaz. *quw*; KBalk. *quw*; KKalp. *quw*; Kum. *quw*, *qū*; Nogh. *quw*; Khak. *xū*; Shr. *qū*; Oyr. *qū*; Tv. *qū*; Yak. *kuba*; Dolg. *kuba*.

◊ VEWT 275, EDT 609, TMN 3, 533-534, Лексика 171, ЭСТЯ 6, 101, Stachowski 159. Turk. > Kalm. *γoγā̈*, *γoγā* '(Heer)schnepfe', see KW 149. On Yak. *kuba* see a special note under PA **ki̯òpu*.

PJpn. ***kùkùpí** swan (лебедь): OJpn. *kukupji*; MJpn. *kùkùfí*; Tok. *kugui* (arch.).

◊ JLTT 462.

PKor. ***kòhài** heron (цапля): MKor. *kòhài*.

◊ Nam 49.

‖ Дыбо 9, Лексика 172, Whitman 1985, 183, 222. Kor. has an irregular low tone. The root is onomatopeic and the medial consonant behaves irregularly in TM (various assimilations are attested). In Turkic the root could additionally contaminate with **ki̯òpu* q.v. The Altaic antiquity is, however, beyond doubt.

✸**kúja** a k. of aquatic bird: Tung. ***kuju-**; Mong. ***kajil-**; Kor. ***kə̀jú, kə̀ijú**.

PTung. ***kuju-** 1 goose 2 young of birds 3 duck (1 гусь 2 птенец 3 утка): Evk. *kujukī* 1; Evn. *kujuken* 2; Neg. *kujuxēn* 3; Man. *χojχo* 2; Jurch. *xojxolo* 'горлица' (184); Ork. *kujumu* 'турпан'; Orch. *kuja* 'баклан'; Sol. *xujūxẽ* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 424, 425.

PMong. ***kajil-** 1 sea gull 2 lark (1 морская чайка 2 жаворонок): MMong. *qajiruqana* (SH) 'Weissfedervogel (e. Drosselart)'.; WMong. *qajilaɣan* 1 (MXTTT); Kh. *xajlgana* 1; Bur. *xajlgana* 1, *xajrgana* 1,2.

◊ Cf. also WMong. *qui* (L 982) 'a k. of duck with variegated spots; a grey bird with a long tail resembling a magpie'.

PKor. ***kə̀jú, kə̀ijú** domestic goose (домашний гусь): MKor. *kə̀jú*, *kə̀ijú*; Mod. *kəwi*.

◊ Nam 35, KED 87.

‖ Turk. **Kɨjgɨ-* 'a k. of bird' (VEWT 261) may be possibly related, but merged with **Kɨj-* 'to cry' (ibid.).

✸**kúja** a k. of nut: Tung. ***kuju-kta**; Jpn. ***kaja**; Kor. ***kài'òm**.

PTung. ***kuju-kta** 1 nut 2 blue-berry (1 орех 2 голубика): Evn. *kujkit* 2; Nan. *qojaqta* 1; Orch. *kuikta* 1; Ud. *kuikta* 1 (Корм. 252).

◊ TMC 1, 425.

PJpn. ***kaja** Torreya nucifera (японский мускатный орех): OJpn. *kaja*; MJpn. *kaja*; Tok. *kaya*.

◊ JLTT 446. PJ accent is unclear.

PKor. ***kài'òm** prickly grass; nutwood (колючая трава; орешник): MKor. *kài'òm*, *kai'am*; Mod. *käam*.

◊ Nam 28, 29, KED 72.

‖ An Eastern isogloss; see also notes to **kìjá*.

✱**kujV (~ kʹ-, g-)** thick, saturated: Turk. ***Koju-g**; Jpn. ***kuá-**; Kor. ***kə̄-r-**.

PTurk. ***Koju-g** thick, saturated (толстый, густой): OTurk. *qojuɣ* (OUygh.); Karakh. *qojuɣ* (MK); Tur. *koju*; Gag. *qoju*; Turkm. *Gojɨ*; Uzb. *qujuq*; Uygh. *qojuq*; Krm. *qoju*, *quju*; Tat. *qujɨ*; Bashk. *qujɨ*; Kirgh. *qujū*; Kaz. *qoju*; Nogh. *qojɨ*; Khak. *xojɨɣ*; Shr. *qojɨɣ*; Oyr. *qoju*; Tv. *xojuɣ*; Tof. *xoj̃uɣ*; Yak. *xojū*; Dolg. *kojū*.

◊ EDT 676, TMN 3, 562, ЭСТЯ 6, 32-33, Stachowski 150. The deriving stem **Koj(u)-* 'to become viscous, thick' is attested in Oyr. *qoj-*, KKalp. *qoji-*, Khak. *xoji-*, Tuva *xoju-* (see ibid.). The reconstruction **Koń-* is proposed in VEWT 276, but is based only on the not quite reliable Tofalar nasalization; the Yakut and OT evidence does not support it.

PJpn. ***kuá-** thick, saturated (густой): OJpn. *kwo-*; MJpn. *kó-*; Tok. *kó-*; Kyo. *kó-*; Kag. *kò-*.

◊ JLTT 832.

PKor. ***kə̄-r-** to be thick, fertile, rich (быть густым, плодородным): MKor. *kə̄r-*; Mod. *kə̄l-*.

◊ Liu 47, KED 97.

‖ The second vowel and tone are hard to establish because of contraction in Jpn. and Kor.

✱**kukata (~ -kʹ-)** carpal joint: Tung. ***koKalta**; Mong. ***kagda**; Jpn. ***kakatə**.

PTung. ***koKalta** mittens (рукавицы): Evk. *kokollo*; Evn. *qụqъtъn*; Neg. *koxolo*; Ul. *qōlto*; Nan. *qōlto*; Orch. *kōkto*; Ud. *koʹlo* (Корм. 250).

◊ TMC 1, 405.

PMong. ***kagda** carpal joint (of animals) (кистевой сустав (животных)): WMong. *qaɣda* (L 908); Kh. *xagd*; Bur. *xagdū*.

PJpn. ***kakatə** heel (пятка): Tok. *kàkato*; Kyo. *kákátó*; Kag. *kakató*.

◊ JLTT 433. Original accent is not quite clear.

‖ The meaning in Mongolian is probably original here; in Japanese one has to suppose a shift 'carpal joint of feet' > 'heel'; in TM - > 'covering for the carpal joint (wrist)' = 'mittens'.

✱**kúkʹè** meat: Tung. ***kuKu-**; Jpn. ***kuaku-mi**; Kor. ***kòkí**.

PTung. ***kuKu-** 1 to mince (meat) 2 minced meat 3 fat, inner fat (1 строгать (мясо) 2 строганое мясо 3 жир, нутряное сало): Evk. *kukurē-* 1, *kukurē* 2; Evn. *kuk-* 1; Orch. *kukene* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 427.

PJpn. ***kuaku-mi** meat (with bumps, warts) (мясо (с шишками, бородавками)): OJpn. *kwokumji*.

PKor. ***kòkí** fish, meat (рыба, мясо): MKor. *kòkí*; Mod. *kogi*.

◊ Nam 45, KED 135.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 296. An Eastern isogloss; but cf. perhaps Mongor *xuGo* 'ventre, entrailles'.

✱**kúlme** a k. of ungulate: Tung. ***ku(l)ma-**; Mong. ***kulan**; Turk. ***Kulum**; Jpn. ***kuáma**.

PTung. ***ku(l)ma-** maral, Siberian stag (изюбр): Evk. *kumaka*, *kumaran*; Neg. *komaxa*; Nan. *qomaqa*; Orch. *kumaka*; Sol. *xụmxā*.

◊ TMC 1, 430. Medial -l- is not reflected (it is best preserved in Manchu which has lost the root); but cf. also Evk. *kulkuńa*, *kulčen* 'a k. of deer' (perhaps < **kulm-čen*, -kuńa with loss of -m-, but preservation of -l-).

PMong. ***kulan** ass (осел): MMong. *qulan* (SH), *qulan* (MA); WMong. *qulan*, *külen* (L 984); Kh. *xulan*; Bur. *xulan*; Kalm. *xulŋ*, *xulṇ*; Ord. *xulan*.

◊ Mong. > Turk. *qulan* (see ЭСТЯ 6, 127-128, Doerfer TMN 3, 557); > Manchu *qulan* (see Rozycki 148).

PTurk. ***Kulum** foal (жеребенок): OTurk. *qulun* (Yen.); Karakh. *qulun* (MK); Tur. *kulun*; Az. *Gulun*; Turkm. *Gulun*; MTurk. *qulun*, *qulum* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *qulun* (dial.); Uygh. *qulun* (dial.); Tat. *qolɨn*; Bashk. *qolon*; Kirgh. *qulun*; Kaz. *qulɨn*; KKalp. *qulɨn*; Nogh. *qulɨn*; SUygh. *qulun*, *qulum*, *qulɨm*, *qolun*; Khak. *xulun*; Oyr. *qulun*; Tv. *qulun*; Chuv. *xъ^{w}m*; Yak. *kulun*.

◊ EDT 622, TMN 3, 506-507, ЭСТЯ 6, 132-133.

PJpn. ***kuáma** foal, colt (жеребенок, жеребец): OJpn. *kwoma*; MJpn. *kómá*; Tok. *kóma*, *komá*; Kyo. *kòmá*; Kag. *kóma*.

◊ JLTT 455. The accent is somewhat unclear (Kyoto is quite aberrant, but Tokyo and Kagoshima may still point to a high tone on the first syllable). The word is usually treated as *kwo* 'child' + *uma* 'horse', but the order of the components is quite unusual.

‖ Turkic and TM reflect a common derivative **kúmle-ŕV*.

✱**kȕlV** servant, slave: Tung. ***kēlu-me (< *kūle-me ?)**; Turk. ***Kul**.

PTung. ***kēlu-me** servant (слуга): Evk. *kēlūme*; Evn. *kēlme*; Ork. *kele*.

◊ TMC 1, 447.

PTurk. ***Kul** slave, servant (слуга, раб): OTurk. *qul* (Yen., OUygh.); Karakh. *qul* (MK); Tur. *kul*; Az. *Gul*; Turkm. *Gul*; MTurk. *qul* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *qul*; Uygh. *qul*; Krm. *qul*; Tat. *qol*; Bashk. *qol*; Kirgh. *qul*; Kaz. *qul*; KBalk. *qul*; KKalp. *qul*; Kum. *qul*; Nogh. *qul*; SUygh. *qul*; Khak. *xul*; Shr. *qul*; Oyr. *qul*; Tv. *qul*; Yak. *kulut*; Dolg. *kulut*.

◊ VEWT 297, TMN 3, 503-505, EDT 615, Лексика 318, ЭСТЯ 6, 120-121, Stachowski 160.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss. Cf. also Kalm. *keln*, WMong. *kele* 'slave' (if not == "tongue").

✱**kulV (~ -o-, -ĺ-)** snake, worm: Tung. ***kulī-n**; Kor. ***kùrjə̀ŋí**.

PTung. ***kulī-n** 1 worm 2 snake (1 червь 2 змея): Evk. *kulikān* 1, *kulīn* 2; Evn. *qụlịn* 'mosquito'; Neg. *kolixān* 1; Ul. *qụla(n)* 1; Ork. *qola* 1; Nan. *qolã* 1; Orch. *kulã̄* 1, 2; Ud. *kuliga* 1, 2; Sol. *xoĺexã̄* 1, *xoĺẽ̄* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 428. Evk. > Dolg. *kulikan* (Stachowski 160).

PKor. ***kùrjə̀ŋí** adder, viper (гадюка): MKor. *kùrjəŋ'í*; Mod. *kurəŋi*.

◊ Nam 58, KED 199.

‖ SKE 132, АПиПЯЯ 293. A Tung.-Kor. isogloss; further Nostratic parallels see in ОСНЯ 1, 308.

✱**kúĺapʿV** oak, oak-tree: Tung. ***kolopo-kta**; Jpn. ***kásípà**; Kor. ***kàràp**.

PTung. ***kolopo-kta** a k. of tree (вид дерева): Orch. *kolobokto*, *kopolokto* 'ritual fir-tree'; Ud. *kofolokto* 'a k. of tree'.

◊ TMC 1, 407-408.

PJpn. ***kásípà** oak-tree (Quercus dentata thunb.) (вид дуба): OJpn. *kasipa*; MJpn. *kásípà*; Tok. *kàshiwa*; Kyo. *kàshíwà*; Kag. *kashíwa*.

◊ JLTT 441. The word has a rare accent type HHL.

PKor. ***kàràp** oak-tree (дуб): MKor. *kàràp*; Mod. *karam-namu*.

◊ Nam 3, Liu 19.

‖ Martin 237. An Eastern isogloss. Cf. **kʿolV*.

✱**kuĺV (~ -o-)** enclosure: Tung. ***kuli-, *kuli-ti-**; Turk. ***Koĺ**.

PTung. ***kuli-, *kuli-ti-** 1 to fence, shut off 2 threshold 3 partition, screen 4 lobby (1 загораживать, отгораживать 2 порог 3 перегородка, загородка 4 прихожая): Evk. *kultir* 2; Evn. *qụ̄lị-* 1; Neg. *kultik* 3; Jurch. *xu-li* 4 (205); Orch. *kukti-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 428-9.

PTurk. ***Koĺ** hut, hovel, camp(ing) (хижина, лачуга, лагерь): Karakh. *qoš* 'family' (Tfs.); Turkm. *Goš*; MTurk. *qoš* 'camp, camping' (Pav. C.), 'house, dwelling' (Sngl.); Tat. *quš*; Bashk. *qɨwiš*; Kaz. *qos*; KKalp. *qos*; Nogh. *qos*; Balk. *qoš*; Kum. *qoš;* Tv. *qoš* 'caravan'; Chuv. *xüžə, xužə, xužъ*; Yak. *xos* 'room'.

◊ VEWT 283, EDT 670, Лексика 491-492, ЭСТЯ 6, 90-94, Федотов 2, 375-376. Turk. > WMong. *qos*, Kalm. *xoš* (KW 189), WMong. *qosi-liγ* (Clark 1980, 42). The root is confused with **Koĺ* 'pair', but should be probably distinguished. Tat. and Bashk. obviously reflect a contamination with **Koguĺ* 'empty space, hollow'. A loanword from Tokh. *koṣkīye* 'hut' (which itself is < Iranian, see Adams) had been suggested - which, however, cannot explain the absence of -k- in the Turkic form.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**kúma** a musical instrument: Tung. ***kumu-n**; Turk. ***Komuŕ**; Kor. ***kə̀mɨ́nkó**.

PTung. ***kumu-n** music (музыка): Man. *kumun*; SMan. *kumun* (1382).

◊ TMC 1, 431. Attested only in Manchu, but having probable parallels in Turk. and Kor.

PTurk. ***Komuŕ** musical instrument (музыкальный инструмент): Kirgh. *qomuz*; Kum. *qomuz*; SUygh. *qoŋus*, *qoŋɨs*; Khak. *xomɨs*; Oyr. *qomus*; Tv. *xomus*; Yak. *qomus*, *qamɨs*.

◊ VEWT 281, ЭСТЯ 6, 69-71.

PKor. ***kə̀mɨ́nkó** a Korean harp of seven strings (корейский семиструнный музыкальный инструмент): MKor. *kə̀mɨ́nkó*; Mod. *kəmungo*.

◊ Nam 32, KED 84.

‖ SKE 106. Cf. **kupro* - the two roots are to be distinguished.

✱**kumba(ka)** a k. of vessel: Tung. ***kōmba**; Mong. ***kombuga**; Turk. ***Kumgan**; Jpn. ***kámá**.

PTung. ***kōmba** scoop, ladle (ковш, черпак): Evk. *kōmba*; Evn. *kȭmeŋe*; Neg. *kombo*; Ul. *qombo*; Ork. *qombo*; Nan. *qombo*.

◊ TMC 1, 408, 420.

PMong. ***kombuga** sack (мешок): WMong. *qombuγa* (MXTTT); Kh. *xombogo*; Bur. *xombogo*.

PTurk. ***Kumgan** kettle, jug (котел, кувшин): Karakh. *qumγan* (MK); Tur. *kumγan* (dial.); Az. *Gumγan*; Turkm. *Gumγān* (dial.); MTurk. *qumγan* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *qumγɔn*; Uygh. *qumγan*; Krm. *qumγan*, *quman*; Tat. *qomγan*; Bashk. *qomγan*; Kirgh. *qumγan*; Kaz. *quman*; KBalk. *qumγan*; KKalp. *quman*; Kum. *qumman*; Nogh. *qumγan*.

◊ EDT 627, VEWT 300, ЭСТЯ 6, 136-137 (> Mong. *qumaγan*, see Щербак 1997, 143).

PJpn. ***kámá** kettle (котелок): MJpn. *kama*; Tok. *kàma*; Kyo. *kámá*; Kag. *káma*.

◊ JLTT 435.

‖ Either length in TM or tone in Jpn. is irregular.

✱**kúmi (~ -o-)** hollow, cavity, inner angle: Tung. ***kum-**; Mong. ***kömüg**; Jpn. ***kúma**; Kor. ***kùm-k**.

PTung. ***kum-** 1 edge 2 hollow, cavity 3 precipice (1 край, бок 2 дупло, впадина 3 яр): Evk. *kumdika* 1, *kumŋa* 2; Evn. *kumtutti* 3; Man. *kumdu* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 430, 431, 450. Despite Rozycki 146, Man. *kumdu* cannot be explained as a loan < Mong. *köŋdei* (q. v. sub **kĕŋi).*

PMong. ***kömüg** edge, overhang (of a mountain), shelter (край, навес): WMong. *kömüg* (L 487); Bur. *xümeg* 'canyon, ravine; hollow'; Kalm. *köməg*.

PJpn. ***kúma** inner angle, cavity (внутренний угол, впадина): OJpn. *kuma*; MJpn. *kúmá*; Tok. *kumá*; Kyo. *kúma*.

◊ JLTT 463. Kagoshima has irregular accent: *kùmá* (which would point to **kùmà*) - but the other dialects, together with the RJ form *kúmá* / *kúmà* point uniformly to a high tone in the first syllable.

PKor. ***kùm-** cavity, hole (впадина, дыра): MKor. *kùmk*, *kùmú* (*kùmúk-*); Mod. *kuməŋ*.

◊ Nam 59, 63, KED 201.

‖ Lee 1958, 114, Martin 233.

✱**kumi (~ -o-, -e)** eyebrows, hair on temples: Tung. ***kum-**; Mong. ***kömü-**; Kor. ***kùmìt**.

PTung. ***kum-** eyelid (веко): Evn. *kȭmdemke*; Neg. *kembukte*; Ul. *kumte*, *kumbikte*; Nan. *kumukte*; Ud. *kempukte*, *kemukte* (Корм. 254).

◊ TMC 1, 430, 447.

PMong. ***kömü-** eyebrow (бровь): MMong. *kumuskä* (MA 250); WMong. *kömüske* (L 487: *kömüsge*); Kh. *xömsög*; Bur. *xümedxe*; Kalm. *kömskə*; Ord. *kömösχö*; Mongr. *komosgo* (SM 213), *kumosgo*.

◊ KW 239, MGCD 374. Mong. > Yak. *kömüske* etc. (see ЭСТЯ 5, 103).

PKor. ***kùmìt** hair on temples (волосы на висках): MKor. *kùmìt*, kumis; Mod. *kwimit* [*kuimith*].

◊ Nam 59, 65, KED 228. Both variants with -t and -s are early attested and it is hard to decide which one is original (because of the early confusion of -t and -s). The MKor. variant *kui-mit(h)*, whence modern *kwimit*, is obviously a result of reinterpreting the word as **kui-mith* 'roots of the ears'.

‖ Poppe 19, 68, Дыбо 5, Лексика 214 (but the Turkic parallels should probably be separated: cf. **kiuru(mV)*). Despite Doerfer MT 80, TM forms cannot be < Mong.

✱**kumi (~ -o-,-i̯u-)** a k. of insect: Tung. ***kumke**; Mong. ***kömörege**; Turk. ***Kumɨr-**; Jpn. ***kùmuâ**; Kor. ***kəmɨ́i**.

PTung. ***kumke** louse (вошь): Evk. *kumke*; *kumikēn* 'insect'; Evn. *kumke*; *kumnilen* 'name of a beetle'; Neg. *kumke*; Man. *xelmeku*, *xelmexen* 'spider'; Nan. *kuŋke* (dial.); Orch. *kume*; Ud. *kumuge*; Sol. *xuŋkē*; *xumīxe* 'ant'.

◊ TMC 1, 430, 431, 481. -l- in Manchu is probably secondary (tabooistic contamination with *xelme* 'shadow').

PMong. ***kömörege** a k. of insect (вид круглого червя (желто-розового цвета, величиной с ноготь человеческого пальца, живущего в печеночной области)): WMong. *kömörege* (MXTTT); Kh. *xömrög*.

PTurk. ***Kumɨr-** ant (муравей): OTurk. *qumursγa* (OUygh.); Tur. *komursγa* (dial.); Turkm. *Gumursγa*; Sal. *qumusqa*, *qomusqən*; Khal. Gumurγāč; MTurk. *qumursxa* (Pav. C.), *qumursuγa* (AH); Uzb. *qumursqa*; Krm. *qumurstqa*, *qumurstqu*; Tat. *qɨrmɨsqa*; Bashk. *qɨmɨrθqa*; Kirgh. *qumursqa*; Kaz. *qumɨrsqa*; KBalk. *qumursxa*, *qumursqa*, *qumurčxa*; Kum.

xomursɣa; Nogh. *qumɨrsqa*; Khak. *xumusxa*, *xɨmɨsxa*; Shr. *qɨmɨrtaš*, *qumɨstaš*; Oyr. *qomursqa*; Tv. *qɨmɨsqajaq*; Yak. *kɨmɨrdaɣas*.

◊ EDT 628, VEWT 300, Лексика 183-184, ЭСТЯ 6, 140-141.

PJpn. ***kùmuâ** spider (паук): OJpn. *kum(w)o*; MJpn. *kùmó*; Tok. *kúmo*; Kyo. *kùmô*; Kag. *kumó*.

◊ JLTT 463.

PKor. ***kə̀mɨ́i** spider (паук): MKor. *kə̀mɨ́i*; Mod. *kəmi*.

◊ Nam 32, KED 84.

‖ SKE 105, Lee 1958, 119, Martin 242, ОСНЯ 1, 309, АПиПЯЯ 290, Дыбо 9, Лексика 184. An expressive root: cf. **kiuma, *kajamV*.

✱**kŭmu** to wrap up, cover: Tung. ***kum-**; Mong. ***kumi-**; Turk. ***Kum- / *Kɨm-**; Jpn. ***kùm-**; Kor. ***kàm-**.

PTung. ***kum-** 1 to cover oneself, cover up 2 to embrace (1 закутывать, покрывать(ся) 2 обнимать): Evk. *kumu-* 1, *kumlē-* 2; Evn. *kumle-* 1, *kemnu-* 2; Neg. *kumul-* 1, *komnō-* 2; Ul. *kumul-* 1; Ork. *kumele-* 1; Nan. *kumuligu-* 1; Orch. *kumul-* 1; Sol. *xumelī-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 430, 431.

PMong. ***kumi-** to wrap up, roll up, collect (складывать, заворачивать): WMong. *qumi-* (L 985), *qumbi-*; Kh. *xumi-*; Bur. *xumi-*; Kalm. *xümə-*, *xötə-*, *xuńə-*; Ord. *xumi-*; Dag. *koto-* (Тод. Даг. 150); Mongr. *xumbu-* 'envelopper, couvrir' (SM 182).

◊ KW 193, 197, 202, MGCD 389, TMN 1, 416.

PTurk. ***Kum- / *Kɨm-** to wrap, tuck (подворачивать, подтыкать): Uzb. *qimti-*; Tat. *qɨmtɨ-*; Bashk. *qɨmtɨ-*; Kirgh. *qɨmtɨ-*; Kaz. *qɨmtɨ-*, *qɨmta-*; KKalp. *qɨmtɨ-*, *qɨmta-*; Nogh. *qɨmtɨ-*; Oyr. *qɨm-*; Tv. *qumza* 'package'; Yak. *kumuj-*.

◊ VEWT 301, ЭСТЯ 6, 221-223.

PJpn. ***kùm-** to plait, intertwine, combine (плести, сплетать): OJpn. *kum-*; MJpn. *kùm-*; Tok. *kúm-*; Kyo. *kùm-*; Kag. *kùm-*.

◊ JLTT 716.

PKor. ***kàm-** to wind around (обвивать, наматывать): MKor. *kàm-*; Mod. *kām-*.

◊ Liu 29, KED 50.

‖ Martin 246 (Kor.-Jpn.). Korean has a usual low 'verbal' tone, but the -a-vowel is quite irregular . Perhaps one should think of an early merger in Kor. with the root **kàma* 'to connect' (q.v.).

✱**kune (~ g-)** one of several wives: Turk. ***güni**; Jpn. ***kuanami**.

PTurk. ***güni** 1 co-wife 2 envy, jealousy 3 jealous, envious person 4 to be jealous, envy (1 одна из нескольких жен 2 зависть, ревность 3 ревнивец, завистник 4 ревновать, завидовать): OTurk. *küni* (OUygh.) 2; Karakh. *küni* (MK) 1; Tur. *gönü*, *günü* 1, 2; Az. *günü* 1; Turkm. *güni* 1; MTurk. *küni* (MA, Pav. C.) 1, 2; Uzb. *kundaš* 1, *kunči* 3; Uygh. *kündäš* 1,

kün-lü- 4, *kün-či* 3; Krm. *kündeš* 1, *kün-le-*, *künü-le-*, *könü-le-* 4; Tat. *köndäš* 1, *kön-če* 3, *kene* (dial.) 2; Bashk. *köndäš* 1, *kön-lä-* 4, *kön-sö* 3; Kirgh. *künü*, *kündöš* 1, *künü-lö-* 'to be jealous (of women)'; Kaz. *kündes* 1, *kün-de-* 4; KKalp. *kündes* 1, *kün-le-* 4; Kum. *gün-čü* 3; Nogh. *kündes* 1, *kün-le-* 4; SUygh. *kun bol-* 4 (ЯЖУ); Khak. *kün-ne-* 4, *künʒi* 3; Oyr. *künü* 2; Tv. *xün-ne-* 4; Yak. *künǖ* 2.

◊ VEWT 307, 309, EDT 727, ЭСТЯ 3, 104-105, Мудрак 76, Федотов 1, 269. Cf. perhaps also Yak. *kiǰīt*, Dolg. *kinīt* 'sister-in-law' (?).

PJpn. ***kuanami** first wife (in polygamy) (первая жена (при многоженстве)): OJpn. *kwonamji*; MJpn. *kónámí*.

◊ JLTT 456.

‖ A Turk.-Jpn. isogloss. Cf. perhaps Evn. *qōŋań* 'witch' (TMC 1, 411).

✱**kunu (~ *k´-)** to fold, twist: Mong. ***kuni-**; Turk. ***Kun-da-**; Jpn. ***kùniàr-**.

PMong. ***kuni-** to fold, plait (складывать, заплетать): WMong. *quni-*, *qunija-* (L 986); Kh. *xuni-*; Bur. *xuni-*; Mongr. *xunāʒə* 'pli, ride, sillon' (SM 182).

PTurk. ***Kun-da-** 1 to swaddle 2 swaddlingclothes (1 пеленать 2 пеленки): Tur. *kundak* 2; Gag. *qundaq* 2; Az. *GundaG* 2; Turkm. *Gunda-* 1, *Gundaq* 2; MTurk. *qondaq* 2 (R.); Uzb. *qụndɔq* 2; Uygh. *qondaq* 2; Krm. *qɨndaq* 2; Tat. *qontɨq* 2 (dial.); Kirgh. *qundaq* 2; Kaz. *qundaq* 2; KKalp. *qundaq* 2; Kum. *qunnaq* 2; Nogh. *qundaq* 2; Oyr. *qɨndaq* 2.

◊ VEWT 301, ЭСТЯ 6, 144-146.

PJpn. ***kùniàr-** to twist (крутить, изгибать): MJpn. *kuner-*; Tok. *kunér-*; Kyo. *kúnér-*; Kag. *kùnèr-*.

◊ JLTT 716.

‖ A good Turk.-Mong.-Jpn. parallel.

✱**kúńà (~ k´-)** skin, leather: Mong. ***kujag**; Turk. ***Kuńak**; Jpn. ***kámì**.

PMong. ***kujag** armour (панцирь): MMong. *qujax* (HY 19, SH), *qəjəq* (IM), *qojāq* (LH); WMong. *qujaɣ* (L 983); Kh. *xujag*; Bur. *xujag*; Kalm. *xujəg*; Ord. *xujaG*; S.-Yugh. *χujaG*; Mongr. *xojaG* (SM 173), *xujaG*.

◊ KW 195, MGCD 387.

PTurk. ***Kuńak** 1 armour 2 skin (1 панцирь 2 шкура): Karakh. *qujaq* 1, *qujqa* 2 (MK); MTurk. *qujaq* 1 (Pav. C.); Tat. *qojqa* 2; Bashk. *qojqa* 2; Kirgh. *qɨjaq* 1, *qujqa* 2; Kaz. *qujqa* 2; KKalp. *qujqa* 2; Nogh. *qujqa* 2; Khak. *xujax* 1, *xujɣa* 2; Oyr. *qujaq* 1, *qujqa* 2; Tv. *qujaq* 1, *qujɣa* 2; Tof. *quǰaq* 1; Yak. *kuǰax* 1, *kuǰaxa* 2.

◊ EDT 676, VEWT 301, Лексика 576, ЭСТЯ 6, 111, 113, Stachowski 161. Turk. > Mong. *qujiqa* 'skin from the head' (whence Evk. *kuika* etc., see Doerfer MT 132; Dolg. *kujka* 'head skin', see Stachowski 160).

PJpn. ***kámì** paper (бумага): OJpn. *kam(j)i*; MJpn. *kámì*; Tok. *kamí*; Kyo. *kámì*; Kag. *kámi*.

◊ JLTT 435.

‖ Mong. may be < Turk., but may as well be genuine.

✱**kúńe** moth, worm: Tung. ***kuńī-kta**; Turk. ***güńe / *guńa**; Jpn. ***ká**; Kor. ***kə̀ńúi**.

PTung. ***kuńī-kta** 1 larva of a gad-fly 2 butterfly (1 личинка овода 2 бабочка): Evk. *kujīkta*, dial. *kuńukta* 1; Evn. *köjit* 1; Neg. *kujikte* 1; Ul. *koači* 2; Ork. *kūńikte* 1; Orch. *kōńi(ka(n))* 2; Ud. *koańa'* 2 (Корм. 249).

◊ TMC 1, 410, 424. Evk. > Dolg. *künükte*, *küńükte* (Stachowski 165).

PTurk. ***güńe / *guńa** moth (моль): Karakh. *küjä* (MK); Tur. *güve*; Az. *güvä*; Turkm. *güje*; Uzb. *kuja*; Tat. *köjɛ*; Bashk. *köjä*; Kaz. *küje*; KBalk. *küje*; KKalp. *küje*; Nogh. *küje*; Khak. *kū̄*; Shr. *quja* 'Kellerwurm'; Oyr. *küje*, *quja*; Chuv. *kəʷve*; Yak. *kȭjür*, *küjür*.

◊ VEWT 297, ЭСТЯ 3, 94, Лексика 186. Kirgh. *kübö* is rather < Mong. *kibe* id.

PJpn. ***ká** mosquito (комар): OJpn. *ka*; MJpn. ka; Tok. *kà*; Kyo. *ka̋*; Kag. *ká*.

◊ JLTT 430.

PKor. ***kə̀ńúi** 1 earth-worm 2 intestinal worm, ascarid (1 земляной червь 2 глист): MKor. *kə̀ńúi* 1; Mod. *kəwi* 2.

◊ Nam 34, KED 87.

‖ Räsänen 1955, 18:3, 19 (Turk.-Tung.), ОСНЯ 1, 298-299, Лексика 186, Robbeets 2000, 108; TMN 3, 660 ("...der ev. Vergleich zweifelhaft..."). The Japanese form goes back to a suffixed **kuńe-gV* (cf. the TM and Kor. forms); the vowel, however, is quite irregular - which may be due to contraction (cf. a very similar case in PJ *ka 'day' < PA **g̥iòjńu*).

✱**kúŋe (*kújŋe)** heart, middle: Tung. ***kuŋ-**; Turk. ***göjŋ-il**; Kor. ***kà'ón-tā̋i**.

PTung. ***kuŋ-** 1 to beat (of heart) 2 heart 3 aorta, vein (1 биться (о сердце) 2 сердце 3 кровеносный сосуд): Evn. *kuŋ-* 1, *kuŋkis* 2, *kewuŋe* (Ol.) 3; Man. *kuxen* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 427, 433, 442.

PTurk. ***göjŋ-il** heart, mood (сердце, дух): OTurk. *köŋül* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *köŋül* (MK, KB); Tur. *gön-ül*; *göjün*, *göjn* (dial.); Gag. *gön*; Az. *könül*; Turkm. *gövün*, *köŋ-ül* (arch. - borrowed from Türki); Sal. *göjŋy*; Khal. *kīil*; MTurk. *köŋül* (Sangl., MA); Uzb. *kọŋil*; Uygh. *köŋül*; Krm. *könül*, *kölün*; Tat. *küŋəl*; Bashk. *küŋəl*; Kirgh. *köŋül*; Kaz. *köŋil*; KBalk. *köl*; KKalp. *köŋil*, *kewil*; Kum. *göŋül*; Nogh. *köŋil*; SUygh. *köŋül*; Khak. *kȭl*, *köŋn-ə*; Shr. *köŋn-ü*; Oyr. *kū̄n*; Tof. *xȭl*; Chuv. *kəʷməʷl*; Yak. *köŋül* 'will, freedom'; Dolg. *köŋül* 'permission'.

◊ VEWT 291, EDT 731, ЭСТЯ 3, 75-77, Лексика 274, Stachowski 156. Almost all languages reflect a suffixed form (a substantivized adjective in -il, see Gabain AG 75). Khak., Shor reflect a nominalized attributive form of *köŋül.*

PKor. ***kà'ón-tā̋i** middle (середина): MKor. *kà'ón-tā̋i*; Mod. *kaun-de*.

◊ Nam 7, KED 22.

‖ On a possible Mongolian reflex see under **kómpʹi*.

✱**kŭŋi** child: Tung. ***kuŋā**; Mong. ***köw, *köw-ɣün, *kewken**; Turk. ***güŋ**; Jpn. ***kúa**.

PTung. ***kuŋā** 1 childhood 2 child 3 new-born child (1 детство 2 ребенок 3 новорожденный): Evk. *kuŋā*, *kuŋa* 1, *kuŋākān* 2; Evn. *qu̇ŋa* 2; Neg. *koŋaxān* 2; Nan. *qoŋar* bī 3; Sol. *kuaxań* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 433.

PMong. ***köw, *köw-ɣün, *kewken** child, son (ребенок, сын): MMong. *koʹun* (HY 29, SH), *kəušəŋ* (HY 30), *koʹu* (SH), *keun* (IM), *kuwn* (MA); WMong. *köü*, *köbekün*, *keüken* (L 461: *keüken*, *kegüken*); Kh. *xū̄*, *xüvgū̄n* 'son', *xū̄-xen* 'daughter, girl'; Bur. *xübū̄n* 'son', *xū̄ge(n)* 'child; daughter',; Kalm. *köwū̄n* 'son', *kū̄kṇ* 'girl'; Ord. *kū̄* 'son', *kū̄χen*; Mog. *köün*; ZM *koun* (9-8b) 'son', *koukläq* (10-5b) 'youth'; Dag. *keuku* 'son' (MGCD, Тод. Даг. 149 *keku*), *keku* (MD 182); Dong. *kəvan*, *kəwon* 'son'; Bao. *kū* (MGCD *kuŋ*); S.-Yugh. *kū̄ken*; Mongr. *kū*, *kō* 'son' (SM 205), *kugen* (SM 208) 'child'.

◊ KW 242, MGCD 395, TMN 1, 455. Cf. also WMong. *küi*, Kalm. *kī* 'tribe, kin' (> Turk. *köj*, see KW 234, VEWT 286).

PTurk. ***güŋ** female slave (рабыня): OTurk. *küŋ* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *küŋ* (MK, Tefs., IM); Turkm. *güŋ* 'a Turkmani born from a Persian woman' (Буд.); MTurk. *küŋ* (MA), (MKypch.) *küŋ* (CCum.); Uzb. *guŋ* 'voiceless female slave'; Kirgh. *küŋ*; Kaz. *küŋ*; KKalp. *küŋ*; SUygh. *küŋ* (ЯЖУ); Chuv. *хъr-ɣъm*.

◊ VEWT 309, EDT 726, ЭСТЯ 5, 142, Лексика 317. The Uzb. meaning was influenced by Persian *gung* 'deaf-and-dumb'.

PJpn. ***kúa** child (ребенок): OJpn. *kwo*; MJpn. *kó*; Tok. *kò*; Kyo. *kŏ*; Kag. *kó*.

◊ JLTT 452.

‖ KW 242, АПиПЯЯ 82, Дыбо 7. The Jpn. form goes back to **kuŋ(i)-gV*.

✱**kuŋtʹV (~ -o-)** rump, anus: Tung. ***kuŋdu-**; Mong. ***koŋdu-, *koŋǯi-**; Turk. ***Koŋ**; Kor. ***kuŋtuŋ-**.

PTung. ***kuŋdu-** 1 rump 2 cunnus (1 круп, крестец 2 cunnus): Evk. *kunŋukī*, *kuŋduki* 1; Evn. *qońńa* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 410, 432.

PMong. ***koŋdu-, *koŋǯi-** 1 rump, buttocks 2 anus 3 posterior (1 крестец, ягодицы 2 anus 3 зад): MMong. *qonǯijasun* [P]; WMong. *qoŋdulai* 1 (L 962: *qondulai*), *qonǯijasu* 3 (L 963: *qoŋǯusu* 'junction of two thighs, crotch'); Kh. *xondloi* 1; Bur. *xondoloj* 1, *xonzōhon* 2, 3; Kalm. *xondəsn* 'the joint between the legs'; Ord. *xondolō̄* 1; Mongr. *Gonǯosə*, *Gwənǯasə* 'le derrière (homme, animaux)' (SM 123).

◊ KW 185. Mong. > Man. *χonsun*, *xonǯisun*.

PTurk. ***Koŋ** 1 thick part of the thigh; muscles 2 behind, buttocks (1 толстая часть бедра; мышцы, мускулы 2 зад): Karakh. *qoŋ* (MK) 1; Uygh. *qoŋ* 2; Kirgh. *qoŋ* 1, 2; Kaz. *qoŋ* 1, 2; KKalp. *qoŋ* 1; SUygh. *qoŋɨr*, *qoŋqɨr* 2; Tv. *qoŋ* 'animal body'; Yak. *kuŋ* 1.

◊ VEWT 280, Clark 1977, 149, ЭСТЯ 6, 58-59. Turk. > Mong. Khalkha *xongo*, Kalm. *xoŋ* (although -o in the Khalkha form is suspicious and perhaps reflects a genuinely cognate PM **koŋgo)*.

PKor. ***kuŋtuŋ-** rump, buttocks (круп, ягодицы): MKor. *kuŋtuŋʼi*; Mod. *kuŋduŋi*.

◊ Nam 91, KED 222.

‖ EAS 141, Poppe 18.

✱**kupʿe** light (of weight), floating on the surface: Tung. ***kepu- ~ *kopu-**; Mong. ***köbü-**; Kor. ***kàpắi-**.

PTung. ***kepu- ~ *kopu-** to float on the surface (плавать на поверхности): Evk. *kepke-met-*; Evn. *kewu-met-*; *kebduŋči-* 'to swim (of sea animals)'; Neg. *kopon- ~ kepen-*; *kebgexit-* 'to produce bubbles (of fish)'; Ul. *kopto-*; Ork. *kuptu-du-*; Nan. *qopto-l*, *kepte* (adv.); Orch. *kopčo* 'fish-hook'; Ud. *kopčol-*.

◊ TMC 1, 442, 451-452. Cf. also Evk. *keptulī*, *kepeme* 'soft, fluffy'; TM **kebkV* (**kepkV*?) 'free, empty' (TMC 1, 386).

PMong. ***köbü-** to drift on the surface (плавать на поверхности): WMong. *köb-*, *köbbü-* (L 475); Kh. *xövö-*; Bur. *xübe-*, *xübxelze-*; Kalm. *köw-*; Ord. *köwö-*.

◊ KW 242.

PKor. ***kàpắi-** light (of weight) (легкий (о весе)): MKor. *kàpắi-jáp-*; Mod. *kabjəp-*.

◊ Nam 5, KED 17.

‖ In Kor. cf. also MKor. *kàpórʼo-* 'to winnow'. The root tends to contaminate with **kʿopʿi* 'foam' and **gebo* 'empty, light' q.v. See SKE 82, Poppe 43.

✱**kùpʿŕó (~ kʿ-)** a musical instrument: Mong. ***kuɣur**; Turk. ***Kopuŕ**; Jpn. ***kə̀tə́**.

PMong. ***kuɣur** a musical (string) instrument (музыкальный (струнный) инструмент): MMong. *quʼur* (SH); WMong. *quɣur* (L 982); Kh. *xūr*; Bur. *xūr*; Kalm. *xūr*; Ord. *xūr*; Dag. *kōr*; S.-Yugh. *χūr*.

◊ KW 201, MGCD 380, TMN 1, 443. Mong. > Evk. *kūr* etc., see TMN 1, 444-445, Doerfer MT 61.

PTurk. ***Kopuŕ** a k. of musical (string) instrument (вид музыкального (струнного) инструмента): OTurk. *qopuz* (OUygh.); Karakh. *qopuz* (MK); Tur. *kopuz*; Turkm. *Gopuz*; MTurk. *qopuz* (Бор. Бад.), *qobuz* (AH); Uzb. *qụbiz*; Uygh. *qowuz*; Krm. *qobuz*; Tat. *qubɨz*; Bashk. *qubɨδ*;

Kirgh. *qobuz*; Kaz. *qobɨz*; KBalk. *qobuz*; KKalp. *qobɨz*; Nogh. *qobɨz*; Shr. *qobus*; Tof. *xobus*.

◊ VEWT 281, EDT 588, TMN 3, 535-537, Лексика 614, ЭСТЯ 69-71.

PJpn. ***kə̀tə́*** a k. of musical (string) instrument (вид музыкального (струнного) инструмента): OJpn. *koto*; MJpn. *kòtó*; Tok. *kóto*; Kyo. *kótó*; Kag. *kotó*.

◊ JLTT 459. Accent in Kyoto is irregular.

‖ Владимирцов 211, Poppe 18, 48, 82. The root cannot be united with **kúma* for phonetical reasons, although in modern languages their reflexes tend to merge. Despite Doerfer's doubts (TMN 1, 445: "Urverwandtschaft ist sehr unwahrscheinlich"), it is probably archaic; loan from Turk. into Mong. (TMN ibid., Щербак 1997, 139) is quite improbable. Jpn. has -t- (instead of the expected -r-) probably because of a special cluster development.

✱**kùpˊV́ (~ kˊ-, -o-)** part: Mong. ***kubi***; Jpn. ***kùmpà-r-***.

PMong. ***kubi*** 1 part, deal 2 to divide (1 часть, порция 2 делить, распределять): MMong. *qubi* (SH,MA) 1, *qubijaxda-* 2 (HYt), *qūbi* (IM); WMong. *qubi* 1 (L 976), *qubija-* 2 (L 977); Kh. *xuʊ́* 1; Bur. *xubi* 1; Kalm. *xuwə-* 2, *xüvə* 1 (KPC); Ord. *xuwi* 1; Dag. *xoƀ* 1, (Тод. Даг. 176) *xobi* 1; Dong. *Guɣa-* 2; Bao. *χua-* (Тод. Бн.), *Gua-* 2; S.-Yugh. *χuwə* 1; Mongr. *xuGwā-* (SM 176), *xuGua-* 2.

◊ MGCD 382. Mong. > Evk. *kuwi*, *kowi*; Tuva xū (see TMN 1, 422).

PJpn. ***kùmpà-r-*** to distribute (распределять): OJpn. *kubar-*; MJpn. *kùfàr-*; Tok. *kubár-*; Kyo. *kúbár-*; Kag. *kùbàr-*.

◊ JLTT 714.

‖ A Mong.-Jpn. isogloss. Cf. also OT (ДТС) *qobɨ* (USp.) 'belongings, inheritance', which Doerfer (TMN 1, 423) considers to be the source of the Mong. word, but which in fact hardly exists (the attestation is rather scarce and dubious, see EDT 581).

✱**kúra(mV)** sheath, basket: Tung. ***kor-, *kormaki***; Mong. ***kor, *korum-***; Turk. ***Kurman, *Kurug-luk***; Jpn. ***kátáma***.

PTung. ***kor-, *kormaki*** 1 sheath 2 dish made of birch bark (1 ножны 2 берестяная посуда): Evk. *kor* 2; Man. *χomχon* 1; Ul. *qōmaị* 1; Ork. *qolmoj* 1; Nan. *qormị̄* 1; Orch. *kommoi* 1; Ud. *komigi* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 409, 414. Despite Doerfer MT 239, Evk. *kor* is hardly < Mong. (because of a significant semantic difference).

PMong. ***kor, *korum-*** quiver (колчан): MMong. *qor* (SH), *qor* (MA), *qur*, *qərəmṣā* (IM); WMong. *qor* (L 965), *qorumsaɣa* (L 969); Kh. *xor*, *xoromsogo*; Bur. *xormogo* 'quiver', *xormongo* 'налучник'; Kalm. *xormsxə*; *xor* 'small bag'; Ord. *xur*.

◊ KW 186, 188, TMN 1, 427-428. Mong. > Kirgh. *qoramsa* etc. (see ЭСТЯ 6, 78).

PTurk. ***Kurman, *Kurug-luk** bow-case, quiver (футляр для лука, колчан): Karakh. *qurman*, *quruɣluq* (MK); Tur. *koruluk*; MTurk. *qurman* (Ettuhf.); Uzb. *qurma* 'wooden vessel'; Khak. *xurlux*; Oyr. *qurluq*.

◊ EDT 657, 660 (hardly from Pers. *qurbān*, but rather vice versa), ЭСТЯ 6, 163, 164.

PJpn. ***kátáma** bamboo basket (бамбуковая корзина): OJpn. *katama*; MJpn. *kátámí*, *kátámì*; Tok. *katami*.

◊ JLTT 443.

‖ KW 186. Cf. MKor. *kàrm-* (Whitman *kălm-*, SKE *kạm-*) 'to hide, put away'? Cf. also **kʹure* 'basket' - with a possibility of contaminations in Mong.

✱**kure** to run, quick: Tung. ***kora-**; Mong. ***kur(u)-**; Turk. ***Küre-**; Kor. ***kɨrk-**.

PTung. ***kora-** to drive away (прогонять): Evn. *koro-*.

◊ TMC 1, 416. Attested only in Evn., but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***kur(u)-** 1 rapid, quick 2 moment, short time 3 to hurry (1 быстрый 2 момент, мгновение 3 спешить): MMong. *qurdi* 'haste' (IM), *kordun* 'Läufer' (LH); WMong. *qurdun* 1 (L 989), *qurum* 2 (L 991), *quruji-* 3; Kh. *xurdan* 1, *xuram* 2; Bur. *xurda(n)* 1; Kalm. *xurdṇ*; Ord. *xurdun* 1; Mog. *qurdun* 1 (Ramstedt 1906); Dag. *xordun* 1, (Тод. Даг. 177), *horedun* 1 (MD 164), *xordon* 1; Dong. *Gužin, Gudun* 1; Bao. *Gordoŋ* 1; S.-Yugh. *Gurduŋ* 1; Mongr. *Gurdun* (SM 127), *Gurdən* 1.

◊ KW 198, MGCD 390. Mong. > Man. *xurdun* etc., see Doerfer MT 145, Rozycki 112.

PTurk. ***Küre-** to run away (убегать): OTurk. *küre-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *küre-* (MK, KB); Kirgh. *kürgüčtö-* 'загонять скот', *kürgüj* 'возглас, которым гонят ягнят'; Yak. *kürē-*; Dolg. *kürē-*.

◊ EDT 737, VEWT 310, ЭСТЯ 5, 146, Stachowski 166.

PKor. ***kɨrk-** to run away, to escape (убегать, спасаться бегством): Mod. *kɨk-* [*kɨlk-*].

◊ SKE 115.

‖ SKE 115. The Korean root is attested only there, thus not very reliable (and the vocalic reflex is dubious).

✱**kuri** wattle, fence, enclosure, building: Tung. ***kori**; Mong. ***kürijen**; Turk. ***Kur-**; Jpn. ***kuru-wa**.

PTung. ***kori** 1 frame, blockhouse 2 cage 3 shed (1 сруб 2 клетка 3 хлев): Neg. *koj* 1; Man. *χorin* 2,3; Ul. *qorị* 1,2; Ork. *qorị* 1; Nan. *qorị* 1; Orch. *koi* 1; Ud. *koai-* (Корм. 249), *kua-* 'to make a blockhouse'.

◊ TMC 1, 415. The listed forms cannot be regarded as mongolisms, despite Doerfer MT 77 (although forms like Evk. *korigan* are certainly < Mong., see Poppe 1966, 191).

PMong. ***kürijen** enclosure (огороженное место, двор, забор): MMong. *gurijen* (HY 4) 'fenced well', *gure'en* (SH); WMong. *kürijen* (L 506); Kh. *xürēn*; Bur. *xüŕē* 'glass rim', *xüŕēl-* 'to fence, enclose', *xüŕēn*

'monastery'; Kalm. *kürā̃* (KPC); Ord. *kürē*; Dag. *xorē*; Dong. *Goron*; S.-Yugh. *kürēleg*; Mongr. *kuraŋ*.

◊ MGCD 400. Mong. can hardly be the source of MTurk. *quriqan*, despite Щербак 1997, 206; Mong. > Evk. *kurẽ* etc.; Chag. *küren*, see TMN 1, 479, Doerfer MT 24, Rozycki 147; Yak., Dolg. *kürüö*, see Kał. MEJ 33, Stachowski 166). On Mong. > Russ. *kuréń* see Аникин 328.

PTurk. ***Kur-** to erect (a building), to establish (строить, устанавливать): OTurk. *qur-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *qur-* (MK); Tur. *kur-*; Gag. *qur-*; Az. *Gur-*; Turkm. *Gur-*; MTurk. *qur-* (AH, Houts.); Uzb. *qur-*; Uygh. *qu(r)-*; Krm. *qur-*; Tat. *qor-*; Bashk. *qor-*; Kirgh. *qur-*; Kaz. *qur-*; KBalk. *qur-*; KKalp. *qur-*; Kum. *qur-*; Nogh. *qur-*.

◊ VEWT 302, EDT 643, ЭСТЯ 6, 156-157. There is also a derivative **Kur-gan* (see e.g. TMN 3, 542-543), which is sometimes hard to distinguish from **Kōri-kan* (see **Kōri-).*

PJpn. ***kuru-wa** fortress embankment; quarter (крепостной вал; квартал): MJpn. *kuru-wa*; Tok. *kùruwa*; Kyo. *kúrúwá*; Kag. *kuruwá*.

◊ The accent is unclear: either **kúrúwá* or **kùrúwá.*

‖ KW 187, SKE 125, Poppe 88, TMN 1, 434. The root is actively contaminating with **k'ōra* q.v.

✱**kúro(mV)** a k. of clothes: Tung. ***kurumV**; Mong. ***kormaj**; Turk. ***Kur**; Jpn. ***kə́rə́mə́**; Kor. ***korɨm**.

PTung. ***kurumV** a k. of upper clothes (вид верхней одежды): Evk. *kurmu*, dial. *kumma* 'fur stockings; women's upper garment'; Evn. *kummēs* 'hat, cap'; Man. *kurume*; Nan. *kurme*.

◊ See TMC 1, 174, 431, 437. The Evk. form *gurumī* reflects a secondary merger with **gurē-* 'to unfasten'; Mong. *kürme* 'upper coat' is most probably borrowed from Manchu (despite Doerfer MT 144, proposing an opposite direction), just like Kor. *khurimä* id. (see Lee 1958, 119).

PMong. ***kormaj** lap, skirt (подол, юбка): MMong. *qormai* (HY 22, SH), *qormāə* (IM), *qurmi* (MA 303); WMong. *qormai*, *qormui* (L 967); Kh. *xormoj*; Bur. *xormoj*; Kalm. *xormā̃*, *xormā*; Ord. *xormõ̃*; Dag. *xuarm(ā)*, *xuaram* (Тод. Даг. 178), *huareme* (MD 165); S.-Yugh. *χormī*; Mongr. *xormə̄* (SM 173), (MGCD *xurmī*).

◊ KW 188, MGCD 366. Mong. > Evk. *kormẽ*, see Doerfer MT 94.

PTurk. ***Kur** belt (пояс): OTurk. *qur* (OUygh.); Karakh. *qur* (MK); Tur. *kur*; MTurk. *qur* (Pav. C., Abush.), *qor* (AH); Uygh. *qor* (dial.); Tat. *qur*; Kirgh. *qur*; Kaz. *qur*; KKalp. *qur*; SUygh. *qur*, *qor*; Khak. *xur*; Oyr. *qur*; Tv. *qur*; Yak. *kur*; Dolg. *kur*.

◊ VEWT 301-302, EDT 642, ЭСТЯ 6, 150-152, Stachowski 162. Cf. also **kürm-* 'to bind' (Sib.-Tat. *kürmö*, Oyr. *kürmä-k*, Bashk. *kürim* 'завязка для борти', see VEWT 311, Лексика 499 - if not < Mong. *gürmel*, see under **guŕi*).

PJpn. ***kə́rə́mə́** clothes (одежда): OJpn. *koromo*; MJpn. *kórómó*; Tok. *kòromo*; Kyo. *kórómó*; Kag. *korómo*.

◊ JLTT 458.

PKor. ***korom** clothes string, lace (тесемка): MKor. *korom*; Mod. *korɨm*.

◊ Liu 63, KED 140.

‖ Poppe 1950, 576. A common Altaic cultural term.

✱**kȕrV** to cut out, sharp: Tung. ***kōri-**; Mong. ***kurča**; Turk. ***Kurč**.

PTung. ***kōri-** 1 to delve, carve out, pick out 2 to wound accidentally (1 вырезать, выдалбливать, выковыривать 2 порезать(ся), случайно ранить): Man. *qori-* 1; Nan. *kōrxi-* 2 (On.).

◊ TMC 1, 415.

PMong. ***kurča** sharp (острый): MMong. *qurča* (HY 54, SH), *qurča-* 'to sharpen' (IM); WMong. *qurča* (L 988); Kh. *xurc*; Bur. *xursa*; Kalm. *xurcə* (KPC); Ord. *Gurča*; Dag. *xorčin* (Тод. Даг. 178), *korečin* (MD 184); S.-Yugh. *qurča*; Mongr. *xuʒa* (SM 174), *xuʒadə*.

◊ MGCD 391.

PTurk. ***Kurč** sharp, hard (of steel) (острый, твердый (о стали)): Karakh. *qurč* (MK); MTurk. *qurč* (Houts.); Uzb. *qurč*; Uygh. *qujuč*; Krm. *qurč*; Tat. *qorič*; Bashk. *qoros*; Kirgh. *qurč*; Kaz. *quriš*; KBalk. *qurč*; Kum. *qurč*; Nogh. *quriš*; Oyr. *qurč*; Chuv. *xorźъ* 'steel'.

◊ VEWT 303, EDT 647, ЭСТЯ 6, 170-171, Федотов 2, 367.

‖ KW 199. A Western isogloss. Doerfer (TMN 3, 441) (and Clark 1980, 43) regard Mong. as borrowed from Turk. (saying that the original meaning in Turkic is 'steel' - which is not the case, see EDT 647). On a possible Jpn. reflex see under **k´[u]ri*.

✱**kū́ŕe (~ -i)** autumn; rain, storm: Tung. ***kure-**; Mong. ***kura**; Turk. ***gȳŕ**.

PTung. ***kure-** storm, whirlwind (буря, сильный ветер): Evk. *kur-ge-kūn*; Evn. *qṵrgi*, *kur*; Ul. *kūre(n)*; Nan. *kūre* (On.).

◊ TMC 1, 435, 436. Length in Ul. and Nan. is compensatory (the forms are contracted < *kure-ge-).

PMong. ***kura** rain (дождь): MMong. *qura* (HY 2, SH), *qora* (IM), *qura* (MA), *qora* (LH); WMong. *qura* (L 987); Kh. *xur*; Bur. *xura*; Kalm. *xur*; Ord. *xura*; Dag. *xuar* (Тод. Даг. 178); Dong. *Gura*; Bao. *Gura, Gora*; S.-Yugh. *xura*; Mongr. *xurā* (SM 184).

◊ KW 197, MGCD 390. Also means 'last year'. [Ramstedt compares Kirgh. *quralai* 'Regenzeit'].

PTurk. ***gȳŕ** autumn (осень): OTurk. *küz* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *küz* (MK); Tur. *güz*; Gag. *güz*; Az. *güz-äm* 'autumn wool'; Turkm. *gȳz*; MTurk. *güz* (Sangl.); Uzb. *kuz*; Uygh. *küz*; Krm. *küz*; Tat. *köz*; Bashk. *köδ*; Kirgh. *küz*; Kaz. *küz*; KBalk. *küz*; KKalp. *küz*; Kum. *güz*; Nogh. *küz*; SUygh. *kuz*; Khak. *küs*; Shr. *küs*; Oyr. *küs*; Tv. *küs*; Tof. *küs*; Chuv. *kəʷr*; Yak. *kühün*; Dolg. *kühün*.

◊ VEWT 312, EDT 757, TMN 4,10, ЭСТЯ 3, 94-95, Лексика 75, Stachowski 164.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 294 (although Jpn. **kəti* is probably to be separated, see **k'ĕdo*), Лексика 75. A Western isogloss. The comparison seems quite plausible, although it seems not to have been proposed earlier. The Korean form, compared in SKE 118 with Turk. **gŭŕ* (*kɨru* '2-d harvest in one year') is late attested and probably = *kɨru*, MKor. *kɨrɨh* 'stubble'.

✱**kusu (~ k'-, -o-)** a k. of grass: Mong. ***kosi-**; Jpn. ***kùsà**; Kor. ***kòsàrí**.

PMong. ***kosi-** clover (клевер): WMong. *qosijaŋɣur* (MXTTT); Kh. *gerijn xošingor* (MPC), *xošōngor* (MXTT, БАМРС).

PJpn. ***kùsà** grass (трава): OJpn. *kusa*; MJpn. *kùsà*; Tok. *kusá*; Kyo. *kúsà*; Kag. *kusá*.

◊ JLTT 465.

PKor. ***kòsàrí** fern, bracken (папоротник): MKor. *kòsàrí*; Mod. *kosari*.

◊ Liu 65, KED 144.

‖ Accent correspondence is irregular. Cf. also OJ *kùsúri* 'medicine'. Cf. perhaps also Chuv. *ku(r)žanak* (< **kösinek*) 'agrimony, bur'.

✱**kùši (~ -o-)** to rot: Tung. ***kušu**; Jpn. ***kùsà-**; Kor. ***kùsì-**.

PTung. ***kušu** 1 touchwood 2 dandruff, soot (1 гнилушка, труха 2 перхоть, ушная сера, сажа): Evk. *kuču* 1; Evn. *kuč* 1; Neg. *kutin* 1 [= *kučin*]; Man. *χosori*, *χusuri* 2; Nan. *kuči* (On.) 'uneven surface of birch-bark'.

◊ TMC 1, 441, 479.

PJpn. ***kùsà-** foul, stinking (дурно пахнущий, вонючий): OJpn. *kusa-*; MJpn. *kùsà-*; Tok. *kusá-*; Kyo. *kùsà-*; Kag. *kusá-*.

◊ JLTT 833. Cf. also, as a noun, PJ **kùsà* 'eczema' (JLTT 465).

PKor. ***kùsì-** odorous (пахучий): MKor. *kùsì-*; Mod. *kusu-ha-*.

◊ Nam 60, KED 204.

‖ An Eastern isogloss; but cf. also WMong. *kösür-sün* (Kalm. *kösrsn*) 'dung' = OJ *kùswò* id.; WMong. *kusam* 'sediment in a pot after boiling milk' (MGCD 392); Yak. *kuha-ɣan*, Dolg. *kuha-gan* 'bad' (Stachowski 159). Kor. has a usual verbal low tone.

✱**kušu** nut: Tung. ***košikta**; Mong. ***kusiga**; Turk. ***Kusɨk**; Jpn. ***kusi**.

PTung. ***koši-kta** 1 nut 2 peach (1 орех 2 персик): Evk. *kočikta*; Man. *χusiχa* 1; Jurch. *xu-ĉu* 1 (129), *xu-ĉur* 2 (106); Ul. *qačiaqta* 1; Nan. *qočoa* 1; Orch. *kočokto* 'a k. of bush'.

◊ TMC 1, 419; 2, 291. Manchu *χusiχa* may be < Mong.; but cf. also *χusiri* mō 'a k. of chestnut-like tree', *χasuran* 'tree bark, bark of wild peach tree' (Захаров 385, TMC 1, 464).

PMong. ***kusiga** walnut (грецкий орех): WMong. *qusiɣa(n)* (L 991); Kh. *xušga*; Ord. *GušiGa*.

◊ Cf. also Kh. *xošid* 'a k. of nut' (MXTTT).

PTurk. ***Kusɨk** nut (орех): Karakh. *qusɨq* 'pine kernel' (ML); Khak. *xuzux*; Oyr. *qusuq*; Tv. *qu'suq*; Tof. *quzuq*.

◊ EDT 667, TMN 3, 475, ЭСТЯ 6, 23-24.

PJpn. ***kusi** a k. of nut (вид ореха): OJpn. *kusi*.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 17, Дыбо 14, ЭСТЯ 6, 23-24 (with some confusion of this root and **kʹusa* q.v.

✱**kušV** intestine: Tung. ***kuči (~ -š-)**; Mong. ***kos, *koskinag**.

PTung. ***kuči (~ -š-)** 1 sausage (made of bear's intestine fat) 2 large intestine (1 колбаса (из околокишечного жира медведя) 2 толстая кишка): Evk. *kuči* 1; Nan. *qočị* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 441.

PMong. ***kos, *koskinag** rectum, large intestine, colon, anus (двенадцатиперстная кишка, прямая кишка, толстая кишка, anus): WMong. *qos*, *qosginaɣ* (L 971: *qoškinaɣ*); Kh. *xos*, *xošnogo*, *xošginog*; Bur. *xošxonog*; Kalm. *xošnəg* (KPC); Ord. *Goši, GošχinoG*.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**kùtʹá** fortune: Tung. ***kutu-ri**; Mong. ***kutug**; Turk. ***Kut**; Jpn. ***kàntuá**.

PTung. ***kutu-ri** luck, fortune (счастье, удача): Man. *χuturi*; Jurch. *xu-tur*.

◊ TMC 1, 440. The Manchu-Jurchen word cannot easily be explained as a mongolism, despite Doerfer MT 136. Man. > Dag. *xotor* (Тод. Даг. 178).

PMong. ***kutug** good fortune, majesty (счастье, святость, величие): MMong. *qutux* (SH, HY), *qudux* (SH); WMong. *qutuɣ* (L 992); Kh. *xutag*; Bur. *xutagta* 'a Buddhist rank'; Kalm. *xutəg*; Ord. *GutuG*.

◊ KW 200. Mong. > Evk. *kutu* (TMC 1, 440, Doerfer MT 136).

PTurk. ***Kut** luck, good fortune (счастье, хорошая судьба): OTurk. *qut* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *qut* (MK); Tur. *kut*; Turkm. *Gut*; MTurk. *qut* (AH); Uzb. *qut*; Krm. *qut*; Tat. *qot*; Bashk. *qot*; Kirgh. *qut*; Kaz. *qut*; KKalp. *qut*; Nogh. *qut*; Khak. *xut*; Oyr. *qut*; Tv. *qut*; Chuv. *xъ^{w}t*; Yak. *kut*; Dolg. *kut*.

◊ VEWT 305, EDT 594, ЭСТЯ 6, 175-177, Stachowski 162.

PJpn. ***kàntuá** ability, talent (способность, талант): OJpn. *kad(w)o*; MJpn. *kàdó*.

◊ JLTT 432 (treated together with 'corner').

‖ EAS 142, Poppe 18, 50. Mong. is not < Turk., despite TMN 3, 553, Щербак 1997, 143.

✱**kutʹi (~ -t-)** bog, marsh: Tung. ***kuta**; Turk. ***Küte(re)**; Jpn. ***kutai**.

PTung. ***kuta** bog, marsh (болото): Evk. *kuta*; Evn. *kuta*; Neg. *kota*; Jurch. *xoto-o-n* 'pond' (34).

◊ TMC 1, 439.

PTurk. ***Küte(re)** bog, marsh (болото): Tat. *küter*, *kötɛ* (dial.); Bashk. *küter* (dial.); Khak. *ködre*; Oyr. *küdre*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 5, 154-155.

PJpn. ***kutai** bog, marsh (болото): MJpn. *kute*.

‖ The root is not very widely spread, but seems both phonetically and semantically plausible.

✱**kùʒi (~ *kòʒe)** neck, collar: Tung. ***kuʒu- / *kuʒi-**; Mong. ***küʒüɣün**; Kor. ***kíč**.

PTung. ***kuʒu- / *kuʒi-** 1 neck 2 to bow one's head (1 шея 2 наклонять голову, склоняться, стоять на коленях): Neg. *kuʒit-/č-* 2; Man. *xuʒu-* 2; Ork. *qoʒi̯* 1; Nan. *kuʒu-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 403, 424.

PMong. ***küʒüɣün** neck (шея): MMong. *kuʒu'un* (HY 46), *guʒu'un* (SH), *koʒeon* (IM), *kuʒun* (MA); WMong. *küʒügün*, *küʒügüü* (L 510); Kh. *xüʒǖ*; Bur. *xüzū(n)*; Kalm. *küzū̄n*; Ord. *küʒū(n)*; Mog. *küʒū̄n*; ZM *kožun* (2-7a); Dag. *kuʒū*, *xuʒū* (Тод. Даг. 151, 179), *huʒū* (MD 166); Dong. *Guʒun*; Bao. *guʒuŋ*; S.-Yugh. *guʒū̄n*; Mongr. *guʒi* (SM 140).

◊ KW 249, MGCD 397.

PKor. ***kíč** 1 collar 2 feather, feathers, plumes 3 diaper(s), swaddling clothes (1 воротник 2 перо, оперение 3 пеленки): MKor. *kís* 3, *kič* 1; Mod. *kit* [*kis*] 1, 2, *kiʒəgwi* 3.

◊ Nam 82, 83, KED 274, 282.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 294. In Kor. one has to assume a secondary fronting *kič* < **kɨč*; otherwise the correspondences are regular.

Kʿ

✱**kʿăbo** to deceive: Tung. ***xab-**; Mong. ***kaɣur-**; Turk. ***Kob-**; Kor. ***kə̄-**.

PTung. ***xab-** 1 to go mad 2 evil spirit 3 endearment 4 to grizzle (1 сходить с ума 2 злой дух 3 ласка, приветливость 4 привередничать, кокетничать, капризничать): Man. *χabčiχan* 3; Ul. *χaụn*, *χabdarị* 2, *χaụn-* 1; Ork. *χaụ-s* 'замертво'; Nan. *χaõ* 'dizziness', *χoan-* 4.

◊ TMC 1, 457, 467.

PMong. ***kaɣur-** to deceive (обманывать): WMong. *qaɣur-* (L 910); Kh. *xūra-*; Bur. *xūra-*; Kalm. *xūr-*; Ord. *xūr-*.

◊ KW 201. Mong. *qaɣurmaɣči* 'deceiver, liar' > Manchu *qarmaži* 'dishonest' (see Rozycki 134).

PTurk. ***Kob-** 1 to slander 2 conjuration, exorcism (1 клеветать 2 заклинание): OTurk. *qovla-* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *qovuz*, *qovuč* 2 (MK); Tur. *kovu*, *kovɨ* (dial.) 'slander'; MTurk. *qov* 'slander' (AH); Yak. *xobulā-* 1.

◊ ЭСТЯ 6, 17-18, EDT 584, Clark 1977, 147. Turk. > WMong. *qob* 'gossip' (KW 181), whence again Oyr. *qop* etc. (VEWT 281). Despite EDT 584, hardly connected with **Kob-* 'to chase' (v. sub **gŏbè).*

PKor. ***kə̄-** lie, deceit (ложь, обман): MKor. *kə̄-čɨ́s* (*čɨ́s* = *čī́ń* 'shape, appearance'); Mod. *kə̄ʒit*, *kā̄ʒit* [-s].

◊ Nam 36, KED 88.

‖ The vowel *-ə̄- in Kor. must be due to contraction.

✱**kʿăču** to run, drive: Tung. ***xasa-**; Mong. ***kočur-**; Turk. ***KAč-**.

PTung. ***xasa-** to pursue, drive (гнаться, гнать): Evk. *asa-*; Evn. *asị-saw-*; Neg. *asa-*; Man. *asaχa fasaχa* 'in a hurry'; Ul. *χasa-*; Ork. *χasa-*; Nan. *χasa-sị-*; Orch. *asa-*; Ud. *aha-*; Sol. *asa-*.

◊ TMC 1, 54.

PMong. ***kočur-** to stay behind (отставать, оставаться позади): MMong. *qočor-*, *qočoda-* (SH), *qūčar-* (Lig.VMI), *qučar-* (MA); WMong. *qočur-* (L 951); Kh. *xocro-*; Bur. *xosor-* 'to disappear, vanish; die'; Kalm. *xocr-*; Ord. *Gočiro-*; Mog. *qočaru-* (Ramstedt 1906).

◊ KW 190-191.

PTurk. ***KAč-** to run away, flee (убегать): OTurk. *qač-* (Orkh., Yen.); Karakh. *qač-* (MK, KB); Tur. *kač-*; Gag. *qač-*; Az. *Gač-*; Turkm. *Gač-*; MTurk. *qač-* (Houts., AH, IM, MA); Uzb. *qɔč-*; Uygh. *qač-*; Krm. *qač-*; Tat.

qač-; Bashk. *qas-*; Kirgh. *qač-*; Kaz. *qaš-*; KBalk. *qač-*; KKalp. *qaš-*; Kum. *qač-*; Nogh. *qaš-*; Khak. *xas-*; Shr. *qaš-*; Oyr. *qač-*; Tv. *qaš-*.

◊ VEWT 217, ЭСТЯ 5, 340-342.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 16; Цинциус 1984, 88-89. A Western isogloss.

✱**kʿačʿe** kind, sort: Tung. ***xačin**; Jpn. ***kə̀tə̀**; Kor. ***kàčí**.

PTung. ***xačin** 1 kind, sort, variety 2 various (1 вид, разновидность 2 разнообразный): Man. *χačin* 1; SMan. *hačin* 1 (2558); Jurch. *ha-če-jin* 'thing'; Ul. *χačị(n)* 1; Ork. *χatčị(n)* 2; Nan. *χačī* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 465. The word is borrowed (from Manchu or Nanai) > Sol. *xašī*, Neg. *xačịn*, Oroch *xači*, Ud. *xasi*.

PJpn. ***kə̀tə̀** thing, affair (дело): OJpn. *koto*; MJpn. *kòtò*; Tok. *kotó*; Kyo. *kótò*; Kag. *kotó*.

◊ JLTT 459.

PKor. ***kàčí** kind, sort, variety (вид, разновидность): MKor. *kàčí*; Mod. *kaži*.

◊ Nam 8, KED 26.

‖ SKE 101, Lee 1958, 112. An Eastern isogloss. The Jpn. **kə̀tə̀* seems a good match, but within Japanese it is rather hard to separate from the homonymous **kə̀tə̀* 'word, speech' (see **gĕre(pV)*). This is probably a secondary merger, but responsible for the irregular accent correspondence between Kor. and Jpn.

✱**kʿáčʿV** a k. of vessel: Tung. ***xaču-kan**; Turk. ***Kāča**.

PTung. ***xaču-kan** kettle (котел): Man. *χačuχan*, *χančuχan*; Ul. *χačoa(n)*; Ork. *χačụγa(n)*; Nan. *χačoχã*; Orch. *χačua(n)*.

◊ TMC 1, 464-465.

PTurk. ***Kāča** earthenware vessel, cup (глиняный сосуд, чаша): Karakh. *qača* (MK); Tur. *kap-kažak*; Az. *Gab-GažaG*; Turkm. *Gāp-GāžaG*; Uygh. *qača*; Yak. *xāhax* 'big leather-bag, big leather-sack'.

◊ VEWT 217 (hardly < Pers.), EDT 590, ЭСТЯ 5, 342-343.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**kʿada** side, to turn: Tung. ***xadaga-**; Mong. ***kadawra-**; Turk. ***KAdɨr-**.

PTung. ***xadaga-** to turn back, move back (поворачивать, двигаться назад): Evk. *adaγā-*; Evn. *adaγ-*; Neg. *adaγān-*; Ul. *χadan-*; Nan. *χadān-*.

◊ TMC 1, 13-14. TM > Dag. *adgā-* (Тод. Даг. 118).

PMong. ***kadawra-** to deviate, move to the side (отклоняться, двигаться в сторону): WMong. *qadaura-* (MXTTT); Kh. *xadūra-*; Bur. *xadūra-*.

PTurk. ***KAdɨr-** to twist, turn, bend (поворачивать, гнуть, крутить): OTurk. *qadar-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *qaδɨr-* (MK), *qadɨr-* (MK, KB); Tur. dial. *gajɨr-*; Gag. *qajɨr-*; Az. *Gajɨr-*; Turkm. *Gajɨr-*; MTurk. *qajɨr-* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *qɛjir-*; Uygh. *qari-*, *qajrɛ-*; Krm. *qajɨr-*; Tat. *qajɨr-*; Bashk. *qajɨr-*;

Kirgh. *qajɨr-*; Kaz. *qajɨr-*; KKalp. *qajɨr-*; Nogh. *qajɨr-*; Khak. *xazɨr-*; Oyr. *qajɨr-*; Chuv. *xajъr-* < Tat..

◊ EDT 604, ЭСТЯ 5, 195-197.

‖ Цинциус 1984, 80-81. A Western isogloss. On a possible Jpn. reflex see under **kéčʿa*.

✱**kʿádí(-rV)** to scrape off, scraper, tool for processing skins: Tung. ***xargan**; Mong. ***kederge**; Turk. ***KEdir-**; Jpn. ***káintúr-**.

PTung. ***xargan** chock (for processing fish skins) (колодка (для обработки шкур или рыбьей кожи)): Nan. *χaǯGã* (Kur-Urm.); Orch. *xaiga(n)*.

◊ TMC 1, 458.

PMong. ***kederge** 1 scraper 2 device for processing skins (1 скребок 2 инструмент для обработки шкур): WMong. *kederge(n)* (L 441); Kh. *xedreg* 1; Bur. *xederge* 2; Kalm. *kederγṇ* 2 (KPC).

◊ Mong. > Evk. *kederē* etc. (TMC 1, 443), see Doerfer MT 24, Rozycki 104, whence Yak. *kederen*, Dolg. *gedere*, *kedere* (see Kał. TJ 265, Stachowski 85).

PTurk. ***KEdir-** 1 to skin (a sheep) 2 to scrape on a washboard (while washing) (1 обдирать (овцу) 2 шаркать при стирке белья о бельевую доску): Karakh. *keδir-* 1, *keδr-il-* (pass.), *keδr-iš-* (coop.), *keδr-im* 'skinned meat' (MK); Tv. *kidire-* 2.

◊ EDT 705. Yak. *kederēn* 'scraper' is rather < Mong., see Лексика 380.

PJpn. ***káintúr-** to scrape off (соскребать): OJpn. *kedur-*; MJpn. *kédúr-*; Tok. *kezur-*.

◊ JLTT 708.

‖ PTM **xargan* < **xadVrgan* with a regular loss of -d- before -r-. Diphthong in Jpn. is not clear (**kíntúr-* would be normally expected).

✱**kʿàd[ú]** to be worn out, destroyed: Tung. ***xadü-**; Mong. ***kidu-**; Turk. ***KAdu-**; Jpn. ***kùntù-ra-**.

PTung. ***xadü-** to be worn out, become thin, fragile (изнашиваться, истончаться, становиться хрупким): Evk. *adīŋ-* 'to diminish'; Evn. *ad-*; Ork. *xadụ-*.

◊ TMC 1, 16.

PMong. ***kidu-** to slaughter, destroy (убивать, разрушать): MMong. *kidu-* (SH); WMong. *kidu-* (L 464); Kh. *x́ada-*; Ord. *xudu-*.

PTurk. ***KAdu-** 1 to stick in 2 sting 3 to sew (1 втыкать 2 жало 3 сшивать строчкой, оторачивать, вышивать): Karakh. *qaδu-* (MK) 3; Turkm. *Gaja-* 3; Tat. *qajɨ-* 3, Sib. *qajal-* 'to be piqued'; Bashk. *qaj-* 3, *qajaw* 2; Kirgh. *qajɨ-* 1; Kaz. *qajɨ-* 3; KKalp. *qajɨ-* 3; Kum. *qajɨ-* 3; Nogh. *qajɨ-* 3; Khak. *xaza-* 1.

◊ EDT 596, ЭСТЯ 5, 180-181. The root should be distinguished from **Kāta-* 'to stick in, nail' (v. sub **kā́jta)*.

PJpn. ***kùntù-ra-*** to be destroyed, break down (разрушаться, ломаться): OJpn. *kudu-ra-*; MJpn. *kùdù-ra-*; Tok. *kuzuré-*; Kyo. *kúzúré-*; Kag. *kùzùrè-*.

◊ JLTT 718.

‖ The root is rather difficult to distinguish from **kʿet[o]* q.v.; contaminations may explain partial vocalic irregularities. Mong. **kidu-* is usually compared with Turk. **Kɨd-* 'to destroy' (thus KW 244, VEWT 261, TMN 1, 487-488), but this form probably does not exist: in OT (8th c.) there is a dubious Hap. leg. *qɨdmaz* 'did not spare (?)', but all other sources (starting with MK) have only **Kɨj-* and its reflexes (see EDT 595) - which is quite a different root, see **gijo.*

✱**kʿa(j)** who, interrogative pronoun: Tung. ***xia (*xai)**; Mong. ***ken, *ka-**; Turk. ***kem, *Ka-**; Jpn. ***ka**; Kor. ***ka**.

PTung. ***xia (*xai)** 1 what 2 who (1 что 2 кто): Evk. *ê̂kūn* 1, *ê̂* 2; Evn. *ǟq* 1; Neg. *ê̂xun*, *ê̂kun* 1, 2; *ê̂wa* 1; Man. *ai* / *ja* 1, 2; SMan. *ai* 1 (2896); Ul. *χaj* 1; Ork. *xai* 1; Nan. *χaị* 1; Sol. *ī* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 4-5, 286-288.

PMong. ***ken, *ka-*** who (кто): MMong. *ken* (SH), *kɛn* (IM), *kin* (MA); *qa'a* (SH) 'where'; WMong. *ken* (L 453); Kh. *xen*; Bur. *xen*; Kalm. *ken*; Ord. *ken*; Mog. *ken;* ZM *kijän* (27-5a); Dag. *ken, xen* (Тод. Даг. 149); *xā-* (Тод. Даг. 173), *hā-* 'where', *hen* (MD 153, 154, 160); Dong. *kien*; *qa-*; Bao. *kaŋ*; *ha-*; S.-Yugh. *ken; xā-*, *xa-*; Mongr. *ken* (SM 195).

◊ KW 225, MGCD 310, 342.

PTurk. ***kem, *Ka-*** 1 who 2 which (1 кто 2 какой): OTurk. *kem* (OT, OUygh.) 1, *qaju* (OT, OUygh.), *qanu* (OUygh.) 2; Karakh. *kem~kim* (MK, KB) *qaju* (MK, KB) 2; Tur. *kim* 1; Gag. *kim* 1; Az. *kim* 1; Turkm. *kim* 1, *qaj* 2; Sal. *käm* 1; MTurk. *kim* (Abush., IM) 1; Uzb. *kim* 1, *qaj* 2; Uygh. *kim*, *kem* (dial.) 1, *qaj* 2; Krm. *kɨm* 1; Tat. *kem* 1, *qaj* 2; Bashk. *kem* 1, *qaj* (dial.) 2; Kirgh. *kim* 1, *qaj* 2; Kaz. *kim* 1, *qaj* 2; KBalk. *kim* 1; KKalp. *kim* 1; Nogh. *kim* 1; SUygh. *kɨm* 1; Khak. *kem* 1; Oyr. *kem* 1, *qaj* 2; Tv. *qɨm* 1, *qajɨ* 2; Tof. *qum* 1, *qai* 2; Chuv. *kam* 1; Yak. *kim* 1, *xaja* 2; Dolg. *kim* 1, *kaja* 2.

◊ VEWT 271, EDT 720-721, ЭСТЯ 5, 67-68, 191-192, Stachowski 134, 147.

PJpn. ***ka*** interrogative particle (вопросительная частица): OJpn. *-ka*; MJpn. *-ka*; Tok. *-ka*.

PKor. ***ka, *ko*** interrogative particle (вопросительная частица): MKor. *-ka*, *-kó*; Mod. *-ka*, *-ga*, *-ko*, *-go*.

◊ Nam 45, KED 2, 133.

‖ EAS 46, 47, 140, KW 225, Цинциус 1984, 75-76, АПиПЯЯ 41-42, 285. The TM form, despite Doerfer MT 27, Rozycki 222 has nothing to do with Mong. **ja-* q.v.

✱**kʿǎka** to break, tear off: Tung. ***xak-**; Mong. ***kaka- / *kaga-**; Turk. ***KAk-**; Jpn. ***kák-**.

PTung. ***xaK-** 1 to cut off 2 to tear off, separate (1 подрезать, перерезать 2 отделять, отрывать): Neg. *akị- / kakị-* 1; Ul. *χaqpa-lụ-* 2; Ork. *χaqpa-* 2; Nan. *χāGa-* 1, *χaqpā-* 2; Ud. *akpinda-* 1, *kakpaligi-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 25, 363.

PMong. ***kaka- / *kaga-** to break, tear off (ломать, расщеплять, отдирать): MMong. *qaqal-* (SH), *qaqača-* 'to divide' (HY 34), *qaγal-* (IM); WMong. *qaqa-* (L 906: *qaγal-*, *qaγala-*); Kh. *xaga-*; Bur. *xaxa-*; Kalm. *xaγəl-* (KPC); Ord. *xaGal-*; Mog. *qakara-* (Weiers); Dag. *xagalā-* (Тод. Даг. 172), *hagere-*, *hagare-*, *hagelā-* (MD 155); Dong. *GaGača-* 'to part' (Тод. Дн.); Mongr. *xaGali-*; *xaGarā-* 1 'fendre, briser, casser, morceler; se fendre, se fêler 1' (SM 150).

PTurk. ***KAk-** to hit, knock, tear (бить, стучать, рвать): Karakh. *qaq-* (MK); Tur. *kak-*; Gag. *qaq-*; Az. *Gax-*; Turkm. *qaq-*, *qaqɨl-*; MTurk. *qaq-* (Houts., AH, Qutb, MA); Uzb. *qɔq-*; Uygh. *qaq-*; Krm. *qaq-*; Tat. *qaq-*; Bashk. *qaq-*; Kirgh. *qaq-*; Kaz. *qaq-*; KBalk. *qaq-*; KKalp. *qaq-*; Kum. *qaq-*; Nogh. *qaq-*; Khak. *xax-*; Oyr. *qaq-*; Tv. *qaq-*; Tof. *qa'q-*; Dolg. *kakrɨj-* 'break into small pieces'.

◊ VEWT 223, ЭСТЯ 5, 221-222, Stachowski 135.

PJpn. ***kák-** to break off (отламывать): OJpn. *kak(a)-*; MJpn. *kák-*; Tok. *kàk-*; Kyo. *kàk-*; Kag. *kák-*.

◊ JLTT 702. The Kyoto accent is irregular.

‖ A possible derivative is PA **kʿaktʿo* 'castrated animal' q.v.

✱**kʿaktʿo** a large domestic animal: Tung. ***xakta-**; Turk. ***Kotuŕ**; Jpn. ***kə̀tə̀pì**.

PTung. ***xakta-** 1 to castrate (a deer) 2 castrated deer (1 кастрировать (оленя) 2 кастрированный олень): Evk. *akta-* 1, *aktakī* 2; Evn. *āt-* 1, *ata* 2; Neg. *aktawčā* 2; Ork. *χaqta* 2; Nan. *χaqta-* 1, *χaqtaqto* 2; Sol. *attamal* 'testiculi'.

◊ TMC 1, 26. Initial x- in Southern TM proves firmly (despite Doerfer MT 17) that the root is not borrowed < Mong. *aγta* 'castrated horse' (although some forms - namely, Sol. *akta*, Nan., Man. *aqta morin* 'castrated horse' - certainly are, and should be kept apart from the reflexes of PTM **xakta-*).

PTurk. ***Kotuŕ** yak (як): Karakh. *qotuz* (MK); Tur. *xotoz*; Az. *Gotaz*; Turkm. *Gotaz*; MTurk. *qotas* (Pav. C.), *qutuz* (AH); Uzb. *qọtas*; Uygh. *qotaz*; Krm. *qutas*; Tat. *qutaz* (dial.); Kirgh. *qotos*.

◊ EDT 608, ЭСТЯ 6, 81-82.

PJpn. ***kə̀tə̀pì** large and sturdy ox (большой вол): OJpn. *kotopji*; MJpn. *kòtòpì*.

◊ JLTT 459.

‖ If the original meaning is 'a castrated animal' (as in TM), the stem may be a derivative of PA **kʿǎka* 'to break, tear off' q.v.

✱**kʿȁkú** doll: Tung. ***xaku-kan (/*k-)**; Turk. ***KAgur**; Jpn. ***kùnkù-tú**; Kor. ***koāŋ**.

PTung. ***xaku-kan (/*k-)** doll (кукла): Ul. *χaqṵa(n)*; Ork. *χoqo(n)*; Nan. *aqoã*; Orch. *xakuã*.

◊ TMC 1, 459. Cf. also **kakura-kta* 'decorative bells' (TMC 1, 375).

PTurk. ***KAgur** doll (кукла): Karakh. *qoδurčuq* (MK); Tur. dial. *kurčak*; Turkm. *Gurǯaq*; MTurk. *qawurčaq* (Бор. Бад., Pav. C.), *qavur* (R); Uzb. *quɣirčəq*; Uygh. *qo(r)čaq*, dial. *qoɣurčaq*; Tat. *qurčaq*; Bashk. *qursaq*; Kirgh. *qūrčaq*; Kaz. *quwɨršaq*; KKalp. *quwɨršaq*; Kum. *qurčaq*; Nogh. *quwɨršaq*.

◊ VEWT 220, EDT 587, 606, ЭСТЯ 6, 161-163. Modern reflexes point quite clearly to *-g- (less probably - *-b-), so the attested form with -δ- must be a phonetic aberration. Interference with OT *qoduz* 'femme sole' (suggested in Tekin 1969 and ЭСТЯ ibid.) is not excluded, but cf. also the notes below.

PJpn. ***kùnkù-tú** a k. of doll (вид куклы): MJpn. *kùgùtú*; Tok. *kugutsu*.

◊ JLTT 462. In OJ *kugutu* is attested with the meaning 'satchel worn at the belt'; JB derives it from *kugu* 'a k. of grass' and suggests that dolls were carried in such satchels. Even if it they were, it is highly probable that the name of the satchel is derived from 'doll', and not vice versa; the connection with "kugu-grass" is highly dubious.

PKor. ***koāŋ** doll, mask, comedian (кукла, маска, актер): MKor. *koāŋtái*; Mod. *kwāŋdä*.

◊ Liu 79, KED 184.

‖ Дыбо 15. Cf. Khalkha *xūxeldej* 'doll' (a contamination with *xūxe-n* 'child, girl'). One should also mention WMong. *qoduɣu-čin* 'clown; mask': this may be a metathesis < **kogu-du-* (= PJ **kùnkùtú*) and the form may actually shed light on the mysterious Karakh. *qoδurčuk* (quite probably < **kog-du-rču-k* = WMong. *qoduɣu-čin*).

✱**kʿala (~ -u)** wait, be late: Tung. ***xalā-**; Mong. ***kala**; Turk. ***Kal-**.

PTung. ***xalā-** to wait (ждать): Evk. *alā-č-*; Evn. *alač-*; Neg. *alāč-*; Man. *aĺa-*; SMan. *iali-* (1439, 3034); Ul. *xala-čị-*; Ork. *xalā-čị-*; Nan. *xala-či-*; Orch. *alā-či-*; Ud. *ala-si-*; Sol. *alāš̆-*.

◊ TMC 1, 29-30.

PMong. ***kala** 1 bitter life experience 2 to decease (rev.) (1 трудность, горький опыт 2 скончаться (почт.)): WMong. *qala* 1, *qali-* 2 (L 916, 917); Kh. *xal* 1, *xali-* 2; Bur. *xala*; Kalm. *xal* (KPC); Ord. *xala* 'rude or cruel treatment'.

PTurk. ***Kal-** 1 old man 2 to be tired 3 to be ~ years old (1 старик 2 уставать 3 иметь возраст): OTurk. *qal-* (Orkh., YB) 3; Karakh. *qal* (MK)

1; MTurk. *qal-* 'to come to an end' (CCum.); Oyr. *qala-* 2; Chuv. *xoll-en* 'slowly'.

◊ VEWT 224. EDT 615-616. Chuv. *xullen* is derived (by Tekin 1975, 281) from PT **K(i)aĺaŋ* (v. sub **kio̯ĺa*), but it rather belongs here.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**kʿale** snow, snow-flakes: Tung. ***xalu-**; Mong. ***kilaɣa**; Turk. ***Kiła-gu**.

PTung. ***xalu-** snow (falling in flakes) (снег (падающий хлопьями)): Evk. *alunti*; Neg. *altamị*; Ork. *χalụqta*.

◊ TMC 1, 34.

PMong. ***kilaɣa** fine snow falling in the sunlight (мелкий снег, падающий при свете солнца): WMong. *kilaɣa* (MXTTT); Kh. *x́alā*.

PTurk. ***Kiła-gu** 1 snow-flakes in windless weather 2 hoar-frost 3 first snow (1 снежинки, падающие при тихой погоде 2 иней, изморозь 3 первая пороша): Bashk. *qiław* 2; Kirgh. *qiłamiq* 3; Kaz. *qiław* 1; Kum. *qiław* 2.

◊ ЭСТЯ 6, 207.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**kʿalo** girth, tug: Tung. ***xala-**; Turk. ***Kolaŋ**; Kor. ***koraŋ**.

PTung. ***xala-** tug, belt (лямка, ремень): Evk. *alaɣ*; Evn. *al*; Neg. *ala*, *alan*; Ul. *χala*; Ork. *χalị*; Nan. *χala*; Orch. *ala*; Ud. *ala*.

◊ TMC 1, 28-29. Аникин 80 proposes: Evk. > Khant. *ălak* > Russ. dial. *alák*, *álak* > Yak. *ālik*, Ket *alək*, Yukagh. *ałik*; cf. also Nivkh *halik* id. This would make the etymology of Ket *alək* presented in Старостин 1995, 181 (= PNC **hwəlkwē* 'chariot') obsolete.

PTurk. ***Kolaŋ** saddlegirth (подпруга): Karakh. *qolan* (MK); Tur. *kolan*; Gag. *qolan*; Turkm. *Golaŋ*; MTurk. *qolan*, *qolaɣ* (Pav. C.), *qulan* (AH); Khak. *xolaɣ*; Shr. *qolaɣ*; Oyr. *qoloŋ*; Tv. *xolaq*; Yak. *xolun*.

◊ VEWT 277, Лексика 549-550, EDT 622, ЭСТЯ 6, 47-49.

PKor. ***koraŋ** fetters, handcuffs (путы, оковы, наручники): Mod. *koraŋ*.

◊ KED 138.

‖ An interesting common Altaic cultural term. PT and Korean reflect the common derivative **kʿalo-ŋV*.

✱**kʿalVbV** wild garlic, leek: Mong. ***kalijar**; Turk. ***KAlba**.

PMong. ***kalijar** wild garlic, leek (черемша): MMong. *qalijarsun* (SH); WMong. *qalijar* (L 920); Kh. *xaliar*; Bur. *xaĺār*; Mongr. *xarir* (SM 163).

PTurk. ***KAlba** wild garlic, leek (черемша): OTurk. ? *qalma* 'a k. of food' (Rach.); Khak. *xalba*; Shr. *qalba*; Oyr. *qalma*; Tv. *xiłba*.

◊ VEWT 227. Cf. an OT (MK) Hapax *keleb* 'a tender plant which grows in the Turks' summer pastures and fattens livestock quickly' (EDT 716), *keleb-le-* 'to be covered by this plant (of a mountain)', for which cf. also Sak. *kalarbä* 'a k. of plant, whose root is used in medicine' (Bailey 35). See also Стеблин-Каменский 1982, 77, comparing the Sak. form with Pers., Tadzh. *kalam* 'cabbage' (> Turkm. *kelem*) - these all may be variously trans-

formed substratum loanwords, cf. also Greek *krambā̆* 'cabbage, radish, rutabaga' - according to Frisk possibly < Pelasg.

‖ A Turk.-Mong. isogloss. Cf. perhaps some other plant names: Oyr., Tuva *kɨlbɨš* 'бадан широколистный'; perhaps TM **xul-* > Evk. *uli* 'толокнянка', *xuletũ* 'назв. растения с целебным корнем'.

✱**kʿăĺi** napless skin, membrane: Tung. ***xalukta**; Mong. ***kali-sun**; Turk. ***keĺ**.

PTung. ***xalu-kta** 1 membrane, dandruff 2 birch bark (1 мездра, перхоть 2 береста): Evk. *alukta* 1; Evn. *altъ* 1; Neg. *alta* 1; Man. *alχuɯa* 1, *alan* 2; Ork. *χalụqta* 1; Nan. *χaloqta* 1; Orch. *alukta* 1; Ud. *alu*, *alukta* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 33-34.

PMong. ***kali-sun** 1 skin, shell 2 thin skin on penis (1 шкура, скорлупа 2 кожица на половом члене): MMong. *qalisu* 1 (SH); WMong. *qalisu(n)* 1 (L 920), *qaldaɣan* 2 (L 919: *qaldaɣa* 'penis'); Kh. *xaĺs* 1; Bur. *xaĺha(n)* 1; Kalm. *xäĺsṇ* 1, *xaldəɣən* 2; Ord. *xalisu* 1; Dag. *xalis* 1, (Тод. Даг. 173) *xalise*; *halise* 'thin skin, dandruff', *hajlese*, *hajse* (MD 155, 156); S.-Yugh. *χaləsən* 1; Mongr. *xaliʒə* (SM 151), *xalsə* 1.

◊ KW 162, MGCD 320. Cf. also **kalim*, Kalm. *xäĺṃ* 'bark, skin' (KW 176).

PTurk. ***keĺ** 1 skin 2 gall between camel's front legs (1 шкура 2 потертость между передними ногами верблюда): Turkm. *kešik* 2; Tv. *ke'š* 1.

◊ ЭСТЯ 60-61 (joining this root with *keš* 'quiver' is hardly possible).

‖ Цинциус 1984, 82. A Western isogloss.

✱**kʿàĺo** reed, a k. of grass: Tung. ***xalī-**; Mong. ***kal-**; Turk. ***KAĺak**; Kor. ***kăr**.

PTung. ***xalī-** bog, swamp (болото, болотная растительность): Evk. *alīkta* 'тальник (на гольцах)', 'поросль (на гари)'; Man. *χali*; Ork. *χālčị*; Nan. *χalõ*.

◊ TMC 1, 32, 461.

PMong. ***kal-** reed; feather-grass (тростник; ковыль): WMong. *qaltalʒi* (MXTTT); Kh. *xaltalʒ* 1, 'лапчатка шелковая'; Bur. *xalaxan*.

PTurk. ***KAĺak** bulrush, reedmace (камыш, рогоз): Karakh. *qašaq* (MK); Kirgh. *qašaq* (VEWT), *qašeq* 'aftergrass'.

◊ VEWT 240.

PKor. ***kăr** reed (тростник): MKor. *kăr*; Mod. *kal*.

◊ Nam 20, KED 42.

‖ EAS 110.

✱**kʿàmo** to help, easy: Mong. ***kim-da**; Turk. ***kömek**; Jpn. ***kàmàp-**; Kor. ***kòmá-b-**.

PMong. ***kim-da** easy, simple, cheap (легкий, простой, дешевый): WMong. *kimda* (L 468); Kh. *x́amd*; Bur. *ximda*; Kalm. *kimdə* (KPC); Dag. *kiand* (Тод. Даг. 148: *ḱanda*), *kainde*, *kiande* (MD 181); S.-Yugh. *kəmdo*.

◊ MGCD 352.

PTurk. ***kömek** help (помощь): Tur. *kömek*; Az. *kömäk*; Turkm. *kömek*; Khal. *kömɛk*, *kemɛk*; MTurk. *kömek* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *kụmɛk*; Uygh. *kömɛk*; Tat. *kümɛk* 'collective, many people'; Bashk. *kümɛk* 'collective, many people'; Kirgh. *kömök*; Kum. *kömek*; Nogh. *kömek*; Yak. *kömö*; Dolg. *kömö*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 5, 98-99, Stachowski 156.

PJpn. ***kàmàp-** to take care of, be concerned with (заботиться о): OJpn. *kamap-*; MJpn. *kàmàf-*; Tok. *kamá-*; Kyo. *kámá-*; Kag. *kàmà-*.

◊ JLTT 703.

PKor. ***kòmá-b-** to be thankful, appreciate (быть благодарным, ценить): MKor. *kómáp-* (*kómáw-*); Mod. *komap-* (*komaw-*).

◊ Nam 47, KED 141.

‖ Turk. **kömek* instead of the expected **komak* under the influence of the borrowed *ömük* 'help' (see **i̯umu*).

✸**kʿamo** dung, faeces: Tung. ***[x]amū-**; Mong. ***komu-**; Turk. ***Kom-**.

PTung. ***[x]amū-** 1 faeces, dung 2 to defecate 3 snuff, thief (in a pipe) (1 испражнения, кал, помет 2 испражняться 3 нагар (в трубке)): Evk. *amū-n* 1, *amū-n-* 2; Evn. *amụ* 3; Neg. *amụn* 1, *amụt-* 2; Man. *χamu* 1, *χamu-ta-* 2; SMan. *hamə* (100) 1, *hamətə-* (101) 2; Ul. *amụ* 1, *amčị-* 2; Ork. *amụ(n)* 1, *amụ-* 2; Nan. *amõ* 1, *am-čị-* 2; Orch. *amụ* 1; Ud. *amu-* 1, *amukta-* 2; Sol. *amṹ* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 40. No doubt a common TM root, although phonology is extremely peculiar. Initial *x- is indicated here by Manchu *χ-* (which is a facultative reflex of PTM *x-, more often disappearing in Manchu) and supported by external evidence. If this is the case, the Southern forms (Nanai, Orok and Ulcha) are to be explained as Northern (but not Manchu!) loanwords.

PMong. ***komu-** horse dung (конский помет): MMong. *qomaul* (SH, Козин); WMong. *qomuɣul*, *qomul* (L 961); Kh. *xomōl*; Kalm. *xomāl*.

◊ KW 184.

PTurk. ***Kom-** 1 horse dung 2 sheep dung balls 3 round, spheroid (1 конский помет 2 катышки овечьего помета 3 круглый, шарообразный): Karakh. *qomuq* 1 (MK); MTurk. *qumal* 3, *qumalaɣ* 2; Kaz. *qumalaq* 2.

◊ EDT 627, VEWT 299. Cf. also Chag. *qombul* 'round knob' (VEWT 279; the isolated Kalm. *qumbaji-*, *qumbiji-* 'sich zusammenballen', see KW 196) may have a Turkic origin).

‖ A Western isogloss. PM **komu-gal* < **kamu-gal*, with a frequent rounding before -u- in a polysyllabic form.

✸**kʿȁno** match, other side: Tung. ***xān-gi-**; Mong. ***kani**; Turk. ***Kon-**; Jpn. ***kànàp-**.

PTung. ***xān-gi-** other, other side (другой, другая сторона): Evn. *āŋịlị*; Neg. *aŋị-lị*; Ul. *χaŋGị-la*; Ork. *χaŋnē*; Nan. *χaŋGịa*.

◊ TMC 1, 46.

PMong. ***kani** friend, mate (друг, товарищ, муж): MMong. *qanilqa-* 'to compare' (SH); WMong. *qani* (L 930); Kh. *хań*; Bur. *xani*; Kalm. *хań*, *хäń*; Ord. *xani*; Dag. *хań*, *xani* (Тод. Даг. 173); Mongr. *xaniŋ* 'famille de la femme' (SM 157).

◊ KW 165, 177, MGCD 327. Mong. > Evk. *kani* etc. (TMC 1, 372, Doerfer MT 132, Rozycki 133), Shor *qanai* etc. (VEWT 230).

PTurk. ***Kon-** 1 neighbour 2 friend, guest (1 сосед 2 друг, гость): OTurk. *qonšɨ* 1, *qonaq* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *qošni*, *qonšɨ* 'neighbour', *qonuq* 'guest' (MK); Tur. *komšu* 1; Gag. *qomšu* 1; Az. *Gonšu* 1; Turkm. *Goŋšɨ* 1, *Gonaq* 2; MTurk. *qonšɨ* (AH), *qošni* (MA) 1; Uzb. *qụšni*, *qɔšni* 1; Uygh. *qošna*, *xošna* 1; Krm. *qonšɨ* 1; Kirgh. *qoŋšu* 1; KBalk. *qonšu* 1; KKalp. *qoŋsɨ* 1; Kum. *xonšu* 1; Nogh. *qoŋsɨ* 1; Khak. *xonǯɨx* 1; Chuv. *хъ^{w}na*.

◊ VEWT 279, EDT 637, 640, ЭСТЯ 6, 56, 66-68. The word is considered to be derived from **Kon-* 'to spend a night' (> Mong. *qonu-* id., KW 185; see Щербак 1997, 139, TMN 1, 420, 3, 530, ЭСТЯ 6, 55-56, EDT 632, Stachowski 152). However, further derivation of **Kon-* from **Ko-* 'to put' (see TMN ibid.) seems highly improbable. External evidence speaks rather in favour of the original meaning "guest, to visit (as a guest)' (< *'friend, match'), whence "to spend a night, visit, stay" (= Russ. гостить).

PJpn. ***kànàp-** to match (соответствовать, подходить): OJpn. *kanap-*; MJpn. *kànàf-*; Tok. *kaná-*; Kyo. *kánà-*; Kag. *kaná-*.

◊ JLTT 703. All forms point to **kànà-p-* except Kagoshima (< **kánà-p-).*

‖ Cf. **kā́na*.

✱**kʿaŋa** hair, long hair: Tung. ***(x)aŋulī**; Mong. ***koŋgurčag**; Jpn. ***kàmì**; Kor. ***kə'úč**.

PTung. ***(x)aŋulī** deer skin (with fading hair) (шкура оленя (с линяющей шерстью)): Evk. *aŋulī*.

◊ TMC 1, 46. Attested only in Evk., but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***koŋgurčag** cluster, bunch (гроздь, кисть): WMong. *qoŋγurčaγ* (L 962); Kh. *xongorcog*; Kalm. *xoŋγərcəγ* (KPC); Mongr. *xoŋGoʒoG* 'gousse, silique, alveole (d'abeille)' (SM 171).

◊ Cf. *qoŋγurčaγ üsü* 'long hair, mane'.

PJpn. ***kàmì** hair (волосы): OJpn. *kamji*; MJpn. *kàmì*; Tok. *kamí*; Kyo. *kámì*; Kag. *kamí*.

◊ JLTT 435.

PKor. ***kə'úč** moustache, beard (усы, борода): MKor. *kə'uč*, *kə'ús*.

◊ HMCH 205, Nam 35.

‖ Irregular low tone in MKor. (possibly due to contraction). Mong. **koŋgurčag* is a result of frequent labial attraction (< **kaŋgurčag*).

✱**kʿápa** to buy, pay back: Tung. ***xab-**; Jpn. ***káp-**; Kor. ***kàphɨ́-**.

PTung. ***xab-** 1 to buy 2 to complain, start a lawsuit (1 покупать 2 жаловаться, начинать судебное разбирательство): Man. *χabša-* 2; Ul. *χapsị-* 2; Ork. *χaw-* 1, *χapsị-* 2; Nan. *χapsị-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 457, 459, 467.

PJpn. ***káp-** buy, (ex)change (покупать): OJpn. *kap-*; MJpn. *káf-*; Tok. *kà-*; Kyo. *ká-*; Kag. *ká-*.

◊ JLTT 706. Cf. also **kápá-*, **kápár-* 'change'.

PKor. ***kàphɨ́-** to compensate, pay back (компенсировать, отплачивать): MKor. *kàphɨ́-*.

◊ HMCH 333.

‖ Martin 227. An Eastern isogloss. Cf. **kʿèpu*.

✱**kʿàpe** strong, power; to swell: Tung. ***xabu-l-**; Mong. ***kab-**; Jpn. ***kəpà-**.

PTung. ***xabu-l-** to swell (распухать): Evk. *awul-*; Evn. *awụl-*; Neg. *awụl-*; Man. *ajbi-*; Ul. *χaụlị-*; Ork. *χawlị-*; Nan. *χaolo-*; Ud. *auli-*.

◊ TMC 1,9. Cf. also Evk. *kawirgačā* 'водянка (у оленя)' (TMC 1, 358).

PMong. ***kab-** 1 swelling 2 to swell 3 power (1 опухоль 2 распухать, пухнуть 3 сила): MMong. *qabu* 3 (SH), *qabar-* 2 (MA); WMong. *qabuŋ* 1 (L 895:) *qabaŋ*, *qabaŋγa*, *qabaŋγu*), *qabad-* 2 (L 900: *qabud*), *qaba* 3 (L 900: *qabu*, *qaba*); Kh. *xavan* 1, *xavda-* 2, *xav* 3; Bur. *xabaŋ* 1, *xabda-* 2; Kalm. *xawəŋ* 1 *xawdə-* 2; Ord. *xawaŋna-* 2; Mog. ZM *qābāt* (5-6b) 1; Dag. *habede-* (MD 154), *xawda-* (Тод. Даг. 172), *xaū-* 2, *xaudal* 1; Dong. *qajatu-* 2; Bao. *χitə-* 2; S.-Yugh. *χabdar* 1, *χauda-* 2; Mongr. *xādi-*, *xawudi-* 1 (SM 165, 166), (MGCD *xaidə-*).

◊ KW 158, TMN 1, 379-380, MGCD 312, 313.

PJpn. ***kəpà-** hard, strong (твердый, сильный): OJpn. *kopa-*; MJpn. *kòfà-*; Tok. *kowá-*; Kyo. *kówà-*; Kag. *kowá-*.

◊ JLTT 833.

‖ KW 158, Цинциус 1984, 79-80. The meaning "swell" is probably secondary, under the influence of *gi̯ŏpʿe q.v. (in Mong. possibly also under the influence of Turk. *Kāp- < *gi̯ŏpʿe); cf. also *kopʿe.

✱**kʿăpra** to scrape, rasp, plane: Tung. ***xarpu- / *xarpi-**; Mong. ***kawra-**; Turk. ***K(i)arba-**.

PTung. ***xarpu- / *xarpi-** 1 to rasp, plane 2 plane, knife (1 строгать 2 нож (для строгания)): Neg. *atpụgda* 2; Ork. *χalpịn-* 1; Nan. *χarpịčị-* 1; Orch. *appili* 2; Ud. *afili* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 59.

PMong. ***kawra-** file (напильник): MMong. *qūra* (IM), *qurai* (MA 313); WMong. *qaurai* (L 946), *qaγurai* (DO 371); Kh. *xūraj*; Bur. *xūraj*; Kalm. *xŭrā̆*; Ord. *xūrā̆*; Dag. *xaur-dāgu*, (Тод. Даг. 175) *xaura*; S.-Yugh. *χūrī*; Mongr. *xū̯rā-* 'se peler, s'écorcher' (SM 184).

◊ KW 204, MGCD 380. Mong. > Man. *χuwara* (Rozycki 114).

PTurk. ***K(i)arba-** 1 to grope (for smth.) 2 to grasp (with hands or teeth) 3 to swim (grope through water with hands and feet) 4 to rake up (1 нащупывать 2 хватать (руками или зубами) 3 плавать (хвататься за воду руками и ногами) 4 сгребать): OTurk. *qarva-* (OUygh.)

1; Karakh. *qarva-* (MK) 1; Tur. *kavra-* 2; Turkm. *Gabra-* 2; MTurk. *qarba-* (Qutb); Khak. *xarba-* 2; Shr. *qarba-* 2; Oyr. *qarba-* 2; Tv. *qarban-* 3; Yak. *xarbā-* 2,3,4; Dolg. *karbā-* 'to row, swim'.

◊ EDT 646, VEWT 243, ЭСТЯ 5, 302-303, Мудрак 103 (with a wrong attribution of Tuva *xir-*). Despite Kał. MEJ 42, Stachowski 139, forms like Yak. *xarbā-* are hardly borrowed < Mong. *qarma-* (on which see under **kʿaŕa).*

‖ Poppe 17, 82. A Western isogloss.

✱**kʿáp̄ri** fan, bellows: Tung. ***xarpu-**; Mong. ***keɣürge**; Turk. ***kōrü-**; Kor. ***kūr-**.

PTung. ***xarpu-** 1 to sweep 2 fan 3 broom (1 махать, подметать 2 веер, опахало 3 метла): Evk. *arpul-* 1, *arpukī* 2; Evn. *arpakị* 2; Neg. *atpụ-* 1, *atpụxị̄* 2; Man. *arfuqu* 2; Ul. *χarpụ-* 1, *χarpụ* 3; Ork. *χarpụrị-* 1, *χarpụ* 3; Nan. *χapolị-* 1, *χapol* 3; Orch. *appu-* 1, *appu(i)* 3; Ud. *akpu-* 1, *akpuŋku* 2, 3; Sol. *arpuku* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 52.

PMong. ***keɣürge** bellows (меха): MMong. *ku'urge*, *gūrege* (SH), *keokeor* 'мех для вина', *keurge* ʿмех для раздуванияʿ (IM); WMong. *kegürge*, *kögerge* (L 480); Kh. *xōrög*; Bur. *xōrge*; Kalm. *kōrəg*; Dag. *huruhe* (MD 167), *xūrug*.

◊ KW 243, MGCD 369. Mong. > Evk. *kurge* etc. (TMC 1, 435-436), see Doerfer MT 18, Rozycki 110.

PTurk. ***kōrü-** 1 to use bellows 2 bellows (1 использовать меха 2 меха): Karakh. *körük* (MK) 2; Tur. *körü-* 1, *körük* 2; Gag. *körük* 2; Az. *körük* 2; Turkm. *kōrik* 2; MTurk. *görük* (IM), *körük* (MA, Pav. C.) 2; Uzb. *kölik* (dial.) 2; Tat. *kürek* 2; Bashk. *kürek* 2; Kirgh. *kōrük* 2; Kaz. *körək* 2; KKalp. *körək* 2; Kum. *körük* 2; Nogh. *körək* 2; Khak. *körək* 2; Oyr. *körük* 2; Tv. *xörük* 2; Yak. *küört* 2.

◊ VEWT 293, ЭСТЯ 5, 118, Лексика 414-415.

PKor. ***kūr-** to blow (дуть): MKor. *kūr-*.

◊ Nam 62.

‖ EAS 147, KW 243, Poppe 110 (but Kor. *kurək* 'small sack' is derived < *kur-* 'roll, wrap' and does not belong here). Despite Щербак 1977, 128, the Mong. form is hard to explain as a Turkic loanword. Irregular labialization in Turk. is probably caused by the simplification of the cluster with labial -b-.

✱**kʿapV** to bring close, rub against: Tung. ***xab-**; Mong. ***kabi**; Turk. ***Kab-**.

PTung. ***xab-** to rub, wipe off (вытирать): Evk. *aw-*; Evn. *aw-*; Neg. *aw-*; Ul. *χāwụ-*; Ork. *χaw-*; Nan. *χao-*; Orch. *au-*; Ud. *au-*.

◊ TMC 1, 7.

PMong. ***kabi** 1 close to, near 2 to touch, whet (1 близко 2 трогать, точить): WMong. *qabi* 1, *qabira-* 2 (L 897, 898); Kh. *xaʊ́* 1, *xavira-* 2; Bur. *xabār*, *xabada* 1; Kalm. *xäwə* 1, *xäwr-* 2; Ord. *xawā́*, *xawā*.

◊ KW 178, 179.

PTurk. ***Kab-** 1 to unite, bring together 2 be brought together (1 объединять, собирать 2 собираться): OTurk. *qavɨr-* 1 (OUygh.), *qavɨš-* 2 (Yen., OUygh.); Karakh. *qavur-* 1 (MK, KB), *qavɨš-* 2 (MK); Tur. *kavuš-* 2; Gag. *qauš-* 2; Az. *Govuš-* 2; Turkm. *Govur-* 1, *Govuš-* 2; MTurk. *qavuš-* 2 (Qutb, Бор. Бад.); Uzb. *qɔwuš-* 2; Uygh. dial. *qavuš-* 2; Krm. *qavuš-* 2; Tat. *qawɨš-* 2; Bashk. *qawɨš-* 2; Kirgh. *qōš-* 2; Kaz. *qawɨs-* 2; KKalp. *qawɨs-* 2; Nogh. *qawɨš-* 2; SUygh. *qawɨs-* 2; Oyr. *qabɨr-* 1; Tv. *xavɨr-* 1; Tof. *xabɨr-* 1; Chuv. > Danube Bulg. *koubraton* 'collector, unifier (of lands)'.

◊ VEWT 216, EDT 585, 588, ЭСТЯ 6, 14-16. OT also has *quvra-* 'come together, assemble', with a rather strange vocalism (see EDT 586 - but modern forms like *qura-* are not related, being borrowed from Mong. *qura-*, *qurija-*).

‖ KW 178, 179, Цинциус 1984, 77-78. A Western isogloss.

✱**kʿàpʿà** a k. of vessel, box: Tung. ***xapsa**; Mong. ***kaɣurčag, *kajirčag**; Turk. ***Kapɨrčak, *Kapsak**; Jpn. ***kàpì**.

PTung. ***xapsa** 1 box 2 bag 3 delved boat (1 ящик, коробка 2 сумка 3 лодка-долбленка): Evk. *awsa* 1, 2; Evn. *awsъ* 2; Neg. *awfsak* 1; Man. *absa* 1, 3; Nan. *xapsio* (On.) 1; Ork. *χapsaw* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 9. Man. > Nan. *apsã*, Oroch *absa*. The Orok form quite clearly shows PTM *x-, so it is hardly probable that Mong. *absa* 'coffin' is borrowed from < Manchu) - despite the widespread idea of TM < Mong. and Mong. < Turk. (see, e.g., Clark 1977, 148, Sinor 1995).

PMong. ***kaɣurčag, *kajirčag** small box, chest (маленький ящик): WMong. *qaɣurčaɣ*, *qajirčaɣ* (L 914); Kh. *xūrcag*, *xaircag*; Bur. *xūrcag* 'coffin'; Kalm. *xūrcəɣ* 'grosser Kasten'; Ord. *xā̄rčaG*; Dong. *xaʒɨ*; S.-Yugh. *χairžaG*; Mongr. *xāžə*.

◊ MGCD 317. Mong. > Oyr. *qajirčaq* etc., see ЭСТЯ 5, 277-278.

PTurk. ***Kapɨrčak, *Kapsak** 1 box, coffin 2 basket (1 ящик, гроб 2 корзина): Karakh. *qapɨrčaq* 1,2 (MK); Tur. *koburčuk*, dial. *kapuržak* 1, dial. *kabzak*, *kabsak* 2; Turkm. *Gapɨržaq* 1; MTurk. *qabɨrčaq* (IM), *qaburčuq* (AH); Chuv. > Hung. *koporsó* 1 (see Gombocz 1912).

◊ EDT 587, ЭСТЯ 5, 276-278. Tekin (1979, 127) cites Uygh. *qapɨz* 'coffin', but we were unable to find the word either in Old or Mod. Uyghur. Perhaps he meant Karakh. *xafsɨ* 'small box' (MK, see EDT 587). Brockelmann derived the word from Lat. *capsa* through Syr. *qafsā*, but a loan in Turkic < Syr. is not quite probable, and the word might well be genuine. But modern forms: Tur. dial. *kapsa* 'box, chest', (CCum.) *qapsa* 'box, coffin' may well be < Syr. (cf. ЭСТЯ 5, 277).

PJpn. ***kàpì** scoop, ladle, spoon (черпак, ложка): OJpn. *kapji*; MJpn. *kàfi*.

◊ JLTT 433 (unjustly united with *kapji* 'egg, shell').

‖ Владимирцов 206, Tekin 1979, 127. Despite a widespread point of view (see e.g. ЭСТЯ 5, 277), Mong. can hardly be < Turk. The root (especially in the Turk.-Mong. area) is liable to mergers with **kʿi̯ubu* 'coffin' and **kʿápʿa* 'barrier' q.v.

✱**kʿáp̌ʿà** bark, skin: Tung. ***xabda(-nsa)**; Mong. ***kawda-**; Turk. ***Kāpuk**; Jpn. ***kapa**; Kor. ***kàph- / *kə̀ph-**.

PTung. ***xabda(-nsa)** leaf (лист): Evk. *abdanna*; Evn. *ebdъnrъ*; Neg. *abdana*; Man. *abdaxa / afaxa*; SMan. *afəhə* (2137); Jurch. *ha-[bxa]* (119); Ul. *χabdata*; Ork. *xamdata*; Nan. *χabdata* (Nkh.), *χaftaca* (Bik.); Orch. *abdasa*; Ud. *abdehä*.

◊ TMC 1, 5. Man. > Dag. *abug, abuk* 'sheet (of paper)' (Тод. Даг. 118).

PMong. ***kawda-** 1 bark 2 page (1 кора 2 страница): WMong. *qaudasu*, *qaγudasu(n)* 2 (L 909); Kh. *xūdas* 2; Bur. *xūdaha(n)* 2; Kalm. *xūdъsn̥* 1; Ord. *xūdasu* 2.

◊ KW 201. Although later contaminations were possible, Mong. **kawda-* can not be explained as borrowed from Turk. *qaγad* 'paper' (< Arab.), despite Щербак 1997, 126. Mong. > Man. *xoušan* etc., see Doerfer MT 142.

PTurk. ***Kāpuk** 1 bark (n.) 2 shell (1 кора 2 скорлупа): Karakh. *qabɨq* (Tefs.) 1, 2; Tur. *kabuk* 1, 2; Gag. *qap*, *qabɨ* 1, 2 'external cover, covering'; Az. *GabɨG* 1, 2; Turkm. *GābɨG* 1, 2; MTurk. *qapuq* 1 (MA, AH); Uzb. *qɔbiq* 1, 2; Uygh. *qobuq* (R, *o-t*) 1, 2; Krm. *qabux* 1, 2; Tat. *qabɨq* 1, 2; Bashk. *qabɨq* 1, 2; Kirgh. *qabɨq* 1, 2; Kaz. *qabɨq* 1, 2; KBalk. *qabuq* 1, 2; KKalp. *qabɨq* 1, 2; Kum. *qabuq* 1, 2; Nogh. *qabɨq* 1, 2; Khak. *xabɨx* (Kach.) 1, 2; Shr. *qabɨq* 2; Oyr. *qabɨq* 1, 2; Tv. *xavɨq* 2; Chuv. *xobъ* 1, 2.

◊ VEWT 234, TMN 3, 368-9, ЭСТЯ 5, 168, Лексика 107, Федотов 2, 358.

PJpn. ***kapa** skin, leather; bark (кожа; кора): OJpn. *kapa*; MJpn. *kàfà*; Tok. *kawá*; Kyo. *káwá* 'skin', *kàwá* 'leather'; Kag. *kawá*.

◊ JLTT 445. The tone opposition in Kyoto points to PJ **kápá* 'skin' vs. **kàpà* or **kàpá* 'leather' (the RJ and Tokyo accentuation pointing to **kàpà*, but Kyoto - to **kàpá).*

PKor. ***kàph- / *kə̀ph-** 1 bark 2 skin (1 кора 2 кожа): MKor. *kàphɨr*, *kàphǎr*, *kəpčir* 1, 2; Mod. *k:əpčil* 1, *k:aphɨl*, *k:əphɨl*, *k:əptegi* 2.

◊ Nam 8, 38, KED 29, 89, 103.

‖ Martin 225, KW 201, Владимирцов 255, АПиПЯЯ 15, 38-39, 67, 92, 274, Лексика 107. Regular except for tone variation in Japanese, possibly due to interaction of several similar PA roots (see **gébo*, **kʿepa*, **kʿi̯àbu*, **kèpʿi*).

✱**kʿāpʿa (~ -i, -u)** bladder, film: Tung. ***xap-**; Mong. ***kabičak**; Turk. ***Kāp**; Kor. ***kapo**.

PTung. ***xap-** fish bladder (рыбий пузырь): Evk. *kapata*; Neg. *āpi̯*; Ul. *χāpa*.

◊ TMC 1, 11, 376. K- in Evk. is probably due to a contamination with **kepu-* (v. sub **kupʿe).*

PMong. ***kabičak** groin (пах): WMong. *qabičaγ* (L 897); Kh. *xaǘcag*.

PTurk. ***Kāp** 1 caul 2 virgin's hymen 3 scrotum 4 bladder 5 afterbirth (1 оболочка плода 2 девственная плева 3 мошонка 4 пузырь 5 послед): Karakh. *qap* (MK) 1, *qapaq* (MK) 2; Tat. *qapčɨq* 3, 4; Shr. *qabɨčaq* 1; Oyr. *qapčɨq* 3; Tv. *xapčɨq* 3; Chuv. *köpček* 5.

◊ EDT 578, 583; ЭСТЯ 5, 266-267 (the root should be probably distinguished from the homonymous **Kāp* 'sack, cover' q. v. sub **k[ā]pˊá).*

PKor. ***kapo** fish bladder, (KED) sausage stuffed in a fish bladder (рыбий пузырь): Mod. *kabo*.

◊ KED 18.

‖ One of several similar roots, actively interacting with each other - see notes to **kˊ[ā]pˊa* 'to cover'. Mong. **kabi-čak* 'groin' is a result of secondary semantic development, probably < *'scrotum' or 'hymen' (cf. the meanings in Turkic).

✱**kˊăpˊù** barrier: Tung. ***xapki-**; Mong. ***kaɣa-**; Turk. ***Kap-**; Jpn. ***kupai**.

PTung. ***xapki-** to block, partition (отгораживать, перегораживать, перегородка): Neg. *apkī*; Ul. *χaqpalị*; Ork. *χaqpē* ~ *χapqē*; Nan. *χaqpị-*; Ud. *afikta*.

◊ TMC 1, 47.

PMong. ***kaɣa-** to hinder, close (закрывать): MMong. *qa'a-* (HY 17, SH); WMong. *qaγa-* (L 905); Kh. *xā-*; Bur. *xā-*; Kalm. *xā-* (KPC); Ord. *xā-*; Dag. *xā-* (Тод. Даг. 172), *hā-* (MD 153); Dong. *qa-*; Bao. *xā-*; Mongr. *xā-* (SM 145).

◊ MGCD 310, 311. Mong. > Evk. *kā-* etc. ; Mong. *qaγalγa* 'door' (MMong. *xa'alqa*, HY 16) > Tuva *xālγa* etc., see TMN 1, 442, Doerfer MT 60-61; Rozycki 131.

PTurk. ***Kap-** 1 cover (n.) 2 gate, door 3 to close (1 крышка 2 ворота, дверь 3 закрывать): OTurk. *qapaγ*, *qapɨγ* (Orkh., OUygh.) 2, *qapγɨ* (Orkh.) 2, *qapaq* (OUygh.) 1, *qap-* 3; Karakh. *qapuγ* (MK, KB), *qapγaq* (MK) 1, *qapuγ* (MK) 2; Tur. *kapak* 1, *kapɨ* 2, *kapa-* 3, *kap-* 3; Az. *GapaG* 1, *Gapɨ* 2, *Gapa-* 3; Turkm. *Gapaq* 1, *Gapɨ* 2, dial. *Gap-* 3; Sal. *qāvu* 2 (ССЯ); MTurk. *qabaγ* (Qutb.) 1, *qapu* (Houts., Pav. C.) 2, *qabuγ* (Qutb.) 2; Uzb. *qɔpɛqɔq* 1, *qɔpqɛ* 2, *qɔplɛ-* 3; Uygh. *qap(q)aq* 1, dial. *qobuγ* 2, *qapla-* 3; Krm. *qabaq* 2; Tat. dial. *qapqaq* 1, *qapqa* 2, *qapla-* 3; Bashk. *qapqa* 2, *qapla-* 3; Kirgh. *qapqaq* 1, *qapqa* 2; Kaz. *qaqpaq* 1, *qapɨ* 2, *qaqpa* 2; KKalp. *qaqpaq* 1, *qapɨ* 2, *qaqpa* 2; Kum. *qapu* 2, *qabaq* 2; Nogh. *qapaq* 1, *qapɨ* 2, *qap(l)a-* 3; Khak. *xaxpax* 1; Shr. *qabaq* 1; Oyr. *qaqpaq* 1; Tv. *qaqpaq* 1; Chuv. *xobъ* 1, *xop(la)-* 3; Yak. *xappax* 1; Dolg. *kappaktā-* 'to cover'.

◊ VEWT 203, TMN 3, 369, ЭСТЯ 5, 160, 263-264, 274-275, Лексика 510, Федотов 2, 358-359, Stachowski 138 (there is also a variant **Kāp-* - due to merger with another root **Kāp-*, v. sub **k[ā]pˊá*; the meaning 'cover' here is probably secondary). Turk. > Mong. *qabqaγ* 'cover' (whence Evk. *kapkak*, see Doerfer MT 125), *qabqa* 'gate', see TMN 3, 371, 415, Hung. *kapu* 'gate', see Gombocz 1912.

PJpn. ***kupai** fence to keep away animals (забор, предохра-няющий от животных): OJpn. *kupe*.

‖ EAS 89-90, Владимирцов 208, ОСНЯ 1, 337, Цинциус 1984, 85. Mong. *qaɣa-* is not < Turk., despite Щербак 1997, 133. See also notes to PA **kábo*.

✸**kʿapʿu** a stinging insect: Tung. ***xapina(bu)**; Mong. ***kubilǯagana**; Turk. ***KApuŋ (?)**.

PTung. ***xapina(bu)** wasp, bee (оса, пчела): Ul. *χapuna*; Ork. *χapịnawụ(n)*; Orch. *xapinu*; Ud. *afunaʿu* (Корм. 209).

◊ TMC 1, 462. Cf. also Evk. *awawa* 'butterfly' (TMC 1, 8).

PMong. ***kubilǯagana** female tick (самка клеща): WMong. *qubilǯaɣana* (L 978: cattle tick); Kh. *xuvalʒ*, *xuvalʒgana*, *xuvilʒgana*; Bur. *xubalza* 'tick'; Ord. *xuwilǯaGana*.

PTurk. ***KApuŋ (?)** bumble-bee (шмель): OTurk. *qabuŋ* (OUygh. - Suv.).

◊ ДТС 399.

‖ Цинциус 1984, 85, Дыбо 9. A Western isogloss.

✸**kʿapʿV** to press, grasp: Tung. ***xap-ki-**; Mong. ***kab-**; Turk. ***Kap-**.

PTung. ***xap-ki-** to strangle, throttle (удушить, удавить): Evk. *apki-*; Evn. *apqṛ-*; Neg. *apkụ-*; Ork. *χaqpị-*.

◊ TMC 1, 47.

PMong. ***kab-** 1 to pinch, squeeze, grasp; hold 2 to join, press together 3 flat (1 сжимать, хватать, держать 2 соединять, сдавливать 3 плоский): MMong. *qabči-* 1, *qabataxai* (HY 53), *qabtaqai* 3 (SH), *qabči-* 1, *qəbtaɣai* 3 (MA 284, 285); WMong. *qabči-* (L 896); *qabla-* 1; *qabsara-* 2 (L 898: *qabsu-*, *qabsur-*, *qabsura-*); *qabta-* 3 (L 899); Kh. *xavči-*; *xavsr-* 2; *xavt-* 3; *xavtgaj* 3; Bur. *xabša-*; Kalm. *xapčə-*, *xawšə-*; *xawl-* 1; Ord. *Gabči-* 1, *gā̄b-tā̄gā̄* 3, *Gabtā̄-* 'be flat'; Dag. *karči-* 1 (Тод. Даг. 148), *xawči-* 1 (Тод. Даг. 172); *kabtaǵē* 3 (Тод. Даг. 148), *kabečiē-* 1, *kabeteǵaj* 3 (MD 181); Mongr. *xamā-* 's'agacer (dents)' (SM 153).

◊ KW 167, 174. *qabči-* may be a merger of **kab-* and **kajiči* (v. sub **kăpʿè*). Mong. *qabta-* > Evk. *kapta-* etc., see Doerfer MT 25-26; Mong. *qabči-* > Evk. *kapči-*, see ibid. 125; Mong. *qabčiɣur* 'tongs' (despite Щербак 1997, 165, not < Turk.) > Evk. *kapčur*, Man. *qabčixun*, see ibid. 127, Poppe 1966, 193, Rozycki 129; Mong. > Kirgh. *qapčɨɣaj*, *qapčal* etc., see ЭСТЯ 5, 273-274.

PTurk. ***Kap-** 1 to snatch, take 2 to bite (1 брать, хватать 2 кусать): OTurk. *qap-* (Orkh., OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *qap-* (MK, KB) 1; Tur. *kap-* 1,2; Gag. *qap-* 1,2; Az. *Gap-* 1,2; Turkm. *Gap-* 1,2; MTurk. *qap-* (AH, IM, Pav. C., Qutb) 1; Uzb. *qɔp-* 1,2; Uygh. *qap-* 1,2; Tat. *qap-* 1,2; Bashk. *qap-* 1,2; Kirgh. *qap-* 1,2; Kaz. *qap-* 1,2; KBalk. *qab-* 1,2; KKalp. *qap-* 1,2; Nogh. *qap-* 1,2; Khak. *xap-* 1,2; Oyr. *qap-* 1,2; Tof. *qa'p-* 'to grab with one's mouth; bite (of fish)'; Chuv. *xɨp-* 1,2; Yak. *xap-* 1,2.

◊ VEWT 233, EDT 580, ЭСТЯ 5, 264-265, TMN 3, 373-374.

‖ KW 167, Poppe 43, ОСНЯ 1, 315, АПиПЯЯ 289 (but the Jpn. form should be kept separate, see **kʿapa*). A Western isogloss. The root is expressive and tends to contaminate with **kapʿe* 'to squeeze, pinch' (q. v.), as well as with **kʿépà* ʿside' (in Mong.: 'to grasp' > 'press' > 'flatten, flat'), but nevertheless reconstructable for PA (despite Doerfer's doubts in TMN 3, 374); borrowing in Mong. < Turk. is quite improbable, despite Щербак 1997, 133.

✱**kʿăra** tide, ebb-tide, flood: Tung. ***xarba**; Mong. ***kargi-**; Turk. ***KAr-**; Jpn. ***kátà**.

PTung. ***xarba** 1 shallow place, shoal 2 shallow 3 ebb, ebb-tide 4 to become shallow (1 мель 2 мелкий 3 отлив, отмель 4 мелеть): Evk. *arba* 1,2; Evn. *arbatị* 1; Neg. *ajba-* 4; Ul. *χalba* 2; Nan. *χarba* 1,2.

◊ TMC 1, 49.

PMong. ***kargi-** overfall, waterfall (быстрина, перекат реки): MMong. *qarki* 'Strom, Lauf des Flusses' (SH); WMong. *qargi* 'rapids', *qargil* 'shoal in a river' (L 936); Kh. *xargil*; Bur. *xarja*; Kalm. *xärgə*.

◊ KW 177. Mong. > Evk. *kargi*, Man. *χargi* etc. (TMC 1, 381, Doerfer MT 103, Rozycki 102); > Yak. *xargɨ* 'show place', Dolg. *kargī* 'show' (Stachowski 139).

PTurk. ***KAr-** 1 to overflow 2 moat, ditch (1 переливаться через край 2 канава): OTurk. *qarɨm* ~ *qaram* (OUygh.) 2; Karakh. *qar-* (MK) 1, *qarɨm* (KB) 2; Tur. *kar-* (of water) 'to pile up behind an obstacle', dial. *karɨm* 2; Az. *Garɨm* 2; Turkm. *Garɨm* 2; MTurk. *qar-* (IM) 1; Uzb. *qārɨm* (dial.) 2; Uygh. *qerim* 2; KKalp. *qarɨm* 2; Shr. *xaral*; Oyr. *qarantɨ* 'thawed spot'; Tv. *xarālča* 'ice-hole'.

◊ EDT 643, ЭСТЯ 5, 320.

PJpn. ***kátà** 1 tide, ebb-tide 2 beach, bay (1 отлив 2 залив, лагуна): OJpn. *kata* 1; MJpn. *kátà* 1; Tok. *kata* 2.

◊ JLTT 442.

‖ Цинциус 1984, 86.

✱**kʿàre** edge: Tung. ***xāri-**; Mong. ***kira**; Turk. ***Kɨr**.

PTung. ***xāri-** border, hem (кайма, обшивка): Ul. *χāriča*; Nan. *χāri-*, *χāriča*.

◊ TMC 1, 371.

PMong. ***kira** edge, ridge (край, горный хребет): WMong. *kira* (L 470); Kh. *x́ar*; Bur. *x́ara* 'гребень горы'; Kalm. *kirə*; Ord. *kirā*; Dag. *χarGaG*, (Тод. Даг. 150) *kira* 'mound'; Mongr. *ćirē* 'bord, limite' (SM 458).

◊ KW 232, MGCD 354. Mong. > Evk. *kira* etc. (TMC 1, 397), see Doerfer MT 46.

PTurk. ***Kɨr** 1 isolated mountain 2 mountain top, mountain ridge 3 steppe, desert, level ground 4 edge (1 отдельно стоящая гора 2 вершина горы, гребень горы, возвышенность 3 степь, пустыня, равни-

на 4 край): Karakh. *qɨr* 1 (MK, KB), 'rising ground' (IM,14 c.); Tur. *kɨr* 3; Gag. *qɨr* 3; Turkm. *Gɨr* 3; MTurk. *qɨr* (Sangl.), *qir* (Pav. C.) 2, 3; Uzb. *qir* 2, 3, 4; Uygh. *qir* 3, 4; Krm. *qɨr* 3; Tat. *qɨr* 3, 4; Bashk. *qɨr* 3, 4; Kirgh. *qɨr* 2, 3; Kaz. *qɨr* 2, 4; KBalk. *qɨr* 3; KKalp. *qɨr* 2, 4; Kum. *qɨr* 3; Nogh. *qɨr* 3; Khak. *xɨr* 2, 'roof'; Shr. *qɨr*; Oyr. *qɨr* 2, 3, 4; Chuv. *xir* 3; Yak. *kɨrtas* 2; *kɨrdal* 'hill'; Dolg. *kɨrdal* 'hill'.

◊ EDT 641, VEWT 265, Лексика 95-96, ЭСТЯ 6, 225, Stachowski 169. Derived is PT **Kɨran* 'edge, ridge' (ЭСТЯ 6, 226); but note that modern forms like Turkm. *Gɨra,* Tuva *qɨra* etc. are borrowed < Mong. *kira.*

‖ EAS 144, KW 232, Poppe 114, Дыбо 12, Лексика 96, TMN 3, 568, ЭСТЯ 6, 226. A Western isogloss; in Turkic contaminating with the reflex of **ǵiru* q.v.

✱**kʿáru** a k. of cloth: Tung. ***xara-musa**; Mong. ***kormu-sun**; Turk. ***KArs**; Kor. ***kòró**.

PTung. ***xara-musa** thigh covers, stockings (наголенники, чулки): Evk. *aramus*; Evn. *arṭmrṭ*; Neg. *ajmos*; Ork. *χamṵsa*; Orch. *am(u)su*; Ud. *amuhi*; Sol. *aramuš*.

◊ TMC 1, 48. Evk. > Russ. Siber. *aramúsɨ, aramúzɨ* (pl.) (Аникин 92).

PMong. ***kormu-sun** thin silk kerchief (тонкий шелковый платок): WMong. *qormusun*; Kalm. *xorməsṇ*.

◊ KW 188.

PTurk. ***KArs** a k. of upper clothes (вид верхней одежды): Karakh. *qars* (MK); MTurk. *qars* (Pav. C.); Uygh. *bel-qɛrs, qol-qɛrs*; Kirgh. *qars*; Oyr. *qaris* 'a k. of textile' (dial.).

◊ ЭСТЯ 5, 312.

PKor. ***kòró** satin, ornamented silk (сатин, узорный шелк): MKor. *kòró*.

◊ Nam 46.

‖ In Mong. cf. also *qorgaj* 'brocade' (> Chag. *qurgaj* id.), which, however, may be alternatively compared with PT **kürk* 'fur, fur coat' (ЭСТЯ 5, 148-149).

✱**kʿaŕa (~ -u, -i)** to scrape, grind, bite: Tung. ***xar-kü-**; Mong. ***karu-**; Turk. ***Kaŕ-**; Kor. ***kār-**.

PTung. ***xar-kü-** 1 to bite 2 to sting (1 кусать 2 колоть, жалить): Evk. *arki-* 2; Evn. *arqṭ-* 2; Neg. *ajkị-* 2; Ul. *χačo-* 1, 2; Ork. *χātṵ-la-* 2; Nan. *χajqo-* 1, 2.

◊ TMC 1, 51-52.

PMong. ***karu-, *kar-ma-** to rasp, plane; to rake up (скрести, строгать; сгребать): WMong. *qaru-, qar-ma-* (L 940); Kh. *xara-*; Bur. *xarxa* 'mole'; Kalm. *xar-*; Ord. *xaru-, xarūl* 'plane'.

◊ KW 169.

PTurk. ***Kaǵ-** 1 to dig 2 to scrape, scratch 3 plane (1 копать 2 скрести, царапать 3 рубанок): OTurk. *qaz-* (OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *qaz-* (KB), *qazɨ-* (MK) 1; Tur. *kaz-* 1,2, *kazɨ-* 2, *kazaγɨ* 3; Gag. *qaz-* 1; Az. *Gaz-* 1,2, *Gazɨ-* 1,2; Turkm. *Gaz-* 1, *Gaza-* 2; MTurk. *qaz-* (AH, Houts., MA, IM, Pav. C.) 1, (Pav. C.) 2; Uzb. *qaz-* 1, *qazi-* 1; Uygh. *qaz-* 1; Tat. *qazɨ-* 1; Bashk. *qaδɨ-* 1; Kirgh. *qaz-* 1; Kaz. *qaz-* 1; KKalp. *qaz-* 1; Kum. *qaz-* 1; Nogh. *qazɨ-* 1; Khak. dial. *xas-* 1; Shr. *qas-* 1; Oyr. *qas-* 1; Tv. *qas-* 1; Chuv. *xɨr-* 2; Yak. *xas-* 1,2; Dolg. *kas-* 1.

◊ VEWT 243, ЭСТЯ 5, 185-186, Мудрак 103, Stachowski 140. Chuv. -ɨ- is not quite clear here.

PKor. ***kār-** to plough; to grind, plane (пахать; скрести, растирать): MKor. *kār-*; Mod. *kal-*.

◊ Liu 28, KED 43, 44.

‖ EAS 46, 111, KW 169, Цинциус 1984, 87. Cf. Old Koguryo **kaš* 'plough' (thus in Miller 1979, 13; Lee has **kal*; the isolated Manchu *χalχan* 'ploughshare' may be < Kor.).

✱**kʿǽsa** place between limbs: Tung. ***xasa-kī**; Mong. ***kasa**; Turk. ***Kạ̄sɨk**; Kor. ***kàsa̋m**.

PTung. ***xasa-kī** wing (крыло): Evk. *asakī*; Evn. *asịqị*; Neg. *asaxī*; Man. *asχa*; SMan. *asəhə* 'wing, fin' (2293); Ul. *χasalị*; Ork. *χasa*; Nan. *χasar*; Orch. *asi*.

◊ TMC 1, 54. TM > Dag. *ačikī*, *ašikī* (Тод. Даг. 122).

PMong. ***kasa** crotch (внутренняя сторона бедра): WMong. *qasa* (MXTTT); Kh. *xas*; Bur. *xahä* (Barg.-Bur., DO 296); Ord. *Gasa*.

PTurk. ***Kạ̄sɨk** groin (пах): OTurk. *qasɨγ* (OUygh.); Tur. *kasɨk*; Az. *GasɨG*; Turkm. *Gāsɨq*; MTurk. *qasɨq* (IM, R - Vam.); Tat. *qasɨq*; Bashk. *qaϑɨq* (dial.); Chuv. *xɨza*.

◊ VEWT 239, EDT 666, ЭСТЯ 5, 331-332, Мудрак Дисс. 179.

PKor. ***kàsa̋m** breast (грудь): MKor. *kàsa̋m*; Mod. *kasɨm*.

◊ Nam 5, KED 20.

‖ Closed **ạ̄* in Turkic is not clear.

✱**kʿǽsi** to cut; piece: Tung. ***(x)asu-**; Mong. ***kasu-**; Turk. ***kes-**; Jpn. ***kínsú**; Kor. ***kàsk- / kə̀sk-**.

PTung. ***(x)asu-** 1 to chop, cut off 2 to bite (1 обрубать, отсекать 2 кусать): Evk. *asu-* 2; Man. *asiχa-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 56.

PMong. ***kasu-** to cut off pieces, to adze, to diminish (срезать, уменьшать, укорачивать): WMong. *qasu-* (L 942); Kh. *xas-*; Bur. *xaha-*; Kalm. *xas-*; Ord. *Gasu-*.

◊ KW 171. Mong. > Evk. *kasi-* (TMC 1, 382-383).

PTurk. ***kes-** to cut (резать): OTurk. *kes-* (Yenis.); Karakh. *kes-* (MK, KB); Tur. *kes-*; Az. *käs-*; Turkm. *kes-*; Khal. *käs-*; MTurk. *kes-* (Abush.);

Uzb. *kes-*; Uygh. *kes-*; Tat. *kis-*; Bashk. *kiϑ-*; Kirgh. *kes-*; Kaz. *kes-*; KBalk. *kes-*; Kum. *kes-*; Khak. *kis-*; Shr. *kes-*; Oyr. *kes-*; Tv. *ke's-*; Chuv. *kas-*; Yak. *kehē-*.

◊ VEWT 257, ЭСТЯ 5, 55-57, 58. Turk. **kesek* > WMong. *keseg* 'piece, part' (TMN 3, 596, Clark 1980, 39, Щербак 1997, 127).

PJpn. ***kínsú*** scar (шрам, рана): OJpn. *kjizu*; MJpn. *kízú*; Tok. *kìzu*; Kyo. *kízú*; Kag. *kízù*.

◊ JLTT 452.

PKor. ***kàsk- / kə̀sk-*** 1 to cut, trim 2 to break off (1 резать, подрубать 2 отламывать): MKor. *kàsk-* 1, *kə̀sk-* 2; Mod. *k:ak:-* 1, *k:ək:-* 2.

◊ Nam 26, 27, 39, KED 35, 91.

‖ SKE 103 (Turk.-Kor.; despite TMN 3, 596, Kor. *kəsk-* is not a "teleologische Sternchenform"). Cf. also Nan. (Bik.) *kesi-* 'to cut out' - with quite inexplicable k- (a borrowing?). Reasons for prenasalization in Jpn. are unclear (perhaps a suffixed form like **kʿăsi-gu-n* is reflected).

✱**kʿăsi** leash, trap, net: Tung. ***xasu-***; Turk. ***kes-***.

PTung. ***xasu-*** 1 net, trap 2 to fish (1 сеть, ловушка 2 ловить рыбу): Man. *asu* 1; SMan. *asə* 1 (664); Ul. *χasču̯-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 464.

PTurk. ***kes-*** 1 a k. of leash for domestic animals 2 chain, leash, noose 3 sea knot (1 вид привязи для домашних животных 2 цепь, привязь, петля 3 морской узел): Karakh. *kesgük* (MK) 'collar'; Turkm. *kesmik* 1; Kaz. *keskek* 1; Chuv. *kasmъk* 2, *kazak* 3.

◊ EDT 750, ЭСТЯ 5, 59. Deriving the root from *kes-* 'cut' is dubious semantically.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**kʿásV** thorn, thorny tree: Tung. ***xasī-kta***; Kor. ***kàsǎi***.

PTung. ***xasī-kta*** fir-tree (ель): Evk. *asīkta*; Evn. *asta*; Ul. *χasta*; Ork. *χasīqta*; Nan. *χasi̯kta*; Orch. *asikta*; Ud. *ahikta*.

◊ TMC 1, 56.

PKor. ***kàsǎi*** thorn (колючка): MKor. *kàsǎi*; Mod. *kasi*.

◊ Nam 5, KED 21.

‖ A Tung.-Kor. isogloss; cf. also Bur. *xasuuri*, *xasuurgana*, *xasuurha(n)* 'fir-tree' (< TM?).

✱**kʿébá** corpse: Tung. ***(x)eburen***; Mong. ***keɣür***; Turk. ***gEbre***; Jpn. ***kámpánái***.

PTung. ***(x)eburen*** corpse (труп): Man. *ūren*, *oren*, *eoren*.

◊ TMC 2, 289-290. Attested only in Manchu, but with probable external parallels.

PMong. ***keɣür*** corpse, dead body; cemetery (труп; кладбище): WMong. *keɣür* (L 443); Kh. *xū̆r*; Bur. *xū̆r*; Kalm. *kū̆r*, (KPC) *kür*; Ord. *kū̆r*; S.-Yugh. *kū̆r*.

◊ KW 250, MGCD 395.

PTurk. ***gEbre** 1 corpse 2 to die (of animals) (1 труп 2 дохнуть (о животных)): Karakh. *kövre* 'carrion' (MK); Tur. *geber-*, (dial.) *gevre-* 2; Gag. *geber-* 2; Az. *gäbär-* 2; Turkm. *gövre* 1; Krm. *geber-* 2; Oyr. *qavraj-* 'истлевать, тлеть' (Ашм. 6, 19) (?).

◊ VEWT 244, EDT 690, ЭСТЯ 3, 36. The root is confused here with **gēp-* 'to swell (of belly), become pregnant' (with which it indeed contaminates in Oghuz languages).

PJpn. ***kámpánái** corpse (труп): OJpn. *kabane*; MJpn. *kábáné*; Tok. *kabane*.

◊ JLTT 431.

‖ Цинциус 1984, 124. In Turkic the root is preserved basically in Oghuz languages; it obviously obtained initial *g- (*k- would be normally expected) under the double influence of **gēp-* 'to swell (of belly)' and **gebre-* 'fragile'.

✱**kʿébà** river, bay: Tung. ***xebe**; Jpn. ***kápà**; Kor. ***kái (< *kabi)**.

PTung. ***xebe-** 1 bay 2 lake (1 залив 2 озеро): Evk. *ewerēn* 1; Neg. *ewejen* 2; Ul. *xewe(n)* 2; Ork. *xewere(n)* 1; Nan. *xewẽ* 1, 2; Orch. *ewe* 1; Ud. *ewe* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 436. Cf. also Ul. *χawa(n)* 'bay' (TMC 1, 457).

PJpn. ***kápà** river (река): OJpn. *kapa*; MJpn. *káfà*; Tok. *kawá*; Kyo. *káwà*; Kag. *káwa*.

◊ JLTT 445.

PKor. ***kái (< *kabi)** inlet, estuary (бухта, устье реки): MKor. *kái*; Mod. *kä*.

◊ Liu 33, KED 65.

‖ Martin 250 (Kor.-Jpn.). An Eastern isogloss. The irregular high tone in MKor. may be due to contraction after the loss of *-b-. Cf. OT (MK Ganǯaki) *kevli* 'the mouth of a canal' (EDT 689).

✱**kʿĕdò** wind, fog: Tung. ***xedün**; Mong. ***küdeŋ**; Turk. ***Kad**; Jpn. ***kəti (~ -ua-)**.

PTung. ***xedü-n** wind (ветер): Evk. *edin*; Evn. *edъn*; Neg. *edin*; Man. *edun*; SMan. *udun* (2052); Jurch. *hedu-un* (5); Ul. *xedu(n)*; Ork. *xedu(n)*; Nan. *xedu(n)*; Orch. *edi(n)*; Ud. *edi(n)*; Sol. *edĩ*.

◊ TMC 2, 438-439.

PMong. ***küdeŋ** fog, mist (туман): WMong. *küdeŋ* (L 497); Kh. *xüden*; Kalm. *küdŋ*; Ord. *küde*, *küdük*.

◊ KW 244.

PTurk. ***Kad** wind, whirlwind (ветер, вихрь): Karakh. *qaδ* (MK); Tur. *kaj* 'rainy weather'; Turkm. *Gaj*; MTurk. *qaj* (AH, Pav. C., Abush.); Kirgh. *qaji-* 'to be frozen'; Khak. *xas*; Tv. *xat*, *xadi-* 'to be frozen'; Tof. *qat*; Yak. *xatā-* 'to be cold in spring'.

◊ EDT 593, ЭСТЯ 5, 193-194, Лексика 46. Borrowing < Sam. **kacu* 'whirlwind' is hardly credible, despite Helimski 1995.

PJpn. ***kəti (~ -ua-)** East wind (восточный ветер): OJpn. *k(w)oti*; MJpn. *koti*; Tok. *kochi* (arch.).

◊ JLTT 458.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 289, Дыбо 11.

✱**kʿegVnV** nine: Tung. ***xegün**; Jpn. ***kəkənə-**.

PTung. ***xegün** nine (девять): Evk. *jeɣin*; Evn. *ujun*; Neg. *ijeɣin*; Man. *ujun*; SMan. *uin*, *ujun* (2743); Ul. *xuju(n)*; Ork. *xuju(n)*; Nan. *xujũ*; Orch. *xuju(n)*; Ud. *jeji*; Sol. *jegĩ*.

◊ TMC 1, 352-353.

PJpn. ***kəkənə-** nine (девять): OJpn. *kokono-*; MJpn. *kokono-*; Tok. *kokóno-*; Kyo. *kókònò-*; Kag. *kòkònó-*.

◊ JLTT 454. Accent is unclear, just as in all other numerals.

‖ Miller 1985, 143. An exact Tung.-Jpn. isogloss.

✱**kʿéja (~ -o)** to slide, swim: Tung. ***xeje-**; Mong. ***kajiba-**; Turk. ***Kāj-**.

PTung. ***xeje-** 1 to sink 2 to float, flow (1 погружаться 2 плыть (по течению)): Evk. *eje-* 1; Evn. *ejēn-* 2; Neg. *ejē-n-* 2; Man. *eje-* 2; SMan. *ei-* 'to flow, to overflow' (1807); Ul. *xeje-n-* 2; Ork. *xeje-n-* 2; Nan. *xeje-* 2; Orch. *eje-* 2; Ud. *eje-* 2; Sol. *eji-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 440-442.

PMong. ***kajiba-** to swim (of birds, animals) (плавать (о птицах, животных)): WMong. *qajiba-* (L 911); Kh. *xajva-*; Bur. *xajba* 2; *xajbalza-* 'идти мерно покачиваясь, ритмично колыхаться'; Kalm. *xā̆wə* 'oar' (KPC).

PTurk. ***Kāj-** 1 to slide 2 to swim 3 skis (1 скользить 2 плавать 3 лыжи): Tur. *kaj-*, dial. *kajp-* 1; Turkm. *Gāj-* 1, 2; Kirgh. *qajpɨ-* 1; SUygh. *qaj-* 2; Oyr. *qaj-* 1; Tv. *xaj-* 1; Yak. *xajɨhar* 3; Dolg. *kańɨhar*, *kāńɨhar*, *xāhar* 3.

◊ VEWT 233, ЭСТЯ 5, 197-198, Stachowski 137 (nasalization in Dolg. is unclear).

‖ A rather complicated Western isogloss. The TM form is compared (in SKE 61-62, АПиПЯЯ 297) with Kor. *hə̀i-* 'swim'; this seems now dubious because of the apparent lack of development PA *kʿ- > Kor. *h-. The Korean word should rather be considered as having lost the initial vowel (**hə̀i-* < **uhə̀i-*) and be derived < PA **uku* q.v. On the other hand, Evk. *kajama*, Orok *qajama* 'bare (not fur-lined) skis' are most probably borrowed < Mong. *qaiba* 'a k. of oar' (or perhaps from some unattested Yakut form, cf. the meaning 'skis' in Yak.?).

✱**kʿela (~ -o, -u)** a k. of small animal: Tung. ***xel-**; Mong. ***kaliɣun**; Turk. ***Keleŋü**.

PTung. ***xel-** 1 bat 2 flying squirrel 3 swallow (1 летучая мышь 2 белка-летяга 3 ласточка): Evk. *eldukī* 1; Evn. *elduki* 2, 3; Ul. *xele* 1; Ork. *xelei* 3; Nan. *xelegdexī*, *xeregdepī* 1; Orch. *xelegduki* 1; Ud. *elugduge* 1; Sol. *eligdẽ* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 446.

PMong. ***kaliɣun** 1 otter, beaver 2 brown, yellowish-brown (1 выдра, бобер 2 коричневый, игрений): MMong. *qali'un* (HY 11), *qali'un* (MA) 1, *qali'un* (SH) 2, *kalbūn* 2 (Lig.VMI); WMong. *qaliɣun* (L 919) 1; Kh. *xaĺūn* 1, 2; Bur. *xaĺūn* 1, 2; Kalm. *xāĺūn* 1, 2; Ord. *xaĺū* 1, *xaĺū(n)* 2; Dag. *xalō*, (Тод. Даг. 173) *xalū* 1; *kalūr* 2 (Тод. Даг. 148), *halō* (MD 156); Mongr. *xaliu*.

◊ KW 177, MGCD 320. Mong. (also with the derived meaning 'brown, yellowish-brown') > Man. *kailun* 'brown (horse)', *χailun* 'otter' etc., see TMN 1, 383, Doerfer MT 132, Rozycki 98, 130; > Kor. *kariun* (*măr*), see Lee 1958, 119.

PTurk. ***Keleŋü** field mouse (мышь-полевка): Karakh. *kelegü* 'al-yarbū' (MK); Tur. *kelen(g)i*, *geleni*, dial. *gelenki*; Uygh. *keleŋü* (IM); Kirgh. *kelemiš*, *keler*, *keles*.

◊ VEWT 249, EDT 718, ЭСТЯ 5, 31, Лексика 181. The root is not widely attested (although mentioned by MK), and may become confused with the root for 'lizard'; in Turkic dialects folk-etymologically influenced by *gelin* 'bride' (cf. also *gelincek* 'weasel', see Цивьян 1979), which would explain voiced g- (irregular in the Altaic perspective).

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**kʿèlńí** mortar: Tung. ***xelńi**; Turk. ***kęli**; Jpn. ***kìnái**.

PTung. ***xelńi** mortar (ступка): Man. *xeĺen*; Ul. *xeńi*; Nan. *xeńi* (> Neg. *xeńi*).

◊ TMC 1, 481.

PTurk. ***kęli** mortar (ступка): Tur. *keli* (dial.); MTurk. *keli*; Uzb. *keli* (dial.); Krm. *keli*; Tat. *kile*; Bashk. *kile*; KBalk. *keli*; Kum. *keli*; Chuv. *kilə*; Yak. *kelī*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 5, 33. Cf. also such forms as Chuv. *kiźep* 'tamper, pestle' and Bashk. *ki(l)sap*, *kilθap* id. Turk. > Hung. *kölyű*, see Gombocz 1912.

PJpn. ***kìnái** pestle (пестик): OJpn. *kjine*; MJpn. kine; Tok. *kíne*; Kyo. *kìné*; Kag. *kiné*.

◊ JLTT 450. The OJ variant *kji* probably reflects an early contraction < **kʿèlńí-gV*.

‖ A common Altaic cultural term; despite the rare cluster *-lń- the reconstruction appears reliable.

✱**kʿéĺe** belt, waist: Tung. ***xelgeńe**; Turk. ***keĺč**; Jpn. ***kə́sí**.

PTung. ***xelgeńe** 1 waist 2 interval (1 поясница, талия 2 промежуток): Evk. *eŋeńē* 1; Evn. *eŋъń* 1, *ēlgъ* 2; Neg. *eŋeńē* 1; Ul. *xeŋgi* 1; Ork. *χeŋgeje* 'armpit'.

◊ TMC 2, 446, 458.

PTurk. ***keĺč** 1 belt 2 back, spine (1 пояс, ремень 2 спина, хребет): OTurk. *keš* (OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *keš* ~ *kiš* (MK) 1; Kirgh. *kešene* 'girdle'; Chuv. *kaźan* 2.

◊ VEWT 258, EDT 752, MNT 1697, ЭСТЯ 5, 60-61. Sak. *käša-* 'belt' may be < Turkic (Bailey 56 expresses doubts as to the phonetic regularity of its derivation from Proto-Iran.

*kaša 'armpit'). The vowel may have been long - to judge from Turkm. *kīšen* 'chain' (which reflects a hybrid form between *kiĺe-n 'fetters', q. v. sub *kʿìĺa, and *keĺč 'belt').

PJpn. ***kə́sí*** waist (поясница): OJpn. *kosi*; MJpn. *kósí*; Tok. *kòshi*; Kyo. *kóshí*; Kag. *kóshi*.

◊ JLTT 458.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 76, 289. Cf. also comments to **si̯oga.*

✱**kʿèĺú** a small wild animal: Tung. ***xeldegde (-gǯe)***; Mong. ***kerelǯegene***; Turk. ***Küĺül***; Jpn. ***kùsá(m)pú***.

PTung. ***xelde-gde (-gǯe)*** a k. of fox (лиса-крестовка): Neg. *xeldegde* (< South. Tung.); Ul. *xeldegǯie(n)*; Ork. *xeldegde*, *xeldekte*; Nan. *xeldegǯẽ*.

◊ TMC 1, 481.

PMong. ***kerelǯegene*** field mouse (полевая мышь): WMong. *kerelǯegene* (L 457); Kh. *xerelʒgene*.

PTurk. ***Küĺül*** 1 rat 2 mole (1 крыса 2 крот): Tat. *köšöl* (dial.) 1; Bashk. *köšöl* 1, 2; Khak. *küzəl* 2; Oyr. *küžül* 2.

◊ ЭСТЯ 5, 155. Turk. > Kalm. *küšl* (KW 248).

PJpn. ***kùsá(m)pu*** hedgehog (еж): MJpn. *kùsábú*.

◊ JLTT 465.

‖ In Turkic one has to suppose vowel assimilation (**Küĺül* < **Keĺül*), and in Mong. - a regular r/l metathesis (< **keler-ǯegene*). Cf. a number of similar roots, with a possibility of contaminations: see **keru*, **kʿi̯ūĺa*, **ki̯ùti*, **kʿela*.

✱**kʿéma** a k. of reed or leek: Tung. ***xeŋgukte***; Mong. ***kamgar***; Turk. ***Kamɨĺ***; Jpn. ***kámá***.

PTung. ***xeŋgu-kte*** wild onion (дикий лук): Evk. *uŋukte*, *eŋukte*; Evn. *eŋut*; Neg. *eŋukte*; Man. *uŋge*, *eŋgule*; Ul. *xeǯikte*; Nan. *xeǯukte*.

◊ TMC 2, 280, 458.

PMong. ***kamgar*** wild leek (дикий лук-порей): WMong. *qamaɣar* (MXTTT); Kh. *xamgar*.

PTurk. ***Kamɨĺ*** reed (тростник): OTurk. *qamuš*, *qamɨš* (OUygh.); Karakh. *qamɨš* (MK, IM); Tur. *kamɨš*; Az. *Gamɨš*; Turkm. *Gamɨš*; MTurk. *qamɨš* (Qutb, MA); Uzb. *qɛmiš*; Uygh. *qomuš*; Tat. *qamɨš*; Bashk. *qamɨš*; Kirgh. *qamɨš*; Kaz. *qamɨs*; KBalk. *qamiš*; KKalp. *qamɨs*; Kum. *qamuš*; Nogh. *qamɨs*; Khak. *xamɨs*; Oyr. *qamɨš*; Chuv. *xъ^{w}mъ^{w}l* 'stalk of cereals'; Yak. *xamɨs*, *xomus*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 5, 249-250, TMN 3, 517.

PJpn. ***kámá*** reed (тростник): OJpn. *kama*; MJpn. *kámá*; Tok. *kama*.

◊ JLTT 431, 435 (there is also a variant **kámpá*, probably secondary).

‖ Cf. **ki̯omga*, **gi̯aŋu*, **kemV*.

✱**kʿèmá** sharp, sharp tool: Tung. ***xemer**; Jpn. ***kàmá**.

PTung. ***xemer** 1 sharp 2 easy going (1 острый 2 легкий, легко идущий): Evk. *emer*; Evn. *emъr*; Neg. *emejigdi*; Ul. *xomburu(n)* 2; Ork. *xemberu* 1,2; Nan. *xemberũ* 2; Orch. *xemberu* 2; Ud. *emei* 1, 2.

◊ TMC 2, 453.

PJpn. ***kàmá** sickle (серп): OJpn. *kama*; MJpn. *kàmá*; Tok. *káma*; Kyo. *kàmá*; Kag. *kamá*.

◊ JLTT 435.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss.

✱**kʿèmì** intestines; liver: Tung. ***xemu-gde**; Mong. ***kim**; Jpn. ***kìmuà**.

PTung. ***xemu-gde** 1 belly 2 intestines (1 живот 2 внутренности): Evk. *emugde* 2; Evn. *emdъ* 2; Neg. *emugde* 1; Ul. *xemde* 1; Ork. *xemugde* 2; Nan. *xemde* 1; Ud. *emugde* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 451.

PMong. ***kim** sausage, offal (колбаса, требуха): WMong. *kima* (MXTTT); Kh. *xim*; Bur. *xemneg* 'womb'.

PJpn. ***kìmuà** liver (печень): OJpn. *kjimwo*; MJpn. *kìmò*; Tok. *kimó*; Kyo. *kímò*; Kag. *kímò*.

◊ JLTT 450. The Kagoshima tone is irregular.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 111, 276.

✱**kʿémŋV** wide: Tung. ***xemŋe**; Mong. ***kem**; Turk. ***gēŋ**.

PTung. ***xemŋe** wide (широкий): Evk. *emŋe*; Evn. *emŋъ*; Neg. *emŋe*; Ul. *xem*, *xum* 'all'; Ork. *xemge*; Orch. *emme*; Ud. *eŋme*; Sol. *emme*.

◊ TMC 2, 450-1.

PMong. ***kem** limits, measure (мера, пределы): MMong. *kem* (SH); WMong. *kem* (L 450); Kh. *xem*; Bur. *xem*; Kalm. *kem*; Ord. *kem*; Dag. *kem* (Тод. Даг. 149), *hemeǯē* (MD 160).

◊ KW 224. Mong. > Oyr., Yak., Dolg. *kem* etc. (VEWT 250, Kał. VI 42, Stachowski 144), Man. *kemu(n)* etc. (Doerfer MT 102, Rozycki 137).

PTurk. ***gēŋ** wide (широкий): OTurk. *kiŋ* (OUygh.); Karakh. *keŋ* (MK); Tur. *gen*; Az. *gen*; Turkm. *gīŋ*; Khal. *kīeŋg*; MTurk. *kẹŋ* (Sangl., Abush., Бор. Бад.), *gẹŋ* (Sangl.); Uzb. *keŋ*; Uygh. *käŋ*; Krm. *keŋ*, ken; Tat. *kiŋ*; Bashk. *kiŋ*; Kirgh. *keŋ*; Kaz. *keŋ*; KBalk. *keŋ*; KKalp. *keŋ*; Kum. *geŋ*; Nogh. *keŋ*; SUygh. *keŋ*; Shr. *keŋ*; Oyr. *keŋ*; Yak. *kieŋ*; Dolg. *kieŋ*.

◊ EDT 724-725, VEWT 253, EDT 724-725, ЭСТЯ 3, 46-47, Stachowski 147.

‖ Цинциус 1984, 125-126, Дыбо 12. A Western isogloss. In PT *k- would be expected; initial voicing is probably due to the influence of another Altaic root, **kĕŋi* 'empty' (PT **geŋiŕ* 'nasal cavity'), cf. its reflexes in Mong. (*keŋkeji-* 'be wide and empty'; Щербак 1997, 127 actually regards the latter as borrowed from Turkic - which is quite dubious; see TMN 3, 612-613).

✱**kʿénVtʿa** wall, wall mat: Tung. ***xondari**; Mong. ***kana(n)**; Turk. ***K(i)ā(j)nat**.

PTung. ***xondari** wall mat (циновка для стены): Neg. *xondoj* (< South.), , *onara-wu* 'полка вдоль нар'; Ul. *χondorị*; Ork. *χondorị*; Nan. *χondorị*.

◊ TMC 1, 470, 2, 18.

PMong. ***kana(n)** section of yurt lattice wall, wall (секция решетчатой стены юрты, стена): WMong. *qana(n)* (L 927); Kh. *xana(n)*; Bur. *xana*; Kalm. *xanə*; Ord. *xana*.

◊ KW 165. Mong. > Evk. *kana* etc., see Doerfer MT 77, Rozycki 101; > Khak. *xana* etc., see TMN 1, 416.

PTurk. ***K(i)ā(j)nat** flap (of door), wall (of yurt) (створка (двери), стена (юрты)): Tur. *kanat*; Az. *Ganat*; Turkm. *Gānat* (dial.); MTurk. *qanat* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *qɛnɔt*; Kirgh. *qanat*; Kaz. *qanat*; KKalp. *qanat*; Khak. *xanat*; Oyr. *qanat*; Chuv. *śonat* 'карниз, застреха'.

◊ ЭСТЯ 5, 252-253, Лексика 504, Ашм. XII, 246. The root should be kept distinct from **Kājnat* 'wing'.

‖ A Western isogloss. In Turkic the root has merged with **Kājnat* 'wing' (see under **kēńa*); this homonymy may have influenced Mong., where the stem *qana(n)* occasionally means 'wing, маховые перья'; but Mong. hardly < Turk., despite TMN 1, 416. In Mong. one has to suppose a reanalysis of *-t as a plural suffix.

✱**kʿeńo** edge: Mong. ***kajaɣa**; Turk. ***Kạń**; Kor. ***kǎń**.

PMong. ***kajaɣa** edge (край): WMong. *qajaɣa* (L 915); Kh. *xajā*; Bur. *xajā*; Kalm. *xajā*; Ord. *xajā* 'lower part'.

◊ KW 161, TMN 1, 446.

PTurk. ***Kạń** edge, hem (край, кайма): OTurk. *qaj* (OUygh.) 'cross-road'; Karakh. *qajɨɣ* (MK) 'a place at an angle from the main road'; Bashk. *qajma*; Khak. *xaj*; Oyr. *qajɨr* 'steep, precipitous'; Tv. *xajɨ̄* 'located sideways'; Chuv. *xъju*; Yak. *kɨj̃ɨa* (Пек.) 'road on the edge of a precipice'.

◊ VEWT 221, Федотов 2, 338. Doubts about the OT word see in EDT 674, 676, Clark 1977, 146.

PKor. ***kǎń** edge (край): MKor. *kǎń*; Mod. *kā*.

◊ Nam 28, KED 1.

‖ A derivative of the same root may be Mong. *kiŋgan* 'mountain ridge'.

✱**kʿèńó** light, thin: Tung. ***xeńü-**; Mong. ***köŋgen**; Turk. ***Keŋe-**; Jpn. ***kàmá-**; Kor. ***kǎnǎr-**.

PTung. ***xeńü-** light (not heavy) (легкий (о весе)): Evk. *eńī-mkūn*, *eńum*; Evn. *ejim*; Neg. *eńimkun*; Man. *eni-xun*; Ul. *xeńu*; Ork. *xeńu-mi*; Nan. *xeńu*; Orch. *xeńimi*; Ud. *enimeseʿ* (Корм. 314); Sol. *enikkũ*.

◊ TMC 2, 455-456.

PMong. ***köŋgen** light (not heavy) (легкий (о весе)): MMong. *küaŋgan* (HY 52), *koŋgen* (HYT), *konkɛn* (IM), *kunkän* (MA), *koŋgele-* 'to lighten' (SH); WMong. *köŋgen* (L 489); Kh. *xöŋgen*; Bur. *xüngen*; Kalm. *küŋgṇ*, *göŋgṇ*; Ord. *köŋgön*; Dag. *xungen* (Тод. Даг. 179), *hungen* (MD 166), *xungēn*; Dong. *kongen*, *gongen*; Bao. *kuŋkaŋ*; S.-Yugh. *köŋgön*; Mongr. *koŋgwən* (SM 214), *kuŋgon*.

◊ KW 138, 246, MGCD 375.

PTurk. ***Keŋe-** easy, convenient; shallow (легкий, удобный; мелкий (о воде)): Karakh. *keŋes* (MK); MTurk. *keŋes*, *keŋez* (*ʿAli*), *keŋez* (Houts.); Chuv. *kanas* 'спокойный, бесхлопотный'; Yak. *kenen* 'простой, доверчивый, наивный'.

◊ EDT 734.

PJpn. ***kəmá-** small, thin (мелкий, тонкий): MJpn. *kòmáka-*; Tok. *komaká-i*; Kyo. *kómákà-*; Kag. *komaká-*.

◊ JLTT 455.

PKor. ***kǎnǎr-** thin, fine (тонкий, изящный): MKor. *kǎnǎr-*; Mod. *kanɨl-*.

◊ Nam 9, KED 5.

‖ ОСНЯ 1, 350, Цинциус 1984, 103. Mong. has secondary labialization (**köŋgen* < **keńö-gen*); depalatalization in Kor. is not quite clear. Otherwise correspondences are regular.

✸**kʿéńo** a k. of blade: Tung. ***xeńe**; Mong. ***kaji-**; Jpn. ***káná-i**; Kor. ***kǎ̀ńǎi**.

PTung. ***xeńe** dull side of blade (тупая сторона лезвия): Ul. *xeńe*.

◊ TMC 1, 481.

PMong. ***kaji-** 1 to cut, hack 2 a k. of arrow 3 adze (1 резать, тесать 2 вид длинной стрелы 3 кайло): WMong. *qaji-* 1 (L 911), *qaji-mur* 2 (L 913); Bur. *xaj-* 1, *xajlā* 3.

PJpn. ***káná-i** metal (металл): OJpn. *kane*; MJpn. *káné*; Tok. *kàne*; Kyo. *káné*; Kag. *káne*.

◊ JLTT 437. Final -a- can be seen in compounds like OJ *kana-jumji*, *kana-ja* etc.

PKor. ***kǎ̀ńǎi** scissors (ножницы): MKor. *kǎ̀ńǎi*; Mod. *kawi*.

◊ Nam 14, KED 23.

‖ One should also note Mong. *qajiči* 'scissors' - possibly a contamination of this root with **kapʿe* q.v.

✸**kʿeŋa** spacious, free: Tung. ***xeŋ-**; Mong. ***kaŋka-**.

PTung. ***xeŋ-** 1 free 2 to walk out into open space (1 свободный 2 выходить на открытое пространство): Evk. *eŋī-* 2; Ul. *xeŋgel(i)* 1; Nan. *xeŋgel* 1; Ud. *eŋeši* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 457, 458.

PMong. ***kaŋka-** spacious, empty (обширный, пустой): WMong. *qaŋqai* (L 930); Kh. *xanxaj*; Bur. *xanxaj-* 'зиять'; Kalm. *xaŋɣā* 'big, giant' (KPC); Ord. *xaŋxä-* 'to be tall, big'.

◊ Mong. > Man. *xaŋga* etc., see Doerfer MT 144)

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss, perhaps an expressive variant of **kȅŋi* q. v.

✸**kʿeŋV** to be burnt: Tung. ***xeŋ(-gu-)**; Mong. ***keŋsi-**.

PTung. ***xeŋ(-gu-)** to be burnt (подгореть, подгорелый): Evk. *eŋgurē-*; Nan. *xēŋgi-*.

◊ TMC 2, 457.

PMong. ***keŋsi-** 1 to have a burnt taste or smell 2 smell of burning (1 иметь запах, вкус подгорелого 2 запах подгорелого): WMong. *keŋsi-* 1, *keŋsigün* 2; Kh. *xenši-* 1, *xenšū̄* 2; Bur. *xünšū̄* 2; Kalm. *küŋšū̄n* 2; Dag. *kunšun* 2 (Тод. Даг. 151).

◊ KW 246. Mong. > Man. *kuŋšun.*

‖ Цинциус 1984, 110-111, АПиПЯЯ 11, 286. A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✸**kʿèpà** husk, shell: Mong. ***kebe**; Turk. ***kebü-**; Jpn. ***kàpì**.

PMong. ***kebe** husks, chaff (шелуха, мякина): WMong. *kebe*; Bur. *xebe*; Kalm. *kewə*; S.-Yugh. *kəwə* 'bran'.

◊ KW 229.

PTurk. ***kebü-** 1 straw 2 brushwood 3 rot, dandruff 4 to hull (1 солома 2 хворост 3 гниль, перхоть 4 шелушить): OTurk. *kevük*, *kövük* 1; Karakh. *küviǯ* 'rotten heartwood' (MK); Tur. *kevik* 1 (dial.) 1; Turkm. *kövze-* 4; MTurk. *kevük* (AH) 1; Uzb. *kȫzɛ-* (dial.) 4; Tat. *küzɛ-* (dial.) 4; Bashk. *kewek* 3, *kü(j)δɛ-* 4; Chuv. *kъʷvajt* 2.

◊ EDT 688 (but not < Sogd.), 689. Cf. also **köbŕe-* (**kebŕe-*?) 'to hull, pound in a mortar' (ЭСТЯ 5, 81, 82).

PJpn. ***kàpì** 1 egg 2 shell (1 яйцо 2 скорлупа): OJpn. *kapjigwo* 1, *kapji* 1, 2; MJpn. *kàfigò* 1, *kàfi* 1, 2; Tok. *kái* 2; Kyo. *káì* 2; Kag. *kaí* 2.

◊ JLTT 433. The Tokyo accent points to a variant **kàpí.*

‖ Turk. > WMong. *kebeg*, whence Mongor *kawaG* (TMN 3, 580, Щербак 1997, 127). One of several similar PA roots (see **kʿā́pʿa*, **kʿi̯ȁbu*, **kèpʿi*, **gébo*).

✸**kʿépà (~ -b-)** side: Tung. ***xebu-, *xebte**; Mong. ***kabta-su**; Turk. ***Kaptal**; Jpn. ***kápá**.

PTung. ***xebu-** 1 side 2 across, traverse, to the side (1 сторона 2 поперек, набок): Evk. *ewunkī* 2; Evn. *ewunki* 2, *ewutle* 1; Neg. *ewunki* 2; Jurch. *xe-bew* 2 (603); Ul. *xeundi* 2; Ork. *xeundei* 2; Nan. *xeunǯi* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 435, 436.

PMong. ***kabta-su** side boards on saddle (> folder) (боковые доски на седле; папка): MMong. *qabtasu* 'k. of board' (MA 218, 295); WMong.

qabtasu (L 899); Kh. *xavtas*; Bur. *xabtahan*, *xabtagaj*; Kalm. *xaptəsn̥*; Ord. *Gabtasu*; Dag. *xartas*, *kartas* (Тод. Даг. 174) *karetese* (MD 181).

◊ KW 167. Mong. > Orch. *kaptasi*, Man. *χabta* etc. (see Rozycki 96).

PTurk. ***Kaptal** side (бок): Turkm. *Gapdal*; MTurk. *qaptal* (R - ShS, Vam.); Uzb. *qəptəl*; Uygh. *qaptal*; Bashk. *qaptal*; Kirgh. *qaptal*; Kaz. *qaptal*; KKalp. *qaptal*; Oyr. *qaptal*; Yak. *xaptal*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 5, 267-268.

PJpn. ***kápá** side (сторона): Tok. *kàwa*; Kyo. *káwá*; Kag. *káwa*.

◊ JLTT 445.

‖ KW 167. In Mong., due to secondary contaminations, the root is somewhat hard to distinguish from **kʿapʿV* ʿpress, grasp' q.v.

✱**kʿèpù** to change, price: Mong. ***kubil-**; Turk. ***Kębi-Ĺč-**; Jpn. ***kupua-**; Kor. ***káps**.

PMong. ***kubil-** to change (изменяться): WMong. *qubil-* (L 977); Kh. *xuvila-*; Bur. *xubil-*; Kalm. *xüwḷ-* (KPC); Ord. *xuwil-*; Dag. *xobili-* (Тод. Даг. 176), *hobili-* (MD 162).

◊ Mong. > Kirgh. *qubul-* etc. (see ЭСТЯ 6, 96-98); Yak., Dolg. *kubuluj-* (Kał. MEJ 104, Stachowski 159); > Manchu *kūbuli-* id. (see Rozycki 148).

PTurk. ***Kębi-Ĺč-** 1 a gift of food to someone who comes to stack the crop after the fields are clear 2 harvest tax in favour of the poor or the clergy 3 debt (1 пищевой подарок тому, кто приходит складывать хлеб в скирды после того, как поля убраны 2 отчисление с урожая в пользу бедных или духовенства 3 долг): Karakh. *kevšeŋ* (MK; spelled kfsŋ) 1; Uzb. *kapsan* 2; Uygh. *käpsän* 2; Kirgh. *kepsen*, *kesmen* 1; Kaz. *kewsen* 1; Chuv. *kivźen* 3;

◊ Мудрак Дисс.. 89, EDT 585, 691, Федотов 1, 290-291. Turk. > Pers. *kafsan* 'harvest tax for the clergy and administration'; most modern forms may in fact have been borrowed back < Pers., but the Chuv. form can hardly be separated from the one attested in MK. The theory of its being borrowed from Mong. *kölüsün* (see Rona-Tas 1988) can be hardly justified. However, Hung. *kölczön*, indeed, has most probably a Mong. source and is not related to the words above.

PJpn. ***kupua-** profit (выгода, прибыль): OJpn. *kup(w)o-sa*.

PKor. ***káps** price (цена): MKor. *káps*; Mod. *kap* [*kaps*].

◊ Nam 24, KED 57.

‖ Cf. **kʿápa* (with a possibility of mergers).

✱**kʿȅpʿè** to dry out, become fragile; to break: Tung. ***xep-**; Mong. ***kewü-**; Turk. ***kep(i)-**; Jpn. ***kàpà-**.

PTung. ***xepe/u-** to break, destroy (ломать, разбивать): Evk. *ew-*; Man. *efule-*, *efele-*; SMan. *efelə* (1660); Nan. *xepu-li-*.

◊ TMC 2, 434.

PMong. ***kewü-** to break, be fragile (ломаться, разрываться, быть хрупким): WMong. *keüre-* (L 462), *keül-*; Kh. *xṻre-*; Bur. *xṻrxej* 'хрупкий, ломкий'; Kalm. *kṻl-*; Ord. *kṻregši-* 'to become fragile'.

◊ KW 249.

PTurk. ***kep(i)-** 1 to dry out 2 to extinguish, disappear (1 высыхать 2 исчезать, пропадать): Karakh. *kepi-* (~ *kebi-*) (MK) 1; Turkm. *kep-* 1; Uzb. *kɛp-* 1, *kɛbi-* (dial.) 2; Tat. *kip-* 1; Bashk. *kip-* 1; Kirgh. *kep-* 1; Kaz. *kep-* 1; KKalp. *kep-* 1; Kum. *kep-* 1, *kebi-* 2; Nogh. *kep-* 1; Tv. *kep-* 1; Yak. *kep-* 'to pound, demolish'; Dolg. *kep-* 'to push'.

◊ EDT 687, ЭСТЯ 5, 45-46, Stachowski 145 (but the Yak. and Dolg. forms hardly to **gēb-* 'chew').

PJpn. ***kàpà-** to break (ломать(ся)): OJpn. *k(w)op(w)or-*, *k(w)op(w)ot-*; MJpn. *kòfòr-*, *kòfòt-*; Tok. *kobot-*, *kowaré-*, *kowás-*; Kyo. *kówáré-*, *kówás-*; Kag. *kòwàrè-*, *kòwàs-*.

◊ JLTT 710, 714.

‖ Cf. **kăpi* (with possible contaminations).

✱**kʿĕpʿó** to become wet, sprinkle, overflow: Tung. ***xep-**; Mong. ***kajila-**; Jpn. ***kàmpàra-**.

PTung. ***xep-** 1 to sprinkle 2 to get wet (1 брызгать 2 намокать): Evk. *epe-*, *epti-* 1; Evn. *eb-* 1,2, *ēpte-* 1; Neg. *epti-* 1; Man. *ebe-* 2; Ork. *xepiččі-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 459-460.

PMong. ***kajila-** to melt (таять; плавиться): WMong. *kajil-*; Kh. *xajl-*; Bur. *xajla-*; Kalm. *xäl-*; Ord. *xäl-*; Dag. *hajle-* MD 155.

◊ KW 179.

PJpn. ***kàmpàra-** to overflow (проливаться, расплескиваться): MJpn. *kòbòra-*; Tok. *koboréru*; Kyo. *kóbóré-*; Kag. *kòbòrè-*.

◊ JLTT 711.

‖ In Mong. secondary contaminations with **kajira-* 'burn, roast' were possible.

✱**kʿepʿorV** curved bone: Tung. ***xebti-**; Mong. ***kabir-**; Turk. ***KApur-**; Jpn. ***kàm(p)ùrá (~-ua-)**; Kor. ***kùpɨrəŋ**.

PTung. ***xebti-** rib (ребро): Evk. *ewtilē*; Evn. *ewutle*; Neg. *ewtile*; Man. *ebči*; SMan. *efəči* (84); Ul. *xeuntile*, *xeuptile*; Ork. *xewčile*; Nan. *xeučile*; Orch. *eutile*, *eutule*; Ud. *euntile*; Sol. *ŏ̄telē*.

◊ TMC 2, 435. Should be distinguished from **xebte* 'lung'.

PMong. ***kabir-** rib (ребро): MMong. *qabusun* 'chest' (HY 47), *gerün xabusun* 'veranda, porch' (HY 16), *qabirxa* (HY 47), *qabirqa* (SH), *qabirγă* (MA); WMong. *qabirγa(n)*, *qabisu(n)* (L 898); Kh. *xavirga*, *xavis*; Bur. *xabirga*, *xabha(n)*; Kalm. *xäwṛγə*, *xawsṇ*; Ord. *xawirGa* 'edge, bank, flank'; Mog. *qoburγa*; ZM *qaborγa* (3-2b) 'side, flank'; Dag. *xabirga* (Тод. Дar. 172), *haberihe* (MD 154), *xabirəg*; Dong. *qaruGa* (MGCD *qaruγa*); Bao. *χalGə*; S.-Yugh. *χarвuo*; Mongr. *xawuзə* (SM 166), (MGCD *xairзə*).

◊ MGCD 313, KW 178-179, TMN 1, 392.

PTurk. ***KApur-** rib (ребро): OTurk. *qabar* (Et-Tuhf); Tur. *kabur* (dial.) 'a piece of tin or leather for fixing cracks'; Turkm. *GapɨrGa*; Uzb. *qɛbɨz* (dial.) 'armpit'.

◊ ЭСТЯ 5, 275-276. Щербак (1997, 207) regards the word as a Mong. loanword, which is hardly the case (although numerous forms like Chag. *qaburɣa* etc. may indeed have a Mong. origin, see TMN 1, 392).

PJpn. ***kəm(p)ùrá (~-ua-)** calf (of leg) (икра (ноги)): MJpn. *kòmùrá*, *kobura*; Tok. *kòmura*, *kómura*; Kyo. *kómùrà*; Kag. *komúra*.

◊ JLTT 456. Tonal correspondences are not quite clear.

PKor. ***kùpɨrəŋ** elbow (локоть): MKor. *phǎr-kùpɨrəŋ*; Mod. *phal-k:up*.

◊ Nam 462, KED 1736.

‖ Turk. forms may be < Mong. Note that the TM forms have nothing to do with Mong. *ebčeɣün* 'breast bone', despite Doerfer MT 20, Rozycki 65. The word probably had the original meaning 'rib', preserved in Western languages; the Korean and Japanese forms cannot be kept apart, but they deserve special comment: in both languages the root was naturally influenced by the reflexes of **kŏpʿé* 'bend' (q.v.); the Japanese form is also aberrant accentologically, shows rather *-m- than *-p- and may in fact be a merger of the present root with PA **kʿi̯ome* 'marrow'.

✱**kʿer[o]** frog, toad: Tung. ***xerekī**; Turk. ***Kɨr-bāka / *Kur-**; Kor. ***kòr'oàŋ'í**.

PTung. ***xerekī** frog (лягушка): Evk. *erekī*; Evn. *eriki*; Neg. *ejexī*; Man. *erxe*; Ul. *xere*, *xereke*; Ork. *xere*; Nan. *xere*; Orch. *ēki*; Ud. *ēxi*.

◊ TMC 2, 466-467.

PTurk. ***Kɨr-bāka / *Kur-** 1 toad 2 frog (1 жаба 2 лягушка): Karakh. *qur-baqa* (MK) 1; Turkm. *Gur-bāGa* 2; MTurk. *qur-baɣa* 1; Tat. *qɨr-baqa* 1; Kirgh. *qur-baqa* 1; Kaz. *qur-baqa* 2.

◊ Лексика 180.

PKor. ***kòr'oàŋ'í** snail (улитка): MKor. *kòr'oàŋ'í*.

◊ Nam 51.

‖ An expressive root with not quite regular correspondences.

✱**kʿēro** to shout, speak: Tung. ***xērī-**; Mong. ***kara/ija-**; Turk. ***Kạrga-**; Jpn. ***kátár-**.

PTung. ***xērī-** to shout, call (кричать, звать): Evk. *ērī-*; Evn. *ēri-*; Neg. *ējī-*; Jurch. *xeRse-be* 'language' (762); Ul. *xēr-si-*; Nan. *xēr-si-*; Sol. *ērī-*.

◊ TMC 2, 464.

PMong. ***kara/ija-** to curse (ругать): WMong. *qarija-* (L 938), *qaraɣa-*; Kh. *xarā-*; Bur. *xarā-*; Kalm. *xarā-* (KPC); Ord. *xarā-*; Dag. *xarā-*, *karā-* (Тод. Даг. 174); *harā-* (MD 156); Dong. *qara-*; Bao. *χəra-*; Mongr. *xarā-* (SM 159).

◊ MGCD 330.

PTurk. ***Kạrga-** to swear, curse (ругать, проклинать): OTurk. *qarɣan-* (*recipr.*) (OUygh.); Karakh. *qarɣa-*, *qɨrɣa-* (MK, KB); Turkm. *GarGa-*; MTurk. *qarɣa-* (Qutb, Abush.); Uzb. *qɛrɣɛ-*; Uygh. *qa(r)ɣa-*; Tat. *qarɣa-*; Bashk. *qarɣa-*; Kirgh. *qarɣa-*; Kaz. *qarɣa-*; KKalp. *qarɣa-*; Kum. *qarɣa-*; Nogh. *qarɣa-*; Khak. *xarɣa-*; Oyr. *qarɣa-*; Tv. *qarɣa-*; Tof. *qarɣa-*; Chuv. *xъrrъn* (Adv.) 'angrily'; Yak. *kɨrā-*; Dolg. *kɨrā-*.

◊ EDT 655, VEWT 237, ЭСТЯ 5, 304-305, Stachowski 169.

PJpn. ***kátár-** to speak, tell (говорить, рассказывать): OJpn. *katar-*; MJpn. *kátár-*; Tok. *kàtar-*; Kyo. *kátár-*; Kag. *katár-*.

◊ JLTT 705.

‖ Владимирцов 201. Despite Щербак 1997, 134, the Mong. form is hardly borrowed from Turkic. Jpn. has an irregular high tone. On a possible Korean parallel see under **kʿi̯ăli*.

✱**kʿerV (~ -ŕ-)** to go round, walk round: Tung. ***xerē-**; Mong. ***kere-, *kerü-**.

PTung. ***xerē-** 1 around 2 to walk around, turn around (1 вокруг 2 ходить вокруг, поворачиваться): Evk. *erēlī* 1; Evn. *erъl-* 2; Neg. *ejēl-* 2; Ul. *xereli-* 2; Ork. *xereli-* 2, *xere-li* 1; Nan. *xeri-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 467.

PMong. ***kere-, *kerü-** to roam, wander (бродить): WMong. *kere-*, *kerü-* (L 458); Kh. *xere-*; Ord. *kere-*, *kerü-*.

‖ Цинциус 1984, 127-128. A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**kʿérà** bark: Tung. ***xerekte**; Mong. ***kajir(a)-**; Turk. ***Kaŕ, *Kaŕ-dɨŕ**; Jpn. ***kárà**.

PTung. ***xerekte** skin (кожа): Evk. *erekte* 'skin, bark'; Evn. *ertъ*; Neg. *ejekte*; Ul. *xerekte*; Ork. *xerekte*; Nan. *xerekte*; Orch. *ēkte*.

◊ Formally - a derivative from PTM **xere-* 'to skin' (reflected in Ul. *xere-*); see TMC 2, 467.

PMong. ***kajir(a)-** scales, hard bark (чешуя, твердая кора): MMong. *kairsun* (HY 15); WMong. *qajir(a)-su(n)* (L 914); Kh. *xajrs*; Kalm. *xǟrsṇ*; Ord. *xǟrsu*, *xǟrsa*.

◊ KW 180.

PTurk. ***Kaŕ, *Kaŕ-dɨŕ** 1 bark 2 scales 3 dandruff 4 to peel bark 5 to husk nuts (1 кора 2 чешуя 3 перхоть 4 сдирать кору 5 лущить орехи): OTurk. *qadɨz* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *qaz*, *qaδɨz* 1 (MK); Uzb. *qazɣɔq* 3; Tat. *qajrɨ* 1, dial. *qajɨz* 1; *qajɨzla-* 4; Bashk. *qajrɨ*, dial. *qajɨδ*; Kaz. *qajɨzɣaq* 3; KKalp. *qajɨzɣaq* 3; Nogh. *qajɨzɣaq* 3; SUygh. *qazdɨq* 1; Khak. *xastɨrɨx* 1; Tv. *qazɨrɨq* 2, *qazɨ-* 4; Tof. *qa's-* 5; Chuv. *xujъr* 1; Yak. *qatɨrɨk* 1; *xastā-* 'to skin'; Dolg. *kastā-* 'to skin'.

◊ VEWT 218, 243, EDT 608, 665, ЭСТЯ 5, 211-212, 328, Федотов 2, 352, Лексика 107. The original form here is **Kaŕ*; a suffixed form was **Kaŕdɨ(ŕ)*, later simplified to **Kadɨŕ*.

This can be clearly seen from forms like SUygh. and Khak. Another possible explanation could be an early dissimilation (*Kaŕ-iŕ > *Kadiŕ = *Kaδiŕ, or already after the zetacism, *Kaziz > *Kaδiz). There is some confusion between *Kaŕ and *Kas, *Kasuk in Old Turkic, but MK definitely spells the word as *qaz*.

PJpn. ***kárà** shell (скорлупа): MJpn. *kárà*; Tok. *kará*; Kyo. *kàrá*; Kag. *kára*.

◊ JLTT 438. The Kyoto accent is aberrant (**kárà* would be expected).

‖ Miller 1975, 157-72, 1985, 151, АПиПЯЯ 38, 80, 285, Лексика 107. The Mong. word belongs here with high probability, although medial -j- is not quite clear: the form is perhaps a dissimilation < **kari-ra-* (a similar process *-lVl- > -jVl- is widely spread).

✱**kʿĕ̀ŕo** to remunerate, repay: Tung. ***xeri-**; Mong. ***kerig**; Turk. ***Kaŕgan-**; Jpn. ***kə̀tə̀-pə̀k-**.

PTung. ***xeri-** 1 price 2 wake, ritual celebration (after death) 3 payment to a judge (1 цена, стоимость 2 период выполнения церемониального обряда (после смерти) 3 плата судье): Evn. *ēri* 1; Nan. *xergẽ* 2, *xerū* (On.) 3.

◊ TMC 1, 482, 2, 464.

PMong. ***kerig** miserly (скупой): WMong. *kerig*, *kireg*, *kirig* (L 471); Kh. *xereg*.

PTurk. ***Kaŕgan-** to earn wages by labour, to gain profits by trade, to strive for success (приобретать, хранить, выигрывать): OTurk. *qazɣan-* (Orkh., Yeniss., OUygh.); Karakh. *qazɣan-* (MK, KB); Tur. *kazan-*; Gag. *qazan-*; Az. *Gazan-*; Turkm. *Gazan-*; MTurk. *qazan-* (Sangl., Houts., Ettuhf., IM, Pav. C., MA), Kypch. *qazan-* (CCum.); Uygh. *qazan-*; Tat. *qazan-*; Bashk. *qazan-*; Kum. *qazan-*; Nogh. *qazan-*; Chuv. *хърɣъп* 'скупец, скряга, скаред'; Yak. *xahān-*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 5, 188-189.

PJpn. ***kə̀tə̀-pə̀k-** to celebrate (поздравлять, праздновать): OJpn. *kotop(w)ok-*; MJpn. *kotofog-*; Tok. *kotohóg-*, *kotobuk-*; Kyo. *kótóhóg-*; Kag. *kòtòhòg-*.

◊ JLTT 713.

‖ Note a rare case of Jpn. -t- < *-ŕ- before -ə-; this should be probably explained by an early vowel assimilation: **kə̀tə̀pə̀k-* < **kə̀tù pə̀k-* (cf. also another attested variant, **kə̀tə̀pùk-*).

✱**kʿĕsa (~ -o)** spool, spool string: Tung. ***xesi-**; Turk. ***K(i)as-**; Jpn. ***kasai**.

PTung. ***xesi-n** string in net edge (веревка, стягивающая сеть): Man. *xešen* 'edge (of net etc.)'; SMan. *xešən*, *xesən* 'brim; strap' (2606); Ul. *xesi(n)*; Nan. *xesĩ*; Orch. *xesi(n)*.

◊ TMC 1, 483.

PTurk. ***K(i)as-** 1 to constrict, tighten 2 brace joining the wheel hoop and its wooden part 3 block, tambour 4 iron hoop on a cask (1 затяги-

вать, стягивать 2 скоба, соединяющая обод колеса и его деревянную часть 3 шкив, пяльцы 4 железный обод на бочке): Tur. *kas-* 1; Az. *GasnaG, GasaG* 3; Turkm. *Gas-* 1, *Gasŋaq* 2; Uzb. *qasnɔɣ* (dial.) 2; Uygh. *qasa-* 1, *qasqan* 'hoop of a tambourine'; Kirgh. *qasas-* 1, *qasqan* 4; KKalp. *qasnaq* 2; Nogh. *qasnaq* 2; Khak. *xas-* (Sag., Koib.) 'to place the halter on the saddle bow'; Oyr. *qasta-* 1; Tv. *qaʿsta-* 1.

◊ ЭСТЯ 5, 329-330.

PJpn. ***kasai** spool, tool for spinning, spool string (катушка, инструмент для наматывания, нить из катушки): OJpn. *kase*, *kasep(j)i*; MJpn. *kase*; Tok. *kase*.

◊ JLTT 441.

‖ Martin (JLTT 441) unites Jpn. *kase* 'spool' and *kase* 'fetters, shackles'; the two words, however, are clearly opposed in OJ and seem to have quite different Altaic origin (on **kàsi* 'fetters' see under PA **kʿìĺa*). PJ **kasai* 'spool' surely cannot be separated from PT **K(i)as-* 'hoop, hoop brace'; the attribution of PTM **xesi-* is less secure: it can belong here if we suppose a semantic development 'spool' > 'spool string' > 'string in net'.

✱**kʿèta** to overcome, contend: Tung. ***xete-**; Mong. ***kadagala-**; Turk. ***Katar-**; Jpn. ***kàt-**.

PTung. ***xete-** 1 to overcome, win 2 to be stubborn, contend 3 to fulfil, accomplish (1 преодолевать, побеждать 2 быть упрямым, состязаться 3 выполнять, совершать): Evk. *ete-* 3; Evn. *et-* 1; Neg. *etiče-* 2, *ete-* 3; Man. *ete-* 1; SMan. *etə-* 'to win' (803); Jurch. *hete-xe* (794) 1; Ul. *xete-* 1; Ork. *xete-* 1; Nan. *xete-* 1; Orch. *ete-* 1; Ud. *ete-* 1; Sol. *ete-* 1, 3.

◊ TMC 2, 470. TM > Dag. *ete-* (Тод. Даг. 141).

PMong. ***kadagala-** to preserve, keep in confinement (хранить, сохранять, держать в заключении): WMong. *qadaɣala-* (L 902); Kh. *xadgala-*; Bur. *xadagal-*; Kalm. *xadəɣl-*; Ord. *xadaGala-*; Dag. *xadaglā-*; S.-Yugh. *GadaGla-*.

◊ KW 158, MGCD 315.

PTurk. ***Katar-** 1 to turn (a horse) back, preventing it from going; to turn (the enemy) back 2 to drive, pursue 3 to pasture 4 to keep watch 5 to wait (1 поворачивать (лошадь) вспять; обращать врага в бегство 2 гнать, преследовать 3 пасти 4 наблюдать 5 ждать): Karakh. *qatar-* (MK) 1; Tur. *katarla-*, *katala-* (dial.) 2; Khak. *xadar-* 3,4,5; Shr. *qadar-* 3,4,5; Oyr. *qadar-* 3,4,5; Tv. *qadar-* 3,4,5.

◊ EDT 604, ЭСТЯ 5, 337.

PJpn. ***kàt-** to win, overcome (побеждать): OJpn. *kat-*; MJpn. *kàt-*; Tok. *kát-*; Kyo. *kàt-*; Kag. *kàt-*.

◊ JLTT 706.

‖ Martin 1996, 75 (Jpn.-TM).

✱**kʿet[o]** to tear apart, rip: Tung. ***xetü-**; Mong. ***kadu-**; Turk. ***Kotar-**.

PTung. ***xetü-** to tear apart (разрывать): Evk. *eti-*; Evn. *eted-*; Ul. *xetu-li-*; Ork. *xetū-*; Nan. *xetu-li-*.

◊ TMC 2, 469.

PMong. ***kadu-** 1 to sever ribs from the spine 2 to mow 3 to rip with fangs (of a wild swine) 4 sickle, scythe 5 to cut (1 отделять ребра от позвоночника 2 косить 3 раздирать клыками (о кабане) 4 серп, коса 5 отсекать, рубить): MMong. *qatu'ur* (HY 19) 4, *qataxasam* (~ *mixan*) (HY 24) 'the meat of the best taste'; WMong. *qadu-* (L 903), *qada-* 2, *qadura-* (L 903) 3; Kh. *xada-* 1,2, *xadra-* 3, *xadūr* 4; Bur. *xada-* 2, *xadar-* 3, *xadūr* 4; Kalm. *xad-* 2, *xadūr* 4 (KPC); Ord. *xadu-* 2, *xadūr* 4; Dag. *xadə-* 2 (Тод. Даг. 172 *xada-*), *xadūr* 4 (Тод. Даг. 172), *hade-* 2, *hadure* 4 (MD 154); Dong. *Gadu-* 2, *Gadu* 4; Bao. *Gadə-* 2, *Gadər* 4; S.-Yugh. *Gadə-* 2, *Gadūr* 4; Mongr. *Gadi-* (SM 116), *Gadə-* 2, *Gadir* (SM 116), *Gadər* 4, (?) *xadiri-* 'trancher, couper la gorge' (SM 147) (= *qadura-*).

◊ MGCD 315. Mong. > Evk. *kadu-* etc., see TMC 1, 360-361, Poppe 1966, 193, 194, Doerfer MT 81, Rozycki 97.

PTurk. ***Kotar-** 1 to tear out, uproot 2 to break 3 to move (1 выдирать (с корнем) 2 ломать 3 сдвигать, перемещать): Tat. *qutar-* (dial.) 3; Bashk. *qutar-* 2; Kirgh. *qotor-* 3; Khak. *xodɨr-* 1, 2; Oyr. *qodor-* 1.

◊ VEWT 284, ЭСТЯ 6, 85-86.

‖ An expressive Western isogloss; cf. **kʿad[u]*, with a possibility of contaminations.

✱**kʿétʿò** hard: Tung. ***(x)etu-**; Mong. ***kata-**; Turk. ***Kạt**; Jpn. ***kátá-**; Kor. ***kùt-**.

PTung. ***(x)etu-** strong, hard (сильный, тугой): Man. *etu-xun*; SMan. *etəxun* (2501).

◊ TMC 2, 470 (the Manchu word is to be separated from **xete-* 'to win, overcome'). Attested only in Manchu, but having reliable external parallels. Man. > Dag. *etgun*, *etxun* (Тод. Даг. 140).

PMong. ***kata-** 1 hard 2 to become hard, dry up (1 твердый 2 черстветь, высыхать): MMong. *qataи'и* (HY 54), *qataŋgin* (SH), *qata'и* (MA) 1, *qətəmər* 'dried (meat)' (IM); WMong. *qata-* (L 943) 2, *qataɣu* 1; Kh. *xat-* 2, *xatū* 1; Bur. *xatū* 1; Kalm. *xatū* 1, *xatə-* 2 (KPC); Ord. *Gatū* 1; Mog. *xata* 1 (Weiers); Dag. *katən* (Тод. Даг. 148: *katō*, *katū*, 174: *xata-*); *katen*, *katū* (MD 182) 1; Dong. *qɨdun*, *qɨtun* 1; Bao. *χotoŋ* 1; S.-Yugh. *Gadū* 1; Mongr. *xadoŋ* (SM 147) 1, *xadā-* (SM 146) 2.

◊ TMN 1, 410, MGCD 336.

PTurk. ***Kạt** hard (твердый): OTurk. *qatɨɣ* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *qatɨɣ* (MK, KB, IM); Tur. *kat* (dial.); Az. *Gatɨ*; Turkm. *Gat, Gatɨ*; MTurk. *qatɨɣ* (MA); Uzb. *qɔtiq*; Uygh. *qetiq*; Tat. *qatɨ*; Bashk. *qatɨ*; Kirgh. *qatū*;

Kaz. *qattɨ*; KKalp. *qattɨ*; Kum. *qatɨ*; Nogh. *qat*; Khak. *xatɨɣ*; Shr. *qadɨɣ*; Oyr. *qatū*; Tv. *qa'dɨɣ*; Chuv. *xɨdъ*; Yak. *kɨtānax*; Dolg. *kɨtānak*.

◊ EDT 597-598, VEWT 241, ЭСТЯ 5, 334-335, Stachowski 170. Yak. *xat-*, Dolg. *kat-* 'to dry up' (Stachowski 140) < Mong. *qata-* id. Khak. *xatɨɣ* also probably has -t- under Mong. influence.

PJpn. ***kátá-** hard (твердый): OJpn. *kata-*; MJpn. *kátá-*; Tok. *kàta-*; Kyo. *kátà-*; Kag. *káta-*.

◊ JLTT 831.

PKor. ***kùt-** hard (твердый): MKor. *kùt-*; Mod. *kut-*.

◊ Liu 88, KED 216.

‖ KW 172, Владимирцов 195, 318, SKE 132-133, Martin 233, TMN 1, 410, Lee 1958, 114, АПиПЯЯ 70. Mong. is hardly < Turk. (despite Щербак 1997, 137); Mong. > Man. *qata-* etc., see Doerfer MT 19, Rozycki 103.

✱**kʿĕǯa (~ -o)** to rip, tear apart: Tung. ***xeǯe-**; Mong. ***kaǯa-**; Turk. ***Kajɨra-**.

PTung. ***xeǯe-** to rip, unrip (пороть, распарывать): Evk. *eǯe-*; Evn. *eǯ-*; Neg. *eǯe-*; Ul. *xeǯe-li-*, *xeǯe-če-*; Ork. *xede-či-*; Nan. *xeǯē-* (intr.) (On.) Orch. *eǯe-ti-*; Ud. *eǯe-si-*.

◊ TMC 2, 439.

PMong. ***kaǯa-** to bite (кусать): MMong. *qaǯa-* (SH); WMong. *qaǯa-* (L 947); Kh. *xaʒa-*; Bur. *xaza-*; Kalm. *xaz-* (KPC); Ord. *xaǯa-*; Dag. *xaǯi-*; Dong. *qaǯa-* (MGCD *Gaǯa-)*; S.-Yugh. *Gaǯa-*; Mongr. *Gaʒ́a-* (SM 117).

◊ MGCD 316, 350. Mong. > Kirgh. *qaǯa-* etc. (ЭСТЯ 5, 183); > Manchu *qaǯa-* 'to break with the teeth' (Rozycki 130). Mong. *qaǯaɣur* 'tongs' > Man. *xaǯun* 'weapon', see Doerfer MT 144.

PTurk. ***Kajɨra-** 1 to whet, sharpen 2 to rub teeth (1 точить, заострять 2 тереть зубами): Tur. *kajra-* (dial.); Turkm. *Gajra-* 1; Uzb. *qajra-* 2; Uygh. *qɛjrɛ-* 2; Tat. *qajra-* 2; Bashk. *qajra-* 2; Kirgh. *qajra-* 2; Kaz. *qajra-* 2; KKalp. *qajra-* 2; Nogh. *qajra-* 2; Khak. *xajɨra-* 1; Oyr. *qaira-* 2; Chuv. *xъjra-* 2 (Anatri).

◊ ЭСТЯ 5, 205. The Turk. derivative **kajɨrak* 'whetstone' > Mong. *qajiraɣ*, see TMN 3, 568-569. Cf. also Kaz., Tat. *qajau* 'notch', Tur. *qajaɣan* 'whetstone' (R 2, 90) and Yak. *xajgɨa*, *xojguo* 'notch'; Yak. *xaja*, Dolg. *kaja* '(to tear) apart', Yak. *xajɨt-* 'to break, tear apart', Dolg. *kajɨt-* id., *kajɨn-* (*itr.*) (see Stachowski 133, 134, 135).

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**kʿíbà** ash tree: Tung. ***xiba-gda**; Mong. ***küjir-**; Turk. ***Kebrüč**; Jpn. ***kápiàru(n)tai**.

PTung. ***xiba-gda** ash tree (ясень): Neg. *i̯wagda*; Man. *ibadan*; Ul. *si̯waGda*; Nan. *si̯waGda*; Orch. *iwagda*; Ud. *joɣda*.

◊ TMC 1, 295.

PMong. ***küjir-** ash-tree (ясень): Kh. *xüjrs* (PMC).

PTurk. ***Kebrüč** ash tree (ясень): Karakh. *kevrik* 'hornbeam' (Vitex agnus castus) (MK); Tur. *kürüč*, *küvrüč* (dial.); Az. *göjrüš*; Tat. *qorɨč-aɣač*;

Bashk. *qoros-aγas*; KBalk. *kürüč*, Balk. *küjrüč*; Kum. *güjrüč*; Nogh. *küjriš*; Chuv. *kavъrъś*, *kavrъś* > Hung. *kõris*.

◊ EDT 690, VEWT 245, ЭСТЯ 5, 152, Лексика 136, Bläsing 2001. Volga-Turkic languages have a secondary vowel assimilation due to the compound with *aγač*. Cf. also Osset. *kärz(ä)* < Turk., see Abayev 1, 587-588; on Hung. *kőris* < Turk. see Gombocz 1912.

PJpn. ***kápiàru(n)tai*** a k. of maple tree (вид клена): OJpn. *kapjerude*; MJpn. *káfèdé*; Tok. *kàede*; Kyo. *kàèdé*; Kag. *kaéde*.

◊ JLTT 432. Etymologized as 'frog hand', which is most probably a folk-etymology.

‖ Дыбо 11. Vowels in Mong. and Turk. are not quite clear: probably Mong. **küjir-* < **kijür-* and Turk. **Kebrüč* < **Kibrüč* (?).

✱**kʿibù** handle: Tung. ***xīb-***; Mong. ***kiγi-***; Turk. ***Kiben-te***; Jpn. ***kúpá***.

PTung. ***xīb-*** handle (of axe), shaft (of arrow) (рукоятка (топора, лопаты), древко (стрелы, копья)): Evn. *iw-den*; Ul. *sī*; Ork. *sī*; Nan. *sī*; Orch. *ī*; Ud. *ī* (*i̯i*) (Корм. 236).

◊ TMC 1, 295.

PMong. ***kiγi-*** 1 handle of a bucket 2 violin (1 ручка ведра 2 скрипка): WMong. *kikili* (= *kigili*) 2 (L 465); Kh. *xijl* 2; Bur. *xiila* 1.

PTurk. ***Kiben-te*** shoulder yoke (коромысло): Tat. *köjɛntɛ*; Bashk. *köjɛntɛ*; Kaz. *küjeŋte*; Nogh. *küjen*; Chuv. *kəʷvende*.

◊ VEWT 306 (the word should be distinguished from **Küb-* 'to pound' q. v. sub **gi̯ube).*

PJpn. ***kúpá*** hoe, mattock (мотыга): MJpn. *kúfá*; Tok. *kùwa*; Kyo. *kùwá*; Kag. *kúwa*.

◊ JLTT 468. Most dialects reflect **kúpá*, but Kyoto points to a variant **kùpá.*

‖ Standard Jpn. accent does not correspond to PTM length; however, length here may be compensatory (cf. loss of *-b in most TM languages).

✱**kʿičʿV (~ -č-)** small; young of animals: Mong. ***kičig***; Turk. ***kičük /-g***.

PMong. ***kičig*** puppy, young of dog (щенок): MMong. *güčük* (HY); WMong. *kičig*; Kalm. *kičəg*; Dong. *kiʒəu*; S.-Yugh. *gəčig*.

◊ KW 233, MGCD 300. Evn. *köčükēn*, *kučukēn* 'sm, little child' (TMC 1, 421) should be regarded as a loan < Mong.

PTurk. ***kičük /-g*** small, little (маленький): OTurk. *kičig* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *kičüg* (MK); Tur. *küčük*, *kiči* (dial.); Gag. *küčük*, *küʒük*; Az. *kičik*; Turkm. *kiči*; Sal. *kiʒi*; MTurk. *kičik* (IM, AH, Abush., Pav. C.); Uzb. *kičik*; Uygh. *kičik*; Krm. *kičkenä*; Tat. *keče*; Bashk. *kese*; Kirgh. *kičǖ*; Kaz. *kəši*; KBalk. *giččе*; KKalp. *kəši*; Nogh. *kiškej*; SUygh. *kɨčɨγ*; Khak. *kəčəg*; Oyr. *kičü*; Chuv. *kəźən*; Yak. *kuččuguj*; Dolg. *kuččuguj*, *küččügüj*.

◊ VEWT 269, EDT 696, ЭСТЯ 5, 75-77, Stachowski 159, 163. On Turk. > Hung. *kis* 'small' see Gombocz 1912.

‖ KW 233, VEWT 269, АПиПЯЯ 284. A Turkic-Mongolian isogloss; loan is not excluded (see Clark 1980, 43, Щербак 1997, 164), thus the PA antiquity is dubious (cf. also TMN 3, 628-631). The Turkic form may

actually be the same root as the somewhat later attested *güčük 'puppy' (see ЭСТЯ 3, 92-93) - which may also be the source of MMong. *güčüg*; in this case one should rather consider a possibility of comparing Mong. *gičige*, Khalkha *gičij* 'bitch' and Evk. *guske* 'wolf', *gusketkēn* 'wolf's cub' (TMC 1, 175).

✱**kʿìjĺu** to deviate, slant: Tung. ***xī(l)-**; Mong. ***kelbe-, *kilu-**; Turk. ***Kɨjĺ-**; Jpn. ***kùsù-**.

PTung. ***xī(l)-** to pass (миновать, проходить мимо): Evk. *ilte(n)-*; Evn. *ie-*, *iel-*; Neg. *ilten-*; Ul. *sī-*; Ork. *sī-*; Nan. *sī-*.

◊ TMC 1, 310-311; 2, 73.

PMong. ***kelbe-, *kilu-** 1 to deviate 2 to be oblique, slanting (1 отклоняться 2 скашиваться, быть косым): MMong. *kelberi-* 2 (SH), *kelberin* 'slanting' (HYt), *qilǯir* 'squint' (MA); WMong. *kelbere-* (L 446: *kelberi-*) 1, *kelbiji-* (L 446: *kelbeji-*), *kiluji-* 2 (L 467: *kiluji-*, *kilaji-* 'to look ascance'); Kh. *xelbere-* 1, *xelbij-* 2, *x́alaj-* 'to look ascance'; Bur. *xelbɨ-* 1 *xilar* 'кривой'; Kalm. *kelwr-* 2, *kulī-* 2; Ord. *kelbeger* 'inclined'; Dag. *kelbei-* 2 (Тод. Даг. 149).

◊ KW 224, 244, TMN 1, 472. Mong. > Man. *kelfi-* etc., see Doerfer MT 123, Rozycki 136-137. Mong. has also other derived forms-: *kelteger*, *keltegei* 'crooked', *kelteji-* 'to bow, bend' (> Evk. *kelteke*, *kelter* etc., see Doerfer ibid.; > Yak., Dolg. *keltegej*, see Kał. MEJ 77, Stachowski 144); *kilar*, *kilaγar* 'squint-eyed' (> Evk. *kilar*, see Doerfer ibid. 127).

PTurk. ***Kɨjĺ-** to bow, bend (гнуться, кривиться): Karakh. *qɨš-* (MK) 'to deviate'; Tur. *kiš-*; Turkm. *Gīšar-*; Uygh. *qijšaj-*; Bashk. *qɨjšanda-*; Kirgh. *qɨjšaj-*; Kaz. *qɨjsaqta-*; KBalk. *qɨjsaj-* < Nogh.; Nogh. *qɨjsaj-*.

◊ EDT 670, VEWT 268, TMN 3, 571-573.

PJpn. ***kùsù-** strange (< 'deviating'?) (странный (< 'отклоняющийся'?)): OJpn. *kusu-*, *kusi*; MJpn. *kùsù-*.

◊ JLTT 833.

‖ KW 244, EAS 108, TMN 1, 472. The Jpn. form is phonetically a good match; as for the meaning, one has to suppose a development 'slanting, deviating' > 'strange'.

✱**kʿíla** hair: Tung. ***xiń-ŋa- (< *xil-ŋa-)**; Mong. ***kilga-su**; Turk. ***Kɨl(k)**; Jpn. ***kái**; Kor. ***kār(h)-**.

PTung. ***xiń-ŋa-** hair, fur (волос, пух, шерсть): Evk. *inŋakta*; Evn. *ịnŋъt*; Neg. *ênńakta*; Man. *iŋGaχa*; Ul. *sịńakta*; Ork. *sịnaqta*; Nan. *sịŋaqta*; Orch. *iŋaqta*; Ud. *iŋakta*; Sol. *iŋakta*.

◊ TMC 1, 317.

PMong. ***kilga-su** horse's hair, tail hair (лошадиный волос, волос хвоста): MMong. *qilγasu* (MA), *kilqasun* (SH); WMong. *kilγasu(n)* (L 466); Kh. *x́algas*; Bur. *xilgāha(n)*; Kalm. *kilγəsṇ*, *kiləγsṇ*; Ord. *kilGasu(n)*; Mog. *qilγasun*; Dag. *kilgās*, *kirgās* (Тод. Даг. 150); Mongr. *ćirGāʒə*.

◊ KW 231, MGCD 352. Mong. > Evk. *kilgāsun*, see Doerfer MT 126.

PTurk. ***Kɨl(k)** hair (волос): OTurk. *qɨl* (OUygh.); Karakh. *qɨl* (MK, KB); Tur. *kɨl*; Gag. *qɨl*; Az. *Gɨl*; Turkm. *Gɨl*; Khal. *qɨl*; MTurk. *qɨl* (IM); Uzb. *qil*; Uygh. *qil*; Krm. *qɨl*; Tat. *qɨl*; Bashk. *qɨl*; Kirgh. *qɨl*; Kaz. *qɨl*; KBalk. *qɨl*; KKalp. *qɨl*; Kum. *qɨl*; Nogh. *qɨl*; SUygh. *qɨl*; Khak. *xɨl*; Shr. *qɨl* (R.); Oyr. *qɨl*; Tv. *xɨl*; Tof. *xɨl*; Chuv. *xələx*; Yak. *kɨl*; Dolg. *kɨl* 'sealine'.

◊ VEWT 262, TMN 3, 574-5, EDT 614, Лексика 196, ЭСТЯ 6, 204-205, Stachowski 168.

PJpn. ***kái** hair (волос): OJpn. ke; MJpn. *ké*; Tok. *kè*; Kyo. kê̂; Kag. *ké*.

◊ JLTT 447.

PKor. ***kār(h)-** 1 hair 2 horse's mane (1 волос 2 лошадиная грива): MKor. *kārki* 2; Mod. *məri-kharak*, *məri-khal* 1, *kālgi* 2.

◊ Liu 28, HMCH 308, KED 43, 608.

‖ KW 231, Владимирцов 172, Poppe 19, ОСНЯ 1, 352, JOAL 71, 72, Street 1985, 640, АПиПЯЯ 29, 75, 87, 276, Дыбо 4, Мудрак Дисс. 69, Лексика 197. Borrowing in Mong. < Turk. is quite improbable, despite Щербак 1997, 137. Doerfer (TMN 3, 575) expresses doubts ("...wohl nicht angeht"). Jpn. **ká-* reflects **kʿil(a)-gV* (cf. the Turkic and Mong. forms).

✱**kʿile** a k. of fish or lizard: Tung. ***xilkun**; Mong. ***kilim**; Turk. ***keler / *keleŕ / *kelte**.

PTung. ***xilkun** summer salmon (кета (летняя)): Evk. *ilkun*; Neg. *i̯lkṵn*; Ul. *si̯lčin*; Nan. *si̯lkī*.

◊ TMC 1, 309.

PMong. ***kilim** 1 sturgeon 2 salmon (1 осетр 2 лосось): WMong. *kilim* (L 466: *kilime*); Kh. *xilem*; Bur. *xilme*.

PTurk. ***keler / *keleŕ / *kelte** lizard (ящерица): Karakh. *keler* (MK); Tur. *keler* (dial.), *kelez* (dial.), *kelte-keler* (dial.); Az. *kelez*, *käläz*; MTurk. *keles* (MA); Uzb. *kälti-kälas*, *kälɔs* (dial.), *kältä* (dial.); Uygh. *kilɛr* (dial.); SUygh. *kesilkə*; Khak. *kileskə*; Shr. *kelesken*; Oyr. *keleski*; Tv. *xeleske*; Chuv. *kalda*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 5, 30-32, 34, Лексика 180-181; **keleŕ* > Mong. *keles*, see Щербак 1997, 126. Despite ЭСТЯ the Chuv. form cannot be borrowed from Tat; rather, vice versa, some Volga-Qypchaq languages have borrowed the Bulg. word.

‖ A Western isogloss. In Turkic we are dealing perhaps with a merger of this root with a different one, reflected in Mong. *gölbürge* 'lizard' (KW 138), Khalkha *gürbel* (whence Yak. *külgeri*, *kürgeli*). Cf. also **kalu*, **kʿula*.

✱**kʿílo** stalk, stem: Tung. ***xila-**; Mong. ***kil-gana**; Turk. ***Kɨl-ga-**; Kor. ***kɨ̀rɨ̀h**.

PTung. ***xila-** to blossom, flower (цвести, цветок): Evk. *ila-*, *ilaɣa*; Neg. *i̯laɣa-*, *i̯laɣa*; Man. *ila-*, *ilχa*; SMan. *iləhā* (2139); Jurch. *hil-ɣa* (118); Ul. *si̯la-*, *si̯la*; Ork. *si̯la-*, *si̯lla*; Nan. *si̯la-*, *si̯laqta*; Orch. *ilakta*; Ud. *ila-*.

◊ TMC 1, 304. TM > Dag. *ilgā* (Тод. Даг. 146). Cf. also **xila-*, **xilē-* 'bast, to peel off bast'.

PMong. ***kil-gana** meadowgrass (Stipa consanguinea) (ковыль, луговая трава): WMong. *kilγana*, *kilaγana* (L 465); Kh. *x́algana*; Bur. *xilgana*; Kalm. *kilγənə*; Ord. *kilaGana*.

◊ KW 231. Mong. > Manchu *kilhana* 'bramble-bush (Bidens bipinnata)' (see Rozycki 139).

PTurk. ***Kɨl-ga-** beard (of grain), awn (ость (колоса)): Az. *Gɨlγa* (dial.) 'third harvest on virgin soil'; Bashk. *qɨlγan* (dial.); Kirgh. *qɨlqan*; Kaz. *qɨlqan*; KKalp. *qɨlqan*; Khak. *xɨlγa*; Oyr. *qɨlγan*, *qɨlγa*; Tof. *xɨlγan*; Chuv. *xɨĺъx*; Yak. *kɨlān*.

◊ VEWT 263, Лексика 127, ЭСТЯ 6, 208-209. The Kypchak names of "meadowgrass" (Kirgh. qɨlqan etc., see Лексика ibid., ЭСТЯ 6, 208) are most probably borrowed from Mongolian.

PKor. ***kɨrɨh** stubble; stump (стерня; пень): MKor. *kɨrɨ* (*kɨrɨh*); Mod. *kɨru*.

◊ Nam 67, KED 235.

‖ Дыбо 10. Cf. PJ **kəi*, OJ ki 'tree' (if not < Austronesian), compared with Kor. by Whitman 1985, 138-139, 226.

✱**kˆìĺa** fetters: Tung. ***xil-**; Mong. ***kelbeγür**; Turk. ***kiĺe-**; Jpn. ***kàsi**; Kor. ***kár**.

PTung. ***xil-** 1 loop for a billet on deer's neck (to keep him from straying) 2 fur collar 3 halter, headstall (1 петля (для подвешивания на шею оленя плашки) 2 оплечье, ошейник (обшитый соболями); меховой воротник 3 недоуздок): Evk. *inman*, *inmar* 3, *iltē* 1; Evn. *i̇nmъ̣r* 3; Man. *ilten* 2; Ul. *sini* 2; Ork. *sinni* 2, *si̇lma* 3; Orch. *sili* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 310, 316, 2, 84.

PMong. ***kelbeγür** chock, boot-tree (колодка): WMong. *kelbegür* (MXTT); Kh. *xelbū̄r*; Bur. *xelberi*; Dag. *kelbej-*.

◊ Mong. > Orok *qalu̇mu̇ri* 'board'. The word is formally derived from *kelbe-* 'to shape', whence also *kelberi* (L 446) 'shape': external evidence, however, strongly suggests that 'boot-tree' must have been the original meaning, and 'shape' is a secondary developed abstract meaning.

PTurk. ***kiĺe-** 1 to hobble, bound 2 fetters (1 стреножить 2 путы): OTurk. *kiše-* (OUygh.) 1, *kišen* (OUygh.) 2; Karakh. *kiše-* (MK, KB) 1, *kišen* (MK) 2; Tur. *kešan* 'headstall, fetters'; Turkm. *kīšen* 'chains'; MTurk. *kišen* 'chain' (Sangl., Houts.), Kypch. *kišen* (CCum.) 2; Uygh. *kišɛn* 2; Tat. *kištɛ* 3; Kirgh. *kišen* 2; KBalk. *kišen* 2.

◊ VEWT 258, EDT 753. Some forms point to **kēĺ-*, possibly under the influence of **keĺč* 'belt' (v. sub **kˆéĺe)*.

PJpn. ***kàsi** fetters, shackles (оковы, кандалы): OJpn. *kasi*; MJpn. *kasi*, *kase*; Tok. *káse*; Kyo. *kásé*; Kag. *kasé*.

◊ JLTT 441. Tokyo and Kagoshima point to **kàs(a)í* or **kàs(a)î*, but Kyoto points to **kás(a)í* (the word is not attested in RJ).

PKor. ***kár** fetters, cangue (оковы, колодки): MKor. *kár*, *kār*; Mod. *khal*.

◊ Nam 19, HMCH 249, KED 1669. Modern initial *kh-* is not quite clear.

‖ Cf. **koli*, **gŭldi*, **kʿi̯uli* ; on the Jpn. form see also under **kʿĕsa.* The Turkic vocalism is completely irregular: perhaps due to a cluster simplification or assimilation? In Mong. cf. also *kelke-* 'to bead, string, join' (> Yak., Dolg. *kelgij-*, see Kał. MEJ 51, Stachowski 143).

✱**kʿȉrégV** cutting tool: Tung. ***xirege**; Mong. ***kiröɣe**; Turk. ***kerki**; Jpn. ***kìrí**.

PTung. ***xirege** file (напильник): Evk. *ireɣē*; Evn. *irge*; Neg. *īɣē* ~ *ijeɣē*; Ul. *siru*; Ork. *sīro*; Nan. *siru*; Orch. jo; Ud. *jue*.

◊ TMC 1, 328-329.

PMong. ***kiröɣe** 1 file, saw 2 awl (1 напильник, пила 2 шило): MMong. *kirū* 1, *kirä* 2 (IM), *kiru* (MA) 1, *kire* 2, *kiru'e* (SH); WMong. *kirüge* 1 (L 473); Kh. *xörō̄* 1; Bur. *x́ürō̄* 1; Kalm. *körē̄* 1; Ord. *körō̄* 1; Dag. *kirē* 1 (Тод. Даг. 150, MD 183); Dong. *čireu* 1; S.-Yugh. *kürē* 1; Mongr. *ćirū* (SM 458) 1.

◊ KW 240, MGCD 376. Mong. > Oyr. *kärä* etc. (VEWT 255).

PTurk. ***kerki** 1 adze, mattock 2 razor (1 кирка, мотыга 2 бритва): Karakh. *kerki* (MK) 1, *kerej* (MK) 2; Tur. *kerki* 1; Az. *kärki*, *kerki* (dial.) 1; Turkm. *kerki* 1; MTurk. *kerki* (IM, AH) 1; Uygh. *kɛkɛ*, *kɛrke* (dial.) 1; Kirgh. *kerki* 1; Oyr. *kerki* 1; Tv. *keržek* 'adze'; Chuv. *karъ* 'chisel'.

◊ EDT 741, ЭСТЯ 5, 51-52 (> Russ. *кирка).*

PJpn. ***kìrí** drill, awl (сверло, шило): OJpn. *kjiri*; MJpn. *kìrì*; Tok. *kíri*; Kyo. *kìrí*; Kag. *kíri*.

◊ JLTT 451. Accent in Kagoshima is irregular.

‖ Цинциус 1984, 92, Ozawa 80-81. The stem may be connected to PT **kert-* (ЭСТЯ 5, 54, Stachowski 145), Mong. **kerči-* 'to cut' (> Evk. *kerči-* etc., TMC 1, 453, see Doerfer MT 110; the two words were compared in KW 228, Poppe 19, 51, 83, Menges 1982, and despite Щербак 1997, 127, Mong. *kerči-* is hardly borrowed < Turk.): we may be dealing with two derivatives (**kʿire-gV* vs. **kʿire-tʿV*). However, direct derivation PT **kerki* < **kert-ki* is hardly plausible, despite Menges 1944; it rather goes back to **kirge-ki*.

✱**kʿìri** dirt, dirty: Tung. ***(x)ir-**; Mong. ***kir**; Turk. ***kir**; Jpn. ***kìtà-nà-**.

PTung. ***(x)ir-** dandruff (перхоть): Evn. *irit*.

◊ TMC 1, 327. Attested only in Evn., but with possible external parallels.

PMong. ***kir** dirt (грязь): MMong. *kīr* (IM), *kir* (MA); WMong. *kir* (L 385), *kkir* (DO 415); Kh. *xir*; Bur. *xir(e)*; Kalm. *kir*; Dag. *hire* (MD 162).

◊ KW 232. Mong. > Evk. *kiri* etc., see Doerfer MT 73.

PTurk. ***kir** dirt (грязь): OTurk. *kir* (OUygh.); Karakh. *kir* (MK, KB); Tur. *kir*; Gag. *kir*; Az. *kir*; Turkm. *kir*; MTurk. *kir* (Houts., Pav. C, AH);

Uzb. *kir*; Uygh. *kir*; Krm. *kir*; Tat. *ker*; Bashk. *ker*; Kirgh. *kir*; Kaz. *kir*; KKalp. *kir*; Kum. *kir*; Nogh. *kir*; Khak. *kər*; Oyr. *kir*; Tv. *xir*; Chuv. *kirək* 'dirt on body, dandruff'; Yak. *kir*; Dolg. *kir*.

◊ EDT 735, VEWT 271, ЭСТЯ 5, 69-70, Stachowski 148.

PJpn. ***kìtà-nà-*** dirty (грязный): OJpn. *kjita-na-*; MJpn. *kita-na-*; Tok. *kitaná-*; Kyo. *kítánà-*; Kag. *kitaná-*.

◊ JLTT 832.

‖ KW 232, АПиПЯЯ 73, Martin 230. Mong. may be < Turk. (cf. Щербак 1997, 127). Cf. also Turk. **Keŕ* 'bottom thief' (ЭСТЯ 5, 20), which Tekin (1979, 126) links with Mong. *kerčire* 'mud, silt': both may actually belong to the same Altaic root.

✱**kʿĭrka** to scrape, file: Tung. ***xigdi-***; Mong. ***kirga-***; Turk. ***Kɨrk-***; Jpn. ***kàk-***; Kor. ***kɨrk- / *kǎrk-***.

PTung. ***xigdi-*** to comb (чесать, причесывать): Evk. *igdi-*; Evn. *i̯d-*; Neg. *i̯gdi̯-*; Man. *iʒi-*; Jurch. *hir-di-xun* 'comb' (549); Ul. *sigdu-*; Ork. *sigdi-*; Nan. *sigʒi-*; Orch. *igdi-*; Sol. *idda-*.

◊ TMC 1, 296-297.

PMong. ***kirga-*** to shear, shave (стричь, брить): MMong. *kirqa-* (SH), *koryа-* (IM), *qirγa-* (MA); WMong. *kirγa-* (L 471); Kh. *x́arga-*; Bur. *xirga-*; Kalm. *kirγə-*; Ord. *kirGa-*; Mog. *qirγa-* 'shave, scrape'; KT *qərγa-* (23-5b); Dong. *Gəγa-*; S.-Yugh. *χurGa-*; Mongr. *ćirGā-* (SM 457).

◊ KW 232, MGCD 354. Mong. > Evk. *kirga-* etc., see Poppe 1972, 103, Doerfer MT 131, Rozycki 106, 134.

PTurk. ***Kɨrk-*** to shear, scrape (стричь, скрести): OTurk. *qɨrq-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *qɨrq-* (MK); Tur. *kɨrk-*; Gag. *qɨrq-*; Az. *Gɨrx-*; Turkm. *Gɨrq-*; Khal. *qɨrq-*; MTurk. *qɨrq-* (AH, Pav. C.); Uzb. *qirq-*; Uygh. *qi(r)q-*; Krm. *qɨrq-*; Tat. *qɨrq-*; Bashk. *qɨrq-*; Kirgh. *qɨrq-*; Kaz. *qɨrq-*; KKalp. *qɨrq-*; Kum. *qɨrq-*; Nogh. *qɨrq-*; SUygh. *qɨrq-*; Khak. *xɨrɨx-*; Oyr. *qɨrq-*, *qɨrqɨ-*; Tv. *qɨrγɨ-*; Yak. *kɨrt-*.

◊ EDT 651, VEWT 266, ЭСТЯ 6, 236-237.

PJpn. ***kàk-*** to scratch, scrape (скрести, царапать): OJpn. *kak-*; MJpn. *kàk-*; Tok. *kák-*; Kyo. *kàk-*; Kag. *kàk-*.

◊ JLTT 702.

PKor. ***kɨrk- / *kǎrk-*** to shear, scrape (стричь, скрести): MKor. *kɨrk-*, *kǎrk-*; Mod. *kɨk-* [*kɨlk-*], *kak-* [*kalk-*].

◊ Nam 22, 74, KED 48, 249.

‖ KW 232, Poppe 20, 115, Martin 240, ОСНЯ 1, 354. Mong. is hardly borrowed from Turk., despite Щербак 1997, 139. The root tends to contaminate with **gi̯óro* q.v. The vowel reflex in Korean is somewhat unclear (**kark-* or **kərk-* would be expected), otherwise all evidence points to **kʿĭrga*. The relation of Manchu *xergen* 'line, scratch, notch' is not quite clear: the word is certainly borrowed (because of -rg-), but the

source is unknown; equally unclear is the isolated Manchu *qarqa-* 'scratch with chopsticks, scrape on the fiyoo instrument' (compared with Kor. by Lee 1958, 113); perhaps in both cases we are dealing with loanwords Manchu < Kor.(?)

✱**kʿĭrma (~ -u, -o)** snow, hoar-frost: Tung. ***xima-ŋsa**; Mong. ***kirmag**; Turk. ***Kɨr-**.

PTung. ***xima-ŋsa** snow (снег): Evk. *imana*; Evn. *ịmъnrъ*; Neg. *ịmana*; Man. *nimaŋgi*; SMan. *nimaŋə* (2025); Jurch. *hima-ŋi* (17); Ul. *sịmana*, *sịmata*; Ork. *sịmana*, *sịmata*; Nan. *sịmana*, *sịmata*; Orch. *imasa*; Ud. *imaha*; Sol. *imanda*.

◊ See TMC 1, 312-313 (all languages reflect also various verbs derived from the root **xima-*). Cf. also Evn. *irpi* (< **xirpi*) 'snow' (folkl.) (TMC 1, 328).

PMong. ***kirmag** first snow (первый снег): WMong. *kirmaɣ* (L 470: *kirmaɣ*, *kiramaɣ*); Kh. *x́armag*; Bur. *x́armag*, *xirmag*; Kalm. *kirmъg*; Ord. *kirmaG* 'petite neige qui parvient à peine à couvrir le sol'; Dag. *kiarəmsən*.

◊ KW 232, MGCD 354. Turk. **kɨrpak* is probably a different root, see under **kʿare.*

PTurk. ***Kɨr-** 1 hoar-frost 2 thin snow (1 иней 2 тонкий снег): OTurk. *qɨraɣu* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *qɨraɣu* 1 (MK); Tur. *kɨraɣu* 1; Gag. *qrā* 1; Az. *Gɨrow* 1; Turkm. *Gɨraw* 1, *Gɨrpaq* 2; Khal. *qɨraw* 1; MTurk. *qɨraw* (Бор. Бад., Abush.), *qirau*, *qiraɣu* (Pav. C.) 1; Uzb. *qirɔw* 1; Uygh. *qija*, *qira*, *qiro* 1; Krm. *qɨraw*, *qoruw* 1; Tat. *qɨraw* 1, *qɨrpaq* 2; Bashk. *qɨraw* 1, *qɨrpaq* 2; Kirgh. *qɨrō* 1; Kaz. *qɨraw* 1, *qɨrpaq* 2; KBalk. *qrau* 1, *qɨrpaq* 2; KKalp. *qɨraw* 1; Kum. *qɨraw* 1, *qɨrpaq* 2; Nogh. *qɨraw* 1, *qɨrpaq* 2; Khak. *xro* 1, *xɨrbɨx* 2; Shr. *qɨrā* 1; Oyr. *quru* 1; Tv. *xɨrā* 1; Chuv. *xərbəx* 2; Yak. *kɨrɨa* 1, *kɨ̄rpax*, *kɨrpaj* 2; Dolg. *kɨrɨa* 1.

◊ VEWT 265-266, 267, EDT 656, ЭСТЯ 6, 230-231, 241, Stachowski 169. Turk. > MMong. (HY) *kira'u*, WMong. *kiraɣu*, Khalkha *x́arū* 'hoar-frost' etc. (see Doerfer TMN 3, 569, Щербак 1997, 138, Clark 1977, 147, although the latter's derivation of **kɨragu* < **kɨr* 'grey' is hardly acceptable). Cf. also PT **Kɨr-lač* 'the coldest time of winter' (see ЭСТЯ 6, 237-238).

‖ A Western isogloss. The etymology belongs to R. A. Miller (Miller 1985b) and O. Mudrak (Мудрак Дисс. 193) and presupposes a cluster simplification in PTM: **xima-* < **xirma*(= Mong. *kirma-G*).

✱**kʿírù** saddle: Mong. ***kira**; Turk. ***kürtün**; Jpn. ***kúrà**; Kor. ***kìrɨ́má**.

PMong. ***kira** rim of saddle bow (край седельной луки): WMong. *kira* (L 470); Kh. *x́ar*.

◊ Cf. IM *korže* (=*kürže*) 'saddle bow'; the word is also glossed as 'shovel' which is a reflex of the Turkic loanword *kürže*; but the meaning 'saddle bow' is quite peculiar and may represent a different *lexeme.*

PTurk. ***kür-tün** pack saddle (вьючное седло): Tur. *kürtün*; MTurk. *kürtün* (AH); Tat. *kürčen* (dial.).

◊ VEWT 311, Лексика 540.

PJpn. ***kúrà** saddle (седло): OJpn. *kura*; MJpn. *kúrà*; Tok. *kurá*; Kyo. *kúrà*; Kag. *kurá*.

◊ JLTT 464. The accent in Kagoshima is irregular.

PKor. ***kìrɨ́má** saddle (седло): MKor. *kìrɨ́má*; Mod. *kilma*.

◊ Nam 78, Liu 113, KED 280.

‖ An interesting common Altaic cultural term. In Turkic one has to suppose secondary labialization (**kürtün* < **kirtün*); otherwise correspondences are quite regular.

✱**kʿi̯ȁbu** to peel, skin: Tung. ***xū(be)**; Mong. ***kaɣul-**; Turk. ***K(i)ab**; Kor. ***kjə[b]- / *kib-**.

PTung. ***xū(be)** membrane scraper (скребок (для соскабливания мездры)): Evk. *ū*; Evn. *ǭ*; Neg. *ū*; Ul. *xūe*; Nan. *xue*; Ud. *ū*.

◊ TMC 2, 242.

PMong. ***kaɣul-** to peel off, skin (сдирать шкуру, свежевать): MMong. *qa'ul-* (SH); WMong. *qaɣul-* (L 909); Kh. *xūla-*; Bur. *xūla-*; Kalm. *xūl-* (KPC); Ord. *xūl-*; Dag. *haule-* (MD 158); Mongr. *xu̧li-* 'peler, écorcher, écorcer' (SM 180).

◊ Mong. > Man. *qola-*, *qōla-* (Rozycki 142).

PTurk. ***K(i)ab** 1 peeled skin 2 to peel 3 dandruff (1 содранная кожа 2 сдирать (кожу) 3 перхоть): Tur. *kav* 1, *kovak* 1, *kavla-* 2; Az. *GovaG* 3; Turkm. *Gov* 1; MTurk. *qav* 1 (AH) , *qavaq* 3 (CCum.); Uygh. *qavaq* 'shell' (dial.); Tat. *qawɨq* 3; Bashk. *qaw* 1, *qawaq* 3; Khak. *xāx* 3; Oyr. *qoq* (Верб.), *qāq* (dial.) 3.

◊ VEWT 214, EDT 578, ЭСТЯ 5, 160-161, 6, 7-8. This root should be distinguished from **Kāpuk* 'bark' (v. sub **kʿáp'a*), although they are partially confused in VEWT 234-5. See also EDT 583.

PKor. ***kjə[b]- / *kib-** 1 rice husks 2 bran (1 рисовая шелуха 2 отруби): MKor. *kjə́* 1, *kì'úr* 2; Mod. *kjə* 1, *kiul* 2.

◊ Liu 53, 114, KED 111, 272.

‖ Владимирцов 209. One of several similar PA roots (see **kʿáp'a*, **kʿepa*, **kèpʿi*, **gébo*).

✱**kʿi̯áčo** ends of bow, brace: Tung. ***xusu- / *xuse-**; Mong. ***kičir**; Turk. ***KAča-, *KAča-gu (?)**; Jpn. ***kasunkapi**; Kor. ***kòčái**.

PTung. ***xusu- / *xuse-** 1 cross-bow 2 weapon (for throwing) 3 snare (1 самострел 2 оружие (для бросания: стрела, снаряд) 3 силки): Evk. *usē* 2; Evn. *us* 2; Neg. *use* 2; Man. *wesen* 3; Ul. *χosolị* 2; Nan. *χosolị* 1; Orch. *usuli* 2; Ud. *wuhende-* 'to throw (weapon)'.

◊ TMC 2, 292.

PMong. ***kičir** ends of bow (концы лука): WMong. *kičir* (MXTT); Kh. *xičir*; Ord. *gečir*.

PTurk. ***KAča-, *KAča-gu** to chisel, chisel (долото, зубило, работать зубилом): Tat. *qaʒau* (Sib.); Bashk. *qasau*; Kaz. *qaša-*, *qašau*.

◊ VEWT 217.

PJpn. ***kasunkapi** brace, latch (скоба): OJpn. *kasugapji*; MJpn. *kasugafi*; Tok. *kasugai*.

◊ JLTT 442.

PKor. ***kòčái** ends of bow (концы лука): MKor. *kòčái*; Mod. *koʒa*.

◊ Nam 48, KED 148.

‖ The Turkic match is dubious (scantily represented and semantically difficult); all other languages match each other rather well.

✱**kʿi̯ǎda** itching, pungent: Tung. ***xidar**; Jpn. ***kàjù-**; Kor. ***kǎráb-**.

PTung. ***xidar** bitter, acid, biting (горький, едкий): Evk. *idari-pču*; Evn. *i̯dъrsi̯*; Neg. *i̯dasi*; Man. *idarša-* 'to feel chest pain'; Ul. *si̯darsi̯*; Ork. *si̯dāruli̯*; Nan. *si̯darsi̯*.

◊ TMC 1, 297.

PJpn. ***kàjù-** itching (зудеть, зудящий): OJpn. *kaju-*; MJpn. *kàjù-*; Tok. *kayú-*; Kyo. *káyù-*; Kag. *kayú-*.

◊ JLTT 831.

PKor. ***kǎráb-** to itch (зудеть, чесаться): MKor. *kǎráp-*, *kǎrjap-*, *kǎrjəp-* (-w-); Mod. *karjəp-* (-w-).

◊ Liu 3, 4, KED 11

‖ Martin 234 (Kor.-Jpn.). An Eastern isogloss; cf. perhaps Khalkha *xad(an)* 'кислица, смородина высочайшая', 'цимбария даурская' (if not < Turk. **Kat-* 'berry').

✱**kʿi̯ǎkʿe (~ -k-, -a)** dry: Tung. ***(x)igʒa-**; Mong. ***kagda-**; Turk. ***KAk**.

PTung. ***(x)igʒa-** 1 yellow 2 grey (1 желтый 2 серый): Evk. *igʒa-ma*, -rin 1; Evn. *i̯ɣʒaqa* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 297.

PMong. ***kag-** 1 to become hard, dry 2 last year's grass (1 засыхать, затвердевать 2 прошлогодняя трава): WMong. *qaγda* 2 (L 908); Kh. *xagd* 2, *xagsa-* 1; Bur. *xagda(n)* 2, *xagsa* 1; Kalm. *xaγsə-* 1, *xaγdə* 2 (KPC); Mongr. *xadarā-* 'être en lambeaux, être usé' (SM 147), *xaʒā-* 'être ou devenir sec, se dessécher' (SM 148).

◊ Mong. > Man. *xakda, xaksa-* etc., see Doerfer MT 116, Rozycki 99; > Yak. *xagdarij-*, Dolg. *kagdarij-* 'to become yellow (of leaves)' (Stachowski 132).

PTurk. ***KAk** dry (сухой): Karakh. *qaq* (MK); Tur. dial. *kak*, *kah*; Az. *Gax*; Turkm. *qaq*; MTurk. *qaq* (Sangl., Abush.); Uzb. *qɔq*; Uygh. *qaq*; Tat. *qaq*; Bashk. *qaq*; Kirgh. *qaq*; Kaz. *qaq*; KKalp. *qaq*; Kum. *qaq*; Nogh. *qaq*; Oyr. *qaq*.

◊ VEWT 223, ЭСТЯ 5, 218-220, EDT 608.

‖ A Western isogloss. See KW 160, 176, Poppe 17, 58; TMN 3, 394 ("weder beweisbar noch widerlegbar"). Mong. is not from Turkic, despite Щербак 1997, 134.

✱**kʿi̯āla (~ -Í-)** hot, ashes: Tung. ***xial-**; Mong. ***kala-**.

PTung. ***xial-** 1 coal 2 black (1 уголь 2 черный): Evk. *êlla* 1; Evn. *ā̈lrъ* 1; Neg. *êla* 1; Man. *jačin* 2, *jaχa* 1; SMan. *jačiŋ* 2 (2427); Jurch. *hia-xa* (66) 1; Ul. *sêlta* 1; Ork. *sêlta* 1; Nan. *sịalta* 1; Orch. (*i*)*jakta* 1; Ud. *jalaha* 1; Sol. *ilgẽ*, *ilči* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 289-290. Man. > Dag. *jāga* 'coal' (Тод. Даг. 146).

PMong. ***kala-** to heat (нагревать(ся)): MMong. *qala'un* 'hot, warm' (HY 6, SH), *qalaūn* id. (IM), *qalun* (LH); WMong. *qala-* (L 916); Kh. *xala-*; Bur. *xalā-* 1 (*xala-* 'обжигаться') *xalū(n)* 2; Kalm. *xalə-*; Ord. *xala-*; Mog. *qalɔn* 'warm' (Weiers); Dag. *xale-* 1 (MD 155) *xolō-*; *xalla-* 1, (Тод. Даг. 173) *xala-* 1, *xalōn* 2; Dong. *qalun* 'warm'; Bao. *χalGə-*, *χalə-*; *χoloŋ* 'warm'; S.-Yugh. *χalū-dGa-*, *χalū-ra-*; Mongr. *xala-* (SM 151); *xaloŋ* (SM 152) 'warm', *xarmaʒa-* < WMong. *qalamača-* 'ressentir une forte chaleur, avoir la fièvre' (SM 164).

◊ KW 162, MGCD 237, 318, 319. Mong. > Chag. *qala-*, Tel. *qala-* 'to make fire, kindle' (VEWT 224, ЭСТЯ 5, 228, Лексика 364); > Man. *xala-* etc. (Poppe 1966, 192, Doerfer MT 144).

‖ SKE 162, ОСНЯ 1, 333. A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**kʿi̯ăli** tongue: Tung. ***xilŋü**; Mong. ***kele-**; Turk. ***kele-**; Kor. ***kǎró-**.

PTung. ***xilŋü** tongue (язык): Evk. *inńi*; Evn. *ienŋъ*; Neg. *ińŋi*; Man. *ileŋgu*; SMan. *ileŋə*, *ilŋi*; Jurch. *hileŋ-ŋu* (499); Ul. *sińu*; Ork. *sinu*; Nan. *śirmu*, *siŋmu*; Orch. *iŋi*; Ud. *iŋi*; Sol. *iŋi*.

◊ TMC 1, 316-317.

PMong. ***kele-** 1 to say 2 tongue, language (1 сказать, говорить 2 язык): MMong. *kele(n)*, (SH), *kelen* (HY 45) 2, *kele-* 1 (SH, HYt), *kele-* (IM), *kălă-*, *kilăn* 1 (MA); WMong. *kele-* 1, *kele* 2 (L 447); Kh. *xele-* 1, *xel* 2; Bur. *xele-* 1, *xele(n)* 2; Kalm. *kelə-* 1, *kelṇ* 2; Ord. *kele-* 1, *kele* 2; Mog. *kelä-* 1, (Weiers), *kelän* 2; ZM *kelä* (2-4b) 2; Dag. *xele-* 1, *xeli*, *xeĺ* 2 (Тод. Даг. 175), *hele-* 1, *heli* 2 (MD 159); Dong. *kielie-* 1, *kielien* 2; Bao. *kele-* 1, *kelaŋ* (MGCD *kalaŋ*) 2; S.-Yugh. *kelen* 2; Mongr. *kile-* 1, *kile* 2 (SM 203).

◊ KW 223, 224, MGCD 340. Mong. > Evk. *kele* etc., see Doerfer MT 131, Rozycki 104.

PTurk. ***kele-** 1 to speak 2 talk, conversation (1 говорить 2 речь, слово): OTurk. *kele-čü* 2; Tur. dial. *keleʒi* 2; MTurk. *keleči* 2 (Houts.), *keleče* 2 (MA); Kirgh. *keleč-söz* 2; Chuv. *kala-* 1.

◊ VEWT 248, ЭСТЯ 5, 32-33, EDT 716 (Clauson considers the word to be a foreign loan which is dubious, see Clark 1977, 136-138). It is also worth mentioning Tur. *kelime*, Az. *kälmä* 'word', Turkm. *keleme* 'sacred words of Qur'an pronounced for protection' - usually regarded as Arabisms, but with some peculiarities (front vocalism, final -e) that could actually indicate Turkic origin, with a secondary merger with the Arabic loan.

PKor. ***kǎró-** to say (a defective verb) (говорить (глагол, вводящий прямую речь)): MKor. *kǎrótǎi*; Mod. *kalodwe*.

◊ Nam 11, KED 12.

‖ EAS 47, KW 223, ОСНЯ 1, 346, TMN 1, 471-472 ("altes indoeur. Lw." - ?), АПиПЯЯ 57-58, 292. Despite the latter source, Kor. *hjə́* 'tongue' is to be separated - see a discussion in Miller 1998, who has (following Shiratori), instead compared Kor. *kăro-* (but, quite unjustly, separated PTM **xilŋü*). The Korean reflex remains, however, questionable, since the word can also - following Martin 1996, 75 - be compared with Jpn. **kátár-* 'tell', and thus derived from **kʿēro* q.v.

✱**kʿi̯aĺu (~ *kʿi̯oĺa)** dirt, unpleasant odour: Tung. ***xola-**; Mong. ***kuluŋ-**; Turk. ***KAĺan**.

PTung. ***xola-** 1 dirt 2 to sully (1 грязь 2 пачкать): Man. *χojla-* 2; Ul. *xolo-* 2; Ork. *χoloqto* 1; Nan. *χolo-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 470.

PMong. ***kuluŋ-** unpleasant odour from the armpits (неприятный запах под мышками): MMong. *qulanqsa* (MA 301); WMong. *quluŋ-su* (L 985); Kh. *xulans*; Kalm. *xoləŋsə*; Ord. *xuluŋsu*, *xuluŋsa*.

◊ KW 183. Mong. > Oyr. *qoloŋzo*, Chag. *qolansa*, Yak. *xoloŋso*, Man. *qolaŋsu* (see ibid. and TMC 1, 408, ЭСТЯ 6, 49-50, Rozycki 142).

PTurk. ***KAĺan** 1 urine 2 to urinate (of a horse) (1 моча 2 мочиться (о лошади)): Karakh. *qašan-* 2; Tur. *kašan* 1, *kašan-* 2; Az. *Gašan-* 2; MTurk. *qašɨn-* (Houts.); Nogh. *qasan-* 2.

◊ EDT 674, ЭСТЯ 5, 348.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**kʿi̯áno** blood; blood vessel: Tung. ***xuŋī-kta**; Turk. ***Kiān**.

PTung. ***xuŋī-kta** blood vessel (кровеносный сосуд): Evk. *uŋīkta*; Evn. *u̯ŋtṷ*; Neg. *oŋtā*, *oŋikta*; Ul. *χoŋGi̯qta*; Ork. *χu̯mu̯qta*; Nan. *χoŋgi̯qta*; Ud. *umakta*, *umukta*.

◊ The original stem is preserved in Evk. dial. *uŋi-* 'to bleed, flow (of blood)'. See TMC 2, 278.

PTurk. ***Kiān** blood (кровь): OTurk. *qan* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *qan* (MK); Tur. *kan*; Gag. *qan*; Az. *Gan*; Turkm. *Gān*; Sal. *Ga(:)n*; Khal. *qān*; MTurk. *qan* (MA, Pav. C.); Uzb. *qɔn*; Uygh. *qan*; Krm. *qan*; Tat. *qan*; Bashk. *qan*; Kirgh. *qan*; Kaz. *qan*; KBalk. *qan*; KKalp. *qan*; Kum. *qan*; Nogh. *qan*; SUygh. *qan*; Khak. *xan*; Shr. *qan*; Oyr. *qan*; Tv. *xan*; Tof. *xan*; Chuv. *jon*; Yak. *xān*; Dolg. *kān*.

◊ VEWT 230, TMN 3, 360-361, EDT 629-630, ЭСТЯ 5, 251, Егоров 349, Федотов 2, 486, Stachowski 142. Turk. > WMong. *qana-* 'to let bleed' (KW 166, TMN 3, 361, Щербак 1997, 133).

‖ АПиПЯЯ 281. A Turk.-Tung. isogloss. The comparison seems quite likely, although the nature of the medial nasal is not quite clear (in TM one has perhaps to suppose a secondary assimilation to two neighbouring velars, or else an original velar suffix **kʿi̯ōn(i)-gV*).

✸**kʿi̯ā́pʿa** a k. of young ungulate: Tung. ***xiap-**; Mong. ***kab- / *kobu-**; Turk. ***KĀpan**.

PTung. ***xiap-** 1 deer calf 2 deer herd (1 теленок (олень 1-2 лет) 2 стадо оленей): Evk. *ê̂vkān* 1; Evn. *ǟvqan* 1, *ǟvta* 2; Neg. *ê̂vkān* 1; Ork. *sê̂po*, *sê̂pụɣa* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 288 (Orok *javata* < Evn.).

PMong. ***kab- / *kobu-** 1 wild camel 2 2-year-old boar 3 young animals born after the regular season (1 дикий верблюд 2 двухлетний кабан 3 поздние детеныши животных): WMong. *qobu-su(n)* 2 (L 950), *qabčig* 3 (L 896); Kh. *xavtgaj* 1, *xovs* 2, *xavčig* 3; Bur. *xobho(n)* dial. 'young of wild swine'; Kalm. *xawtəxa* 1 (KPC).

PTurk. ***KĀpan** boar (кабан): Tur. dial. *kaban*; Az. *Gaban*; Turkm. *Gaban*; MTurk. *qaban* (Pav. C., Abush.); Uzb. *qɔbɔn*; Uygh. *qavan*; Tat. *qaban*; Bashk. *qaban*; Kirgh. *qaman*; Kaz. *qaban*; KBalk. *qaban*; KKalp. *qaban*; Kum. *qaban*; Nogh. *qaban*; Oyr. *qaman*; Tv. *xavan*.

◊ VEWT 216, ЭСТЯ 5, 164, Лексика 156.

‖ Лексика 156. A Western isogloss.

✸**kʿi̯àpʿe** a k. of insect, butterfly: Mong. ***kibe**; Turk. ***kepelek**; Jpn. ***kə̀pə̀rə́nkí (~-ua-)**.

PMong. ***kibe** moth (моль): Kh. *xiv*; Bur. *kiben*.

PTurk. ***kepelek** butterfly (бабочка): Karakh. *kepeli* (MK), *kebelek* (Tefs.), *kelebek* (IM); Tur. *kelebek*; *köpelek*, *kepenek* (dial.); Gag. *kelebek*; Az. *käpänäk*; Turkm. *kebelek*, *kepelek* (dial.); MTurk. *köpelek* (Abush.); Uzb. *kapalak*; Uygh. *kepilɛk*; Krm. *ḱeḃelak*; Tat. *kübɛlɛk*; Bashk. *kübäläk*; Kirgh. *köpölök*; KBalk. *göbelekke*; KKalp. *göbelek*; Kum. *gümelek*; Nogh. *küpelek*; Khak. *xobanax*, *xubanax*; Shr. *xopax*; Oyr. *köbölök*; Tv. *xovaɣan*.

◊ VEWT 291, EDT 689, ЭСТЯ 5, 13-15, Лексика 187.

PJpn. ***kə̀pə̀rə́nkí (~-ua-)** cricket (сверчок): OJpn. *k(w)op(w)or(w)og(j)i*; MJpn. *kòfòrógí*; Tok. *kṓrogi*; Kyo. *kôrògì*; Kag. *kōrogí*.

◊ JLTT 457.

‖ Лексика 187. Cf. also names of 'bat': OJ *kapapori*, Evn. *kêwêč* (TMC 1, 386). An expressive and not quite regular root.

✸**kʿi̯ā́rà** elbow, shoulder bone, cubit: Tung. ***(x)iarū-n**; Mong. ***kari**; Turk. ***K(i)arɨĺ**; Jpn. ***kárà**.

PTung. ***(x)iarū-n** 1 shoulder bone 2 cubit, measure of length 3 ridge of deer's shoulder bone (1 кость предплечья 2 локоть, мера длины 3 гребень лопатки оленя): Evk. *ê̂rūn* 1, 2; Evn. *ärṇn* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 291.

PMong. ***kari** 1 shoulder or hip bone 2 arm 3 cubit (1 плечевая или бедренная кость 2 рука 3 локоть (мера длины)): MMong. *qari* (IM) 2, (Lig. VMI) 3; WMong. *qaritu* 1 (MXTTT); Kh. *xaŕt* 1; Bur. *xari*, *xarti*, *xaŕta* 1; Mog. *qar*, ZM *qɔ̄ri* 2.

◊ The word is usually considered to be borrowed < Turk. **Karɨ* (see e.g. ЭСТЯ 5, 283, Дыбо 164), and the form attested in IM may probably be so; but the other forms may well be genuine. Cf. also MMong. (MA) *qars delet-* 'to clap hands' (> Chag. *qars).*

PTurk. ***K(i)arɨĺ** span (пядь): Karakh. *qarɨš* (MK); Tur. *karɨš*; Gag. *qarɨš*; Az. *Garɨš*; Turkm. *Garɨš*; MTurk. *qarɨš* (Pav. C., Houts., AH, IM), Uzb. *qɛriš*; Uygh. *ɣerič*, dial. *ɣeriš*; Tat. *qarɨš*; Bashk. *qarɨš;* Kirgh. *qarɨš*; Kaz. *qarɨs*; KBalk. *qarɨš*; KKalp. *qarɨs*; Kum. *qarɨš*; Nogh. *qarɨs*; Khak. *xarɨs*; Oyr. *qarɨš*; Tv. *qarɨš*; Tof. *xarɨš*; Yak. *xarɨs*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 5, 324-326, EDT 663. External evidence suggests that the original meaning was 'elbow, cubit' [in fact attested for *qarɨš* in Chag. (Abushka), but some argue that this is just a script error], with the opposition **K(i)arɨ* 'large measure (cubit) : **K(i)arɨĺ* 'small measure (span)'. But the former completely merged later with the reflexes of **Karɨ* 'arm' (v. sub **gàrá).*

PJpn. ***kárà** handle, counter for handles and long thin objects (рукоять, счетное слово для рукояток и длинных тонких предметов): OJpn. *kara*; MJpn. *kárà*.

◊ JLTT 438.

‖ In Turkic the root is rather hard to distinguish from **Karɨ* < **gara* 'arm', but the distinction still seems to be necessary. In **K(i)arɨĺ* the expected long vowel (reconstructed because of *-ia- in TM after a fricative and high tone in Jpn.) was shortened probably under the influence of **Karɨ*.

✸**kʿi̯ā́ra (~ -i̯ō-)** thin snow, hoar-frost: Mong. ***karig**; Turk. ***Kiār-**.

PMong. ***karig** strong cold (сильный мороз): WMong. *qariɣ*; Kalm. *xäŕəg*.

◊ KW 177. Cf. perhaps also WMong. *qaraǯa*, *qaraǯi*, Khalkha *xarʒ* 'полынья, unfrozen patch of water in a frozen river' (> Khak. *xaralǯi* etc., see ЭСТЯ 5, 298).

PTurk. ***Kiār** snow (снег): OTurk. *qar* (Orkh., Yenis., OUygh.); Karakh. *qar* (MK, KB); Tur. *kar*; Gag. *qār*; Az. *Gar*; Turkm. *Gār*; MTurk. *qar* (Sangl., Qutb., Houts.); Uzb. *qɔr*; Uygh. *qar*, *qaa*; Tat. *qar*; Bashk. *qar*; Kirgh. *qar*; Kaz. *qar*; KBalk. *qar*; KKalp. *qar*; Kum. *qar*; Nogh. *qar*; Khak. *xar*; Shr. *qar*; Oyr. *qar*; Tv. *xar*; Tof. *xar*; Chuv. *jor*; Yak. *xār*; Dolg. *kār*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 5, 284-285, EDT 641, VEWT 235, Егоров 350, Федотов 2, 490, Лексика 27, Stachowski 142.

‖ The root is not widely represented (a Turk.-Mong. isogloss), but it seems reasonable to distinguish it from **kʿĩrma* q.v.

✸**kʿi̯ā̀re** a k. of insect: Tung. ***xīrükte**; Mong. ***kürid**; Turk. ***K(i)arɨnč-ɣa**; Jpn. ***kìrì(n)kíri-su**; Kor. ***kǎr-kə̀mɨ́i**.

PTung. ***xīrü-kte** ant (муравей): Evk. *īrikte*; Evn. *hīrit*; Neg. *īkte*; Man. *jerxuwe*; SMan. *jurə imahə* (2268); Ul. *sinono*; Ork. *sirukte*; Nan. *silukte* (contaminated with **silV-* 'ant'); Orch. *īkte*; Ud. *ikte*.

◊ TMC 1, 327. Evk. > Dolg. *hirikte* (see Stachowski 105).

PMong. ***kürid** moth larva (личинка моли): WMong. *kürid* (L 505); Kh. *xürd*; Ord. *kürit*; S.-Yugh. *kureg*.

◊ MGCD 302.

PTurk. ***K(i)arɨnč-ɣa** 1 ant 2 tick (1 муравей 2 клещ): Karakh. *qarɨnčaq* (MK: Oghuz) 1; Tur. *karɨnʒa* 1; Gag. *qarɨmʒɛ* 1; Az. *Garɨšɣa* 1; Turkm. *Garɨnʒa* 2; MTurk. *qarɨnčɣa* (Sangl., Qutb.), *qarɨnča* (Houts.) 1; Khak. *xarčɨx* 2.

◊ EDT 662, VEWT 238, ЭСТЯ 5, 323, Лексика 184. Turk. > Kalm. *xačig* (KW 173) 'irgendeine Made in der Nase des Kamels' (or is it rather < Turk. *qatqɨč?).*

PJpn. ***kìrì(n)kíri-su** grasshopper (кузнечик): MJpn. *kirigirisu*; Tok. *kirigírisu*; Kyo. *kìrìgírìsu*; Kag. *kirigirisú*.

◊ JLTT 451.

PKor. ***kǎr-kəmɨ́i** a k. of spider (вид паука): MKor. *kǎr-kəmɨ́i*; Mod. *kalgəmi*.

◊ Nam 20, KED 43.

‖ An expressive root, often reduplicated and with not quite regular correspondences, esp. in the Kor.-Jpn. area. Cf. also **kʹi̯ŏro* (with possible contaminations).

✱**kʹi̯ăŕme** fat: Tung. ***ximū-ŋkse**; Mong. ***karbin**; Turk. ***Kiaŕɨ**; Jpn. ***kuama**; Kor. ***kìrɨ́m**.

PTung. ***ximū-ŋkse** fat (жир, сало, масло): Evk. *imūkse*; Evn. *imrъn*, *imdъn*; Neg. *imukse*; Man. *imeŋgi*; Jurch. *ji-miuŋ-ŋu* (526); Ul. *simse*; Ork. *simure*; Nan. *śimukse*; Orch. *imukse*; Ud. *imoho*; Sol. *imukče*, *imučče*.

◊ TMC 1, 313-314. Formally - derived from PTM **ximū-* 'to smear (with fat); to melt'.

PMong. ***karbin** 1 inner fat 2 placenta (1 брюшной жир 2 плацента): MMong. *qarbi-su* 2 (SH); WMong. *qarbin* 1; *qarbi-su(n)* 2 (L 935); Kh. *xarvin* 1; Bur. dial. *arb́ъŋ* 1; Kalm. *xärwṇ*, *ärwn*. 1; Ord. *xarwiŋ* 'inner fat; groin'.

◊ KW 178. Mong. > Yak. *xarbɨhɨn*, Dolg. *karbuhun*, see Kał. MEJ 82, Stachowski 139. Bur. > Russ. Siber. *arbin* (Аникин 94).

PTurk. ***Kiaŕɨ** inner fat (брюшной жир): Karakh. *qazɨ* (MK); Uzb. *qɛzi*; Uygh. *qezi*; Tat. dial. *qazɨ*; Bashk. *qaδɨ*; Kirgh. *qazɨ*; Kaz. *qazɨ*; KKalp. *qazɨ*; Nogh. *qazɨ*; Khak. *xazɨ*; Oyr. *qazɨ*; Tv. *qazɨ*; Tof. *qazɨ*; Chuv. *jor-var* 'скоромная пища'; Yak. *qaha*.

◊ VEWT 243, ЭСТЯ 5, 189-190, Мудрак Дисс. 193-194, TMN 3, 359, EDT 681, Федотов 2, 491.

PJpn. ***kuama** fat, greasy (жирный): OJpn. *kwoma*.

PKor. ***kìrɨ́m** fat (жир): MKor. *kìrɨ́m*; Mod. *kirɨm*.

◊ Nam 78, KED 265.

‖ KW 178, Poppe 17, 96 (Turk.-Mong.; but it should be noted that the TM forms (Evk. *kalbiŋ* etc., see TMC 1, 365) < Mong. (cf. Doerfer MT 100), while the Kor. *kalbi* 'rib' does not belong here at all (see under **kera*), АПиПЯЯ 296, Дыбо 6, Мудрак Дисс. 193. In OJ *koma* (< **kəma*)

would be expected; the diphthong (OJ *kwoma*) is perhaps due to the influence of the medial cluster.

✱**kʿi̯ŏba(kV) (~*kʿi̯ăbu(kV))** bladder, scrotum: Tung. ***xubgu**; Mong. ***kuwkan**; Turk. ***KAbuk**.

PTung. ***xubgu** vein, artery (кровеносный сосуд, артерия): Evk. *uɣ*; Evn. *uɣ*; Neg. *ubgu*; Ork. *χobGoli̯*; Sol. *ōg* 'heart'.

◊ TMC 2, 243. The same word may be reflected in Ul. *χoal(i̯)*, Nan. *χoal* 'bobber' = Orok *χobGoli̯* (see TMC 1, 442); semantically the word was probably influenced by a merger with **kiaba-* (v. sub **ki̯opu).*

PMong. ***kuwka** scrotum (мошонка): WMong. *quwqa*, -naɣ, *qaɣunaɣ* (L 910); Kh. *xūx*, *xūxnag*; Bur. *xūxanag*; Kalm. ? *xūx* 'thick skin' (KPC).

PTurk. ***KAbuk** bladder (мочевой пузырь): OTurk. *qavuq* (OUygh.); Karakh. *qavuq* (MK); Tur. *kavuk*; Gag. *qawuq*; Az. *GovuG*; Turkm. *Govuq*; MTurk. *qavuq* (AH, MA); Tat. *quwɨq*; Bashk. *qɨwɨq*; Kaz. *quwɨq*; KBalk. *quwuq*; Nogh. *quwɨq*; Khak. *xōx*; Shr. *qōq*; Oyr. *kūk*; Yak. *xabax*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 5, 174, EDT 583.

‖ Poppe 1974, 132 (Turk.-Mong.). A Western isogloss.

✱**kʿi̯óbarV (~ -i̯u-)** dry: Tung. ***(x)ur-**; Mong. ***kawra-**; Turk. ***Kūrɨ-k,-gak**; Jpn. ***káwá(ra)-k-**; Kor. ***kobār-**.

PTung. ***(x)ur-** to dry (meat) (вялить (мясо)): Evk. *urgan-* 1; Man. *uča-laχa jali* 'dried meat'.

◊ TMC 2, 283. Man. *uča-* < **xurga-* (but may also reflect another root: cf. Nan. *učikte* 'dried meat'?).

PMong. ***kawra-** dry (сухой): WMong. *qaɣurai*, *quɣurai* (L 910), *qawraj* (MXTTT); Kh. *xūraj*; Bur. *xūraj*; Kalm. *xŭrā̆*; Ord. *xūrā̆*; Dag. *xuārī* (MGCD *xuare*); S.-Yugh. *xūrā-* (MGCD *χūʁa-*); Mongr. *xō-* 'devenir sec, tarir' (SM 168).

◊ Cf. also **ku(w)ar-* > **ku(w)a-* in MMong. *qoṣon* 'dryness' (ИМ); *qusun*, *quasun* (MA); Dag. *xua-*, S.-Yugh. *χū-*, Dong. *Go-*, *qosu-*, Bao. *χo-*. KW 204, 317, MGCD 335. Mong. > Tat. *qawrai* etc. (ЭСТЯ 5, 171-172).

PTurk. ***Kūrɨ-k,-gak** 1 dry 2 dry (crumbs, bread) (1 сухой 2 черствый): OTurk. *qurɨ-* 'to dry' (OUygh.); Karakh. *quruɣ*, *qur* 1 (MK); Tur. *kuru* 1; Gag. *quru* 1; Az. *Guru* 1; Turkm. *Gūrɨ* 1; Sal. *Guru*, *Gurɨ* 1; Khal. *qurru-* 'to dry'; MTurk. *qurɨ-* 'to dry' (MA); Uzb. *quruq* 1; Uygh. *quruq*, *quryaq* 1; Krm. *quru* 1; Tat. *qorɨ* 1; Bashk. *qoro* 1; Kirgh. *quryaq* 1; Kaz. *qu̱ryaq* 1; KBalk. *quru* 1; KKalp. *quryaq* 1; Kum. *quru-* 'to dry'; Nogh. *qurɨ*, *qurlaj* 1; SUygh. *quruɣ*, *quruq* 2; Khak. *xuruɣ* 1; Shr. *quru-* 'to dry' (R.); Oyr. *quru-* 'to dry'; Tv. *quryaɣ* 1; Tof. *quryaɣ* 1; Chuv. *xъʷrъʷk* 2; Yak. *kurānaq* 1; Dolg. *kurānak* 1.

◊ Derived from PT **Kūr(ɨ)-* 'to dry up'. See VEWT 302, 303; EDT 652-3, 646, 658, ЭСТЯ 6, 154-155, Stachowski 162, 163. Turk. *qūrut* 'dry cheese' > Mong. *qurud* > Manchu *kuru* etc., see Doerfer MT 131; Turk. > Hung. *kóró* 'dry stalk', see Gombocz 1912.

PJpn. ***kàwà(ra)-k-** dry, to dry up (сохнуть): OJpn. *kawak-*; MJpn. *kawak-* (RJ *kàfàk-*); Tok. *kawák-*; Kyo. *káwák-*; Kag. *kòrak-*.

◊ JLTT 706.

PKor. ***kobār-** be high, strong (of fire) (быть сильным, горячим (об огне)): Mod. *kwāl-*.

◊ KED 183.

‖ Ozawa 197, KW 204; АПиПЯЯ 19, 50-51, 70, 102, 274; SKE 133, Цинциус 1984. Here, as in some other cases, Turkic length apparently goes back to a contraction.

✱**kʿi̯ŏbe** touchwood, tree fungus: Tung. ***xub(u)te**; Mong. ***köbdü**; Turk. ***Kiab**; Jpn. ***kua**.

PTung. ***xub(u)te** 1 touchwood 2 rotten, to rot (1 гнилушка, труха 2 гнить, гнилой): Evk. *upte* 2; Evn. *ut-* 2; Neg. *ukte* 1, *ukte-*; Man. *ibte*, *ibete* 1; Ul. *xute* 1; Ork. *xūte* 1; Nan. *xūte* 1; Orch. *ūte* 1; Ud. *ute* 1; Sol. *ūtelde* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 281.

PMong. ***köb-** moss (мох): WMong. *köbdü*; (L 476) *köbke*; Kh. *xövd*; Bur. *xübxe(n)*.

◊ Mong. > Yak. *köppöx*, Dolg. *köppök* 'moss' (Stachowski 156).

PTurk. ***Kiab** tree fungus; dry grass (древесный гриб; сухая трава): OTurk. *qavaɣu* (OUygh.); Karakh. *qav* (MK); Tur. *kav*; Az. *Gow*; Turkm. *Gov*; MTurk. *qov* (Ettuhf.), *qav* (AH, Houts.); Uzb. *qɔw*; Tat. *qaw*, dial. *qu*; Bashk. *qɨw*; Kirgh. *qū*; Kaz. *quw*; Kum. *quw*; Nogh. *quw*; Khak. *xabo*; Shr. *qabā*; Oyr. *qū*; Tv. *xaɣ*; Chuv. Cf. *jülege* 'ряска', *jüźə* 'болото (т.е. нечто с ряской')'; Yak. *kɨa*.

◊ EDT 579, 584, TMN 3, 532-533, ЭСТЯ 5, 169-170, 6, 8-9.

PJpn. ***kua** mushroom (гриб): Tok. *kino-ko*.

◊ JLTT 450. The word is usually analysed as "tree child"; this is obviously a folk etymology, in view of the external evidence.

‖ PTM and PM reflect a common derivative **kʿi̯ŏbe-tV*.

✱**kʿi̯oča (~ *kʿi̯ačo)** milt, roe: Tung. ***xusakta**; Jpn. ***ka(n)su**; Kor. ***koči**.

PTung. ***xusa-kta** milt, roe (молоки): Evk. *uhakta* (dial.); Neg. *ōsakta*; Man. *usata*; Ul. *χosaqta*; Nan. *χosaqta*; Ud. *wahakta* (Корм. 218), *wajakta*.

◊ TMC 2, 295.

PJpn. ***ka(n)su** dried herring roe (сушеные молоки сельди): Tok. *kazu-no-ko*.

PKor. ***koči** milt, roe (молоки минтая): Mod. *kožɨ*.

‖ An Eastern isogloss (with a somewhat unexpected voicing in Jpn. *kazu-*).

✱**kʿi̯oge** poles in a frame: Tung. ***xuge**; Mong. ***keɣe-sün**; Turk. ***kegej**.

PTung. ***xuge** 1 frame, poles round the hearth 2 board on edge of bed 3 first lower log in house, threshold (1 жерди, рама очага 2 доска на краю нар 3 бревно (в срубе, первое снизу), порог): Evk. *uɣe* 3;

Evn. *ū* 1; Neg. *иγе* 2; Ul. *xue* 2; Ork. *xue*, *xuwe* 1; Nan. *xue* 2; Ud. *wē, ue* (Корм. 219), *we, ue* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 247.

PMong. ***keγe-sün*** wheel spoke (спица колеса): MMong. *kekesun* (SH, HY 18); WMong. *kegesü(n)* (L 443); Kh. *xēs*, *xegēs*, *xigēs*; Bur. *xī-gaha(n)*, *xīgadaha(n)*; Kalm. *kīγəs* (KPC); Dag. *hejgese* (MD 159).

◊ Mong. > Uygh. *kügüsün, gögüsün.*

PTurk. ***kegej*** spoke (спица колеса): Turkm. *kegej*, *keje*, *kije* (dial.); MTurk. *kegäj* (Vam.); Uzb. *kegäj*; Uygh. *gügä*; Tat. *kigi*; Kirgh. *kegej* (dial.); Kaz. *kegej*; KBalk. *kegej*; KKalp. *kegej*; Kum. *gegej*; Nogh. *kegej*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 5, 17.

‖ A Western isogloss. Despite Clauson 1965, 165, the Turkic word is not easily explained as a borrowing < Mong.

✱**kʿi̯ójŋo** cold: Tung. ***xiŋū-***; Mong. ***köji-ten***; Turk. ***Kujaŋ***; Jpn. ***kəju-***; Kor. ***kjə̀ńɨr***.

PTung. ***xiŋū-*** 1 cold 2 to freeze (1 холодный 2 замерзать): Evk. *iŋinipču* 1; Evn. *iŋъńsi* 1; Neg. *iŋinigdi* 1; Ul. *siŋgun-* 2; Ork. *siŋgū-* 2; Nan. *sīŋgu-* 2; Orch. *iŋeńi* 1; Ud. *iŋinihi* 1; Sol. *inigigdi*.

◊ TMC 1, 321.

PMong. ***köji-ten*** cold (холодный): MMong. *kojiten* (HY 5), *kojiten* (SH), *kuitän* (MA); WMong. *köiten* (L 498: *küiten*, *küitün*); Kh. *xüjten*; Bur. *xüjten*; Kalm. *kītn̥*; Ord. *kṻ*, *kṻtö*, *kṻton*, *küjten*; Dag. *kuiten* (Тод. Даг.151, MD 185), *xuiten* (Тод. Даг. 151), *kuitun*; Dong. *kuičien*; Bao. *kitaŋ*; S.-Yugh. *kṻten*; Mongr. *kwīden* (SM 210), *kuiden*.

◊ KW 234, MGCD 397.

PTurk. ***Kujaŋ*** rheumatism (ревматизм): MTurk. *qujaŋ* (Babur); Uzb. *qujǫnčiq* 'epilepsy'; Uygh. *qujaŋ* (R); Kirgh. *qujaŋ* 'sciatica'; KKalp. *qujaŋ*; Khak. *xujaŋ* 'scary (of a horse)'; Tv. *qujaŋ*.

◊ TMN 3, 562. Turk. > Mong. *qujaŋ*, Khalkha *xujaŋ*, Kalm. *xujn̥*, Bur. *xujaŋ* 'rheumatism' > Man. *xujan* (TMC 1, 475).

PJpn. ***kəju-*** to freeze (замерзать): OJpn. *k(w)oju-*.

◊ JLTT 711.

PKor. ***kjə̀ńɨr*** winter (зима): MKor. *kjə̀ńɨr*, *kjə̀ńǎr*, *kjə'ər*; Mod. *kjəul*.

◊ Nam 42, KED 112.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 53-54, 290; Ozawa 82-84. The cluster *-jŋ- explains the somewhat irregular behaviour of -ŋ-. The meaning 'rheumatism' in Turkic is a usual development < *'cold'.

✱**kʿi̯ȍkʿò** spine, skeleton: Tung. ***xīKeri***; Mong. ***kokima-***; Jpn. ***kakurai***.

PTung. ***xīKeri*** 1 spine, spine marrow 2 bone (1 позвоночник, спинной мозг 2 кость): Evk. *īkēri* 1; Evn. *ikъri* 2; Neg. *īxej* 2; Man. *ikur-sun* 1; Ul. *sieri* 1; Ork. *sēri* 1; Orch. *ikei* 1; Ud. *ixe* 'кожа, пленка (темно-

го цвета вдоль хребта рыбы); боковина рыбьей тушки с хребтом и хвостом' (Корм. 240).

◊ TMC 1, 302.

PMong. ***kokima-** 1 skeleton 2 skull (1 скелет 2 череп): MMong. *qokimai* 'an epithet to teri'un 'head'' (SH); WMong. *qokima-* (L 956: *qokimai* 'masks and costumes representing skeletons used in the cam dance'); Kh. *xoximoj tolgoj* 2, *xoximoj jas* 1; Bur. *xoximoj* 2 (Khorin), 1 (Tunk.); Kalm. *xoḱəman* 2; Ord. *Goχimṓ* 2.

◊ KW 182.

PJpn. ***kakurai** соссух, buttocks (копчик, зад): OJpn. *kakure*.

‖ Cf. also Tuva *xokpa* 'соссух'.

✸**kʿi̯ome** marrow: Tung. ***xumā-n,-kin, *xum-nu**; Mong. ***kemi**; Turk. ***kEmük**.

PTung. ***xumā-n,-kin, *xum-nu** 1 marrow 2 metatarsus (1 костный мозг 2 стопа, плюсна): Evk. *umān*, *umākin* 1; Evn. *ụmъ̣n* 1, *ụ̄nmъ̣* 2; Neg. *oman* 1, *onmụ* 2; Man. *umGan*, *umχan* 1, *umuxun* 2; SMan. *uməhaŋ* (332) 1; Ul. *xoma(n)* / *xụma(n)* 1; Ork. *xụma(n)* 1, *xūmnū* 2; Nan. *xomã* 1; Orch. *uma(n)* 1, *umnu* 2; Ud. *uma(n)* 1; Sol. *ụ̄mã̄* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 266-7, 274.

PMong. ***kemi** marrow, bone with marrow (костный мозг, мозговая кость): WMong. *kemi* (L 451); Kh. *xim*; Kalm. *kemə*; Ord. *keme*.

◊ KW 224. Cf. also WMong. *kemtege* 'bones near the hoofs of a horse' (L 452).

PTurk. ***kEmük** 1 bone 2 spongy bone 3 cartilage (1 кость 2 губчатая кость 3 хрящ): Tur. *kemik* 1; Gag. *kemik* 1; MTurk. *kemük* (MA) 3, *kömük* (Pav. C.) 1; Uzb. *kɔmik*, *gɛmik* (dial.) 2; Krm. *kemɨk* 1; Tat. *kimek* 2; Bashk. *kimek* 2; Kirgh. *kemik* 2; Kaz. *kemik* 2; KBalk. *gemik* 2; KKalp. *kemik* 2; Kum. *gemik* 3; Nogh. *kemik* 2; Oyr. *kēmik* 3.

◊ VEWT 251, EDT 722, ЭСТЯ 5, 36-38, Лексика 261-262. Turk. > Mong. *kemik* 'cartilage' (see Щербак 1997, 126; but the derivation of the Turk. form from **gemür-* 'to gnaw' (v. sub **kě̆ma*) is a folk etymology, although some contaminations were possible: Yak. *kömürüö* 'spongy bone' semantically continues **kemük*, but formally is derived from **gemür-*. MK has *kemdi-* 'to cut meat from the bones' and *kemdük* 'bone with meat cut off' - forms that may be related both to **kemük* and **gemür-*.

‖ The Turk.-Mong. comparison see in VEWT 251 (but Manchu *kemin* is undoubtedly < Mong., see Rozycki 137). АПиПЯЯ 281, Дыбо 315, 262, Лексика 262. On a possible Jpn. reflex see under **kʿèpʿoŕV*.

✸**kʿi̯ṓme** to throw (upside down): Tung. ***xumu-**; Mong. ***kömeri-**; Turk. ***Kām-**.

PTung. ***xumu-** upside down (ничком, вверх дном): Evk. *umuskī*; Evn. *umuskī*; Neg. *umne-pkī*; Man. *umusixun*; Ul. *xumesi*; Ork. *xumusei*; Nan. *xumesi*; Orch. *umse-*.

◊ TMC 2, 272. Tungus forms with *k- (see TMC 1, 431) may be borrowed from Mongolian (cf. Kalm. *kömtr-*) or influenced by Mongolian forms, see Doerfer MT 74.

PMong. ***kömeri-** to fall, turn upside down (переворачивать(ся) вверх дном): WMong. *kömeri-*, *kömüri-* (L 487); Kh. *xömrö-*; Bur. *xümeri-*; Kalm. *kömṛ-* (KPC); Ord. *kömör-*; Dag. *kumrē-bəi-*, (Тод. Даг. 151) *kumuri-*; Dong. *komoru-*; S.-Yugh. *kömör-*; Mongr. *komori-* (SM 213), *kumorə-*.

◊ MGCD 373. Mong. > Kirgh. *kömör-* etc. (see ЭСТЯ 5, 101-102).

PTurk. ***Kām-** 1 to throw, strike down 2 to move, walk (1 кидать 2 двигаться, ходить): OTurk. *qam-* (OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *qam-* 'to lower' (MK); MTurk. *qam-* 'to lower' (MN); Chuv. *хъ^{w}m-* 'махать, замахиваться'; Yak. *xāmp-* 2; Dolg. *kām-* 2.

◊ VEWT 228, EDT 625; Stachowski 142. The connection of OT *qam-* and Yak. *qāmp-* is rather problematic, but possible (we are not aware of other etymologies). For the Yak. word cf. perhaps Bur. *xambɨ* 'packtrain, caravan'.

‖ KW 239, Poppe 19, 68; Цинциус 1984, 109. A Western isogloss.

✱**kʿi̯omo(lV)** a k. of fragrant and edible plant: Tung. ***ximŋe-kte**; Mong. ***kömeli**; Turk. ***Kumlak**; Jpn. ***kamira**.

PTung. ***ximŋe-kte** bird-cherry (черемуха): Evk. *inŋēkte*; Neg. *imŋemkēn*; Man. *jeŋge*; Ul. *siṅekte*; Ork. *siŋekte*; Nan. *siŋēkte*; Orch. *imepe*; Ud. *iŋofo*; Sol. *iŋekte*.

◊ TMC 1, 318.

PMong. ***kömeli** a k. of wild onion or garlic (вид дикого лука или чеснока): WMong. *kömeli* (L 487); Kh. *xömöl*.

PTurk. ***Kumlak** hop (хмель): Karakh. *qumlaq* (MK); Krm. *qumlaq*, *qumlax*; Tat. *qolmaq*, dial. *qomlaq*, *qomalaq*; Kirgh. *qulmaq*; Kaz. *qulmaq*; Nogh. *qɨlmaq*; Khak. *xumnax*; Shr. *qɨmnaq*; Oyr. *qumdaq*, *qumanaq*; Chuv. *хъ^{w}mla*.

◊ VEWT 299, EDT 628, ЭСТЯ 6, 138-139. Turk. > Hung. *komló*, see Gombocz 1912.

PJpn. ***kamira** a k. of garlic (вид чеснока): OJpn. *kamjira*.

‖ The Turkic word is frequently regarded as a borrowing, either from a Germanic source (EDT 628), or from an Iranian (Ossetic) source (Аб., ЭСТЯ). The Iranian derivation of Osset. *xumälläg* 'hop', however, raises some phonetic and morphological problems; on the other hand, there are no doubts that the Turkic (Bulgarian) word was borrowed into Mari *umla*, Hung. *komló* and Slav. *хъmelь* (see Егоров 192, ЭСТЯ ibid.). The ultimate Turkic source of other late European names of 'hop' is therefore also not excluded.

✱**kʿi̯ŏntʿ[a]** hemp: Tung. ***xonta-kta**; Turk. ***kendir (*kentir)**; Jpn. ***kántí**.

PTung. ***xonta-kta** hemp (конопля): Evk. *onokto*; Man. *χunta*; Ul. *χụntaχa*; Nan. *χontaxa*; Orch. *onokto*.

◊ TMC 1, 471, 2, 19. A culture term with many interdialectal loans: Ul. *onoqto*, Nan. *onoqto* (< Evk.); Neg. *xontaxa*, perhaps also Man. *χunta* < South.-Tung.

PTurk. ***kendir (kentir)** hemp (конопля): OTurk. *kendir* (OUygh.); Tur. *kendir*; Az. *kändir*; Turkm. *kendir*; MTurk. *kendir*; Uzb. *kendir*; Uygh. *kändi(r)*; Tat. kinder; Bashk. kinder; Kirgh. *kendir*; Kaz. *kendir*; KBalk. *kendir*; KKalp. *kendir*; Kum. *kendir*; Nogh. *kendir*; SUygh. *kenʒir*, *kemʒer*; Khak. *kindər*; Shr. *kändir*; Oyr. *kendir*; Tv. *xendir*; Chuv. *kandъr*.

◊ EDT 729, VEWT 252, ЭСТЯ 5, 39-40, Лексика 127-128. Turk. > WMong. *kendir* (TMN 3, 608, Щербак 1997, 127), WMong. *kenčir*, Kalm. *kenčr* (KW 226); > Hung. *kender* (Gombocz 1912); > Russ. kendýr' (Аникин 282).

PJpn. ***kántí** paper tree, Broussonetia papyrifera (бумажное дерево): OJpn. kadi; MJpn. *kádí*; Tok. *kaji* no ki.

◊ JLTT 447.

‖ Дыбо 11. A cultural term; the vocalism is not quite certain.

✱**kʿi̯ŏŋa** nose: Tung. ***xoŋa-**; Mong. ***ka[m]ar**; Turk. ***K(i)aŋ-(ɨr)-**; Jpn. ***kan-k-**; Kor. ***kóh**.

PTung. ***xoŋa-** 1 nose 2 front part (of boat) 3 nose bridge (1 нос 2 нос (лодки) 3 переносица): Evk. *oŋokto* 1; Evn. *oŋъt* 1; Neg. *oŋokto* 1; Man. *χoŋqo* 2; SMan. *xoŋqə* 2 (1272); Ul. *χoŋqo* 2; Nan. *qoŋtoro* 1, *χondaχa* 3, *χōŋqo* 2; Orch. *xoŋko* 2 (possibly < Manchu); Sol. *onokto* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 413, 470; 2, 22. There is some variation of *x- and *k- (cf. the Nanai and Manchu reflexes; cf. also Neg. *koŋtopkī*. "nose (of a deer, elk, bear)"; but it is hardly possible to separate these variants.

PMong. ***ka[m]ar** nose (нос): MMong. *qabar* (HY 45, SH), *qabar* (MA), *qabar* (LH); WMong. *qabar*, *qamar* (L 895); Kh. *xamar*; Bur. *xamar*; Kalm. *xamṛ*; Ord. *xamar*; Mog. *qabar*; ZM *qabar* (2-3b); Dag. *xamar* (Тод. Дar. 173), *hamere*, *hamare* (MD 156); Dong. *qava*; Bao. *xor*; S.-Yugh. *xawar*; Mongr. *xawar* (SM 165), *xavar*.

◊ KW 164, MGCD 322. Mong. > Oyr. *qamur*. There are numerous indications that the root was **kaŋ-* (**kaŋ-bar* > *qabar* / *qamar*). Cf. **koŋ-si-* / **kaŋ-si* (WMong. *qaŋsiγar*, *qoŋsijar* 'beak, nose' (KW 167, 186, MGCD 365, Mongr. *xaŋšar* (157); > Uzb. *qanšar* etc., see ЭСТЯ 5, 256-258); > Man. *qaŋsari* / *qaŋsiri*, *haŋšara* (see Rozycki 102, 132)); WMong. *qaŋqul-* / *qaŋγul-* 'to smell'; MMong. (SH) *qoŋši'ut* 'reek', WMong. *quŋsi-* 'to reek, smell' (> Oyr. *quŋsu-* etc., see KW 197, VEWT 280); WMong. *qauryasun*, Kalm. *xūrγəsn*, *xuγərsn* 'nose gristle' (KW 195, 201). .

PTurk. ***K(i)aŋ-(ɨr)-** 1 nose 2 to snuffle 3 beak, snout 4 parched nose (*phras*.) 5 nose bridge (1 нос 2 гнусавить 3 клюв, морда 4 пересохший (о носе) 5 переносица): Karakh. *qaŋraq* ʿpalate' (МК - ДТС); Turkm. *Gaŋšɨravuq* 'nasal cavity', *Goŋursa-* 'to reek'; Bashk. *qaŋγɨrɨq* (dial.) 'hard palate'; Kirgh. *qaŋɨrɨq* 4, *qoŋursu-* 'to reek'; SUygh. *qaŋrɨq*, *qārq* 1; Oyr. *qaŋɨrɨq* (Tel.) (R II, 82); *qoŋɨr* 5 (R II 521), Tel. (Верб.); Tv. *xāj* 3, *xã̄š* 'nasal', *qoŋzaŋ* 'crook-nosed'; Tof. *xāj* 1, 3; Yak. *xaŋɨnaj-* 2; *xoŋurū*, *xaŋɨrī* 5 (Пек.).

◊ The root is no doubt archaic, although not widely attested. On its modern reflexes see VEWT 232, Лексика 215-216 (some of the listed forms are < Mong., but certainly not all.), ЭСТЯ 6, 66.

PJpn. ***kan-k-** to smell (нюхать, обонять): OJpn. *kag-*; MJpn. *kág-*; Tok. *kàg-*; Kyo. *kàg-*; Kag. *kág-*.

◊ JLTT 701. Kyoto points to **kàNk-*, but other dialects and RJ - to **káNk-*.

PKor. ***kóh** nose (нос): MKor. *kó* (*kóh-*); Mod. *kho*.

◊ Nam 45, KED 1673.

‖ KW 186, 190, Владимирцов 251, Martin 242, Poppe 1974, 132, АПиПЯЯ 43-44, 80, 286, Ozawa 191, Цинциус 1984, 84, Дыбо 4, Лексика 216.

✱**kʿi̯óŋi** head of clan: Tung. ***(x)uŋ-**; Turk. ***K(i)aŋ**; Jpn. ***kímí**; Kor. ***kù'ɨi**.

PTung. ***(x)uŋ-** head (of kin, clan), chief (глава (рода, клана), начальник): Man. *uŋgu*, *uŋGa*; SMan. *uŋan* (1012).

◊ TMC 2, 278. Attested only in Manchu, but having rather interesting external parallels.

PTurk. ***K(i)aŋ** father (отец): OTurk. *qaŋ* (Orkh., Yeniss., OUygh.); Karakh. *qaŋdaš* 'half-brother, son of the same father and a different mother' (MK), *qaŋsɨq ata* 'step-father' (MK).

◊ VEWT 232, EDT 630, 635, 640, ЭСТЯ 5, 258.

PJpn. ***kímí** lord (господин, начальник): OJpn. *kjimji*; MJpn. *kímí*; Tok. *kìmi*; Kyo. *kímí*; Kag. *kími*.

◊ JLTT 450.

PKor. ***kù'ɨi** office, officer (чиновник, должностное лицо): MKor. *kù'ɨi*.

◊ Nam 60.

‖ An important common Altaic social term.

✱**kʿi̯ópʿé** soot, to catch fire: Tung. ***xupu-ŋksa**; Turk. ***Kạp-**; Jpn. ***kúmpá-**.

PTung. ***xupu-ŋksa** soot (сажа): Evk. *uwuksa*; Ork. *xumesike*; Nan. *xufekse*.

◊ TMC 1, 477, 2, 243.

PTurk. ***Kạp-** to catch fire (загораться): Uzb. *qɔpin-*; Tat. *qap-*, *qabɨn-*; Bashk. *qabɨn-*; Kaz. *qabɨn-*; Kum. *qabun-*; Nogh. *qabɨn-*, dial. *qamɨl-*; Khak. *xabɨl-*; Shr. *qamɨn-*; Oyr. *qamɨn-*; Tv. *qɨ'p-*; Tof. *qɨ'p-*; Chuv. *xɨp-*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 5, 262.

PJpn. ***kúmpá-** to burn, set on fire, feed wood into fire (жечь, поджигать, класть дрова в огонь): MJpn. *kuba-*; Tok. *kùbe-*; Kyo. *kúbé-*; Kag. *kubé-*.

◊ JLTT 714.

✱**kʿi̯ŏro** worm; gad-fly: Tung. ***xirga-**; Mong. ***koro-kai**; Turk. ***Kūrt**.

PTung. ***xirga-** gad-fly (овод): Evk. *irgakta*; Evn. *ịrgṭ*; Neg. *ịjgakta*; Man. *iʒa*; SMan. *iʒā* (2262); Ul. *sịʒaqta*; Ork. *sịʒịqta*; Nan. *sịGaqta*; Ud. *iga*.

◊ TMC 1, 324-325. Evk. > Dolg. *irgakta* (Stachowski 261).

PMong. ***koro-kai** worm, insect (червь, насекомое): MMong. *qoroxai* (HY 12), *qorγi* (IM), *qoraγaj* (MA); WMong. *qoroqai* (L 970: *qoruqai*); Kh. *xorxoj*; Bur. *xorxoj*; Kalm. *xorxā̆*; Ord. *xoroxŏ*; Dag. *xorgō* (Тод. Даг. 177), *xorog*, *xorugu*, *horehe* (MD 164); Dong. *Guγi* ; Bao. *GorGei*, *GorGi*; S.-Yugh. *xoroxGui*; Mongr. *xorGwī* (SM 173), *xorGui*, *xurGoi*.

◊ KW 188, MGCD 302, 367. Cf. also Kalm. *xor* 'die Maden der Viehbremse (im Vieh)' (KW 187).

PTurk. ***Kūrt** worm (червь): OTurk. *qurt* (OUygh.); Karakh. *qurt* (MK, KB); Tur. *kurt*; Gag. *qurt*; Az. *Gurd*; Turkm. *Gūrt*; MTurk. *qurt* (Pav. C., MA); Uzb. *qurt*; Uygh. *qurut*; Krm. *qurt*; Tat. *qort*; Kirgh. *qurt*; Kaz. *qu̱rt*; KBalk. *qurt*; KKalp. *qurt*; Khak. *xurt*; Tv. *qu'rt*; Tof. *qu'rt*; Chuv. *xort*; Yak. *kuržaγa* 'small parasites'; Dolg. *kuržaga*.

◊ See VEWT 303-4 (although we prefer to separate **Kūrt* 'worm' and **Kūrt* 'wolf'), EDT 648, Лексика 181, ЭСТЯ 6, 167-168, Федотов 2, 367-368, Stachowski 162.

‖ KW 188, АПиПЯЯ 54, 285, Дыбо 8, Лексика 182. A Western isogloss; but cf. also **kʿi̯ā̆re*.

✱**kʿi̯óŕa** a k. of tree with red berries or red bark: Tung. ***(x)or-**; Mong. ***karg-**; Turk. ***Kaŕɨlgan / *Karlɨgan**; Jpn. ***kátúrá**.

PTung. ***(x)or-** 1 red bilberry 2 black currant (1 брусника 2 черная смородина): Evk. *orāŋĺā* 1; Evn. *ōrbāt* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 23.

PMong. ***karg-** 1 tree with dark reddish bark 2 a k. of shrub, viburnum 3 pine (1 дерево с темно-красной корой 2 вид кустарника, калина 3 сосна): WMong. *qargil* 1 (L 936); Bur. *xargāhan* 2; Kalm. *xarγā* 3; Ord. *xargil* 'Rhamnus erythroxylon'.

PTurk. ***Kaŕɨlgan / *Karlɨgan** currant (смородина): Tat. *qarlɨγan*; Bashk. *qarlɨγan* (dial.); Nogh. *qarlɨγan*; Shr. *qazɨrγan*, *qazɨr qat* (Верб.); Oyr. *qazɨlγan*; Tv. *qazɨlγan*; Tof. *qazɨlγan*; Chuv. *xorlъγan*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 5, 309-310, Федотов 2, 367.

PJpn. ***kátúrá** Cereidiphyllum japonicum (багряник японский): OJpn. *katura*; MJpn. *kátúrá*; Tok. *kàtsura*; Kyo. *kátsúrá*; Kag. *katsúra*.

◊ JLTT 445.

‖ Absence of diphthong in Turkic is strange.

✱**kʿi̯ŏŕo (~ -u)** lamb, deer: Tung. ***xir-**; Mong. ***kurigan**; Turk. ***Koŕɨ**.

PTung. ***xir-** 1 wild deer 2 to rub horns 3 *'newborn animal' > 'new' (1 дикий олень 2 тереться рогами 3 *'новорожденное животное' > 'новый'): Evk. *irki*, *irē* 1, *irkekīn* (dial.) 3; Evn. *irče-*, *irkъ-* 2; Neg. *ijun* 1, *iskekin* 3; Man. *iren* 1, *iče* 3; SMan. *ičē* 'new' (2544); Jurch. *hi(i̯)če* (85) 3; Ul. *suru(n)* 1, *sičeu(n)* 3; Ork. *sitče-* 2, *sitče-* 3; Nan. *sirũ* 1, *śiku(n)* 3; Orch. *iju* 1, *ikken* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 327, 328. Evk. *sirū* and Neg. *xi̯ra* (TMC 2, 96) must be loanwords from Southern TM, where *x- > x- and s-; in any case, these forms have nothing to do with Turk. **sɨgir* 'cow' (see s.v. **si̯ŭku*), despite Sinor 1962, 320.

PMong. ***kurigan** lamb (ягненок): MMong. *quriqa(n)* (SH), *qurixan* (HY 11), *qəriɣan* (LH); WMong. *quriɣan* (L 987: *quraɣa(n)*, *quryа(n)*); Kh. *xurgan*; Bur. *xuŕga(n)*; Kalm. *xurɣn*; Ord. *xurGa*; Mog. *qɔrɣan* (Weiers); Dong. *quɣan* (Тод. Дн.); *Guɣan*; Bao. *GorGaŋ*; S.-Yugh. *χurGan*; Mongr. *xorGa* (SM 172), *xuroG*.

◊ KW 198, MGCD 391. Mong. > Oyr. *quraɣan* etc. (TMN 1, 435), Evk. *kurikan* etc., see ibid., Doerfer MT 131.

PTurk. ***Koŕɨ** lamb (ягненок): OTurk. *qozɨ* (*quzɨ*) (OUygh.); Karakh. *qozɨ* (*quzɨ*) (MK); Tur. *kuzu*; Gag. *quzu*; Az. *Guzu*; Turkm. *Guzɨ*; Sal. *qōza*; Khal. *quzɨ*; MTurk. *qozɨ* (R.), *qozu* (Houts.); Uzb. *qu̯zi*; Uygh. *qoza*; Krm. *qozu*; Tat. *quzɨ* (dial.); Kirgh. *qozu*; Kaz. *qozɨ*; KBalk. *qozu*; KKalp. *qozɨ*; Kum. *qozu* (dial.); Nogh. *qozɨ*; SUygh. *quzɨ*, *qozɨ*, *qoza*.

◊ VEWT 285, EDT 681, Лексика 433, ЭСТЯ 6, 108-109.

‖ EAS 46, 113, KW 198, Владимирцов 361, ОСНЯ 1, 302, Новикова 1972, 118, Лексика 433. A Western isogloss. Despite TMN 1, 435, 3, 546, Щербак 1997, 142, Mong. cannot be borrowed from Turkic.

✱**kʿi̯ȍsú** a k. of foliage tree: Tung. ***xisi-**; Mong. ***kusu-**; Jpn. ***kùsú**.

PTung. ***xisi-** 1 larch 2 cypress (1 лиственница 2 кипарис): Evk. *ismama* 1; Evn. *i̯sŋ̣ɣ* 'forest'; Neg. *i̯s*, *i̯sma* 1; Man. *isi* 1; Jurch. *hisi* (105) 2; Ul. *sisi* 1; Ork. *si̯si̯* 1; Nan. *si̯si̯* 1; Orch. *isi* 1; Ud. *ihi* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 331.

PMong. ***kusu-** birch tree (береза): WMong. *qusu(n)* (L 991); Kh. *xusan*; Bur. *xuha(n)*; Kalm. *xusm*; S.-Yugh. *χus*.

◊ KW 199, MGCD 392.

PJpn. ***kùsú** Cinnamonum camphora Sieb. (камфорное дерево): OJpn. *kusu*; MJpn. *kùsú(nò* ki); Tok. *kusú(no* ki); Kyo. *kùsú(nò kì*); Kag. *kùsù(nò kí*).

◊ JLTT 466.

‖ Phonetically the Mong., TM and Jpn. form are well compatible; but it is always difficult to deal with Japanese botanical names because of a drastic difference in nature environment between Japan and the continent.

✱**kʿi̯òše** to scrape, shave: Tung. ***xuši / *kuši**; Mong. ***kisu-**; Turk. ***Kas**; Jpn. ***kùsà / *kəsà-i**.

PTung. ***xuši / *kuši** knife (нож): Evk. *uči*; Man. *kuši*; Ul. *kuče(n)*; Ork. *kuče(n)*; Ud. *kusige*; Sol. *usxẽ*.

◊ TMC 1, 441, 2, 296.

PMong. ***kisu-** to scrape, shave (скрести, брить): WMong. *kisu-*, *qusu-* (L 992); Kh. *xusa-*; Bur. *x́uha-*; Kalm. *xusə-* (KPC); Mog. *kišla-* (Ramstedt 1906); Bao. *χasə-*; S.-Yugh. *qəsə-*; Mongr. *kiʒə-* (SM 202), *kəsə-*.

◊ MGCD 393. Mong. > Evk. *kisū-* etc., see Doerfer MT 135.

PTurk. ***Kas** skin, shell, peel, bark (кожа, скорлупа, кора): OTurk. *qasuq* (OUygh.); Karakh. *qas*, *qasuq* (MK); Khal. *qȧs*.

◊ EDT 665, 666, ЭСТЯ 5 328. The root should be distinguished from **Kaŕ* (v. sub **kʿéŕà*). Note that in Siberian languages the reflexes of *ŕ and *s coincide, so all the forms attributed to **Kaŕ* can also reflect PT **Kas*.

PJpn. ***kùsà / *kəsà-i** eczema (экзема): MJpn. *kùsà*, *kòsè*.

◊ JLTT 458, 465.

‖ Cf. **kʿi̯uču*. For the Turkic word Helimski 1995 proposed a Sam. etymology (< PS **käsa* 'bark'), which cannot be excluded; in that case the Turkic form should be removed from the comparison.

***kʿi̯ōtʿe** a k. of knife or arrow: Tung. ***(x)utu, -ke**; Mong. ***kituga**; Turk. ***kēt-men**.

PTung. ***(x)utu, -ke** 1 knife on a shaft 2 a k. of arrow (1 тесак (на коротком древке) 2 стрела-однозубец): Evk. *utu*, *utut* 2, *utkēn* 1; Evn. *ötken* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 294.

PMong. ***kituga** knife (нож): MMong. *kituqai* (SH), *k[i]tγa* (IM), *kīdūγa* (Lig.VMI), *kituγa* (MA); WMong. *kituγa*, *qutaγa*, *qutuγa* (L 474); Kh. *xutga*; Bur. *xutaga*, (*зап.*) *xotigo*; Mog. *qitqɛi* (Ramstedt 1906); Dong. *qudoγo*; S.-Yugh. *χudaʁa*; Mongr. *ćidoGo* (SM 445).

◊ MGCD 393. Mong. > Man. *kitukan* 'scissors' (see Rozycki 140).

PTurk. ***kēt-men** hoe, mattock (мотыга): OTurk. *ketmen* (OUigh.); Karakh. *ketmen* (MK); Tur. *gedmen*; Az. *kätmän*; Turkm. *kǟtmen*; MTurk. *ketmen* (Sangl.); Uzb. *ketmэn*; Uygh. *kätmän*; Bashk. *kätmän*; Kirgh. *ketmen-*; Chuv. *katmak*.

◊ VEWT 259, ЭСТЯ 3, 30-31, 5, 65-66, EDT 704. Usually derived from **gēt-* 'to notch' - but the semantic shift is not quite satisfactory, and the Oghuz languages (except Turkish with a secondary analogy) systematically distinguish *g- in 'notch' and *k- in 'hoe'.

‖ A Western isogloss. In Turkic one would expect a closed **ę̄*, but in fact Chuv. *katmak* points to an open vowel. This may be due to a natural contamination of this root with the reflex of PA **ki̯ā̆tu* 'sharp tool, notch' q.v.

✱kʿi̯ȍtʿekV a k. of stinging insect: Tung. ***xūkte**; Mong. ***kedgene**; Turk. ***Kạtku-č**; Kor. ***kúitə́kí**.

PTung. ***xūkte** nit (гнида): Evk. *ūkte*; Evn. *ȍt*; Neg. *ūkte*; Ul. *xuktu*; Ork. *xuktu*; Nan. *xuktu*; Ud. *ukte*.

◊ See TMC 2, 254.

PMong. ***kedgene*** bumble-bee (шмель): WMong. *kedgene* (L 441: *kedegene*); Kh. *xedgen*; Bur. *xedegenē* 'gad-fly'; Kalm. *kedgənə*; Ord. *getegene*.

◊ KW 222.

PTurk. ***Kạtku-č*** a stinging insect (кусающее насекомое): Karakh. *qatquč* (MK - Argu) 'a thing which stings like a scorpion'; Chuv. *xɨt-kajъk* 'жужелица'.

◊ EDT 599, ДТС. Cf. also (MK) *qoδγu* 'fly'. The Chuvash word is analysed as 'hard-bird' or 'hard-animal', which is probably a folk-etymological reanalysis of **kạtku-*.

PKor. ***kúitə́kí*** maggot, worm, grub (личинка, червяк): MKor. *kúitə́kí*; Mod. *kudəgi*, *kudegi*.

◊ Nam 65, KED 197.

‖ Cf. also Kor. *kaktagwi* 'mosquito'.

✱**kʿi̯ŏǯa** side, direction: Tung. ***xoǯa-n***; Mong. ***kaǯiwu***; Turk. ***KAj-***; Jpn. ***kajə-r-***; Kor. ***kǎč-***.

PTung. ***xoǯa-*** 1 edge, end 2 slanting, slant (1 конец, край 2 косой, наклонный): Evk. *oǯo* 2; Evn. *oǯan-* 2; Neg. *oǯo-* 2; Man. *uǯan* 1; SMan. *uǯan* 1 (2605); Ork. *χodo-* 2; Nan. *χoǯi̯a-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 7, 250.

PMong. ***kaǯiwu*** side, edge (сторона, край): WMong. *qaǯiγu*, *qaǯaγu*, *qaǯau* (L 948); Kh. *xaǯū*; Bur. *xaǯū*; Kalm. *xaǯū*; Ord. *xaǯū* 'slope'; Dag. *xaǯū* (Тод. Даг. 172).

◊ KW 159. Cf. also **kaǯi-* 'to slant etc.' (with a variant **gaǯi-*) (ibid.).

PTurk. ***KAj-*** 1 to turn back 2 to show respect 3 to squint; to move to smb.'s side 4 to run towards 5 to go past, around (1 оборачиваться 2 выказывать уважение 3 косить глазами; переходить на чью-л. сторону 4 бежать к 5 обойти, пройти мимо): OTurk. *qaj-* (OUygh.) 2; Karakh. *qaj-* (MK) 1, 2; Tur. *kaj-* 3; S.-Uygh. *qajla-* 4; Khak. *xaj-* 2; Oyr. *qaj-* (R) 2; Tv. *xaj-* 5.

◊ ЭСТЯ 5 208-209, EDT 674. Stachowski 137 adds Yak. *xaj̃ɨs-*, Dolg. *kańɨs-* '(to turn and) look around', which would change the reconstruction to **KAń-*; however, there are no other traces of a nasal in the root, and the comparison looks somewhat dubious.

PJpn. ***kajə-r-*** to approach (приближаться): OJpn. *kajor-*; MJpn. *kajor-*.

◊ JLTT 706.

PKor. ***kǎč-*** 1 near 2 end, limit (1 близкий 2 конец, край, предел): MKor. *kàskàp-* (-w-) 1, *kǎčái* 2; Mod. *kak:ap-* (-w-) 1, *kaǯaŋ* 2.

◊ Nam 16, 24, KED 3, 24.

‖ Цинциус 1984, 96. Cf. **kèčʿa.*

✱**kʿi̯ube** voice, sound: Tung. ***xū- (*xüb-)**; Mong. ***küw-**; Turk. ***kü(b)**; Jpn. ***kə̀wâi**; Kor. ***kubɨi-**.

PTung. ***xū- (*xüb-)** to sound (звучать): Evk. *ī-*; Evn. *ī-*; Neg. *ī-*; Ul. *ujsi-*; Ork. *uji-*; Nan. *xuj-si-*.

◊ TMC 1, 293-294.

PMong. ***küw-** 1 to talk, converse 2 conversation (1 разговаривать 2 разговор): WMong. *küü-ne-* 1, *küür* 2 (L 509); Kh. *xū̄ne-* 1, *xū̄r* 2; Kalm. *kō̄r-* 1.

◊ KW 243.

PTurk. ***kü(b)** 1 fame 2 wisdom 3 famous (1 слава 2 мудрость): OTurk. *kü* (Orkh., OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *kü* (MK, KB); Az. *küj* 'roar'; Turkm. *küj* 2; Kirgh. *kü* 'sound, roar', *külük* 3; Kaz. *külük* 3; Khak. *kü-lük* 2; Shr. *küg* (Radl.); Oyr. *kü* 'roar', *külük* 3.

◊ VEWT 306, ЭСТЯ 5, 128-129, 140-141, TMN 3, 653.

PJpn. ***kə̀wâ-i** voice (голос): OJpn. *kowe*; MJpn. *kòwè*, *kòwé*; Tok. *kóe*; Kyo. *kòê*; Kag. *koé*.

◊ JLTT 453. In compounds - *kowa-* (e.g. *kowa-daka* etc.).

PKor. ***kubɨi-hă-** to celebrate, glorify (прославлять, праздновать): MKor. *ku'ɨi-hă-*.

◊ Liu 85.

‖ The Mong. form may belong here if it is different from **köγer* 'joy' < PA **kúbe* (q.v.); there probably occurred a secondary merger in some Mong. dialects.

✱**kʿi̯ubu** box, coffin: Tung. ***xobu-r / *xebu-r**; Mong. ***kob-du, *kob-tu**; Jpn. ***k(u)i**; Kor. ***kobVr**.

PTung. ***xobu-r / *xebu-r** coffin (гроб): Man. *χobo*; SMan. *hovə* (752); Ul. *xeuli*; Nan. *xeur*, *xewur*; Ud. *xau*.

◊ TMC 1, 464, 467. Preservation of *x- in Ud. may be explained as a loan from some South.-Tung. source.

PMong. ***kob-du, *kob-tu** long and narrow box, quiver (длинный и узкий ящик, колчан): MMong. *qubdu* (MA 299); WMong. *qobdu* (L 949), *qobtu*; Kh. *xowd*; Bur. *xobto* 'ящик, сундук'; Kalm. *xowdə* (KPC).

◊ Mong. > Evk. *kobdu* etc., see Doerfer MT 111, Rozycki 141; Nogh. *qobda* etc., see ЭСТЯ 6, 6, Yak. *xoppo*, Dolg. *kopko* (Kał. MEJ 58, Stachowski 153).

PJpn. ***k(u)i** coffin (гроб): OJpn. *k(j)i*; MJpn. *ki*.

◊ JLTT 449.

PKor. ***kobVr** coffin, box (гроб, ящик): MKor. *kōr*.

◊ Nam 51.

‖ Lee 1958, 112 (TM - Kor.). A Turkic root **K(i)abur* 'coffin' may have existed, too: cf. Küär. *qaγur*, *qoγur* 'coffin' (VEWT 274), as well as the Russian loan from an Old Bulgarian source: *ковчег* (presupposing **Kabu(r)-čak*). But then in most languages it has merged either with **Kapɨrčak* (< PA **kʿàpʿa* 'vessel' q.v.), or with a recent Arabic loanword

(*qabr* 'grave', see VEWT 216 > Turk. q*abr*, Kum. *qabɨr* etc.), or with a later Mong. loanword *qobuɣur* 'tube' (about which see TMN 1, 628, ЭСТЯ 6, 71-72) .

✱**kʿi̯ùča (~ -u)** animal's paw, skin from animal's paw: Tung. ***xōsa**; Turk. ***Kɨč**.

PTung. ***xōsa** 1 skin from deer's feet 2 animal's paw (1 шкура с ног оленя 2 лапа животного): Evk. *ōsa* 1; Evn. *ōsъl* 1; Neg. *ōsa* 1; Man. *ošoxo* 2; SMan. *vašəqə*, *vasəqə*, *vašəqu*, *vasəqu* 2 (2287); Ul. *χosolị* 1; Ork. *χoso* 2; Nan. *χōsō* 2, *χōsol* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 26.

PTurk. ***Kɨč** foot, shin (нога, голень): Tur. *kɨč* 'foot, shin; соссух, behind'; Gag. *qɨč*; Az. *Gɨč*; Turkm. *Gɨč* (dial.); MTurk. *qɨč* (AH); Shr. *qɨs* 'камус'; Chuv. *xɨś* 'back, behind'; Yak. *kīs berbēkej* 'щиколотка, лодыжка' (?).

◊ Лексика 281, ЭСТЯ 6, 252-253.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss, but cf. the discussion under **kʿV̀sá*; cf. perhaps also Bur. *xašāhan* 'front and back parts of footwear'; Dag. *gočōr*, *kočoro*, *kučur* 'boots' (Тод. Даг. 132) (?).

✱**kʿi̯ùčù** to scrape; claw, sharp stick: Tung. ***xosī-kta**; Mong. ***kučil-**; Turk. ***Kɨč-**; Jpn. ***kùsì**; Kor. ***koč**.

PTung. ***xosī-kta** 1 to scrape 2 claw, finger-nail (1 царапать, скрести 2 ноготь, коготь): Evk. *osī-* 1, *osīkta* 2; Evn. *osị-* 1, *ostъ* 2; Neg. *osị̄-* 1, *ōtta* 2; Man. *wasixa* 2; SMan. *wasəqələm*, *wasəqulu-* 'to scratch, to claw' (1574); Ul. *χosị-* 1, *χosta* 2; Ork. *χosị-* 1, *χosịqta* 2; Nan. *χosaqala-* 1, *χosaqta* 2; Orch. *xosi-* 1; Ud. *wahi-* (Корм. 218) 1, *wai-li-* 1, *waikta*, *wahikta* 2; Sol. *oš̆ī-* 1, *ụš̆īkta* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 26-27.

PMong. ***kučil-** to scrape with fingers (царапать пальцами): WMong. *qučil-*; Kalm. *xučl-*.

◊ KW 200.

PTurk. ***Kɨč-** to scratch, scrape; to itch (скрести, царапать; чесаться): MTurk. *qɨč-*; Uzb. *qiči-*; Uygh. *qiči-*; Tat. *qɨči-*; Bashk. *qɨsɨ-*; Kirgh. *qɨčɨš-*; Kaz. *qɨšɨ-*; KKalp. *qɨšɨ-*; Nogh. *qɨšɨ-*; Khak. *xɨčɨ-*; Oyr. *qɨči-*; Tv. *kiʒi-*; Chuv. *kəźə* 'чесотка'; Yak. *kɨhɨj-*; *kɨhɨax* 'scraper'; Dolg. *kɨhɨak* 'scraper'.

◊ VEWT 260, ЭСТЯ 6, 186-187, Stachowski 167.

PJpn. ***kùsì** spit, skewer; comb (вертел): OJpn. *kusi*; MJpn. *kùsì*; Tok. *kushí*; Kyo. *kúshì*; Kag. *kushí*.

◊ JLTT 466.

PKor. ***koč** 1 spit, skewer; awl, gimlet 2 to stick in (1 вертел; шило 2 втыкать): MKor. *koč* 1, *kòč-* 2; Mod. *kot* [*kos*], *k:oʒi* 1, *k:ot-* [*k:oč-*] 2.

◊ Nam 54, KED 164, 174. The accent of the noun is unknown; the verbal stem has a usual low tone.

‖ Цинциус 1984, 99, Martin 241, Whit 1985, 135, 165, 223, АПиПЯЯ 16, 77, 290.

✱**kʿi̯ŭčʿi (~ -č-)** a k. of cereal: Mong. ***küč-***; Turk. ***kōče***; Kor. ***kìčàŋ***.

PMong. ***küč-*** a leguminous plant (бобовое растение): WMong. *küčiŋgi* (MXTTT); Kh. *xüčiŋgi*; Bur. *xüsɨ* 'вид лапчатки', *xüsū̄g* 'мышиный горошек'.

◊ Cf. also Bur. *xüsergenej* 'моховка (ягода)'.

PTurk. ***kōče*** gruel (крупа, каша): Tur. *göʒe*, *güʒe*; Turkm. *kōʒe*; Sal. *koʒa* ССЯ; MTurk. *küʒe* (Pav. C.), OKypch. (Ettuhf.); Uzb. *ǫʒa*; Uygh. *koča*; *küčɛ* (dial.); Krm. *goʒa*; Tat. *küzä*; Kirgh. *köʒö*, *köčö*; KKalp. *göže*; Khak. *köče*; Oyr. *köčö*; Tv. *köže*.

◊ VEWT 286, ЭСТЯ 5, 84-85. Cf. also Shor *köʒerget* 'костяника', Khak. Sag. *küzerget* id.

PKor. ***kìčàŋ*** millet (просо обыкновенное): MKor. *kìčàŋ*; Mod. *kiʒaŋ*.

◊ Liu 115, KED 274.

‖ Cf. also various plant names in Turkic: Oyr. *köʒüne* 'дягиль', Turkm. *göʒele* 'ирис', Kirgh. (South.) *göʒümöl* 'травянистое растение с широкими листьями'; Kirgh. *köčet*, Uygh. *köčɛt* 'seedling'; WMong. *güʒegeleʒegene*, Khalkha *güʒēlʒgene*, Bur. *gulzōrgene* 'земляника' (whence Evk. *gučalʒigina* etc., see TMC 1, 176).

✱**kʿi̯údo(rgV)** tail: Tung. ***xürgü***; Mong. ***kudurga***; Turk. ***Kudruk***; Kor. ***s-kòrí***.

PTung. ***xürgü*** tail (хвост): Evk. *irgi*; Evn. *irgъ*; Neg. *īγi* / *idgi*; Man. *unčexen*; SMan. *unčixən*, *unčuxun*, *iunčuxun* (2291, 2607); Ul. *xuʒu*; Ork. *xudu*; Nan. *xuigu*; Orch. *iggi*; Ud. *igi*; Sol. *iggi*, *irgi*.

◊ TMC 1, 325.

PMong. ***kudurga*** tail strap (подхвостник): MMong. *qudurqa* (SH), *qudorγa* (IM), *qodorγa* (LH); WMong. *qudurγa(n)* (L 980); Kh. *xudraga*; Bur. *xudarga*; Kalm. *xudrγə*; Ord. *xudurGa*; Dag. *xodurugu* (Тод. Даг. 179: *xudurga*); S.-Yugh. *GudurGa*; Mongr. *GudarGa*.

◊ KW 195, MGCD 385. Mong. > Evk. *kudurga*, Man. *qudarGan*, see Doerfer MT 100, Rozycki 148; > MKor. *kotărkái* (Lee 1964, 191).

PTurk. ***Kudruk*** tail (хвост): OTurk. *qudruq* (OUygh.); Karakh. *quδruq* (MK); Tur. *kujruk*; Gag. *qujruq*; Az. *GujruG*; Turkm. *Gujruq*; Sal. *Guruχ*; Khal. *qurduq*; MTurk. *qujruq*, *qujruγ* (Pav. C., MA); Uzb. *qujruq*; Uygh. *qujruq*; Krm. *qurjux*; Tat. *qojrɨq*; Bashk. *qojroq*; Kirgh. *qujruq*; Kaz. *qu̱jrɨq*; KBalk. *qujruq*; KKalp. *qujrɨq*; Kum. *qujruq*; Nogh. *qujrɨq*; SUygh. *Guzuruq*; Khak. *xuzurux*; Shr. *quzuruq*; Oyr. *qujruq*; Tv. *qudurug*; Tof. *qudurug*; Chuv. *xüre*; Yak. *kuturuk*; Dolg. *kuturuk*.

◊ VEWT 296b, EDT 604, Лексика 145, ЭСТЯ 6, 114-117, Stachowski 163. Cf. also MK *quδurγup* 'tail strap' (Лексика 553).

PKor. ***s-kòrí** tail (хвост): MKor. *skòrí*; Mod. *k:ori*.

◊ Nam 50, KED 140.

‖ Владимирцов 322, Poppe 18, 52, Цинциус 1984a, 113, ОСНЯ 1, 327-328, АПиПЯЯ 53, 284, Дыбо 9, Лексика 145. Mong. is hardly < Turk. (although it is possible, see Щербак 1997, 142). In Korean we have a case of *s-prefixation in body parts (see also under **i̯opʿerV*, **pʿejńe*); note that MKor. *kòtǎrkái* 'tail strap' < Mong. Cf. also Turk. **Kuduskan* 'tail strap' (ЭСТЯ 6, 182-183) = WMong. *qudusqa* (VEWT 297, KW 195, Лексика 554); **Kudu-muč* / *-mčak* 'tail bone' (ЭСТЯ 6, 215-216).

✱**kʿi̯ù̯ge** palate, jaw: Tung. ***xū̄kte**; Mong. ***köɣemej**; Turk. ***Kögme**; Jpn. ***k(ù)i**; Kor. ***kə̀húm**.

PTung. ***xū̄kte** tooth (зуб): Evk. *īkte*; Evn. *īt*; Neg. *īkte*; Man. *weixe*; SMan. *vīxə* (32); Jurch. *juj-xe* (495); Nan. *xukte(le)*; Ud. *ikte*; Oroch. *ikte*; Sol. *ītte*.

◊ TMC 1, 300. Cf. also Evk. *īken* 'jaw, chin' (TMC 1, 302). North. > Ul., Orok *ikte*.

PMong. ***köɣemej** 1 throat, pharynx 2 chest part of animal skin (1 глотка, фаринкс 2 грудная часть шкуры животного): WMong. *kögeme* (L 479: *kögemei*, *kömei*) 1; Kh. *xȫ̄mij* 1; Bur. *xȫ̄mej* 2; Kalm. *kȫ̄mā̄* 1 (KPC); Ord. *kȫ̄mī* 2.

◊ Cf. also Khalkha *xöjȫ̄* 'crop, craw'. Mong. > Kaz. *kömekej* etc.), see ЭСТЯ 5, 99-100.

PTurk. ***Kögme** gum (of tooth) (десна): Khak. *köŋme*; Shr. *kögbe* (Mat.), *köge* (Kond.).

◊ VEWT 290.

PJpn. ***k(ù)i** fang (клык): OJpn. *k(j)i*; MJpn. *kì*; Tok. *kí-ba*; Kyo. *kí-bà*; Kag. *kí-ba*.

◊ JLTT 449. The accent in Kyoto and Kagoshima is irregular; Tokyo and RJ point unambiguously to original low tone.

PKor. ***kə̀húm** jaw (челюсть): MKor. *kə̀húm*.

◊ Nam 36.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 290 (with a somewhat different grouping of etyma). Korean has an irregular low tone.

✱**kʿi̯ujkʿè** root, stem: Tung. ***xüj(k)e**; Turk. ***kök**; Jpn. ***kùkùi**; Kor. ***kòkɨrí, kòkòrí**.

PTung. ***xüj(k)e** horn (рог): Evk. *ije*; Evn. *īj*; Neg. *īje*; Man. *weixe* / *uixe*; SMan. *vīxə* (32, 2279); Jurch. *huje-xe* (602); Ul. *xuje*; Ork. *xuje*; Nan. *xuje*; Orch. *ije*; Ud. *jē*; Sol. *īje*.

◊ TMC 1, 298-299.

PTurk. ***kök** root (корень): Karakh. *kök* (MK, KB); Tur. *kök*; Gag. *kök*; Az. *kök*; Turkm. *kök*; MTurk. *kök* (AH, Бор. Бад., Pav. C.); Krm. *kök*; Kaz. *kök*; KKalp. *kök*; Tv. *kö'k*; Chuv. *kъʷk* (Anatri).

◊ VEWT 287, EDT 708, TMN 3, 598, ЭСТЯ 5, 91-92, Лексика 109.

PJpn. ***kùkù-i** stem, stalk (ствол, стебель): OJpn. *kuki*; MJpn. *kuki*; Tok. *kukí*; Kyo. *kúkì*; Kag. *kukí*.

◊ JLTT 462. The stem *kuku-* is found in some OJ compounds.

PKor. ***kòkɨrí, kòkòrí** stalk (стебель): MKor. *kòkɨrí*, *kòkòrí*; Mod. *k:okči*.

◊ Nam 45, KED 154.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 284, Лексика 109, Whitman 1985, 132, 222. Tone correspondence between Kor. and Jpn. is irregular. The TM word belongs here if one reconstructs the rare cluster *-jk- (reflected as -x- in Manchu but as -0- in other languages).

✸**kʿi̯ŭjŕo** cold wind, fog, North: Mong. ***koji-**; Turk. ***Kuŕ**; Jpn. ***kúi-rí**.

PMong. ***koji-** North(wards), back(wards) (север, зад, задняя сторона): MMong. *qojina* (SH, HY 50), *qūjna* 'following' (IM); WMong. *qoji-na*, *qoji-si* (L 954); Kh. *xojno*, *xojš*; Bur. *xojno*, *xojšo*; Kalm. *xõnə* (KPC) 'after'; Ord. *xoö̯no* 'back, West'; Mog. *qoina* (Weiers); Dag. *xuai-nə* (Тод. Дar. 178 *xuaina*), *huajne* (MD 165); Dong. *qui-na*; Bao. *χui-nə*; S.-Yugh. *χöi-ne*; Mongr. *xwənо* (SM 177), *xwədi* 'qui est derrière' (SM 176), *xui-no*.

◊ MGCD 359.

PTurk. ***Kuŕ** Northern slope (северный склон): OTurk. *quz* (Yen.); *qurɨ* 'West' (Orkh.),; Karakh. *quz* (MK); Tur. *koz*, *guz* (dial.), *kuzej*; Az. *Guzej*; Turkm. *Guzaj*; MTurk. *quz* (AH, Pav. C.), *quzaj* (Pav.C.); Uygh. *quz*; SUygh. *qozan* 'sunset' (Mal.); Khak. *xosxar* 'Polar star'; Oyr. *qusqaj* (Tuba).

◊ VEWT 305, EDT 680, ЭСТЯ 6, 106-107.

PJpn. ***kúi-rí (~ -əi-)** fog (туман): OJpn. *kiri*; MJpn. *kírí*; Tok. *kìri*; Kyo. *kírí*; Kag. *kíri*.

◊ JLTT 451.

‖ Дыбо 45. The root contains a rare cluster *-jŕ-. The Jpn. form can belong here if *-ri is originally suffixed (which is in fact quite probable, given the exceptional structure of the word with medial -ui- ~ -əi-).

✸**kʿi̯ŭ́le** to exchange, trade, hire: Tung. ***xül-**; Mong. ***kölü-sü**; Turk. ***kö̃le**.

PTung. ***xül-** 1 to lend 2 to change, exchange 3 to barter 4 to supply 5 to borrow (1 одалживать 2 меняться, обменивать 3 торговать 4 снабжать 5 брать взаймы): Evk. *ildu-* 1; Neg. *i̯ldu̯-* 1; Man. *χulaša-* 3; SMan. *hulašə-* 2 (1425); Jurch. *xu-la-gi* (833) 2; Nan. *χolasi̯-* 2, (Bik. *χolsi̯-*); Orch. *igdu-mači-* 4; Ud. *idu-* 5.

◊ TMC 1, 308, 469.

PMong. ***kölü-sü** wages for hired work (плата за наемный труд): MMong. *kulesu*, *kulesun* (MA 222); WMong. *kölüsü(n)* (L 486); Kh. *xöls*; Bur. *xülhe(n)*; Kalm. *kölsn̥* (KPC); Ord. *kölösü(n)*.

PTurk. ***kölе** 1 slave, servant 2 bastard 3 co-ruler, minister (1 слуга, раб 2 незаконнорожденный 3 соправитель): OTurk. *köl* (~ *kül*) an Old Turkic title (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *köl* (~ *kül*) 3 (MK); Tur. *köle* 1; Az. *köle* 1; Turkm. *kölе* 2; MTurk. *köl* 3; Khak. *kölmök* 'people'; Tv. *xöl* 'guests that have arrived'.

◊ VEWT 288.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**kʿi̯ŭli** to wind, plait: Tung. ***xil(i)-**; Mong. ***küli-**; Turk. ***kül-, *kült-**.

PTung. ***xil(i)-** to plait, braid (плести, заплетать): Evk. *ilča-*; Evn. *i̯lčā-*; Neg. *i̯lča-*; Ul. *si̯lu̯-*; Ork. *si̯li̯-*; Nan. *si̯li̯-*; Orch. *iliča-*.

◊ TMC 1, 311.

PMong. ***küli-** to bind (связывать): MMong. *kuli-* (IM); WMong. *küli-* (L 499); Kh. *xüle-*; Bur. *xüli-*; Kalm. *külə-*; Ord. *küli-*; Mog. *küli-* (Ramstedt 1906); S.-Yugh. *kulə-*; Mongr. *koli-* (SM 212).

◊ KW 245, MGCD 404.

PTurk. ***kül-** spool, skein, sheaf (катушка, моток, вязанка): Tur. *küleš*, dial. *kültem*; Turkm. *kültem*; MTurk. *külte* (AH, At-Tuhf., KW); Krm. *külte*; Tat. *költe*; Bashk. *költe*; Kaz. *külte*; KKalp. *külte*; Kum. *külte*; Nogh. *külte*; Chuv. *kəlde* (possibly < Tat.).

◊ ЭСТЯ 5, 139, Федотов 1, 272-273. Turk. > Kalm. *kültə-* 'to bind, fasten' (KW 245).

‖ A Western isogloss. Cf. **koli, *gŭldi, *kʿiĺa.*

✱**kʿi̯ŭĺa** sable, squirrel: Tung. ***xulu-kī**; Mong. ***kulgana**; Turk. ***kīĺ**.

PTung. ***xulu-kī** squirrel (белка): Evk. *ulukī*; Evn. *öliki*; Neg. *o̯lo̯xī*; Man. *ulxu*; Ul. *xolo*; Ork. *xolo* / *xulu*; Nan. *xulu*; Orch. *oloki*; Ud. *oloxi*; Sol. *uluxi*.

◊ TMC 2, 263-4.

PMong. ***kulgana** mouse (мышь): MMong. *quluqana* (SH) *xuluqana* (HY 11), *qəlγəna* (IM); WMong. *qulγana* (L 984: *quluγana*); Kh. *xulgana*; Bur. *xulgana*, *xulganān*; Kalm. *xulγən* (KPC); Ord. *xuluGuna*; S.-Yugh. *χunaGlaG*; Mongr. *xanaGla* (SM 155), *xulGanaG*.

◊ MGCD 388; TMN 1, 440 (Mong. > Evk. *kulugu, kuluguna).*

PTurk. ***kīĺ** sable (соболь): OTurk. *kiš* (Orkh.); Karakh. *kiš* (MK, KB); MTurk. *kiš* (MA, Pav. C., Sangl.); Uzb. *kiš*; Tat. *keš*; Bashk. *keš*; Kirgh. *kiš*; Kaz. *kis*; Kum. *kiš*; Nogh. *kis*, *kiš*; Oyr. *kiš*; Tv. *kiš*; Chuv. *kъ^{w}š*; Yak. *kīs*; Dolg. *kīs*.

◊ VEWT 272, TMN 3, 664-665, EDT 752, Щербак 1961, 143, ЭСТЯ 5, 77-78, Лексика 162-163, Stachowski 149 (one of the Turk.-Samoyed. contact words; because of the Tungus parallel, probably Turk. > Samoyed., despite Helimski 1995). The Chuvash form reveals irregular vocalism and may in fact reflect a merger with PT **Külül* 'rat, mole' (v. sub **kʿĕĺú*). Turk. > Mong. *er-kis* 'male sable', *ebsi-gis* 'female sable' (see Clark 1980, 43).

‖ Дыбо 9, Лексика 163. A Western isogloss (cf. perhaps OJ *kase* 'sea-urchin'?). In Turkic one has to suppose a secondary fronting **kīĺ* < **kīĺ* (a rather frequent phenomenon).

✱**kʿi̯uĺe** person: Tung. ***(x)ile (~ -ü-)**; Mong. ***kulunča**; Turk. ***kiĺi**.

PTung. ***(x)ile (~ -ü-)** person (человек): Evk. *ile*.

◊ TMC 1, 311.

PMong. ***kulunča** ancestor (предок): WMong. *qulunča* (L 985); Kh. *xulanc*; Bur. *xulinsag*, *gulinsag* - 'потомки в пятом колене'; Kalm. *xuləncəg* (KPC); Ord. *xulumči*, *xuluŋči* 'trisaïeul paternel'.

PTurk. ***kiĺi** person, people (человек, люди): OTurk. *kiši* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *kiši* (MK, KB); Tur. *kiši*; Gag. *kiši*; Az. *kiši*; Turkm. *kiši*; Sal. *kiši*; MTurk. *kiši* (Pav. C., MA); Uzb. *kiši*; Uygh. *kiši*; Krm. *kiši*; Tat. *keše*; Bashk. *keše*; Kirgh. *kiši*; Kaz. *kisi*; KBalk. *kiši*; KKalp. *kisi*; Kum. *kiši*; Nogh. *kisi*; SUygh. *kisi*; Khak. *kəzə*; Shr. *kiži*; Oyr. *kiži*; Tv. *kiži*; Tof. *kiši*; Yak. *kihi*; Dolg. *kihi*.

◊ VEWT 272, EDT 752-753, ЭСТЯ 5, 78-79, Лексика 325, Stachowski 147.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 283. A Western isogloss. The comparison is quite acceptable, but its reliability is weakened by the isolated nature of the Evenki form within TM. Cf., however, the ethnonym **kile* 'Evenki' (TMC 1, 393) (possibly borrowed in Evk. from a form like **xile* or **xüle*) and Evn. *kịlča* 'Yakut'.

✱**kʿi̯ū́ĺnu** navel: Tung. ***xulŋu-**; Mong. ***köjil-sü**; Turk. ***kīn, *kīn-dük**.

PTung. ***xulŋu-** navel (пупок): Evk. *uŋurē*; Evn. *inŋö*, *iŋŋö*; Neg. *uŋńo-n*; Man. *uleŋgu*; SMan. *uluŋu* (94); Ul. *xujmu*; Ork. *xūnu*; Nan. *xujmu*.

◊ TMC 2, 266, 280. In Man. cf. also *xum-sun* 'navel' (TMC 1, 447).

PMong. ***köjil-sü** navel (пупок): MMong. *kojisun* (HY 47, 15), *kuj-sun* (MA); WMong. *köi(l)sü* (L 498: *küisü(n)*, *küilsü(n)*); Kh. *xüjs*; Bur. *xüjhe(n)*; Kalm. *kīsŋ*; Ord. *kū̄s*, *kīs*, *küjs*, *kō̄s*, *kū̄sü*; Mog. ZM *kosun* (3-3b); Dag. *kuise* (Тод. Даг. 151, MD 184); Dong. *kuisun*; Bao. *kisoŋ*; S.-Yugh. *kū̄sən*; Mongr. *kwəʒə*; *kwəgi-* 1 'nombril, centre; couper le cordon ombicical à l'enfant 1' (SM 208).

◊ KW 239, MGCD 397.

PTurk. ***kīn, *kīn-dük** 1 navel, navelstring, centre 2 navel of a musk-deer, musk (1 пупок, пуповина, центр 2 мускусная железа, мускус): OTurk. *kin* 'утроба, vagina; мускус', *kindik* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *kin* (KB), *kün* (MK) 2; Tur. *kindik*, *künük* (dial.) 1; Turkm. *kindik* (dial.) 1; Sal. *kinšix*, *kintix* 1; Khal. *kindik* 1; MTurk. *kindik* (MA, Pav. C.) 1; Uzb. *kindik*, *kindak* 1; Uygh. *kindik* 1; Krm. *kindik* 1, 'belly'; Tat. *kendek* 1; Bashk. *kendek* 1; Kirgh. *kindik* 1; Kaz. *kindik* 1; KBalk. *kindik* 1; KKalp. *kindik* 1; Kum. *gindik* 1; Nogh. *kindik* 1; SUygh. *kendek* 1 (ЯЖУ); Khak.

kən 1, *kəndək* 1; Oyr. *kindik* 1, kin 2; Tv. *xin* 1, 2, *xindik* 1, 2; Tof. *xin* 1, 2; Chuv. *kəndək* (dial.); Yak. *kīn* 1.

◊ VEWT 271, EDT 725, 729, ЭСТЯ 5, 68-69, Лексика 279-280. Turk. > Mong. *kindik* (Щербак 1997, 127).

‖ KW 234, Дыбо 6, Лексика 280. A Western isogloss, with a rather complicated phonology. In Mong. **köjil-sü* (< **kölil-* < **kölin-*) should be distinguished from **köji* < **kōpʿe*, although the reflexes have been significantly confused; PTM **xulŋu-* either < **xulnu-* through assimilation, or else < **xulnu-gV-* or **xulnu-ŋV-* (with a fused velar suffix). Finally, in Turkic one has to suppose a (rather frequent) fronting **kīn* < **kɨ̄n*.

✸**kʿi̯uml[e]** nail, needle: Tung. ***xülme**; Mong. ***kimul-su**; Kor. ***kom(h)**.

PTung. ***xülme** needle (игла): Evk. *inme*; Evn. *inmъ*; Neg. *inme*; Man. *ulme*; SMan. *unū* (266); Jurch. *hiul-me* (249); Ul. *xulme(n)*; Ork. *xulme*; Nan. *xurme*; Orch. *imme*; Ud. *iŋme*; Sol. *imme*.

◊ TMC 1, 316.

PMong. ***kimul-su** claw, finger-nail (ноготь, коготь): MMong. *kimusun* (HY 46, SH), *kimul* (SH), *qəmərṣən* (IM), *qimusun* (MA); WMong. *kimusu(n)*, *qumusu(n)* (L 469); Kh. *xums(an)*; Bur. *x́umha(n)*; Kalm. *xumsṇ*; Ord. *xumusu*; Mog. *qimsun*; ZM *qemsun* (2-9a); Dag. *kimči* (Тод. Даг. 150), *kimeči* (MD 183); Dong. *Gəmusun* (MGCD *Gɨmusun)*; Bao. *Gomsoŋ*; S.-Yugh. *xəməsən*; Mongr. *ćimuʒə* (SM 450), (MGCD *ćimusə*).

◊ KW 197, MGCD 389.

PKor. ***kom(h)** finger-nail (ноготь): Mod. *son-khom* (SKE 134).

◊ A dialectal form.

‖ In Mong. one has to suppose **kimul-* < **kumil-* (the form *qumu(l)-* is actually attested in many dialects, and may be archaic).

✸**kʿi̯ǜnčʿo** sleeve, elbow; top of boot: Tung. ***xǖnčē-n**; Mong. ***kanču-**; Turk. ***Konč**.

PTung. ***xǖnčē-n** elbow (локоть): Evk. *īčēn*; Evn. *iečen*; Neg. *īčēn*; Ul. *unče(n)*; Ork. *ūite*; Nan. *xujčẽ*; Orch. *īčo(n)*; Sol. *īnčẽ*.

◊ TMC 1, 336. TM > Dag. *inčēn*, *jinčēn*, *īčēn* (Тод. Даг. 146). Loss of *x- in Ul. and Orok is not quite clear: perhaps borrowing from some archaic South. Tung. dialect (before the change *ǖ > ī).

PMong. ***kanču-** sleeve (рукав): MMong. *kančun* (HY 22), *qanču(n)* (SH), *qanču* (IM), *qančīn* (Lig.VMI); WMong. *qanču-n* (L 927: *qančui*, *qanču*, *qamčui*); Kh. *xancuj*; Bur. *xamsɨ*; Kalm. *xancə*; Ord. *xanču*; Mog. *qamči*, *qamču* (Ramstedt 1906); Dag. *kanči* (Тод. Даг. 148, MD 181), *xanči* (Тод. Даг. 148); Dong. *Ganǯun*; Bao. *Ganǯoŋ*; S.-Yugh. *χanǯūn*; Mongr. *xanʒ́i*, *xanći* (SM 156), *xamǯi*.

◊ KW 175, MGCD 327.

PTurk. ***Konč** top(s) of boots (голенище): Tur. *konč*; Gag. *qonč*; Az. *Gunǯ*; Turkm. *Gonč*; MTurk. *qonč* (AH); Uzb. *qụnǯ*; Uygh. *qonǯa*; Krm.

qonč; Tat. *qunɨč*; Kirgh. *qonč*; Kaz. *qonɨš*; KKalp. *qonɨš*; Kum. *xonč*; Nogh. *qonɨš*; SUygh. *qaŋč*; Shr. *qoš*; Oyr. *qonč*, *qonɨč*; Tv. *xonču*; Chuv. *konʒa*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 6, 58-59, Федотов 1, 308.

‖ A Western isogloss. Except for Mong. -a- the correspondences are regular; Mong. **kančи-* probably < **kunča-* (with vowel metathesis).

✱**kʿi̯une** heavy, load: Tung. ***(x)ünī-**; Mong. ***kündü**.

PTung. ***(x)ünī-** to carry on the back (нести на спине): Evk. *inī-*; Evn. *inu-*; Neg. *inīw-* 'навьючить'; Man. *unu-*.

◊ TMC 1, 315-316.

PMong. ***kün-** 1 heavy, difficult 2 respect, authority (1 тяжелый 2 уважение, почтительность): MMong. *kundu* (HY 52, SH), *kundule-* 'to respect' (HYt), *kondu* (IM), *kŭndu* 1; WMong. *kündü* 1,2 (L 501, 502); Kh. *xünd* 1,2; Bur. *xünde* 1; Kalm. *kündə* 1,2; Ord. *kündü* 1,2; Mog. *kündü* 1; ZM *kondu* (18-3b); Dag. *xundu*, *kundu* (Тод. Даг. 151), *hunde* 1, *hundule-* 'to respect' (MD 166); Dong. *gundu*; Bao. *kuntɛ*, *kuntə*; S.-Yugh. *kundə*; Mongr. *kundun* (SM 212).

◊ KW 246, MGCD 398. Mong. > Yak., Dolg. *kündü* (Stachowski 164); > Manchu *kundu* 'respect, honor', Evk. *kundu* (Rozycki 146).

‖ A Turk.-Mong. isogloss.

✱**kʿi̯ŭnu** to long for, covet (sexually): Tung. ***(x)on-**; Mong. ***kina-**; Turk. ***Kɨn-**; Jpn. ***kunank-**.

PTung. ***(x)on-** 1 to search (for lost deer) 2 to wait 3 domestic reindeer trained for searching wild deer (1 искать (потерявшихся оленей) 2 ждать 3 олень-манщик): Evk. *onī-* 1, *ondōgdo* 3; Evn. *ōnmъt-* 2, *ondā-* 1, *ondad* 3; Neg. *ondogdo* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 19. Cf. perhaps also Manchu *ondo-* 'to caper; to rape' (> Dag. *ondō-*, see Тод. Даг. 159); Nan. *χonolị-* 'to mock' (TMC 1, 470) - which would confirm the reconstruction of *x- and fit the original meaning 'to covet (sexually)'. Evk. *ondogdo* > Dolg. *ondōdo* (see Stachowski 193).

PMong. ***kina-** to investigate, observe, trace (исследовать, наблюдать, следить): WMong. *kina-* (L 469); Kh. *x́ana-*; Bur. *xina-*; Ord. *kina-*; Dag. *kinima* 'careful, cautious'.

◊ MGCD 353.

PTurk. ***Kɨn-** 1 to long for, covet, to be obsessed with 2 to long (sexually) 3 coire (1 желать, стремиться 2 желать (сексуально) 3 coire): OTurk. *qɨn-* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *qɨn-* 1 (MK); Tur. *kɨn-* 1, 2; Kirgh. *qɨnɨq-* 1; Khak. *xɨn-*, *xɨnɨx-* 1, 2; Shr. *qɨn-* 1; Oyr. *qɨn-*, *qɨnɨq-* 1; Chuv. *xъnъx-* 1; Yak. *kɨn-* 3.

◊ VEWT 264, EDT 632, ЭСТЯ 6, 632.

PJpn. ***kunank-** coire, have sexual intercourse (coire, иметь половые сношения): OJpn. *kunagap(j)i* (n.); MJpn. *kunag-*.

‖ KW 231 (Turk.-Mong.). See also notes to **gŭno*.

✱**kʿi̯ŭńa** punishment: Tung. ***xuńi-**; Mong. ***könüɣe-**; Turk. ***Kījn**; Jpn. ***káná-**.

PTung. ***xuńi-** to envy, become sick of envy (завидовать, обижаться, заболевать от зависти): Evk. *uni-*; Evn. *öń-*; Neg. *uńi-*; Ul. *xuńi-*; Nan. *xuńi-*; Ud. *uńi-* 'to become sick'.

◊ TMC 2, 273-274.

PMong. ***könüɣe-** to harm, torture (вредить, мучить): WMong. *könüge-* (L 490); Kh. *xönõ-*; Bur. *xünegõl* 'harm, damage'.

PTurk. ***Kījn** 1 punishment, fine, guilt 2 to punish 3 cruelty, tyranny 4 to condemn 5 hard, difficult 6 to torture 7 insult, offence 8 to offend 9 harm, torture 10 sin 11 to annoy, anger 12 to beat (1 наказание, штраф, вина 2 наказывать 3 жестокость, тирания 4 осуждать, порицать 5 трудный, тяжелый 6 мучить 7 обида 8 обижать 9 беда, мучение 10 грех 11 сердить, раздражать 12 бить): OTurk. *qɨjnɨɣ* (*acc.*) (Orkh.), *qɨjn*, *qɨn* (OUygh.) 1, *qɨna-* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *qɨn*, *qɨjɨn* (KB) 1, *qɨna-* 2 (MK, KB); Tur. *kɨjɨn*, *kɨjɨnč* 3, *kɨna-* 4; Az. *Gɨna-* 4; Turkm. *qīn* 5, *qīna-* 'to make difficult, torture'; MTurk. *qɨjɨn* (Abush., Бор. Бад., MA), *qɨn* (Pav. C.), *qɨna-* 2 (Sangl.); Uzb. *qijin* 5, *qijna-* 6; Uygh. *qijin* 5, *qijna-* 6; Krm. *qɨjɨn*, *qejin* 1, *qɨjna-* 6; Tat. *qɨjɨn* 5, *qɨjɨna-* 'to make difficult, hard'; Bashk. *qɨjɨn* 1, *qɨjna-* 12; Kirgh. *qɨjɨn* 1, *qɨjɨt-* 'to make difficult, troublesome', *qɨjna-* 6; Kaz. *qɨjɨn* 1, *qɨjna-* 6, *qɨnž-ɨl-* 'to be distressed'; KBalk. *qɨjɨn* 1, *qɨjna-* 12; KKalp. *qɨjɨn* 1, *qɨjna-* 6; Kum. *qɨjɨn* 1, *qɨjna-* 6; Nogh. *qɨjɨn* 1, *qɨjna-* 6; SUygh. *qɨn* 1; Khak. *xɨjɨx* 7, *xɨjal* 9; Shr. *qɨjal* 9, 10, *qɨjɨq-ta-* 8, *qɨjnaɣ* 9 (**qɨń-laɣ*); Oyr. *qɨjɨn*, *qɨjna-* 6, *qɨjal* 10, dial. (Tuba) *qɨj-* 6; Tv. *xɨjna-* 6; Chuv. *xən* 1; Yak. *kīnńā-*, *kɨjaxā-* 11, *kɨj-* 'to pain, ache'; Dolg. *kɨjŋa-* 11, *kɨj-* 'to kill'.

◊ VEWT 264. EDT 631, ЭСТЯ 6, 218-219, Stachowski 168. Turk. **Kījna-* > MMong. *qina-* 'to torture' (Щербак 1997, 165). Nasalless forms (like Yak. *kɨjaxā-* etc.) may result from a reanalysis of the form **Kījn* as **Kɨjɨn*, interpreted as a deverbative noun. Turk. > Hung. *kín* 'torture, suffering' (Gombocz 1912).

PJpn. ***káná-** sad, sorrowful (печальный, грустный): OJpn. *kana-si*; MJpn. *káná-si*; Tok. *kànashi-*; Kyo. *kánáshì-*; Kag. *kanáshi-*.

◊ JLTT 830.

‖ Cf. **guna.* and notes to **gŭno*. Mong. **könüɣe-* has a usual regressive labialization (< **kenüɣe-* or **kinüɣe-*).

✱**kʿi̯ùńí** thread, cloth: Mong. ***kejeŋ**; Turk. ***köjŋe-lek**; Jpn. ***kìnú**; Kor. ***kính**.

PMong. ***kejeŋ** edge of cloth (on both sides), selvage (кайма, край одежды (по обеим сторонам)): WMong. *kejeŋ* (L 445); Kh. *xejen*.

PTurk. ***köjŋe-lek** shirt (рубашка): Karakh. *köŋlek* (MK); Tur. *köjnäk*, dial. *göŋlek*; Gag. *gölmäk*; Az. *köjnek*; Turkm. *köjnek*, dial. *gömlek*; MTurk. *köŋlek* (Sangl., MA, Pav. C., Бор. Бад.), *köjnek* (Pav. C.); Uzb.

kọjnak, *kọjlak*; Uygh. *köŋläk*, *köŋnek*; Krm. *kölmek*; Tat. *külmäk*; Bashk. *küldäk*; Kirgh. *köjnek*; KBalk. *kölek*; KKalp. *köjlek*; Kum. *gölek*; Nogh. *köjlek*; Khak. *kögenek*; Shr. *künek*; Oyr. *künek*; Tv. *xöjleŋ*; Yak. *könjügäs* 'старинное название дохи'.

◊ VEWT 290-291, EDT 732, ЭСТЯ 5, 89-90, Лексика 384, 476-477. Turk. > WMong. *küjileg*, Kalm. *kīləg* (KW 234), MMong. *köŋlek* (TMN 3, 615, Щербак 1997, 128).

PJpn. ***kìnú** silk; cloth, robe (шелк; одежда, платье): OJpn. *kjinu*; MJpn. *kìnú*; Tok. *kínu*; Kyo. *kìnú*; Kag. *kinú*.

◊ JLTT 451.

PKor. ***kính** string, tassel (веревка, кисточка, лента): MKor. *kín* (*kính-*); Mod. *k:ɨn*.

◊ Nam 80, KED 243.

‖ In Mong. one would rather expect -ö-; -e- is perhaps a result of assimilation. In Turko-Mongolian -ŋ- is possibly an original suffix (Turk. **köjŋe-* < **köń-ŋe-*); but a reconstruction like **kʿi̯ùńŋí* can also not be excluded.

✱**kʿi̯ŭńu (~ -a)** sheath, scabbard: Tung. ***xunʒi-**; Mong. ***kuj**; Turk. ***Kīn**.

PTung. ***xunʒi-** 1 wooden quiver 2 a vessel made of birch bark (1 деревянный колчан 2 сосуд из бересты): Evk. *unʒikān* 2; Nan. *xonʒi* (Он.) 1.

◊ TMC 2, 273.

PMong. ***kuj** sheath, scabbard (ножны, чехол): MMong. *quji* (IM), *qūj* (LH), *quj* (MA); WMong. *qui* (L 982); Kh. *xuj*; Bur. *xuj*; Kalm. *xŭ*; Ord. *xuj*; S.-Yugh. *χui*; Mongr. *xwə̄* (SM 176), *xui* (Huzu), (MGCD *xui*).

◊ MGCD 386, KW 204.

PTurk. ***Kīn** sheath, scabbard (ножны, чехол): Karakh. *qɨn* (MK, KB); Tur. *kɨn*; Gag. *qɨn*; Az. *Gɨn*; Turkm. *Gīn*; MTurk. *qɨn* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *qin*, (Khorazm dial.) *qɨjn*; Uygh. *qin*; Krm. *qɨn*; Tat. *qɨn*; Bashk. *qɨn*; Kirgh. *qɨn*; Kaz. *qɨn*; KBalk. *qɨn*; KKalp. *qɨn*; Kum. *qɨn*; Nogh. *qɨn*; SUygh. *qɨn* (ЯЖУ); Khak. *xɨn*; Shr. *qɨn*; Oyr. *qɨn*; Tv. *xɨn*; Chuv. *jənə*, dial. *ənə*; Yak. *kīn*.

◊ VEWT 264, EDT 630-631, Егоров 79, Лексика 571, ЭСТЯ 6, 217-218.

‖ Владимирцов 174. A Western isogloss. See TMN 3, 577 ("die Aehnlichkeit der beiden Wörter dürfte Zufall sein").

✱**kʿi̯úŋu** to bend, bow: Tung. ***xuŋke- / *kuŋke-**; Mong. ***kiji- / *keje-**; Turk. ***Kɨŋ-**; Jpn. ***kúnkúm-**.

PTung. ***xuŋke- / *kuŋke-** to bow (кланяться, наклоняться): Evk. *uŋkē-*; Neg. *keŋket-*; Man. *xeŋgile-*; SMan. *xeŋkilə-*, *xiŋkili-* 'to kowtow' (1446); Jurch. *keŋ-ke-le-mij* (751); Ul. *keŋkele-*; Nan. *keŋkele-*; Ud. *xeŋki-*.

◊ TMC 2, 278-279.

PMong. ***kiji- / *keje-** oblique, slanting (косой, наклонный): WMong. *keje-ge* (L 445), *kiji-ʒaŋ*; Kh. *xejeg*; *xejede-*, *xejele-* (v.); Kalm. *kīzŋ*.

◊ KW 235. There also exists a synonymous WMong. variant *geji-*, *geje-* (Kh. *geje-de-*, *geje-le-*, Kalm. *gī).* Voiced *g- here is probably due to the influence of another synonymous root, **gek-* (v. sub **gékʿá).*

PTurk. ***Kɨŋ-*** bent, oblique (согнутый, косой): OTurk. *qɨŋɨr* (OUygh.); Karakh. *qɨŋɨr* (MK); Turkm. *Gɨŋɨr*; MTurk. *qɨŋɨr* (Ettuhf.); Uzb. *qiŋɣir*; Uygh. *qiŋi(r)*; Krm. *qɨŋɣɨr*; Tat. *qɨŋɣɨr*; Bashk. *qɨŋɨr* (dial.); Kirgh. *qɨŋɨr*; Kaz. *qɨŋɨr*; KBalk. *qɨŋɨr*; KKalp. *qɨŋɨr*; Kum. *qɨŋɨr*; Yak. *kɨŋnar* 'криво, косо'.

◊ VEWT 264-265, EDT 639, ЭСТЯ 6, 220-221. OT *qɨŋraq* 'curved dagger' > WMong. *kiɣira*, *kiŋgara* (Kalm. *kīrə*, Khalkha *x́aŋgar).*

PJpn. ***kúnkúm-*** be curved, bent (быть кривым, изогнутым): MJpn. *kugum-*, *kúgúmar-*.

◊ JLTT 715.

‖ TM and Jpn. forms reflect a velar suffix (or partial reduplication). One of several similar roots which are sometimes difficult to distinguish: cf. **gékʿá*, **gŭkʿa*, **kʿōki*.

✱**kʿi̯uŋu** worm, grub: Tung. ***xuŋVl-***; Mong. ***kiɣur-***; Jpn. ***kuà***.

PTung. ***xuŋVl-*** 1 worm 2 grub (1 червь 2 личинка): Evk. *uŋul* 1; Evn. *uŋɨl* 1, 2; Neg. *uŋil* 2; Man. *uḿaxa* / *iḿaxa* 1; SMan. *imahə*, *nimahə* 1 (2173); Jurch. *wu-mia-xa* (166) 1; Ork. *xuŋguli* 2; Nan. *xuŋguli* 2; Orch. *umuli* 2; Ud. *uŋulu* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 280. Cf. also PTM **(x)uńa* 'grub, larva' (TMC 2, 276).

PMong. ***kiɣur-*** nit (гнида): WMong. *kiɣursu*, *quur(a)su* (L 464: *kiɣurasu(n)*, *kiɣurusu(n)*); Kh. *xūrs*; Bur. *x́ūrha(n)*; Kalm. *gŭ̄r(ə)*, *xūrsṇ*, *γūrsṇ*; Ord. *Gūrsu*; Dag. *ḱaur* (Тод. Даг. 148); S.-Yugh. *χairsən*; Mongr. *ćirʒə* (SM 456), (MGCD *ćīrsə*).

◊ KW 140, 202, MGCD 381. Mong. > Khak. *kör* etc. (VEWT 292).

PJpn. ***kuà*** silkworm (шелковичный червь): OJpn. *kwo*; MJpn. *kàfí-kò*; Tok. *kái-ko*; Kyo. *kàí-kò*; Kag. *kai-kó*.

◊ JLTT 433.

‖ The Jpn. form goes back to **kʿi̯uŋ(u)-gV*.

✱**kʿi̯upʿe** to sew: Mong. ***köbe-***; Turk. ***köpi-***.

PMong. ***köbe-*** to oversew, tack, baste (сметывать, сшивать через край): WMong. *köbe-* (L 476), *köberi-de-*; Kh. *xövördö-*; Kalm. *köw-*, *köwrd-*.

◊ KW 242. Mong. > Man. *kubu-*, see Rozycki 144.

PTurk. ***köpi-*** to oversew, quilt (сшивать через край, простегивать): Karakh. *kübi-* (MK); Tur. *göbü-*, *göbü* 'толстый шов', *köpü-* (dial.); Turkm. *köpe-*; MTurk. (Kypch.) *kübV-* (AH); Tat. *kübe-* (Sib.); Bashk. *kübe-*; Oyr. *kübür-* (Tel.).

◊ VEWT 306, ЭСТЯ 5, 111, EDT 687.

‖ A Turko-Mong. isogloss. Not quite reliable, because Mong. may be < Turkic (or else connected etymologically with *köbe-ge* ‘edge’).

✱**kʿi̯ura (~ -u)** twenty: Tung. ***xorin**; Mong. ***kori**; Turk. ***Kɨrk**.

PTung. ***xorin** twenty (двадцать): Evk. *orin*; Neg. *ojin*; Man. *orin*; SMan. *orin* (2754); Jurch. *horin* (655); Ul. *χoriı(n)*; Ork. *χoriı(n)*; Nan. *χorī*; Orch. *oi*; Ud. *waji*; Sol. *orī*.

◊ TMC 2, 24.

PMong. ***kori** twenty (двадцать): MMong. *qorin* (SH, HY 43), *qurin* (IM), *qūrin* (LH); WMong. *qori(n)* (L 966); Kh. *xorin*; Bur. *xori(n)*; Kalm. *xörn̥*; Ord. *xori*; Dag. *xoŕ*, Тод. Даг. 178 *xori(n)*; *hori* (MD 164); Dong. *qorun*; Bao. *χoroŋ*; S.-Yugh. *χorən*; Mongr. *xorin*, *xorim* (SM 173), *xurən*.

◊ KW 193, MGCD 366.

PTurk. ***Kɨrk** forty (сорок): OTurk. *qɨrq* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *qɨrq* (MK); Tur. *kɨrk*; Gag. *qɨrq*; Az. *Gɨrx*; Turkm. *qɨrq*; Sal. *qɨrx*, *qɨrɨx*; Khal. *qɨrq*; MTurk. *qɨrq* (AH, Pav. C.); Uzb. *qirq*; Uygh. *qi(r)q*; Tat. *qɨrɨq*; Bashk. *qɨrq*; Kirgh. *qɨrq*; Kaz. *qɨrɨq*; KBalk. *qɨrq*; KKalp. *qɨrq*; Kum. *qɨrq*; Nogh. *qɨrq*; Khak. *xɨrɨx*; Shr. *qɨrɨq*; Oyr. *qɨrq*, *qɨrɨq*; Chuv. *xərəx*.

◊ EDT 651, VEWT 266, Лексика 573, ЭСТЯ 6, 235-236.

‖ Because of the *x- reflex, hardly borrowed in TM from Mong. (despite Doerfer MT 81, Rozycki 169). A Western isogloss: cf. OJ *patati* ‘20’ < **katati* under the influence of **puta-* ‘2’ (??).

✱**kʿi̯ure** guest, neighbour: Tung. ***(x)üremē- (~ -i-)**; Mong. ***kür-**; Turk. ***Kir-deĺ**.

PTung. ***(x)üremē- (~ -i-)** to visit, come as a guest (приходить в гости, гостить): Evk. *iremē-*; Neg. *ijemē-*.

◊ TMC 1, 329.

PMong. ***kür-** 1 son-in-law, bridegroom 2 brother-in-law (1 зять 2 шурин): MMong. *guregən* (HY 29), *gurigen*, *guregen* (SH) 1, *keurgen* (IM); WMong. *kürgen* 1, *küri degü* 2 (L 505); Kh. *xürge* 1, *xür degǖ* 2; Bur. *xüŕge(n)* 1, *xür* dǖ ‘younger brother-in-law’; Kalm. *kür* ‘brother-in-law’; *kürgn̥* 1; Ord. *kürgen* 1 *küri dǖ* ‘frère poîné de la femme’; Dag. *xurgun* 1 (Тод. Даг. 180: *xurgen*, *kurgen*), *huregen* 1 (MD 167); Dong. *kuɣan* 1; Bao. *kurkaŋ* 1; S.-Yugh. *kurɣen* 1, *kure dū̄n* 2; Mongr. *kurgēn* (SM 216) 1, *kurgēn diu* 2.

◊ KW 246, 247, MGCD 399, 401. Despite Щербак 1997, 128 Mong. *kürgen* cannot be < Turk. **güdegü* (v. sub **kude*). Mong. > Evk. *kurekēn*, *kuriɣen* see TMN 1, 477, Doerfer MT 127.

PTurk. ***Kir-deĺ** a neighbour who lives in the same house (сосед, живущий в том же доме): Karakh. *kirdeš* (MK).

◊ EDT 739. The word is attested only in OT, but modern forms like Oyr. *körüš*, Tat. *kürši* ‘neighbour’ etc. (ЭСТЯ 5, 118-119; > Mong. *körši*, see Clark 1980, 41) may actually belong here, being transformed under the influence of *körüš-* ‘to see each other’. Difficult

is Yak. *küre, kürüö* 'wife's younger sister': Poppe 1961, 138 regards it as genetically related to the Mongolian forms, but one cannot exclude a secondary loan < Evk. *kuriγen.*

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**kʿi̯ū́re** to reach, treat: Tung. ***xür-**; Mong. ***kür-**; Turk. ***gīr-**; Jpn. ***kúrá-**; Kor. ***kūr-**.

PTung. ***xür-** to ripen (созревать): Evk. *ir-*; Evn. *ir-*; Neg. *ij-*; Man. *ure-*; SMan. *urə-*, *uru-* (391); Ul. *xuru-*; Ork. *xuri-*; Nan. *xuru-*.

◊ TMC 1, 323.

PMong. ***kür-** 1 to reach 2 receive a gift or favour, be reached (1 достигать 2 получать подарок, заслужить милость, достичь): MMong. *gur-* 1 (SH, HYt), *kor-* 1 (IM); WMong. *kür-* 1 (L 503), *kürte-* 2 (L 506); Kh. *xüre-*, *xürte-*; Bur. *xüre-* 1, *xürte-* 2; Kalm. *kürtə-*; Ord. *kür-*; Mog. *kur-* 1 (Weiers); Dag. *kuru-*, (Тод. Даг. 151) *kure-*, *kur-* 1; *kurte-* 2 (Тод. Даг. 151), *kure-*, *hure-* 1 (MD 167, 185); Dong. *kuru-*; Bao. *kur-*; S.-Yugh. *kur-*; Mongr. *kuru-* (SM 216), *kurə-*.

◊ KW 248, MGCD 401.

PTurk. ***gīr-** to enter (входить): OTurk. *kir-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *kir-* (MK, KB); Tur. *gir-*; Gag. *gir-*; Az. *gir-*; Turkm. *gīr-*; Sal. *kir-* (ССЯ); MTurk. *kir-* (Abush., Sangl.); Uzb. *kir-*; Uygh. *kir-*; Krm. *kir-*; Tat. *ker-*; Bashk. *ker-*; Kirgh. *kir-*; Kaz. *kir-*; KBalk. *kir-*; KKalp. *kir-*; Kum. *gir-*; Nogh. *kir-*; SUygh. *ker-*; Khak. *kər-*; Shr. *kir-*; Oyr. *kir-*; Tv. *kir-*; Tof. *kir-*; Chuv. *kər-*; Yak. *kīr-*; Dolg. *kīr-*.

◊ VEWT 271, EDT 735-736, ЭСТЯ 3, 47-48, Stachowski 149.

PJpn. ***kúrá-** to give (to the 1st p.) (давать (1му л.)): MJpn. *kúrá-*; Tok. *kùre-*; Kyo. *kúré-*; Kag. *kuré-*.

◊ JLTT 716.

PKor. ***kūr-** to treat, concern (обращаться, обходиться): Mod. *kūl-*.

◊ KED 217.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 275, Цинциус 1984, 122-123. An alternative (but more dubious) etymology of the Kor. word see in PKE 95. Turkic demonstrates here the same irregular voicing as in **dīŕ* < **tʿi̯ūŕe*.

✱**kʿi̯úrge (~ -o)** to feed, eat: Tung. ***xürgi-**; Mong. ***korgan**; Turk. ***KUr(g)-**; Jpn. ***kúrá-p-**.

PTung. ***xürgi-** 1 to raise, feed 2 food, food supply (1 растить, кормить 2 пища, продовольствие): Evk. *irgī-* 1, *irgise* 2; Evn. *irgъ-* 1, *issъ* 2; Neg. *iggi-* 1, *isse* 2; Man. *uǯi-* 1; SMan. *uǯi-* 1 (2338); Ul. *xujse* 2; Ork. *xujse* 2; Nan. *xujgie-* 1, *xujgese* 2; Orch. *iggi-* 1, *iggixe* 2; Ud. *igisi-* 1; Sol. *iggi-*, *irgi-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 325-326.

PMong. ***korgan** melted fat, oil (топленый жир, масло): Bur. *xorgotoj* (adj.); Kalm. *xorγn* (KPC).

PTurk. ***KUr(g)-** food (пища, еда): Chuv. *xorъś*.

◊ Ашм. XVI, 226-227. Isolated in Chuvash, but having probable external parallels.

PJpn. ***kúrá-p-** to consume, eat (есть, пожирать): OJpn. *kura-p-*; MJpn. *kúráf-*; Tok. *kùra-*; Kyo. *kúrá-*; Kag. *kurá-*.

◊ JLTT 716.

‖ The TM and Japanese evidence is rather in favour of the original verbal nature of the root, with the meaning 'fat food, fat' secondarily developed in Mong. (as well as in TM).

✱**kʿi̯ŭrpe** young (animal, fish): Tung. ***xürbe**; Mong. ***körbe**; Turk. ***körpe**.

PTung. ***xürbe** spawn, to spawn (нерест, метать икру): Evk. *irbe*; Ul. *xulbi-*; Nan. *xurbe-*.

◊ TMC 1, 324. Evk. > Dolg. *ɨrba* (Stachowski 261).

PMong. ***körbe** new-born lamb (новорожденный ягненок): Bur. *xürbe*; Ord. *körwö* 'young child or animal'; Dag. *kurub* (Тод. Даг. 151).

◊ MGCD 391.

PTurk. ***körpe** 1 new-born 2 new-born lamb (1 новорожденный 2 новорожденный ягненок): Karakh. *körpe* (MK) 1; Tur. *körpe* 1, 2; Gag. *körpɛ* 1; Az. *körpä* 1; Turkm. *körpe* 1; Khal. *kurpe*, *kirpɛ*; Uzb. *kụrpɛ* 1; Uygh. *kö(r)pɛ* 1, 2; Bashk. *kürpɛ* 1; Kirgh. *körpö* 1, 2; KBalk. *körpe* 2; KKalp. *körpe* 1; Kum. *körpe* 1; Nogh. *körpe* 2.

◊ VEWT 293, TMN 3, 637, ЭСТЯ 5, 116-118, Лексика 391.

‖ A Western isogloss (but Mong. may be < Turkic).

✱**kʿi̯ùru** heavy; hard, difficult: Tung. ***xur-ge**; Turk. ***Kɨr-**; Jpn. ***kùrù-sì-**; Kor. ***korǎ- / *koro-**.

PTung. ***xurge** heavy (тяжелый): Evk. *urge*; Evn. *urgъ*; Neg. *ujgegdi*; Man. *uʒen*; SMan. *uʒin* (2848); Jurch. *hu(i̯)ʒe* (395); Ul. *xuʒeuli*; Ork. *xudē*; Nan. *xuige*; Orch. *ugge*; Ud. *ugehi*; Sol. *uggerdi*.

◊ TMC 2, 283-284.

PTurk. ***Kɨr-** 1 pest, epidemic 2 mischief 3 archenemy (1 чума, эпидемия 2 несчастье 3 заклятый враг): Karakh. *qɨr* (*jaɣɨ*) 3; Tur. *kɨran* 1; Turkm. *Gɨr* (*dušman*) 3; MTurk. *qiran* 2; Yak. *kɨr* (*östõx*) 3.

◊ VEWT 265, ЭСТЯ 6, 224. Cf. also PT **Kurul-* 'to have cramps' (VEWT 304).

PJpn. ***kùrù-sì-** hard, difficult, agonizing (трудный, тяжелый, мучительный): OJpn. *kuru-si-*; MJpn. *kùrù-si-*; Tok. *kurushí-*; Kyo. *kúrúshì-*; Kag. *kurushí-*.

◊ JLTT 833.

PKor. ***korǎ- / *koro-** 1 suffering 2 to suffer, be troublesome, hard, painful (1 мука, мучение 2 мучиться, быть трудным, тяжелым): MKor. *koro-'om* 1, *korǎ'oi-* 2; Mod. *kwerop-* (*kwerow-*) 2, *kwero-um* 1.

◊ Nam 46, KED 189.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 80, 292.

✱**kʿi̯ŭrú** bark, shell: Tung. ***xura-kta**; Mong. ***körü-sü**; Turk. ***Kɨrtɨĺ**; Jpn. ***kùrí**; Kor. ***kúr**.

PTung. ***xura-kta** 1 bark 2 outer skin (1 кора 2 оболочка, кожица): Evn. *u̯rtə̯* 1; Man. *uriχa* 2; Ul. *xu̯raqta* 1; Ork. *χu̯raqta* 1; Nan. *χoraqta* 1; Ud. *wakta* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 282. Cf. also Evn. *u̯ra-* 'to cover with bark', Orok *χu̯rala-* 'to peel bark'.

PMong. ***körü-sü** bark, upper stratum (кора, верхний слой): MMong. *korisu* (SH); WMong. *körüsü(n)*, *körüdesü(n)* (L 491); Kh. *xörs*; Bur. *xüŕhe(n)*; Kalm. *körsn̥*; Ord. *körösü* (*körös*); Dag. *kurbus* 'fur, leather' (Тод. Даг. 151).

◊ KW 240.

PTurk. ***Kɨrtɨĺ** 1 surface 2 bark, upper layer (1 поверхность 2 кора, верхний слой): OTurk. *qɨrtɨš* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *qɨrtɨš* 1 (MK); Tur. *kɨrtɨš* (dial.) 2; MTurk. *qɨrtɨš* (Houts.) 2; Tat. *qɨrtɨš* 2; Bashk. *qɨrtɨš* 2; Kirgh. *qɨrtɨš* 2; Kaz. *qɨrtɨs* 2; KKalp. *qɨrtɨs* 2; Kum. *qɨrtɨš* 2; Nogh. *qɨrtɨs* 2; Oyr. *qɨrtɨš* 1; Tv. *qɨrtɨš* 2.

◊ VEWT 267, EDT 649, Лексика 391-392, ЭСТЯ 6, 241-242. Cf. also forms reflecting **Kɨrɨĺ*: Yak. *kɨrɨs* 'thin layer under skin', Tur. *kɨrɨš* 'wrinkled', Az. Giriš 'wrinkle' (see ЭСТЯ 6, 242), as well as **Kɨrča(ŋ)* 'scab' (see ibid., 244-245).

PJpn. ***kùrí** a k. of mollusc (and its shell) (вид моллюска (и его раковина)): MJpn. *fàmà-gùrí*; Tok. *hamá-guri*; Kyo. *hámà-gùrì*; Kag. *hama-gurí*.

◊ JLTT 397. A compound with **pama* 'beach'.

PKor. ***kúr** shell, oyster (устрица): MKor. *kúr*; Mod. *kul*.

◊ Nam 62, KED 216.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 38, 293.

✱**kʿi̯ŭru(mV)** ashes, soot: Tung. ***xurum-sa**; Mong. ***kirbu-su**; Turk. ***Kurum (< *Kɨrum)**; Kor. ***kur**.

PTung. ***xurum-sa** 1 earwax 2 tobacco ashes (1 ушная сера 2 табачный пепел): Evk. *urumŋā* 1; Evn. *u̯rṵmrə̯* 1; Neg. *ojomŋa* 1; Ul. *χoromsa* 1; Ork. *χoropsa* 1; Nan. *χoromsa* 1, 2; Ud. *uŋä* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 288.

PMong. ***kirbu-su** burned smell (запах паленого): WMong. *kirbu-su(n)* (L 471); Kh. *x̌arvas*; Bur. *x̌orboho(n)*; Ord. *xurwus*, *xurwusu*.

PTurk. ***Kurum** soot (сажа, копоть): Karakh. *qurun* (MK); Tur. *kurum*; Gag. *qurum*; Az. *Gurum*; Turkm. *Gurum*; Khal. Gurun; MTurk. *qurum* (AH); Uzb. *qurum*; Uygh. *qurum* (dial.); Krm. *qurum*; Tat. *qorɨm*; Bashk. *qorom*; Kirgh. *qurum*; Kaz. *qurɨm*; KBalk. *qurum*; KKalp. *qurɨm*; Kum. *qurum*; Nogh. *qurɨm*; SUygh. *qorɨm*, *qurɨn*; Khak. *xurun*; Oyr. *qurun*; Chuv. *хъръм* (Anatri); Yak. *kurunńuk*.

◊ Лексика 206, 371-372, EDT 661, ЭСТЯ 6, 169-170. Turk. > Hung. *korom* 'soot', see Gombocz 1912.

PKor. ***kur** soot (сажа, копоть): Mod. *kul*.

◊ KED 216.

‖ Note a common derivative **kʿi̯uru-mV(-sV)* in several languages.

✱**kʿi̯uŕa (~ -u)** to covet: Tung. ***xur-**; Mong. ***kuriča-**; Turk. ***Kɨŕ**.

PTung. ***xur-** 1 to copulate (of deer) 2 to be jealous (1 спариваться (об оленях) 2 ревновать): Evk. *orgolī-* 2; *urī-n* 'rival (in love)'; Evn. *u̯rlị-* 2; Neg. *ojalị-* 2; Ul. *χoralsị-* 2; Ork. *χu̯alị-* 2, *χorị-* 1; Nan. *χoralsị-* 2; Orch. *xorä* 'one of two wives'.

◊ TMC 1, 471; 2, 285.

PMong. ***kuriča-** to covet (жаждать, вожделеть): WMong. *quriča-* (L 989); Kh. *xuŕca-*; Bur. *xurisal* 'lust'; Kalm. *xöŕcə-*; Ord. *xuračilči-* 'coïter'.

◊ KW 193.

PTurk. ***Kɨŕ** 1 expensive, miserly 2 to wish, envy, be miserly (1 дорогой, скупой 2 желать, завидовать, скупиться): Karakh. *qɨz* 1 (MK); MTurk. *qɨz* 1 (Ettuhf., AH); Uzb. *qizγan-* 2; Uygh. *qizγan-* 2; Krm. *qɨzγan-* 2; Tat. *qɨzγan-* 2; Bashk. *qɨzγan-* 2; Kirgh. *qɨzγan-* 2; Kaz. *qɨzγan-* 2; KKalp. *qɨzγan-* 2; Kum. *qɨzγan-* 2; Nogh. *qɨzγan-* 2; Oyr. *qɨsqan-* 2; Chuv. *xərγen-* 2; Yak. *kɨsan-* 'нуждаться, иметь надобность'.

◊ VEWT 269, EDT 680, Лексика 339, ЭСТЯ 6, 248-249. The root is also attested as *kɨrs* in Tur. dialects, and as *qɨrzan-* in Tuva The verbal form **Kɨŕ-gan-* is sometimes attested as *qɨsγan-* due to a contamination with **Kɨs-ga-* 'short, narrow' (v. sub **kíso).*

‖ ОСНЯ 3, 131-134 (Mong.-Tung.). A Western isogloss.

✱**kʿi̯ŭŕu** red, reddish; brown, dark: Tung. ***xuri-**; Mong. ***küre- (*küri-)**; Turk. ***Kīŕ-**; Jpn. ***kúrá-**; Kor. ***kùrí**.

PTung. ***xuri-** grey (серый): Evk. *uri-m*; Neg. *õjị̄n*; Ul. *χoj-pu̯(n)*; Nan. *χō-gǯõ*, (On.) *xōrbor*.

◊ TMC 2, 285 (this root should be kept distinct from the form *kuri*, attested in some languages and borrowed from Mong.).

PMong. ***küre- (*küri)** (dark) brown (коричневый, бурый): WMong. *küreŋ*, *kürin*, *küren* (L 505); Kh. *xüren*; Bur. *xüri(n)*; Kalm. *kürŋ*; Ord. *küriŋ*, *küreŋ*; Dag. *kurel* (Тод. Даг. 151), (MGCD) *xūrin*; S.-Yugh. *kureŋ*; Mongr. *kurē* 'tacheté à peau rayée' (SM 216).

◊ KW 248, MGCD 401, TMN 1, 463. Mong. > Evk. *kurin*, Man. *kuri* etc. (see Doerfer MT 80, Rozycki 147) > Kor. *kurəŋ* (*mal*), see Lee 1958, 119; > Oyr. *küreŋ* etc. (VEWT 310, ЭСТЯ 5, 146-147).

PTurk. ***Kīŕ-** red (красный): OTurk. *qɨzɨl* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *qɨzɨl* (MK, KB); Tur. *kɨzɨl*; Gag. *qɨzɨl*; Az. *Gɨzɨl*; Turkm. *Gɨzɨl*; Sal. *Gɨzil*; Khal. *qɨzɨl*; MTurk. *qɨzɨl* (MA); Uzb. *qizil*; Uygh. *qizil*; Krm. *qɨzɨl*; Tat. *qɨzɨl*; Bashk. *qɨðɨl*; Kirgh. *qɨzɨl*; Kaz. *qɨzɨl*; KBalk. *qɨzɨl*; KKalp. *qɨzɨl*; Kum. *qɨzɨl*; Nogh. *qɨzɨl*; SUygh. *qizil*; Khak. *xɨzɨl*; Shr. *qɨzɨl*; Oyr. *qɨzɨl*; Tv. *qɨzɨl*; Tof. *qɨzɨl*; Chuv. *xərlə*; Yak. *kɨhɨl*; Dolg. *kɨhɨl*.

◊ PT **Kɨŕ-il* 'red' is derived from **Kīŕ-* 'to redden; glow' (Turkm. *Gɨz-*, Tur. *kɨz-* etc.), where length is witnessed by Yak. *kīs-*. One has to assume shortening in polysyllabic

derivatives (besides *Kiŕil also *Kiŕ-ik-, *Kiŕl-ar-), with secondary analogical shortening in Turkm. Giz-; see VEWT 269, EDT 681, 683-4, TMN 3, 469, Лексика 602-603, ЭСТЯ 6, 187-189, 194-196, Stachowski 167. Cf. also *Kīr 'grey' (VEWT 265, TMN 3, 567, ЭСТЯ 6, 229-230).

PJpn. ***kúrá-** dark (темный): OJpn. *kura-*; MJpn. *kúrá-*; Tok. *kùra-*; Kyo. *kúrà-*; Kag. *kúra-*.

◊ JLTT 833.

PKor. ***kùrí** copper (медь): MKor. *kùrí*; Mod. *kuri*.

◊ Liu 83, KED 200.

‖ See a detailed account in Miller-Street 1975, 116ff (with literature), АПиПЯЯ 283, Дыбо 12. Unlike Miller-Street, we leave aside the name of the "ferret" (linking instead Turk. *kiŕ-il 'red' and TM *xuri-), as well as PJ *kùruá 'black' (having a different accent). It is interesting to note metal names derived from this root: Turk. *Kiŕil 'gold' (see Лексика 403-404) = Mong. *kürel* 'bronze' = Kor. *kùrí* 'copper'. PT *Kīr 'grey' could be perhaps compared separately with PM *kiraɣa* 'dusk before dawn', cf. Владимирцов 338.

✱**kʿi̯úsè** bad behaviour: Mong. ***kosiŋ**; Turk. ***küs-**; Jpn. ***kúsài**.

PMong. ***kosiŋ** mockery, joke (насмешка, шутка): WMong. *qosiŋ*, *qošuŋ* (L 971, 972); Kh. *xošin*; Bur. *xošon*; Ord. *Gošoŋ*.

PTurk. ***küs-** to be angry, offended (сердиться, обижаться): Karakh. *küs-* (MK); Tur. *küs-*; Gag. *küs-*; Az. *küs-*; MTurk. *küs-* (IM, AH, Pav. C.); Kum. *küs-*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 5, 152-153.

PJpn. ***kúsài** bad habit (дурная привычка): MJpn. *kuse*; Tok. *kusé*; Kyo. *kúsè*; Kag. *kúse*.

◊ JLTT 466.

‖ A nice Turk.-Mong.-Jpn. semantic and phonetic match.

✱**kʿi̯ū́se** to wish: Tung. ***xüse**; Mong. ***küse-**; Turk. ***kū̄se-**; Jpn. ***kəs-**.

PTung. ***xüse** 1 hunter 2 man 3 male 4 to be anxious, worry about smth. (1 охотник 2 человек, мужчина 3 самец 4 волноваться, беспокоиться): Evk. *isegdin* 1, *išiganil-* (V-L) 4; Evn. *iseɣde* 2; Neg. *isegdin* 1; Ul. *xuse(gdi)* 2; Ork. *xusenne* 2; Nan. *xuse* 3; Sol. *išigē-* 4.

◊ TMC 1, 332, 336.

PMong. ***küse-** to wish (желать): MMong. *guse-* (SH), *kuse-* (MA); WMong. *küse-* (L 508); Kh. *xüs-*; Bur. *xühe-*; Kalm. *küs-*; Ord. *güse-*; Dag. *kuse-*, *kese-* (Тод. Даг. 151); Bao. *kuse-*.

◊ KW 248.

PTurk. ***kū̄se-** to wish, want, will (желать, хотеть): Karakh. *küse-* (MK, KB); Turkm. *kū̄se-*; MTurk. *küse-* (AH, Qutb.); Uygh. *kusɛ-*; Tat. *kösɛ-*; Bashk. *kühɛ-*; Kirgh. *küsö-*; KKalp. *küse-*; Nogh. *küse-*; Tv. *kü'ze-*.

◊ VEWT 311-312, ЭСТЯ 5, 135. Tuva forms reflect a short *-ŭ-.

PJpn. ***kəs-** to wish (volitive verb form) (желать (глагольная волитивная форма)): OJpn. *-kos-*.

‖ Владимирцов 362 (Turk.-Mong.); Ozawa 207-208 (Mong.-Jpn.). Mong. may be < Turkic.

✱**kʿi̯ŭso** to vomit: Tung. ***xüse-**; Turk. ***Kus-**.

PTung. ***xüse-** to vomit (тошнить, рвать): Evk. *ise-*; Evn. *is-*; Neg. *ise-*; Ul. *xuse-*; Ork. *xuse-*; Nan. *xuse-*; Orch. *ise-*; Sol. *iš̆irī-*.

◊ TMC 1, 332.

PTurk. ***Kus-** to vomit (тошнить, рвать): OTurk. *qus-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *qus-* (MK); Tur. *kus-*; Gag. *qus-*; Az. *Gus-*; Turkm. *Gus-*; Khal. *qus-*; MTurk. *qus-* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *qus-*; Uygh. *qus-*; Krm. *qus-*; Tat. *qos-*; Bashk. *qoϑ-*; Kirgh. *qus-*; Kaz. *qus-*; KKalp. *qus-*; Kum. *qus-*; Nogh. *qus-*; SUygh. *qus-*; Khak. *xus-*; Oyr. *qus-*; Tv. *qus-*; Chuv. *xъs-*; Yak. *xotuo* (n.).

◊ VEWT 304, EDT 666, ЭСТЯ 6, 174-175.

‖ Цинциус 1984, 124. A Turk.-Tung. isogloss. Turk. > Kalm. *xus-* 'to belch, retch' (KW 199).

✱**kʿòbàni** armpit: Tung. ***xobanī**; Mong. ***koŋ-**; Turk. ***Kōjn**; Jpn. ***kàpìná**.

PTung. ***xobanī** armpit (подмышка): Evk. *oγonī*, *owońī*; Evn. *oγnị*, *ownị*; Neg. *oγonị*; Man. *obiχ́a jali* 'meat from the region of shoulder-blades'; Ul. *χawa(n)*; Ork. *χawanị*; Nan. *χawanị*; Sol. *owonī*.

◊ TMC 2, 4, 6.

PMong. ***koŋ-** hollow, cavity (полость, яма): WMong. *qoŋγur*, *qoŋγil* (L 962), *qoŋgil*; Kh. *xonxor*, *xongil*; Bur. *xonǵō* 'дупло'; Kalm. *köŋgl̥* (KPC); Ord. *xoŋxor*; Mongr. *GoŋGuloG* 'petit vase rond, gobelet' (SM 122).

PTurk. ***Kōjn** armpit, bosom (подмышка, пазуха): OTurk. *qojɨn* (Yen., OUygh.); Karakh. *qoj* (MK); Tur. *kojɨn*; Gag. *qojnu*; Az. *Gojun*; Turkm. *Gojun*; Khal. *qōn*; MTurk. *qojɨn* (AH); Uzb. *qojɨn*; Uygh. *qojɨn*; Krm. *qojun*, *qojɨn*; Tat. *qujɨn*; Bashk. *qujɨn*; Kirgh. *qojɨn*; Kaz. *qojɨn*; KBalk. *qojɨn*; KKalp. *qojɨn*; Kum. *qojɨn*; Nogh. *qojɨn*; SUygh. *qoin*; Khak. *xojɨn*; Shr. *qojɨn*; Oyr. *qojɨn*; Tv. *xoj*; Chuv. *xəʷv*, xü, dial. *xüm*; Yak. *xōj* (*xońń-*); Dolg. *konnok*.

◊ VEWT 280, EDT 631, Лексика 243-244, ЭСТЯ 6, 26-27, Stachowski 152.

PJpn. ***kàpìná** arm (рука (верхняя часть)): OJpn. *kapjina*; MJpn. *kàfiná*; Tok. *káina*, *kàina*; Kyo. *káiná*; Kag. *kainá*.

◊ JLTT 433. The Kyoto accent is irregular.

‖ ОСНЯ 1, 345, Дыбо 316, Лексика 244. Mong. < **kowŋ-* < **koban-gV*; a secondary contamination with **köŋ-* (s.v. **kĕŋi*).

✱**kʿŏda (~ -u)** to finish, abandon: Tung. ***xod-**; Turk. ***Kod-**.

PTung. ***xod-** to end, finish (кончать): Evk. *od-*; Evn. *od-*; Man. *waǯi-*; SMan. *vaǯə-*, *vaǯi-* (1759); Ul. *χodi̯-*; Ork. *χoǯi̯-*; Nan. *χoǯi-*; Orch. *odi-*; Ud. *wadi-*.

◊ TMC 2, 6.

PTurk. ***Kod-** to put, leave, abandon (класть, оставлять, покидать): OTurk. *qod-* (Yen., OUygh.); Karakh. *qoδ-* (MK); Tur. *koj-*; Gag. *qoj-*; Az. *Goj-*; Turkm. *Goj-*; MTurk. *qoj-* (AH, Pav. C., Abush.); Uzb. *qo̯j-*; Uygh. *qoj-*; Krm. *qoj-*; Tat. *quj-*; Bashk. *quj-*; Kirgh. *qoj-*; Kaz. *qoj-*; KBalk. *qoj-*; KKalp. *qoj-*; Kum. *qoj-*; Nogh. *qoj-*; SUygh. *quz-*; Oyr. *qoj-*; Chuv. *xor-*.

◊ VEWT 274, EDT 595-596, ЭСТЯ 6, 27-28, Федотов 2, 361. The original meaning (observable in most ancient occurrences, see EDT 595) must have been 'to put aside, leave, abandon'; the meaning 'put' appears somewhat later and is probably due to a merger with **Ko-* 'to put' (v. sub **ga)*, not attested before the XIVth century.

‖ TMC 2, 6. A Turk.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**kʿŏjli** limb, extremity: Tung. ***xolda-n**; Mong. ***köl**; Turk. ***Kol**; Jpn. ***kuru-(n)-pusi**; Kor. ***kūi-mə̀rí**.

PTung. ***xolda-n** 1 side 2 thigh (1 бок, сторона 2 бедро): Evk. *oldōn* 1, 2; Evn. *oldān* 1; Neg. *oldon* 1; Ul. *χoldo(n)* 1; Ork. *χoldo(n)* 1; Nan. *χoldõ* 1; Orch. *ogdo(n)* 1; Ud. *ogdo(n)* 1; Sol. *oldõ* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 13. TM > Dag. *oldōn* (Тод. Даг. 159).

PMong. ***köl** foot (нога): MMong. *kol* (HY 47, SH, IM, LH), *kul* (MA); WMong. *köl* (L 483-484); Kh. *xöl*; Bur. *xül*; Kalm. *köl*; Ord. *köl*; Mog. *köl*; ZM *kol* (4-3a); Dag. *kuli* (Тод. Даг. 150, MD 185); Dong. *kuan* (MGCD *kon*); Bao. *kul* (MGCD *kuol*); S.-Yugh. *köl*; Mongr. *kor* (SM 214), (MGCD *kol*).

◊ KW 237, MGCD 372.

PTurk. ***Kol** 1 arm 2 hand (1 рука (от локтя до плеча) 2 рука (кисть)): OTurk. *qol* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *qol* 1 (MK, KB); Tur. *kol* 1; Gag. *qol* 1; Az. *Gol* 1; Turkm. *Gol* 1; Sal. *qol* 1; Khal. *qol* 1; MTurk. *qol* 1, 2 (Abush., Sangl., MA, Бор. Бад.); Uzb. *qu̯l* 1, 2; Uygh. *qol* 1, 2; Krm. *qol* 1, 2; Tat. *qul* 1, 2; Bashk. *qul* 1, 2; Kirgh. *qol* 1, 2; Kaz. *qol* 1; KBalk. *qol* 1, 2; KKalp. *qol* 1, 2; Kum. *qol* 1, 2; Nogh. *qol* 1, 2; SUygh. *qol* 1; Khak. *xol* 1, 2; Shr. *qol* 1, 2; Oyr. *qol* 1, 2; Tv. *xol* 1, 2; Tof. *qol* 1; Chuv. *xol* 'shoulder'; Yak. *xol* 1; Dolg. *kol* 'shoulder'.

◊ VEWT 276, EDT 614-5, TMN 3, 556, Дыбо 146-153, Федотов 2, 353, Лексика 244-245, ЭСТЯ 6, 37-43, Stachowski 150.

PJpn. ***kuru-(n)-pusi** ankle (лодыжка): Tok. *kurúbushi*; Kyo. *kúrúbúshí*; Kag. *kurubushí*.

◊ JLTT 465. The PJ accent is not clear.

PKor. ***kūi-mə̀rí** ankle (*leg-head) (лодыжка): MKor. *kūi-mə̀rí*.

◊ Nam 65.

‖ See АПиПЯЯ 286, Цинциус 1984, 96-97, Дыбо 316, Лексика 243, 245. The comparison is quite reliable phonetically; *-jl- has to be assumed to account for the development in Kor. (> -i-). The semantic side ('arm'/'leg'/'thigh') can be explained if we suppose that the word originally designated a part of the animal body (front or hind leg together with the thigh). Cf. also TM **xūl-kse* 'sleeve' (probably an original derivation, although the length is not clear), **xul-ŋsi* 'shank, shin', PT **Koltuk* 'armpit' (Лексика 243, TMN 3, 557-558, ЭСТЯ 6, 52-54). It is interesting to speculate on the subject of the identity Kor. **kūi-màrí* = Jpn. *kuru-(n)pusi*. In Kor. -màrí is certainly to be analysed as "head" (*'leg-head'); the Jpn. form in this case may reflect a dissimilation < **kuru-n-musi*, where **musi* could be the remnant of PA **mĕ́lʒu* 'head' (q.v.). The same element in fact may be also present in Jpn. **tu(m)pu-(n)pusi* 'ankle, knee' and **kəmpusi* (if, with haplology < **kəmpu-(n)pusi*) 'fist'. One has, of course, to reckon with the possibility of having here rather PJ **pusi* 'joint' (< PA **bŭ́li* q.v.), which would explain the constant emergence of a stop in Jpn.; but the Jpn.-Kor. match (**kūi-màrí* = *kuru(n)pusi*) seems to be not accidental.

✱**kʿòké** plenty: Tung. ***xugdi**; Mong. ***kog-si-**; Turk. ***kök**; Jpn. ***kàká-ta-**; Kor. ***kɨh-**.

PTung. ***xugdi** 1 wide 2 capacious (1 широкий 2 емкий, вместительный): Ul. *xugdi* 1; Ork. *xugʒi* 1; Nan. *xugʒi* 1,2.

◊ TMC 1, 474-475.

PMong. ***kog-si-** to become rich, wealthy (богатеть): WMong. *qoγsi-* (L 952); Kh. *xogši-*; Bur. *xogšol* 'property', *xogšol-* 'to become rich'; Ord. *xoGši-*, GoGši-.

PTurk. ***kök** healthy, big, thick (здоровый, большой, толстый): Tur. *kök* (dial.); Az. *kök*; Khal. *kök*; MTurk. *kök*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 5, 93. Turkic > Khalkha *xöx* 'massive (of muscles, flesh etc.)'

PJpn. ***kàká-ta-** plenty, much (много, множество): OJpn. *kokoda*; MJpn. *kòkóta*.

PKor. ***kɨh-** big (большой): MKor. *khɨ́-*; Mod. *khɨ-*.

◊ Nam 455, KED 1679. The Kirim transcription 黑根 MC [*хʌk-kʌn*] may represent either **hɨkɨ-* (as believed by Lee 1991, Ramsey 1993 and Vovin 2000) or **hkɨ-* = **khɨ-* < **kɨh-*, keeping in mind the general uncertainty of Kirim transcriptions.

‖ The meaning 'big' in Korean certainly derives from *'plentiful'. The match between Kor. *khɨ-* and Jpn. **kàká-* appears quite satisfactory, despite the attempt of Vovin (2000) to link Kor. **hɨkɨ-* with PJ **sùkùnà-* 'few': it is hardly possible to analyse the Jpn. word as *'big'-does-not-exist, since all the existing compounds of this type are "noun+-na", not "adjective+-na", and anyway it is hardly possible to

separate PJ *sùkùnà- 'few' (adj.) and *sùkùa-(si) 'few' (noun, adverb), see *si̯ŏkʿù.

✱**kʿókì** to bind, wrap: Tung. ***xuku-**; Mong. ***kugu-s-**; Turk. ***kök**; Jpn. ***kúkúr-**.

PTung. ***xuku-** to wrap (заворачивать): Evk. *ukulī-*; Evn. *uk-*; Neg. *uxil-*; Man. *uxu-*; Jurch. *hu-xun-mij am-si-da-lar* 'to contain' (764); Ul. *xuku-*; Ork. *xukulitči-*; Nan. *xuku-*; Sol. *uxulī-*.

◊ TMC 2, 256.

PMong. ***kugu-s-** to fold (складывать): WMong. *quɣuski-*, *quɣusla-* (L 982); Kh. *xugasla-*; Kalm. *xuɣəsl̥-* (KPC); Ord. *xuGusla-*.

PTurk. ***kök** 1 seam 2 thin straps for sewing 3 to sew, lace 4 to tack 5 tack, basting 6 needlework 7 to fasten (1 шов 2 тонкие ремешки для шитья 3 прошивать, стегать, подшивать 4 обметывать, приметать 5 наметка 6 шитье 7 присоединять, привязывать): OTurk. *kök* (OUygh.) 1; Tur. *kökle-* 3; Az. *kök* 1; Turkm. *kök* 5, 2; MTurk. *kök* (Sangl., Abush.) 1; Uzb. *kụk* 5; Uygh. *kök* 5, *köklɛ-* 4; Tat. *küklɛ-* 4; Kirgh. *kök* 2, *köktö-* 3; KBalk. *kökle-* 4; KKalp. *kök* 2, *kökle-* 4; Kum. *kökle-* 4; Nogh. *kökle-* 4; Khak. *kökte-* 4; Oyr. *kök* 6, *köktö-* 4; Tv. *kö'k* (Todzh.) 1, *kökte-* 3; Chuv. *kъgъr-* 7.

◊ VEWT 287, EDT 708, ЭСТЯ 91. Following EDT (and despite VEWT and ЭСТЯ) we prefer to separate this root from *kök 'hinge, peg, tether' (v. sub *kʿōkí).

PJpn. ***kúkúr-** to bind, tie (привязывать, связывать): OJpn. *kukur-*; MJpn. *kúkúr-*; Tok. *kùkur-*; Kyo. *kúkúr-*; Kag. *kukúr-*.

◊ JLTT 715.

‖ The original meaning should be reconstructed as 'bind', 'wrap' or 'fasten', with the meaning 'lace, sew' secondarily developed within Turkic. Note the morphological match between PTM *xuku-lī- and PJ *kúkú-r- < *kʿókì-lV.

✱**kʿōkí** hinge, hook: Tung. ***kūkta**; Mong. ***kögene**; Turk. ***kök, *köken**; Jpn. ***kunki**.

PTung. ***kūkta** rowlock (уключина): Evk. *kūkta*; Evn. *kukte*.

◊ TMC 1, 426.

PMong. ***kögene** a string with a loop for binding animals (веревка с петлей для привязывания животных): WMong. *kögene*, *kögüne* (L 479); Kh. *xögnö*; Ord. *kögönö*.

PTurk. ***kök, *köken** 1 hinge, nail, peg, clasp 2 tether (1 застежка, петля, запор 2 привязь для животных): Karakh. *kök* 'belt for fixing the saddle', *kögen* 'rope for tethering calves, foals during milking' (MK); Tur. *kök* 'peg of a musical instrument', (dial.) *köken* 2; Turkm. *köken* 2; MTurk. *kök* 'nail' (R, Bud. - Babur.); Uzb. *kukan* 2; Tat. *kügɛn* 1; Bashk. *kügɛn* 1; Kirgh. *kögön* 2; Kaz. *kögen* 2; KKalp. *güwen* 2; SUygh. *küken* 2

(ЯЖУ); Chuv. *kъʷgan* 'loop', (*alъk*) *kъkə* 'prop of the door hinge'; Yak. *kögön* 2 (Пек.).

◊ VEWT 287, EDT 712, ЭСТЯ 5, 91, 93-94.

PJpn. ***kunki** nail, peg, hook (гвоздь, колышек, крюк): OJpn. *kug(j)i*; MJpn. *kùgì*, *kúgí*; Tok. *kùgi*; Kyo. *kúgí*; Kag. *kúgi*.

◊ JLTT 462. Accent not quite clear: RJ lists both variants with high and low tone.

‖ Initial *k- in PTM is probably due to assimilation (**kūkta* < **kʿūkta*). Mong. may be < Kypch. One of several similar roots: cf. **gu̐kʿa*, **kʿi̯úŋu*, **gékʿa*.

✸**kʿóla (~ -u-, -i̯o-)** to dry, get stale: Tung. ***xolga**; Jpn. ***kárá-**; Kor. ***korh-**.

PTung. ***xolga** 1 to dry 2 dry (1 сохнуть 2 сухой): Evk. *olgo-* 1, *olgokin* 2; Evn. *olgъ̣-* 1, *olgъ̣qъ̣n* 2; Neg. *olgo-* 1, *olgokin* 2; Man. *olGo-* 1, *olχon* 2; SMan. *oləhə-*, *oləhu-*1 (1814), *oləhə* 2 (1815); Ul. *xolǯo(n)* 2; Ork. *xoldoxo* 2; Nan. *χolGo-* 1, *χolGoqto* /ụ 2; Orch. *oggipta* 1; Ud. *ogo-* 1, *ogoʿu* 2 (Корм. 274); Sol. *olgo-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 12-13.

PJpn. ***kárá-** to dry out; to become ripe (высыхать; созревать): OJpn. *kara-*; MJpn. *kárá-*; Tok. *kàre-*; Kyo. *káré-*; Kag. *karé-*.

◊ JLTT 704.

PKor. ***korh-** to get stale, rot (черстветь, сгнивать, протухать): Mod. *kol-* [*kolh-*].

◊ KED 160.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 290, SKE 121-122. An Eastern isogloss.

✸**kʿṓli** lake, basin: Tung. ***xule-**; Mong. ***küjil-sü**; Turk. ***[k]ō̄l**; Kor. ***kằrắm**.

PTung. ***xule-** 1 canal, ditch, duct 2 whirlpool 3 pool (1 канал, канава, протока 2 водоворот): Evn. *ūl*, *ulgin* 3; Man. *ule-n* 1; Ork. *xulu-pti* 2; Nan. *xuler* 'pit in river bottom' (On.); Orch. *ūle* 1; Ud. *ūle* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 477; 2, 257, 264.

PMong. ***küjil-sü** island in a river, shallow place in a river (островок в реке, отмель в реке): WMong. *küjil-sü* (L 498: not distinguished from *küji(l)-sü* 'navel'); Kh. *xüjls*.

PTurk. ***[k]ō̄l** lake (озеро): OTurk. *köl* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *köl* (MK, KB); Tur. *göl*; Gag. *göl*; Az. *köl*; Turkm. *kō̄l*; MTurk. *köl* (IM, Pav. C.); Uzb. *kụl*; Uygh. *köl*; Tat. *kül*; Bashk. *kül*; Kirgh. *köl*; Kaz. *köl*; KBalk. *köl*; KKalp. *köl*; Kum. *köl*; Nogh. *köl*; Khak. *köl*; Oyr. *köl*; Tv. *xöl*; Chuv. *kölə* (NW), *külə*; Yak. *küöl*; Dolg. *küöl*.

◊ See VEWT 288, ЭСТЯ 3, 69, 5, 95-96, Лексика 91, Stachowski 165.

PKor. ***kằrắm** lake, big river (озеро, большая река): MKor. *kằrắm*.

◊ Nam 11.

‖ ОСНЯ 1, 306. The Turk. root may also be of a Persian origin (see TMN 3, 645-646). Mong. **küjil-* < **küli-l-* (with regular dissimilation).

Kor. **kằrắm* < **kòrắm* (with vowel assimilation); cf. also Old Koguryo **kŭăl* 'river' (see Miller 1979, 8).

✸**kʿòlke** to row, boat: Tung. ***xulki-**; Mong. ***kölge**; Jpn. ***kə̀nk-**.

PTung. ***xulki-** 1 to mix, stir 2 support for feet in a boat (1 размешивать 2 упор (для ног гребца в лодке)): Evk. *ulkī-* 1, *ulki* 2; Evn. *ụlqụ-* 1; Neg. *ulki* 2; Man. *urki* 2; Ork. *xulči* 2; Orch. *ukki* 2; Ud. *uki* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 261. The original meaning is easily reconstructable as 'to row (> to stir); rowing device'.

PMong. ***kölge-** ship, means of transportation (корабль, экипаж): MMong. *kolge* 'vehicle' (SH), *kolgen* (HYt); WMong. *kölge(n)* (L 485); Kh. *xölög*; Bur. *xülgen ongoso* 'ferry-boat'; *xüleg* 'courser, trotter, horse'; Kalm. *kölgṇ* (KPC); Ord. *kölgö(n)*.

◊ Mong. > Man. *kuluk* 'enduring horse' (see Rozycki 145).

PJpn. ***kə̀nk-** to row (грести): OJpn. *kog-*; MJpn. *kòg-*; Tok. *kóg-*; Kyo. *kòg-*; Kag. *kòg-*.

◊ JLTT 711.

‖ The root is possibly derived: without the suffix cf. Mong. *qoli-* 'to stir'. It is interesting to note Nivkh *halq* 'boat' (possibly borrowed in TM as **xaliku*, see TMC 1, 460, 461).

✸**kʿòlmV** shadow, cloud: Tung. ***KVlm-**; Turk. ***köl-**; Jpn. ***kùmua-N**; Kor. ***kúrùm**.

PTung. ***KVlm-** shadow (тень): Man. *xelme*; SMan. *xeləmən* (2047).

◊ TMC 1, 481. Attested only in Manchu (thus the reconstruction is not quite secure), but having probable external parallels.

PTurk. ***köl-** 1 shadow 2 to shadow (1 тень 2 давать тень, затенять): OTurk. *kölü-* (OUygh.) 2; Karakh. *kölik* (MK) 1; Tur. *gölge*, *kölge* (dial.); Gag. *gölge* 1; Az. *kölgä* 1; Turkm. *kölge* 1; MTurk. *kölege* (Abush.); Uzb. *kụlkɛ*, *kụlɛkɛ* 1; Uygh. *kölɛŋgɛ*, *köligɛ* 1; Tat. *külɛgɛ* 1; Bashk. *külɛgɛ* 1; Kirgh. *kölökö* 1; KKalp. *köleŋke* 1; Nogh. *köletke* 1; Khak. *köle-* 2, *kölek* 1; Oyr. *kölö-* 2, *kölöŋö* 2; Tv. *xölege* 1; Tof. *xölege* 1; Yak. *külük* 1; Dolg. *külük* 1.

◊ VEWT 288-289, 294, EDT 716-718, ЭСТЯ 5, 96-97, 128, Stachowski 164. Should be distinguished from **Köĺ-* 'to screen' (v. sub **gȅĺa).*

PJpn. ***kùmua** cloud (облако): OJpn. *kumwo*; MJpn. *kùmò*; Tok. *kúmo*; Kyo. *kúmò*; Kag. *kumó*.

◊ JLTT 463. Tokyo points to a variant **kùmuá-N*, Kyoto and RJ - to **kùmuà-N.*

PKor. ***kúrùm** cloud (облако): MKor. *kúrùm*; Mod. *kurɨm*.

◊ Nam 59, KED 199.

‖ Martin 228, АПиПЯЯ 98, 274. One should also note MKor. *kɨ́mɨ́-* 'to become dim, hide (of moon etc.)', possibly < **kúrmɨ́-* = OJ *kumor-* id. Cf. also notes to **gȅĺa*.

✱**kʿolV (~ -u-, -ĺ-)** oak-tree: Tung. ***xola-**; Kor. ***kur**.

PTung. ***xola-** oak (дуб): Nan. *xoroŋkola*; Orch. *oloŋkī*; Ud. *oloŋkö*.

◊ TMC. 2, 16.

PKor. ***kur** oak-tree, acorn (дуб, желудь): MKor. *kur-pam* 'acorn'; Mod. *kul* (*kul-pām* 'acorn').

◊ Liu 89, KED 216.

‖ A Tung.-Kor. isogloss. Cf. **kúĺapʿV*.

✱**kʿőĺba** couple, to couple, combine: Tung. ***xulbü-**; Mong. ***kolbu-**; Turk. ***Koĺ**; Jpn. ***kásá**; Kor. ***kǎrb-**.

PTung. ***xulbü-** to bind, to arrange (связывать, нанизывать, двигаться друг за другом): Evk. *ulbu-*; Evn. *ulbъ-*; Neg. *ulbul-* 'to move in a tandem'; Ork. *ulbumʒi* 'in a tandem'; Nan. *xuelbi-*; Orch. *ubbuna-*.

◊ TMC 2, 258.

PMong. ***kolbu-** to couple, bind together (объединять, сочетать): MMong. *qulba-* (MA), *qolbaʿara-* (SH); WMong. *qolbu-* (L 957); Kh. *xolbo-*; Bur. *xolbo-*; Kalm. *xolwə-*; Ord. *xolbo-*; Dag. *xolbo-* (Тод. Даг. 177), *xolbu-*; *holebe-* (MD 163); S.-Yugh. *xolbo-*; Mongr. *xulō-* (SM 181).

◊ KW 184, MGCD 361. Mong. > Evk. *kolbo-* etc., see Doerfer MT 61, Rozycki 107; > Yak. *xolbō-*, Dolg. *kolbō-* (Kał. MEJ 17, Stachowski 150).

PTurk. ***Koĺ** 1 pair, couple, one of a couple 2 to join, unite (1 пара, один из пары 2 соединять(ся)): OTurk. *qoš-* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *qoš* 1, *qoš-* 2 (MK); Tur. *koš-* 2; Gag. *qoš-* 2; Az. *Goš-* 2; Turkm. *Goš* 'a couple of oxen', *Goš-* 'to add'; Sal. *qoš* 1, *qoš-* 2; MTurk. *qoš* 1, *qoš-* 2 (AH, Pav. C.); Uzb. *qo̱š* 1, *qo̱š-* 2; Uygh. *qoš* 1, *qoš-* 2; Krm. *qoš* 1, *qoš-* 2; Tat. *quš* 1, *quš-* 2; Bashk. *qɨwɨš* 1, *quš-* 2; Kirgh. *qoš* 1, *qoš-* 2; Kaz. *qos* 1, *qos-* 2; KBalk. *qoš-* 2; KKalp. *qos* 1, *qos-* 2; Kum. *qoš-* 2; Nogh. *qos* 1, *qos-* 2; SUygh. *qos* 1; Khak. *xos* 1, *xos-* 2; Oyr. *qoš-* 2; Tv. *qoš-* 2; Tof. *qoʿš-* 2; Chuv. *xoš-* 2; Yak. *xos* 'double; again', *xohuj-* 2, *xohōn* 'poem'; Dolg. *kohōn* 'poem'.

◊ VEWT 283; EDT 670, Лексика 611, ЭСТЯ 6, 90-94, Федотов 2, 375, Stachowski 150. Turk. > MMong. (HY) *qoši*, WMong. *qos*, Kalm. *xoš* 'pair' (KW 189, TMN 3, 364, Clark 1980, 41, 42, Щербак 1997, 142).

PJpn. ***kásá** 1 size, layer 2 to heap up, pile up (1 размер, слой 2 накладывать, наслаивать): OJpn. *kasana-* 2; MJpn. *kásá* 1, *kásána-* 2; Tok. *kàsane-* 2; Kyo. *kásáné-* 2; Kag. *kasané-* 2.

◊ JLTT 441, 704.

PKor. ***kǎrb-** 1 twins 2 to compete, match, compare, line together 3 to form a couple (1 близнецы 2 соревноваться, сравнивать, выстраивать вместе 3 образовывать пару): MKor. *kǎrʿó-kí* 1, *kǎrʿó-* 3, *kǎrp-* [*kǎrw-*] 2; Mod. *karogi* (arch.) 1, *kap-* [*kalp-*] (arch.), *karu-* 2.

◊ Nam 21, 23, KED 12, 48.

‖ EAS 109, KW 184, Street 1980, 287. Mong. is not < Turk., despite Щербак 1997, 142, but the Turk. and Mong. forms are certainly related, despite TMN 3, 364.

✱**kʿŏmi** to dig: Tung. ***xumu-**; Turk. ***göm-**.

PTung. ***xumu-** to dig, bury (копать, хоронить): Neg. *umu-*; Man. *umbu-*; SMan. *umu-* 'to burry, to fill' (1747); Ul. *xumu-*; Ork. *xumu-*; Nan. *xumu-*; Orch. *umu-*.

◊ TMC 2, 268-269.

PTurk. ***göm-** to bury (закапывать, хоронить): OTurk. *köm-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *köm-* (MK, KB); Tur. *göm-*; Gag. *göm-*; Turkm. *göm-*; Sal. *köm-* (ССЯ); MTurk. *köm-* (MA), *göm-* (Sangl.); Uzb. *kọm-*; Uygh. *köm-*; Krm. *köm-*; Tat. *küm-*; Bashk. *küm-*; Kirgh. *köm-*; Kaz. *köm-*; KBalk. *köm-*; KKalp. *köm-*; Kum. *göm-*; Nogh. *köm-*; SUygh. *köm-*; Khak. *köm-*; Shr. *köm-*; Oyr. *köm-*; Tv. *xöm-*; Tof. *xöm-*; Yak. *köm-*; Dolg. *köm-*.

◊ VEWT 289, EDT 721, ЭСТЯ 3, 70-71, Stachowski 155.

‖ Цинциус 1984, 108-109. A Turko-TM isogloss. The TM form points quite explicitly to *kʿ-; reasons for voicing in PT are not clear: perhaps a merger with PA **gèmo* 'to fill in' (q.v.), which otherwise has no Turkic reflex.

✱**kʿ[ō]mo** to soak: Tung. ***xum-**; Turk. ***Kōm**; Jpn. ***kuam-**; Kor. ***kă̆m- / *kắm-**.

PTung. ***xum-** 1 to soak 2 to besmear (face) (1 мочить 2 пачкать (лицо)): Evk. *umī-* 1; Evn. *umi-* 1; Man. *χumara-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 267.

PTurk. ***Kōm** wave (волна): Karakh. *qom* (MK); Turkm. *Gōm*; MTurk. *qum* (Houts., AH); Oyr. *qom*; Chuv. *xom*.

◊ EDT 625, ЭСТЯ 6, 54, Федотов 2, 356-357.

PJpn. ***kuam-** to soak (промокать, быть залитым): OJpn. *kwom-*.

◊ JLTT 712.

PKor. ***kă̆m- / *kắm-** to bathe, wash (купать, мыть): MKor. *kắm-*; Mod. *kām-*.

◊ Nam 23, KED 50.

‖ The root seems reliable, despite some irregularities in vocalism.

✱**kʿómpʿ[e]** fungus: Tung. ***xum(p)-**; Turk. ***kömbe, *kömbe-lek**; Jpn. ***kámp(u)í**; Kor. ***kōmphúi-**.

PTung. ***xum(p)-** 1 to soften 2 smth. rotten 3 softened birch bark 4 rotten birch (1 размягчать (кожу, кору) 2 гнилой, гниль 3 береста (размягченная) 4 береза (гнилая)): Evk. *umdu-* 1, *ubgučē* 4; Neg. *umdus-umdus* 2; Nan. *χomdo* (Naikh.) 3.

◊ TMC 2, 267.

PTurk. ***kömbe, -lek** mushroom (гриб): Tur. *gömelek* (dial.); Az. *göbäläk*; Turkm. *kömelek*; Tat. *gömbɛ*; Bashk. *gömbɛ*; Chuv. *kъʷmba*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 5, 101 (Chuv. is hardly < Old Russian, which already had *guba*, not *gǫba*).

PJpn. ***kámp(u)í** mould (плесень): Tok. *kàbi*; Kyo. *kábí*; Kag. *kábi*.

◊ JLTT 431.

PKor. ***kōmph-** 1 mould 2 to become mouldy (1 плесень 2 плесневеть): MKor. *kōmphúi-* 2; Mod. *kōm*, *kōmphaŋ* 1.

◊ Nam 52, KED 161, 162.

‖ Martin 236, Дыбо 11. Vocalism is not quite certain.

✸**kʿȍmu** offering, respect: Turk. ***Kom-**; Jpn. ***kuma**; Kor. ***kōmá**.

PTurk. ***Kom-** 1 to long for 2 inheritance, legacy (1 жаждать, стремиться к 2 наследство): OTurk. *qumaru* (OUygh.); Karakh. *qomɨ-* 1 (MK), *xumaru* 2 (MK), *qumaru* 2 (KB); Khal. *qumarqɨ* 2; MTurk. *qumar* 2 (AH); Bashk. *qomartqɨ* 2; Kum. *qumartqɨ* 2; Khak. *xumartxa* 2; Shr. *qumarqɨ* 2; Oyr. *qumartqa* 2.

◊ EDT 626, 628, Лексика 347, Clark 1977, 149.

PJpn. ***kuma** offering to gods (жертвоприношение богам): OJpn. *kuma*.

PKor. ***kōmá** 1 respect 2 to respect, pay respect (1 почести, почитание 2 почитать): MKor. *kōmá* 1, *kōmáp-* (-w-) 2; Mod. *komap-* (-w-) 2.

◊ Liu 64, KED 141.

‖ Whitman 1985, 191, 223.

✸**kʿòmu (~ -o, -a)** drought, hunger: Tung. ***xomī-**; Mong. ***komu-kai**; Turk. ***Komɨĺ-**; Kor. ***kắmắr**.

PTung. ***xomī-** 1 hunger, hungry 2 drought 3 to be hungry (1 голод, голодный 2 засуха, неурожай 3 голодать): Evk. *omī-kin* 1; Evn. *omъ̣t-* 3; Neg. *omịxīn* 1; Man. *omi-n* 1, 2; Ul. *χomčị-* 3; Nan. *χomị* 1, 2; Ud. *omisi-* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 17.

PMong. ***komu-kai** gluttonous, greedy, hungry (жадный, голодный): MMong. *qomuɣai qurun* 'index finger' (MA); WMong. *qomuqai* (L 961); Kh. *xomxoj*; Bur. *xomoxoj*; Kalm. *xomxā̆*, *xumxā̆* 'eklig, vermodert, verfault' (KW 184, 197).

◊ Mong. > Tat., Bashk. *qomaɣaj* id. Cf. also *qomsa* 'insufficient' > Man. *qomso* (see Rozycki 142). For the meaning in MMong. see Dybo 1995.

PTurk. ***Komɨĺ-** 1 become drowsy, dry 2 become lean 3 greedy (1 вянуть, засыхать, становиться вялым 2 худеть, осунуться 3 жадный): Tat. *qomsɨz*, dial. *qomsɨq* 3; Bashk. *qomxoδ* 3; Chuv. *xъʷmšъʷl-* 1; Yak. *xomńuj-* 2.

◊ ЭСТЯ 6, 147-148.

PKor. ***kắmắr** drought (засуха): MKor. *kắmắr*; Mod. *kamul*.

◊ Nam 13, KED 17.

‖ Цинциус 1984, 97; ЭСТЯ 6, 147-148.

✸**kʿōńi** ladle: Tung. ***xuńa-**; Mong. ***kunija**; Turk. ***kȫjnek**; Jpn. ***kúm-**; Kor. ***kùńí**.

PTung. ***xuńa-** 1 ladle 2 thimble 3 finger 4 wooden bucket (1 ложка 2 наперсток 3 палец 4 деревянное ведро): Evk. *uńaptun* 2, *uńakāptun*

3; Evn. *ụńan* 2, *ụńiqъn* 3; Neg. *onkān* 1, *ońaxān* 3; Man. *xuńo* 4; SMan. *xuni* 'wooden pail' (580); Ul. *χońa(n)* 1; Ork. *χụńa* 1; Nan. *χońã* 1; Orch. *uńa* 1, *uńaka(n)* 3; Ud. *uńaʿ* 3, *uńaʿptin* 2 (Корм. 302); Sol. *ụnaxã* 1, 3.

◊ TMC 1, 478, 2, 276-277.

PMong. ***kunija*** dish made of birch (берестяная посуда): WMong. *qunija(n)* (L 986); Kh. *xuńā*.

PTurk. ***kõjnek*** bucket, vessel (ведро, сосуд): Karakh. *könek* (MK, KB); Tur. *könek*, Osm. *köjnük*; Turkm. *kõnek*; Uygh. *kụnɛk*; Tat. *künɛk* (dial.); Bashk. *künɛk*; Kirgh. *könök*; Kaz. *könek*; Nogh. *könek*; Khak. *könek*; Shr. *könek*; Oyr. *könök*; Tv. *xönek*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 5, 104-105, VEWT 290 (> Mong. *könüg*, further > TM: Sol. *xonǵē*, Evk. *kōŋī*, see TMC 1, 412, 478). Turk. > Russ. Siber. *kunúk*, see Аникин 324

PJpn. ***kúm-*** to scoop (черпать): OJpn. *kum-*; MJpn. *kúm-*; Tok. *kùm-*; Kyo. *kúm-*; Kag. *kúm-*.

◊ JLTT 716.

PKor. ***kùńí*** manger, trough (корыто): MKor. *kùńí*, *kùńjú*; Mod. *kuju*.

◊ Nam 60, KED 206.

‖ Vovin 1993, 257, Robbeets 2000, 109-110, 122. Cf. also Mong. *konak* 'gutter', Kor. *konägi* 'tall jar'.

✸**kʿoŋi (~ -e)** dirt: Tung. ***xońi-***; Turk. ***köŋ***.

PTung. ***xońi-*** sand, dirt (песок, грязь): Evn. *ońịŋ*; Ork. *xoŋoqto*; Orch. *ońokto*; Ud. *ońokto*.

◊ TMC 2, 20.

PTurk. ***köŋ*** 1 excrements, faeces 2 hard soil, swamp (1 навоз, помет 2 твердая почва, болото): Karakh. *köŋüz* (MK) 1; Tur. *kön*, *kün* (dial.) 1; Uzb. *gụŋ* 1; Bashk. *küŋ* 1; Kirgh. *köŋ 1*; Kaz. *köŋ* 1; KKalp. *köŋ* 1; Oyr. *köŋ* 2.

◊ EDT 735, ЭСТЯ 5, 103.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss. TM **xońi-* perhaps with secondary palatalization < **xoŋi-* (cf. the Orok form *xoŋo-kto*). Cf. perhaps Jpn. *kunuga* 'land' (?if different from **kuni* 'country').

✸**kʿŏpʿe (~ -i)** film, covering: Tung. ***xup-***; Mong. ***köɣe***; Turk. ***köpe***; Kor. ***kóp***.

PTung. ***xup-*** film on fish eggs (пленка на рыбьей икре): Nan. *xuperemse*.

◊ TMC 1, 478. Attested only in Nan., but having rather probable external parallels.

PMong. ***köɣe*** coat of mail, armour (кольчуга, панцирь): MMong. *köhe* (MA); WMong. *köɣe* (L 478); Kh. *xõ*; Kalm. kõ.

◊ KW 243. Despite TMN 1, 483-484, Mong. is hardly borrowed < Turk.

PTurk. ***köpe*** 1 coat of mail 2 ring of mail 3 *earring* 4 overcoat 5 saddle-pad for a camel 6 film of egg, exuviae 7 a k. of cloth or carpet (1

кольчуга 2 кольцо кольчуги 3 серьга 4 плащ, пальто 5 верблюжье седло 6 пленка яйца, сброшенная кожа 7 вид ткани или ковра): Karakh. *küpe* 1, 2, 3, *küpik* (MK) 4, *köpčük* (MK) 5, *köpsün* 'mattress' (MK); Tur. *küpe* 3, *kepeneg*, *köpenek* 4, *köpen* 7; MTurk. *köpen* (*küpen*) 5; Tat. *küpmɛ* 'mattress'; Bashk. *küpmɛ* 'mattress'; Kirgh. *küpü* 'шуба из меха медвежонка'; Kaz. *köpšik* 'pillow'; Khak. *köbön* 'mattress'; Chuv. *kəʷbe* 6.

◊ EDT 687, 688, 689, ЭСТЯ 5, 48-49, 108 (Tur. *köpen* being attributed here to a quite different root, see under **köp-* 'to swell, foam'), 114-115, 129-130, TMN 3, 581-583. The above forms are hard to separate, and Doerfer's point of view that *köpenek* is secondarily < *kepenek* is probably faulty (even though *köpenek* is attested later: *köpen* is certainly attested earlier, and an assimilative delabialization **köpenek* > *kepenek* seems quite plausible). The Chuvash form shows that the original meaning of the root must have been 'transparent covering, film', whence 'coat of mail' etc. Turk. > Mong. *kebeneg* 'saddle-cloth, shirt', Hung. *köpönyeg* 'raincoat' (Gombocz 1912).

PKor. ***kóp** fat, slime (жир, слизь): MKor. *kóp*; Mod. *kop* 'a mucous discharge'.

◊ Liu 72, KED 162.

‖ Владимирцов 212.

✱**kˊópˊì** be complete, all: Tung. ***xup-**; Mong. ***köb-čin**; Turk. ***köp**; Jpn. ***kúpá-pa-**; Kor. ***kòp-**.

PTung. ***xup-** 1 all 2 to gather (1 весь, все 2 собирать(ся)): Evk. *upkat* 1, *upūrē-* 2; Neg. *opkal* 1; Ul. *χu̯pala-* 2; Ork. *χupala-* 2; Nan. *χopala-* 2; Orch. *χupala-* 2; Ud. *ufal*, *ufalahi* 1.

◊ See TMC 2, 281; 1, 478. Cf. also Nan. *χopã*, Ul. *χopa(n)*, Orok *χu̯pa(n)* 'group, company' - which may be a merger of the original root with a Manchu loan (cf. Manchu *χufan* 'company, companionship' < Chin. *huǒbàn).*

PMong. ***köb-čin** whole, all (целый, все, весь): MMong. *gubčin* (SH); WMong. *köbči(n)* (L 475); Kh. *xövčin*; Ord. *gübčin*.

PTurk. ***köp** many (много): OTurk. *köp* (OUygh.); Karakh. *köp* (MK, KB); Tur. *köp*; Turkm. *köp*; Sal. *köp*; MTurk. *köp* (Pav. C., MA, Abush.); Uzb. *ku̯p*; Uygh. *köp*; Tat. *küp*; Bashk. *küp*; Kirgh. *köp*; Kaz. *köp*; KBalk. *köp*; KKalp. *köp*; Kum. *köp*; Nogh. *köp*; Khak. *köp*; Shr. *köp*; Oyr. *köp*; Tv. *kö'p*, *xöj* (< **köpej*); Tof. *kö'p*.

◊ VEWT 291, EDT 686-687, ЭСТЯ 5, 107-108.

PJpn. ***kúpá-pa-** add (добавлять): OJpn. *kupapa-*; MJpn. *kùfàfá-*; Tok. *kùwae-*, *kuwaé-*; Kyo. *kúwáé-*; Kag. *kuwaé-*.

◊ JLTT 718. Tone reconstruction is controversial: RJ and the Tokyo variant *kuwae-rú* point to **kùpà-*, but all other evidence is in favour of **kúpá-*.

PKor. ***kòp-** to double, increase twofold (удваивать, увеличивать(ся) вдвое): MKor. *kòp-*; Mod. *kop-ha-*.

◊ Nam 52, KED 164.

‖ Владимирцов 323, АПиПЯЯ 285, Whitman 223. Cf. **kopˊV*: the Kor.-Jpn. reflexes may in fact reflect both roots.

✱**kʿópʿi (~ -e)** foam: Tung. ***xapu- ~ *xopu-***; Mong. ***köɣe-***; Turk. ***köp-***; Kor. ***kə̀phúm***.

PTung. ***xapu- ~ *xopu-*** foam (пена): Man. *χofon ~ χafun*; Ud. *afuti*.

◊ TMC 1, 59.

PMong. ***köɣe-*** to foam, swell up (пениться, вздуваться): MMong. *kɛhɛ-* (IM), *ku-* (MA); WMong. *kögege-*, *köge-*, *kögere-* (L 478); Kh. *xṍ-*; Bur. *xṍ-*; Kalm. *kṍ-*; Ord. *kṍ-* 'to swell (for example about horseʿs nostrils)'; Dag. *хиē-* (Тод. Даг. 179), *хиēre-*; *хиēs* 'foam' (Тод. Даг. 179: *хиēs*, *куēs*), *huē-* (MD 166); Dong. *kue-* (MGCD *ko-*); S.-Yugh. *χorʁə-*, *kṍre-*; *köwög* 'foam'; Mongr. *kō-* (SM 204); *kōrʒə* (SM 205), *kōrsə* 'foam'.

◊ KW 243, MGCD 369, 370. Cf. also WMong. *köbkeji-*, Kalm. *köpkē-* 'to swell' (KW 240). Mong. > Man. *ku-* 'to swell' (TMC 1, 422, Rozycki 145), Evk. *kōsun* 'foam' (TMC 1, 417, Doerfer MT 94).

PTurk. ***köp-*** 1 to swell 2 foam (1 набухать 2 пена): OTurk. *köpik*, *köpük* (OUygh.) 2; Karakh. *köpür-* (MK) 1, *köpük* (MK) 2; Tur. *köpük* 2; Az. *köp-* 1; Turkm. *köpik* 2; MTurk. *köp-* (Pav. C.) 1; Uzb. *kụp-* (dial.) 1; Uygh. *köp-* 1; Tat. *küp-* 1; Bashk. *küp-* 1; Kirgh. *köp-* 1; Kaz. *köbək* 2; KBalk. *köp-* 1; Kum. *göp-* 1; Nogh. *köp-* 1; Khak. *köp-* 1; Oyr. *köp-* 1; Tv. *kö'vük* 2; Tof. *kö'pük* 2; Chuv. *kъʷbъʷk* 2; Yak. *köp-* 1; Dolg. *köbüj-* 'pop up, float on the surface'.

◊ EDT 689, 691, VEWT 291, ЭСТЯ 5, 108-111, Stachowski 154.

PKor. ***kə̀phúm*** foam (пена): MKor. *kə̀phúm*; Mod. *kəphum*.

◊ Liu 45, HMCH 161, KED 90.

‖ EAS 90, Владимирцов 213, AKE 10, KW 243, Poppe 19, 47, Lee 1958, 112, ОСНЯ 1, 364, Ozawa 199-200. Mong. cannot be explained as borrowed < Turk., despite TMN 3, 617, Щербак 1997, 128. The root tends to contaminate with **kupʿe* 'light' q.v.

✱**kʿópʿìra** rift (in a river), bridge: Tung. ***xupuru***; Mong. ***köɣürge***; Turk. ***köpür, -üg***; Jpn. ***kápárá***.

PTung. ***xupuru*** 1 rift (in river) 2 bridge (1 порог (на реке) 2 мост): Evk. *ōran* 1; Jurch. *hufuru* 2 (Doerfer MT 136); Nan. *xurfu* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 479, 2, 23.

PMong. ***köɣürge*** bridge (мост): MMong. *ke'urge* (HY 17), *keūlge*, *keurge* (IM); WMong. *kögürge*, *kegürge*, *kögürge* (L 480); Kh. *xṍrög*; Bur. *xṍrge*; Ord. *kṍrgö*; Dag. *huruhe* (MD 167); Mongr. *kōrgo* (SM 205).

◊ Cf. also a suffixless form, but with irregular (assimilatory?) initial voicing: WMong. *güwr* (< **köɣür*?), Khalkha *gṍr* 'bridge'. Mong. > Sol. *xṍrgö* (see Doerfer MT 136).

PTurk. ***köpür, -üg*** bridge (мост): OTurk. *köprüg*; Karakh. *köprüg* (MK); Tur. *körpü*, *köprü*; Gag. *köprü*; Az. *körpü*; Turkm. *köpri*; MTurk. *köpri* (IM, AH), *köprük* (Abush., MA); Uzb. *kụprik*; Uygh. *köprük*, *kövrük*; Tat. *küper*, *küpre*; Kirgh. *köpürö*; Kaz. *köpür*, *köpre* (dial.); Tv. *kö'vürüg*; Tof. *kö'prig*; Yak. *kürbe*, *kürge*.

◊ VEWT 292, ЭСТЯ 5, 112-114.

PJpn. ***kápárá** shallow, sandy place in a river or on its bank (отмель, песчаное место на реке или на берегу): OJpn. *kapara*; MJpn. *kafara*; Tok. *kàwara*; Kyo. *káwárá*; Kag. *kawára*.

◊ JLTT 446. The word is usually treated as **kápà* 'river' + **pàrà* 'plain', but the elision is strange and the accent does not fit. This is most probably a folk-etymology due to secondary phonetic coincidence.

‖ Владимирцов 213, Poppe 127. Despite TMN 3, 586, Щербак 1997, 128, Mong. cannot be borrowed from Turk. Also, despite MT 136, Jurch. *hufuru* cannot be a Mong. loanword. In Jpn. we would rather expect **kupara*; the -a- vocalism is either a result of later assimilation (in a long word), or an influence of **kápá* 'river' (different etymologically, see **kʿéba*).

✱**kʿőra (~ -o, -u)** to protect, guard: Tung. ***xurā-**; Mong. ***kori-**; Turk. ***Kōri-**; Kor. ***kə̀rí-**.

PTung. ***xurā-** to save, be saved, recover (спасать(ся), выздоравливать): Evk. *urā-*; Evn. *ụr-*; Neg. *ojajị-*; Ul. *χora-*; Ork. *χụra-*; Nan. *χora-*; Orch. *uwa-*, *uja-*; Ud. *wajagi-* (Корм. 217), *uja-*; Sol. *ụrgī-*.

◊ TMC 2, 282.

PMong. ***kori-** 1 to forbid 2 to fence, shield 3 block, fort, shelf 4 enclosure, fence, yard (1 запрещать 2 загораживать 3 укрепление, преграда 4 огороженное место, забор, двор): MMong. *quri-* (MA) 2, *qorijan* (HY 17) 'bailey, court', *qorqa*, *qorija'an*, *quru'a* (SH) 3, *qorγān* (IM), *qŭrγan* (MA); WMong. *qori-* 1 (L 966), *qorija*, *qoruγa*, *qoriγa* 3, 4 (L 967); Kh. *xori-* 1, *xorō* 3; Bur. *xori-* 1, *xoŕō(n)* 3; Kalm. *xöŕ-* 1, *xorā* 4; Ord. *xori-* 2, *xorō*, *xorGo* 4; Dag. *xori-* 1,2, *xoŕē* 4 (Тод. Даг. 177), *hoŕē* 4, *hori-* 2 (MD 164); Dong. *qoroŋ* 4 (MGCD Goruan); S.-Yugh. *χorγūl-* 1, 2; Mongr. *xori-* (SM 183) 1.

◊ KW 187, 193, MGCD 366. Mong. > Chag. *qorija* etc. (see Лексика 525, ЭСТЯ 6, 75); > Man. *xori-* (see Rozycki 109).

PTurk. ***Kōri-** to fence, protect (защищать, загораживать): OTurk. *qori-* (Yen.); Karakh. *qori-* (MK); Tur. *koru-*; Gag. *qoru-*; Az. *Goru-*; Turkm. *Gōri-*, *Gōra-*; MTurk. *qoru-* (Ettuhf., Бор. Бад.); Uzb. *qụri-*; Uygh. *qoru-*; Krm. *qoru-*, *qori-*; Kirgh. *qoru-*; KBalk. *qoru-*; KKalp. *qori-*; Kum. *qoru-*; Nogh. *qori-*; Tv. *xoru-*.

◊ VEWT 282, EDT 645-646, Лексика 486-487, 575, ЭСТЯ 6, 76-78. Cf. also the derivative **Kōri-kan*, sometimes confused with **Kur-gan* (see under **Kur-*). One should also note PT **Kurtgar-* 'to rescue', **Kurtul-* 'be rescued' (see EDT 649, 650, ЭСТЯ 6, 177-179), which may be a contraction < **Kōru-t-gar-*, **Kōru-t-ul-*.

PKor. ***kə̀rí-** to cover, to shield (покрывать, загораживать): MKor. *kə̀rí-*; Mod. *kari-*.

◊ Nam 12, KED 13.

‖ EAS 47, 107, 141, KW 193, SKE 98, Лексика 575. Doerfer (TMN 3, 450) and Щербак (1997, 141) consider Mong. to be borrowed from Turkic, which cannot be excluded.

✸**kʿori** hill; embankment, boundary: Tung. ***xurē**; Mong. ***küri**; Turk. ***Korum**; Jpn. ***kùrùa (~ -ruâ)**; Kor. ***kòráŋ**.

PTung. ***xurē** mountain (гора): Evk. *ure*; Evn. *urekčen*; Neg. *ujē*; Man. *wexe* 'stone'; SMan. *vexē* 'stone, rock'(2110); Jurch. *h(i)ur-xe* (52) 'stone'; Ul. *xure(n)*; Ork. *xure*; Nan. *xure(n)*; Orch. *uwe*, *ue*; Ud. *wē* (Корм. 219), *we*, *ue*; Sol. *ure*.

◊ TMC 2, 289.

PMong. ***küri** 1 precipice 2 rock, stone (1 обрыв 2 камень): MMong. *kuri* (IM, MA, Lig. VMI) 2; WMong. *küri* 1 (MXTTT); Kh. *xür* 1; Mog. ZM, KT *kuri* 2.

PTurk. ***Korum** rock, cliff, heap of stones (скала, куча камней): Karakh. *qorum* (MK, KB); Uygh. *qoram*; Kirgh. *qorum*; Khak. *xorɨm*; Shr. *qorum*; Oyr. *qorum*; Tv. *xorum*.

◊ EDT 660, VEWT 283, Лексика 99.

PJpn. ***kùrùa (~ -ruâ)** dike, boundary (насыпь, межа): OJpn. *kur(w)o* (in *kur(w)o-tuka* "embankment on boundary"); MJpn. *kùró*; Tok. *kúro*; Kyo. *kúró*.

◊ The Kyoto accent is irregular: all other evidence points either to **kùrúa* or to **kùruâ*.

PKor. ***kòráŋ** embankment, boundary, furrow (насыпь, межа, борозда): MKor. *kòráŋ*; Mod. *kōl*, *koraŋ*.

◊ Liu 63, HMCH 163, KED 138, 156.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 291. The comparison seems satisfactory (the Jpn.-Kor. link see in Kanezawa 47); an alternative Austronesian etymology of the Jpn. word, however, can be found in Kawamoto 1977, 33. Cf. also Mong. *kürmen* 'basalt'.

✸**kʿoru** short; diminish, grow less: Tung. ***xurumü-**; Mong. ***koru-**; Turk. ***Kor(a)-**; Kor. ***korh-**.

PTung. ***xurumü-** short (короткий): Evk. *urumkūn*; Evn. *urumkun*; Neg. *ujumkūn*; Ul. *xurmi*; Ork. *xurdumi*; Nan. *xurm'ị*; Orch. *ūmi*; Ud. *umasaʿ* (Корм. 302); Sol. *urūŋkũ*.

◊ TMC 2, 287-288.

PMong. ***koru-** to diminish (уменьшаться, убавлять): MMong. *qoro-*, *qoru'a-* (SH); WMong. *qoru-* (L 968); Kh. *xoro-*; Bur. *xoro-*; Kalm. *xor-*; Ord. *xoro-*.

◊ KW 188.

PTurk. ***Kor(a)-** 1 to diminish , decrease 2 harm, loss (1 уменьшаться, убывать 2 вред, убыток): OTurk. *qora-* 1, *qor* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *qora-* 1, *qor* 2 (MK); Kirgh. *qoro-* 1; KBalk. *qora-* 1; Khak. *xora-* 1; Oyr. *qor* 2, *qoro-* 1; Tv. *xor* 2; Chuv. *xor* 'insult, offence, grief'; Yak. *qor* 2, *qoron-* 1.

◊ EDT 641-642, 645-646, ЭСТЯ 6, 73-74, Федотов 2, 369. On a possible Mong. loanword (*qowr* 'loss, damage') see under **kàbro*; modern Siberian nouns may be actually backloans from Mong.

PKor. ***korh-** to suffer loss (потерпеть утрату): Mod. *kol-* [*kolh-*].

◊ KED 160. The root should be probably distinguished from *kol(h)-* 'to get stale, rot' (although they tend to contaminate).

‖ SKE 122, KW 188, ОСНЯ 1, 367, АПиПЯЯ 292, Дыбо 13; further Nostratic parallels see in ОСНЯ 1, 367-368. The Korean reflex is somewhat dubious here, because the root may be the same as *korh-* < **gōŕa* q.v. (possibly a secondary merger). Cf. also Kalm. *xor-* 'to be afraid, shy', PT **Kor-(u)k-* 'to be afraid' (ЭСТЯ 6, 79-80), possibly derived from **kʿoru* 'grow less, be damaged' - but also possibly a different root.

✱**kʿòrV (~ -ŕ-)** dung, excrements: Tung. ***xōri-kta**; Mong. ***korgul**; Kor. ***kərɨm**.

PTung. ***xōri-kta** excrements (of deer) (помет (оленей)): Evk. *ōrikta*; Evn. *ōrịt*; Ork. *xorịąta*.

◊ TMC 2, 23-24.

PMong. ***korgul** excrements (of sheep, camels) (помет (овец, верблюдов)): MMong. *qorgosun* (SH); WMong. *qorγul*, *qorγal*, *qorγusun* (L 965); Kh. *xorgol*; Bur. *xorgōl*, *xorgōho(n)*, *xorgōdoho(n)*; Kalm. *xorγəsṇ* (KPC); Ord. *xorGol*; Bao. *guguši*; S.-Yugh. *χorgol*; Mongr. *xorGōʒə* (SM 172), *xurGōsə*.

◊ MGCD 365.

PKor. ***kərɨm** dung (навоз, удобрения): Mod. *kərɨm*.

◊ KED 82 (derivation from *kāl-* 'fertile' is irregular and probably folk-etymological).

‖ TMC 2, 24.

✱**kʿŏši (~ -e)** to entangle, fetter: Tung. ***xušī- (~ -č-)**; Mong. ***kösi-**; Turk. ***kös-**.

PTung. ***xušī- (~ -č-)** to twist, roll, entangle (мотать, запутывать): Evk. *učī-*; Evn. *ụč-*; Neg. *oč-*; Ul. *χočịa-*; Ork. *χụtčị-*; Nan. *χočị-*; Ud. *usi-*.

◊ TMC 2, 296.

PMong. ***kösi-** to overcast (in sewing) (шить на живую нитку, наметывать): MMong. *kušige* 'curtain' (Lig.VMI), *kūšege* 'фата' (MA); WMong. *kösi-* (L 492); Kh. *xöši-*; Bur. *xüši-*; Kalm. *köš-* (KPC); Ord. *göšö-*; Dag. *kušulue-*.

◊ MGCD 377.

PTurk. ***kös-** 1 to hobble, fetter 2 fetters (1 треножить, путать 2 путы): Karakh. *kösür-* 1, *kösrük* 2 (MK); Tur. *köste-* (dial.) 1, *köstek* 2; Gag. *köstek* 2; Turkm. *kössek* 2; Tv. *köste-* 1, *kösteg* 2.

◊ ЭСТЯ 5, 121-122.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**kʿubà (~ -p-)** joy, joke: Tung. ***xebī- / *kupī- / *xupī-**; Turk. ***Kɨb (*Kub)**; Jpn. ***kapaju-**.

PTung. ***xebī- / *kupī- / *xupī-** 1 to play 2 jolly, merry 3 to pity 4 to humiliate (1 играть 2 игривый, веселый 3 жалеть 4 унижать): Evk. *ewī-* 1, *ewlēn-* 3; Evn. *ewi-* 1, *ewe* 2; Neg. *ewī-* 1; Man. *efi-*, *efé-* 1; SMan. *ifi-* 1 (1357); Ul. *xupi-* / *kupi-* 1; Ork. *xupi-* 1; Nan. *xupi-* / *kupi-* 1, *xeulēn-* 4; Orch. *ewī-*; Sol. *ugī-*.

◊ TMC 1, 483, 2, 434-435, 436. Cf. also Evn. *ịbgo* 'good, nice' (TMC 1, 294).

PTurk. ***Kɨb** 1 luck, happiness 2 to be happy, enjoy (1 счастье 2 быть счастливым, радоваться, предаваться удовольствиям): OTurk. *qɨv* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *qɨv* 1 (MK); Tur. *kɨwan-* 2, *kɨv* 1 (dial.); Turkm. *Guwan-* 2; MTurk. *quvan-* 2 (Бор. Бад.); Uzb. *quvɔn-* 2; Krm. *quvan-* 2; Tat. *quan-* 2; Bashk. *qɨwan-* 2; Kirgh. *quban-* 2; Kaz. *quvan-* 2; KBalk. *quvan-* 2; KKalp. *quvan-* 2; Kum. *quvan-* 2; Nogh. *quvan-* 2; SUygh. qo 1; Chuv. *xъ^{w}van-* (dial.).

◊ VEWT 268, EDT 579, ЭСТЯ 6, 99-101, Clark 1977, 146.

PJpn. ***kapaju-** lovely (милый): MJpn. *kafaju-*; Tok. *kawaí-*; Kyo. *káwáì-*; Kag. *kawái-*.

◊ JLTT 831. Original accent unclear.

‖ The TM form has a rather peculiar variation of laryngeal features here; the original form must have been **xubī-*.

✱**kʿube (~ -p-)** a k. of fish: Tung. ***xuja (< *xubi-ja?)**; Mong. ***kobku**; Jpn. ***kuàp(u)î**.

PTung. ***xuja** a k. of fish (вид рыбы): Ork. *χojodo* 'кунджа', *χojo* 'таймень'; Nan. *χojža* 'sheat-fish'; Orch. *ojo* 'кунджа'; Ud. *ojo* 'кунджа'.

◊ TMC 1, 445, 2, 251 (here also confused with PTM **uja* 'carp'; the Manchu form in fact can reflect both **xoja* and **uja*). TM > Nivkh *xoj*, whence possibly Russ. Siber. *goj* 'сахалинский таймень', see Аникин 167.

PMong. ***kobku** loach (fish) (голец, вьюн): WMong. *qobqu* (L 950); Kh. *xovx*.

PJpn. ***kuàp(u)î** black carp (черный карп): OJpn. *kwop(j)i*; MJpn. *kòfí*; Tok. *kói*; Kyo. *kòî*; Kag. *koí*.

◊ JLTT 454.

‖ One of many common Altaic fish names; the precise sort of the fish denoted by the root is not quite clear.

✱**kʿŭ̀čV** a k. of star: Tung. ***xōsi-kta**; Turk. ***Kučɨk**.

PTung. ***xōsi-kta** star (звезда): Evk. *ōsīkta*; Evn. *ōsịqat*; Neg. *ōsikta*; Man. *usixa*; SMan. *ušihā* (2037); Jurch. *hosi-xa* (12); Ul. *xosta*; Ork. *wasịqta*; Nan. *xosaqta* (диал.); Orch. *xosakta*; Ud. *waikta*, *wahikta*; Sol. *ōš̆ikta*.

◊ TMC 2, 27.

PTurk. ***Kučɨk** constellation of Cancer (созвездие Рака): Karakh. *qučɨq* (KB).

◊ EDT 591.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss. For Nostratic parallels (Ural. **kVnśV*, PIE **g'hweisdh-* 'star') see Sinor 1973, 392-393 (but Mong. *hodun* should of course be kept apart), Долгопольский 1965, 263.

✱**kʿude** affair, trade: Tung. ***xuda**; Mong. ***kuda-ldu-**; Turk. ***küdü-**.

PTung. ***xuda** 1 to buy, hire 2 to lend 3 trade 4 to trade, barter (1 покупать, нанимать 2 одалживать 3 торговля 4 торговать): Evk. *udi-* 2; Man. *uda-* 1; SMan. *uda-* (1409); Jurch. *xu-da-sia-maj* (418) 4; Ul. *χụda* 3; Nan. *χuda* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 248, 1, 467-468 (with many interdialectal borrowings). Man. > Dag. *xudā, xuda-* (Тод. Даг. 179).

PMong. ***kuda-ldu-** to barter, trade (торговать): MMong. *xudalidu* (HY 40), *xudulči* 'merchant' (HY 30), *qəṭəl-* (IM), *qədəldə-* (LH); WMong. *qudaldu-* (L 980); Kh. *xudalda-*; Bur. *xudalda-*; Kalm. *xuldə-*; Ord. *xudaldu-*; Dong. *Gudandu-*; Bao. *dandə-*; S.-Yugh. *Gudāldə-*; Mongr. *dārdi-* (SM 44), *dāldə-*.

◊ KW 196, MGCD 385.

PTurk. ***küdü-** affair (дело): OTurk. *iš küdük* (OUygh.); Karakh. *iš küδük* (KB); Chuv. *kərəš-* 'to hire, be hired'.

◊ EDT 702.

‖ A Western isogloss; the Turkic reflex is very scantily attested.

✱**kʿùdì** a k. of skin working instrument; worked skin: Tung. ***xudekī**; Mong. ***ködü-sü**; Turk. ***kidiŕ**; Jpn. ***kùtùpìkì**.

PTung. ***xude-kī** board for cutting skins; a stick for sewing (доска для резки шкур; палочка для придерживания шитья): Evk. *udekī*; Evn. *udeki*; Neg. *udexi*; Ul. *xude*; Ork. *xude(n)*; Nan. *xudẽ*; Orch. *udeki*; Ud. *udexi* (Корм. 300).

◊ TMC 2, 249.

PMong. ***ködü-sü** worked sheep skin (обработанная овчина): WMong. *ködüsü(n)* (L 478); Kh. *xödös*; Bur. *xüdehe(n)* 'sheepskin, unworked leather'; Ord. *ködösü*.

PTurk. ***kidiŕ** felt (войлок): OTurk. *kidiz* (OUygh.); Karakh. *kiδiz* (MK, KB); Tur. *kijiz*, *kejiz* (dial.); Turkm. *kīz*; MTurk. *kijiz* (IM, Abush., Qutb., Houts.); Uzb. *kigiz*; Uygh. *kigiz*; Tat. *kijez*; Bashk. *kejeδ*; Kirgh. *kijiz*; Kaz. *kijiz*; KBalk. *kijiz*; KKalp. *kijiz*, *kijgiz* (dial.); Kum. *kijiz*; Nogh. *kijiz*; Khak. *kīs*; Oyr. *kijis*; Tv. *kidis*.

◊ VEWT 270, TMN 3, 661-662, ЭСТЯ 5, 66-67, Лексика 392. Turk. > MMong. *kijiz* (Щербак 1997, 127).

PJpn. ***kùtùpìkì** a k. of loom (вид ткацкого станка): OJpn. *kutupjikji*; MJpn. *kùtùfìkì*.

◊ JLTT 468 (but the connection with *kutu* 'shoe' is probably folk-etymological).

‖ In Turkic **kidiŕ* < **küdiŕ* (with secondary vowel assimilation); otherwise correspondences are regular.

✱**kˊū̀jlu (~ -o)** ear; to hear: Tung. ***xūl-**; Mong. ***kul-ki**; Turk. ***Kul-kak**; Jpn. ***kí-k-**; Kor. ***kúi**.

PTung. ***xūl-** to sound, resound (раздаваться (о звуке, эхо)): Evk. *ūl-ta-*; Evn. *ụ̄l-dъ̣-*; Neg. *ol-bụn-*; Ul. *xol-dị-*; Ork. *xụl-bụn-*; Nan. *xōl-ǯị-*.

◊ TMC 2,263.

PMong. ***kulki** ear-wax; middle ear (ушная сера; среднее ухо): WMong. *qulki* (L 984), *quluγu*; Kh. *xulxi*, *xulga*; Bur. *xulxa*, *xolxi*; Kalm. *xulxə*, *xuĺxə*; Ord. *xuluGu(n)*; Dag. *xoĺgi* (Тод. Даг. 177; MGCD *kolig*); Mongr. *xoŋGo* (SM 171).

◊ KW 196, MGCD 389.

PTurk. ***Kul-kak** ear (ухо): OTurk. *qulqaq* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *qulaq*, *qulqaq*, *qulxaq* (MK), *qulaq*, *qulγaq* (KB); Tur. kulak; Gag. *qulaq*; Az. *GulaG*; Turkm. *Gulaq*; Sal. *Gulaχ*; Khal. *qulaq*; MTurk. *qulaq* (MA), *qulaγ* (Sangl.); Uzb. *qulɔq*; Uygh. *qulaq*; Krm. *qulax*; Tat. *qolaq*; Bashk. *qolaq*; Kirgh. *qulaq*; Kaz. *qulaq*; KBalk. *qulaq*; KKalp. *qulaq*; Kum. *qulaq*; Nogh. *qulaq*; SUygh. *qulaq*; Khak. *xulax*; Shr. *qulaq*; Oyr. *qulaq*; Tv. *qulaq*; Tof. *qulaq*; Chuv. *xъ^{w}lγa*; Yak. *kulgāk*; Dolg. *kulgāk*.

◊ VEWT 298, EDT 620, Лексика 204-205, ЭСТЯ 6, 124-127, Stachowski 160.

PJpn. ***kí-k-** hear (слышать): OJpn. *kjik-*; MJpn. *kík-*; Tok. *kìk-*; Kyo. *kík-*; Kag. *kík-*.

◊ JLTT 708.

PKor. ***kúi** ear (ухо): MKor. *kúi*; Mod. *kwi*.

◊ Nam 64, KED 226.

‖ AKE 11, EAS 142, KW 196, Poppe 18, 75, АПиПЯЯ 52-53, 276, Дыбо 14, Лексика 205. The Mong. form can hardly be explained as a Turk. loanword (despite Щербак 1997, 143; Doerfer in TMN 4, 296 writes: "...unsicher"). Cf. Ordos *xulugu* 'the ear of animal', Khalkha *xulgavč* 'eared cap'. The Jpn. form has an irregular high tone (Turk., Tung. and Kor. pointing unanimously to *ˋ); this, as well as the vowel -i- is probably due to a contraction. Medial *-jl- has to be reconstructed to account for -i- in Korean.

✱**kˊùkè** to peel: Tung. ***xuK-**; Turk. ***Koguĺ (?-k-)**; Jpn. ***kuàk-**.

PTung. ***xuK-** 1 to peel (bark, rind) 2 peels, rind (1 сдирать (кору) 2 корка, кожура): Evk. *uk-* 1; Evn. *ụq-* 1; Neg. *oklī-* 1; Ul. *χoGdịqta* 2; Orch. *uki-* 1; Ud. *ukki-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 253.

PTurk. ***Koguĺ** leather, hide (кожа, шкура): OTurk. *qoγuš*; Karakh. *qoγuš* (MK).

◊ EDT 613.

PJpn. ***kuàk-** to flail, flay (сдирать кору, обмолачивать): OJpn. *kwok-*; MJpn. *kòk-*; Tok. *kók-*, *kóg-*; Kyo. *kòk-*, *kòg-*; Kag. *kòk-*, *kòg-*.

◊ JLTT 712.

‖ The Tung.-Jpn. match seems to be satisfactory, but the Turkic parallel is not quite certain: in PT one would rather expect **KokuĹ* with voiceless -k-, but available attestations seem to point rather to *-g-.

✸**kʿùla** a k. of big fish: Tung. ***xol-sa**; Mong. ***kalimu**; Jpn. ***kàra-**.

PTung. ***xol-sa** 1 fish 2 boiled fish (1 рыба 2 вареная рыба): Evk. *ollo* 1; Evn. *olrṭ* 1; Neg. *olo* 1; Ul. *xolto(n)* 2; Ork. *xolto* 2; Nan. *xolto* 2; Orch. *okto* 2; Ud. *oloho* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 14.

PMong. ***kalimu** whale (кит): WMong. *qalimu* (L 920); Kh. *xalim*; Bur. *xalim*; Kalm. *xalim* (СЯОС).

PJpn. ***kàra-** plaice (камбала): MJpn. *kàrèfí*; Tok. *kárei*; Kyo. *kárèì*; Kag. *kareí*.

◊ JLTT 440. The PJ accent is not quite clear (but the first syllable should undoubtedly be reconstructed with low tone).

‖ Doerfer MT 91 and Rozycki 130 consider Mong. to be borrowed < TM (Evk. *kalim* etc., see TMC 1, 366-367); however, the direction of borrowing was probably reverse. This is one of several similar fish names, sometimes difficult to distinguish - see **kalu*, **kʿile*.

✸**kʿul(g)o** reed, rush: Tung. ***xulgu-**; Mong. ***kulu-su**; Turk. ***Kulga**; Kor. ***kōr**.

PTung. ***xulgu-** reed (тростник): Evk. *ulgukta*; Neg. *ojgokto*; Man. *ulχu*; SMan. *oləhə* (2157); Ul. *χolGaqta*; Ork. *xụldụqta*; Nan. *χolGoqta*; Orch. *ugukta*.

◊ TMC 2, 258-259.

PMong. ***kulu-su** reed, rush (тростник, камыш): MMong. *gulusun* (HY 6), *qalsun* (IM), *qulusun* (MA); WMong. *qulusu(n)* (L 985); Kh. *xuls*; Bur. *xulha(n)*; Kalm. *xulsṇ*; Ord. *xulus*, *xulusu(n)*; Dag. *kolso*, *xolso* (Тод. Даг. 177), *kolese* (MD 183); Dong. *Gulusun*; Bao. *Golsoŋ*; S.-Yugh. *χulusən*; Mongr. *xuluʒə* (SM 182), (MGCD *xuləsə*).

◊ KW 196, MGCD 388. Mong. > Oyr. *quluzun*.

PTurk. ***Kulga** 1 sprout 2 long branch, shoot (1 росток 2 длинная ветка, побег): Tat. *qolγa* 2; Khak. *xulγa* 1; Oyr. *qulγa* 1; Chuv. *xolъ* 2.

◊ VEWT 298, Ашм. XVI, 149.

PKor. ***kōr** reed, rush (тростник, камыш): MKor. *kōr*; Mod. *kol-phul*.

◊ Nam 51, KED 160.

‖ KW 196, SKE 121, Цинциус 1984, 114-115, Дыбо 10, Rozycki 217. Cf. also Old Silla **koš* 'reed', see Miller 1979, 23.

✱**kʿŭli** yellow, brown, grey: Mong. ***küjilen**; Turk. ***Kula**.

PMong. ***küjilen** grey, bluish (серый, голубоватый): WMong. *küilen* (L 498); Bur. *xüjlen*.

◊ Cf. also Khalkha *xülegčin* 'white horse with black spots'.

PTurk. ***Kula** light yellow, brown (желтый, саврасый): OTurk. *qula* (OUygh.); Karakh. *qula* (MK); Tur. *kula*; Gag. *qula*; Turkm. *qula*; MTurk. *qula* (AH, Houts.); Uzb. *qula*; Uygh. *qula*; Tat. *qola*; Bashk. *qola*; Kirgh. *qula*; Kaz. *qula*; KKalp. *qula*; Kum. *qula*; Nogh. *qula*; SUygh. *qula*; Khak. *xula*; Oyr. *qula*; Tv. *qula*; Chuv. *xъʷla*.

◊ EDT 617, VEWT 298, ЭСТЯ 6, 121-122.

‖ A Turko-Mong. isogloss. Mong. **küjile-* regularly < **küli-le-* with *l-dissimilation*. Turk. > Mong. *qula* (see TMN 3, 507, KW 195); Mong. > Evk. *kula*, Man. *qulan*, see Doerfer MT 100 > Kor. *kora* (*mal*) (see Lee 1958, 119).

✱**kʿuli (~ -e)** to heat, burn: Tung. ***xuldü**; Mong. ***kölči-**; Turk. ***kül-**.

PTung. ***xuldü** 1 warm 2 to heat 3 flame (1 теплый 2 нагревать 3 пламя): Evk. *uldi* 3; Man. *wenǯe-* 2; SMan. *venǯexun*, *venǯəxun* 'agreeably warm' (2058); Ul. *xuldu* 1, *xuldū-* 2; Ork. *xuldu* 1; Nan. *xul'd'i* 1; Ud. *ugdi-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 260; 1, 132 (where the Manchu word is erroneously regarded as < Chin.).

PMong. ***kölči-** to heat, warm (греть, нагревать): MMong. *kulči-* (MA 222); WMong. *kölči-*, *kölčü-* (L 484); Kh. *xölč-*; Bur. *xülše-*; Kalm. *kölčə-* (KPC); Ord. *gölčö-*; Dag. *kulčē-* (Тод. Даг. 151); Mongr. *kurgu-* 'rôtir, griller, étuver' (SM 216).

◊ Cf. also Bur. *xülere* 'place of fire'; WMong. *kölü-re-* 'to sweat', *kölü(r)-sü(n)*, Mongr. *konorʒə* 'sweat, perspiration' (> Dolg. *kölöhün*, see Stachowski 155).

PTurk. ***kül** ashes (пепел, зола): OTurk. *kül* (OUygh.); Karakh. *kül* (MK); Tur. *kül*; Gag. *kül*; Az. *kül*; Turkm. *kül*; Sal. *kül*; Khal. *kīl*; MTurk. *kül*; Uzb. *kul*; Uygh. *kül*; Krm. *kul*; Tat. *köl*; Bashk. *köl*; Kirgh. *kül*; Kaz. *kül*; KBalk. *kül*; KKalp. *kül*; Kum. *kül*; Nogh. *kül*; SUygh. *kül*; Khak. *kül*; Shr. *kül*; Oyr. *kül*; Tv. *xül*; Tof. *xül*; Chuv. *kəʷl*; Yak. *kül*; Dolg. *kül*.

◊ VEWT 307, EDT 715, ЭСТЯ 5, 137-138, Лексика 367-368, Stachowski 164.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 281. A Western isogloss: we prefer now to separate MKor. *kírím* = TM **xurum-* etc., see **kʿōŕe*.

✱**kʿúli (~ -o-, -Í-)** to dig, cave: Tung. ***xulē-**; Mong. ***küle-mǯi**; Kor. ***kùrhəŋ**.

PTung. ***xulē-** to dig (копать): Evk. *ulē-*; Evn. *ul-*; Neg. *ulē-*; Man. *uldefun* 'wooden shovel'; Ul. *xule-*; Ork. *xule-*; Nan. *xule-*; Ud. *ule-*.

◊ TMC 2, 265.

PMong. ***küle-mǯi** cave, basement (погреб, подземное помещение): WMong. *külemǯi* (L 499); Kh. *xülemǯ*.

PKor. ***kùrhə́ŋ** tunnel, cave, hole (туннель, пещера, дыра): MKor. *kùrhə́ŋ*; Mod. *kurəŋ*.

◊ Nam 63, KED 199.

‖ On a possible Jpn. reflex see under **kʿ[ù]ri.*

✱**kʿúlo** to roll, turn: Tung. ***xol- / *xul-**; Mong. ***kol-ki-**; Turk. ***Kul-**; Jpn. ***kə́rə́-mp-**; Kor. ***kùbɨr-**.

PTung. ***xol- / *xul-** 1 dance, move in dancing 2 climb down, out (from a vehicle, boat) 3 bend (of a river) 4 to walk around, turn round (1 танцевать, двигаться в пляске 2 высаживаться (из лодки), слезать (с телеги) 3 излучина (реки) 4 обходить, объезжать): Evk. *olo-nmū-* 1, *uli-sin* 3; Evn. *ụlịna* 3; Neg. *olị-sịn-* 4; Ul. *χolon-* 2, *χōlị-* 4; Ork. *χụlon-* 2, *χōlị-* 4; Nan. *xulun-* 2, *xōlị-* 4; Orch. *xolon-o-* 2 (< Orok.), *uli-* 4; Ud. *xoli-* 4 (< Nan.).

◊ TMC 1, 470; 2, 16, 261.

PMong. ***kol-ki-** to be restless, go round and round (вертеться, не сидеть на месте): WMong. *qolkida-* (L 959); Kh. *xolxi-*; Bur. *xolxi* 'shaky, wobbly'; Kalm. *xoĺgədə-*; Ord. *Golχido-*.

◊ KW 182.

PTurk. ***Kul-** 1 to roll (down), fall 2 round (1 скатываться, падать 2 круглый): Sal. *gulɨlüx* 2; MTurk. *qula-* 1 (Буд.); Uzb. *qulä-* 1; Uygh. *qula-*, *ɣula-* 1; Bashk. *qola-* 1; Kirgh. *qula-* 1; Kaz. *qula-* 1; KKalp. *qula-* 1; SUygh. *qula-*, Gol- 1; Oyr. *qula-* 1.

◊ VEWT 298, ЭСТЯ 6, 122.

PJpn. ***kə́rə́-mp-** roll (катиться): MJpn. *korob-*; Tok. *kòrob-*; Kyo. *kórób-*; Kag. *korób-*.

◊ JLTT 713.

PKor. ***kubɨr-** roll (катиться): MKor. *kù'ɨr-*, *kù'ur-*; Mod. *kūl-*, *kurɨ-*.

◊ Nam 60, KED 199, 217.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 288, ОСНЯ 1, 327 (with literature; Illich-Svitych also compares Mong. *qoli-* 'to mix', but does not list the Turkic and Japanese forms). Cf. also Mong. *kölbe-* 'to lie on one side' (KW 238), *qolbir-* 'to slip sidewards'. The attribution of some forms is problematic: Turk. **Kul-* may reflect a partial contamination with PA **g̑iŭldo* 'to stretch' (q.v.).; the Jpn. and Kor. forms, due to the merger of *r and *l, can actually also reflect PA **k̑iŏr[i]* q.v.; in Jpn. cf. also *koro* 'round log', *korog-* 'to roll, rotate'. Note that the MKor. form with -w-, -'- makes the affiliation of the Korean root questionable - unless it is a dissimilative development < **kurb-ɨr-*, in which case it would be a morphological structure **kʿúlo-bV-* = PJ **kə́rə́mp-*, Mong. *kölbe-*, *qolbir-*.

✱**kʿúĺa** bark, scales; scab: Tung. ***xolda-ksa**; Mong. ***kolta-su, *koli-**; Turk. ***Kuĺ**; Jpn. ***kásá**.

PTung. ***xolda-ksa** 1 bark 2 board 3 coffin (1 кора 2 доска 3 гроб): Evk. *oldaksa*, *uldaksa* 1, 2; Evn. *oldụs* 3; Neg. *oldokso* 3; Ul. *χoldoqso* 2; Ork. *χoldoqso* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 13, 244 (with a confusion of **xolda-ksā* 'bark; board' and *ugda-'boat').

PMong. ***kolta-su, *koli-** 1 tree bark 2 scales (1 древесная кора 2 чешуя): WMong. *qoltusu(n)*, *qoltasu(n)* 1 (L 960), *qolisu(n)* 2 (L 959); Kh. *xoltos* 1, *xolis* 2; Bur. *xoltohon* 1; Kalm. *xoltxəsn* 1; Dag. *koldon* 'cedar' (Тод. Даг. 150) (?).

◊ KW 182, 183. Cf. also *qol-tul-* 'to skin, separate skin, split' (whence Evk. *kolto-* etc., see Doerfer MT 69), *qolu-*, *qolγu-*, *qoluγa-* 'to erase (skin), make a sore', *qoluγanaγ* 'rubbed off spot on skin' (KW 182, 183, L 958). The name of 'cedar' is borrowed in TM (Man. *xoldon* etc.).

PTurk. ***Kuĺ** a hairless spot (on horse's skin) (проплешина (на шкуре лошади)): Tur. *kuš*.

◊ VEWT 305.

PJpn. ***kásá** scab (струп, язва): OJpn. *kasa*; MJpn. *kásá*; Tok. *kàsa*; Kyo. *kásá*; Kag. *kása*.

◊ JLTT 441.

‖ KW 182, Miller 1970, 129, АПиПЯЯ 293. Illich-Svitych (ОСНЯ 1,301, with Uralic parallels) compares Man. *qola-*, Evk. *kūlū-* 'to skin', but these are mongolisms (see TMC 1,407); TM **xolda-ksa* is a better match for the Mong. form.

✱**kʿùĺa (~-o,-u)** a k. of big bird: Tung. ***xōlī**; Mong. ***kuladu**; Turk. ***Kuĺ**.

PTung. ***xōlī** raven, crow (ворон, ворона): Evk. *ōlī*; Evn. *oḷinǯa*; Neg. *ōlī*.; Nan. *χolī*.; Orch. *oli*; Ud. *wali*; Sol. *oĺē*, *olī*.

◊ TMC 2, 13. TM > Dag. *oĺē* (Тод. Даг. 159). Shortness in Nan. is irregular (probably dissimilative, before the next long vowel).

PMong. ***kuladu** duck-hawk (вид ястреба, лунь): MMong. *quladu* (SH); WMong. *quladu* (L 984: *qulatu*); Kh. *xult*; Bur. *xulda*; Kalm. *xuldə*; Ord. *xuladu*.

◊ KW 195-196. Mong. > Shor *quladɨ* etc. (see VEWT 298, ЭСТЯ 6, 128-129).

PTurk. ***Kuĺ** 1 bird 2 duck (1 птица 2 утка): OTurk. *quš* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *quš* 1 (MK, KB); Tur. *kuš* 1; Gag. *quš* 1; Az. *Guš* 1; Turkm. *Guš* 1; Sal. *Guš* 1; Khal. *quš*, Guš (< Az.) 'sparrow'; MTurk. *quš* 1 (Sangl.); 'moth' (Abush.); Uzb. *quš* 1; Uygh. *quš* 1; Krm. *quš* 1; Tat. *qoš* 1; Bashk. *qoš* 1; Kirgh. *quš* 1; Kaz. *qus* 1; KBalk. *quš* 1; KKalp. *qus* 1; Kum. *quš* 1; Nogh. *qus* 1; SUygh. *Gus* 1; Khak. *xus* 1; Shr. *quš* 1; 'hen'; Oyr. *quš* 1; Tv. *qu'š* 1; Tof. *qu'š* 1; Yak. *kus* 2; Dolg. *kus* 2.

◊ VEWT 305, TMN 3, 547-548; EDT 670; ЭСТЯ 6, 180-182, Лексика 168, Stachowski 162. Chuv. *xɐlat* 'hawk' < Mong.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 281, Дыбо 9, Лексика 168. A Western isogloss. The Turk. form can also be compared with PTM *kila- "a k. of aquatic bird" or *kulV- id.

✱**kʿume (~ -i̯u-)** black; coal: Turk. ***kömür**; Kor. ***kəm-**.

PTurk. ***kömür** coal (уголь): OTurk. *kömür* (OUygh.); Karakh. *kömür* (MK, KB); Tur. *kömür*; Gag. *kömür*; Az. *kömür*; Turkm. *kömür*; MTurk. *kömür* (MA, IM, Pav. C., AH), *kimür* (Abush.); Uzb. *kụmir*; Uygh. *kömü(r)*; Tat. *kümer*; Bashk. *kümer*; Kirgh. *kömür*; Kaz. *kömər*; KBalk. *kömür*; KKalp. *kömər*; Kum. *kömür*; Nogh. *kömər*; Khak. *kömər*; Oyr. *kömür*; Tv. *xömür*; Chuv. *kъʷmrъʷk*; Yak. *kömör*; Dolg. *kömör*.

◊ VEWT 289 (relating the stem to *köm-* 'to bury, dig' seems rather dubious), ЭСТЯ 5, 102-103, Лексика 365, Stachowski 156.

PKor. ***kəm-** black (черный): MKor. *kəm-*, *kəm-*; Mod. *kəm-*, *k:əm-*, *kām-*, *k:ām-*.

◊ Liu 48, HMCH 278, KED 101. Modern length and gemination are obviously late and expressive.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 295. A Turk.-Kor. isogloss (cf. also Old Koguryo **kămul* 'black', see Miller 1979, 8; perhaps also Manchu *χumara-* 'to sully', TMC 1, 477). The comparison seems quite possible, although the scarcity of reflexes prevents a secure reconstruction of vocalism.

✱**kʿumi (~ -e)** tent, temporary dwelling: Tung. ***xoma-**; Mong. ***kömürge**; Turk. ***küme**.

PTung. ***xoma-** tent, summer-house (шалаш, летнее жилище): Neg. *omōxān*; Ul. *χomi̯ra(n)*; Nan. *χomarã*.

◊ TMC 2, 17.

PMong. ***kömürge** storehouse (хранилище): MMong. *kumurki* 'box' (MA 141); WMong. *kömürge* (L 487); Kh. *xömrög*; Kalm. *kömṛg* (KPC); Mongr. *komorgo* (SM 213), *komurgo*.

◊ Should be historically distinguished from *gömürge* (although the two forms have almost merged in Mong.).

PTurk. ***küme** dug-out, hut (землянка, хижина): Tur. *kümüldü*.

◊ VEWT 308. An exclusively Osman word; Cf. perhaps Karakh. (MK) *kümi* 'name of a town on the Uyghur border' (?).

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**kʿumV (~-o-)** weak, lean: Tung. ***xum-**; Mong. ***komur, *komsa**.

PTung. ***xum-** lean, weak (тощий, слабый): Evk. *umdān*; Evn. *ụmnakụ*; Ul. *χomdo(n)*, *χụmdụ(n)*; Ork. *χụmana*; Nan. *xumdu*; Orch. *umana*; Sol. *ụminā-*.

◊ TMC 2, 267.

PMong. ***komur, *komsa** scarce, rare, weak (редкий, слабый): MMong. *qor qomsa* (SH); WMong. *qomur*, *qobur*, *qomsa* (L 950, 960); Kh. *xomor*, *xowor*, *xoms*; Bur. *xomor*; Ord. *xomso*, *xowor*.

◊ Mong. > Man. *komso*, see Doerfer MT 118.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**kʿùńe** to burn, get burnt: Mong. ***köɣe**; Turk. ***köń-**; Jpn. ***kuànkàra-**; Kor. ***kɨńɨr-**.

PMong. ***köɣe** soot (сажа): MMong. *küje* (MA); WMong. *köɣe*; Kh. *xȫ*; Bur. *xȫ*; Kalm. *kȫ*; Ord. *kȫ*; Dag. *xuē* (Тод. Даг. 179), *huē* (MD 165); Dong. *guə-məi*; S.-Yugh. *kȳ*; Mongr. *kō* (SM 204).

◊ KW 243, MGCD 369. Cf. also WMong. *köjüre-*, Kalm. *köjr-* 'to sweat'. Hardly < Turkic, despite Щербак 1997, 196. Mong. > Man. ku id. (see Rozycki 144).

PTurk. ***köń-** 1 to burn (*itr*.) 2 to burn (tr.) 3 to kindle 4 to get burnt 5 soot 6 strong smell of burnt 7 unpleasant smell (1 гореть 2 жечь 3 зажигать 4 обгорать 5 сажа 6 сильный запах горелого 7 неприятный запах): OTurk. *köj-* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *kön-* (Argu MK), *köj-* 1 (MK, KB); Tur. (dial.) *köj-*, *küj-* 1; *küje* 5; Turkm. *köj-* 1, *küjö* (dial.) 5; Khal. *kiẹn-* 1; MTurk. *köj-* 1 (Abush., MA, Бор. Бад., Pav. C.); Uzb. *kuj-* 1, *kuja* 5; Uygh. *köj-*, *küj-* 1, *köjdür-* 2; Tat. *köj-* 1; Bashk. *küj-* 1; Kirgh. *küj-* 1, *kȫ* 5; Kaz. *küj-* 1, *küje* 5; KBalk. *küj-* 1; KKalp. *küj-* 1, *küje* 5; Kum. *güj-* 1; Nogh. *küj-* 1, *küje* 5; Khak. *köj-* 1, *köje* 5; Shr. *köj-* 1; Oyr. *küj-* 1, *kȫ* 5; Tv. *xȫ* 5; Tof. *xȫ* 5; Chuv. *kü*, *kəʷv* 6 (Ашм.), *kəʷśek* 7; *kъʷvajt* 5.

◊ VEWT 309, EDT 726, 730, ЭСТЯ 5, 88-89, 133, Лексика 362, Мудрак Дисс. 75. The Az. form is somewhat dubious, both semantically ("itch") and phonetically (irregular voiced g-). See also **köń-* 'to grieve, suffer'.

PJpn. ***kuànkàra-** to be burnt (быть опаленным, подгорать, загорать): OJpn. *kwogara-*; MJpn. *kògàra-*; Tok. *kogaré-*; Kyo. *kógáré-*; Kag. *kogaré-*.

◊ JLTT 711. Kagoshima points to high tone, but other dialects rather to a low one.

PKor. ***kɨńɨr-** 1 soot 2 to be covered with soot (1 сажа 2 покрываться сажей): MKor. *kɨńɨrɨm* 1; Mod. *kɨɨrɨm* 1, *kɨɨl-* 2.

◊ Nam 69, KED 240.

‖ The Jpn. form reflects a suffixed **kʿùńe-KV-*.

✱**kʿùńi (~ -e)** knot, to tie knots: Tung. ***xūńē-**; Mong. ***küjir**.

PTung. ***xūńē-** 1 to bind (a pack, to a pack) 2 long wool (for binding, felting) 3 silk string (for binding) 4 knot (on a thread) (1 привязывать (вьюк, к вьюку) 2 длинная шерсть (для привязывания, изготовления шнурков etc.) 3 шнурок (из сырцового шелка) 4 узел (на нити)): Evk. *ūńē-* 1; Evn. *ȫńe-* 1; Man. *uńe-le* 2, *uńe-ri* 3; Ork. *xunikte* 4.

◊ TMC 1, 477, 2, 277.

PMong. ***küjir** knots of a bow-string (узлы на тетиве): MMong. *ko* 'bow-string' (HY 18); WMong. *küir* (L 498); Kh. *xüjde-* 'to release the bow-string'; Mongr. *kwāri* 'boutonnière (en cordonnet)' (SM 208).

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss. In other languages cf. perhaps: OT *köndegü* 'necklace' (EDT 730).

✱**kʿuŋgo (~-o-)** to freeze, snow: Tung. ***xuŋ-da-**; Mong. ***kuŋgar- / *küŋger-**; Jpn. ***kənkə(r)-**.

PTung. ***xuŋ-da-** ice crust on snow (наст): Evk. *uŋnan*; Evn. *ū̃nъ.n*; Neg. *ōŋnan*; Man. *undan*; Nan. *χoŋdã*; Ud. *uŋna*; *oŋo-* 'to freeze'.

◊ TMC 2, 279. Cf. also Evn. *ŏńịr* 'снег (плотный), сугроб'.

PMong. ***kuŋgar- / *küŋger-** snow-drift (сугроб): WMong. *quŋγar* (MXTTT); Kh. *xuŋgar*; Bur. *xüŋgereg*.

PJpn. ***kənkə(r)-** 1 to freeze 2 freezing (1 замерзать 2 замерзающий, холодный): OJpn. *kogor-* 1; MJpn. *kogor-* 1, *kogo-* 2; Tok. *kogor-*, *kògoe-*, *kogoé-* 1; Kyo. *kógóé-* 1; Kag. *kògòè-* 1.

◊ JLTT 711. Tone reconstruction is not quite clear.

‖ The Jpn. form may be alternatively compared with PTM **gekti-* 'to freeze' (TMC 1, 178).

✱**kʿùre** basket: Tung. ***xurid-**; Turk. ***Küri-**; Jpn. ***kuà**; Kor. ***kórí**.

PTung. ***xurid-** a vessel for berries (посудина для ягод): Evk. *uridīk*; Nan. *χordaχĩ*.

◊ TMC 1, 471, 2, 285.

PTurk. ***Küri-** 1 a measure of capacity 2 a k. of basket for vegetables (1 мера объема 2 вид корзины для овощей): OTurk. *küri* 1 (OUygh.) 'peck (2 and 1/2 bushels)'; Karakh. *kürin* 2 (MK); Uygh. *kürɛ* 1; SUygh. *kʿọr* (10,35 l) 1.

◊ EDT 737, 746.

PJpn. ***kuà** basket (корзина): OJpn. *kwo*; MJpn. *kò*.

◊ JLTT 453.

PKor. ***kórí** basket (корзина): MKor. *kórí*; Mod. *kori*.

◊ Liu 64, KED 140.

‖ Whitman 1985, 148. The Jpn. form is derived from a suffixed **kʿùr(e)-gV*. Cf. **kúra(mV)*.

✱**kʿúrgo (~ -u)** intestine, belly: Tung. ***xurke-**; Mong. ***kurkag**; Turk. ***Kurg-sak**; Kor. ***kùrəi**.

PTung. ***xurke-** belly (of fish) (брюшко (рыбы)): Evn. *ökenre*; Neg. *ujkene*; Ul. *xuče(n)*; Nan. *xujke*; Orch. *ukkese*; Ud. *ukihe*.

◊ TMC 2, 29-30.

PMong. ***kurkag** belly (of cattle) (желудок (скота)): WMong. *qurqaγ*; Kh. *xurxag*; Kalm. *xurxəg*, *xorxəg*.

◊ KW 188, 198.

PTurk. ***Kurg-sak** belly, stomach (живот, желудок): Karakh. *quruγsaq* (MK); Tur. *kursak*; Gag. *qursaq*; Az. *GursaG*; Turkm. *GursaG* 'breast'; Sal. *χusaχ*; MTurk. *qursaq* (Pav. C., Бор. Бад.); Uzb. *qursɔq*; Uygh. *qosaq*; Krm. *qorsaq*; Tat. *qorsaq*; Bashk. *qorhaq*; Kirgh. *qursaq*; Kaz. *qursaq*; KKalp. *qursaq*; Kum. *qursaq*; Nogh. *qursaq*; SUygh. *qursqaq*; Khak. *xursax*; Shr. *qursaq*; Oyr. *qursaq*; Yak. *kurtax*.

◊ EDT 657, VEWT 303, Лексика 277, ЭСТЯ 6, 164-166. Cf. also Yak., Dolg. *kurgum* 'lower part of belly' (Stachowski 162 gives a rather improbable etymology).

PKor. ***kùrəi*** inner part of body, inner part of chest (внутренность, грудная полость): MKor. *kùrəi*.

◊ Nam 58. It is not quite clear whether the word is the same as modern *kure*, *hə-guri* 'waist' (KED 199) - which seems to have a different origin, see under **kaĺbo.*

‖ KW 188, Лексика 278. The medial cluster behaves not quite regularly because of assimilation (in Mong., where **kurkag* < **kurgag*, and in TM, where **xurke* < **xurge*).

✱**kʹ[ŭ]ri** to rake up: Tung. ***xeri- / *xeru-**; Mong. ***kura-, *kurija-**; Turk. ***küre-**; Jpn. ***kur-**.

PTung. ***xeri- / *xeru-** 1 to rake up 2 to sweep (1 сгребать 2 подметать): Evk. *eru-* 1; Evn. *er-* 1; Neg. *ej-* 1; Man. *eri-* 2; Ul. *xeru-* 1; Ork. *xeri-* 1; Nan. *xeti-* 1 (**xer-či-*); Orch. *ei-* 1; Ud. *eju*, *ejeu* 'shovel'; Sol. *erũ* 'shovel'.

◊ TMC 2, 462. Despite Doerfer MT 21 the word has nothing to do with Mong. *erü-* 'to dig' (see under **p'i̯oŕe).*

PMong. ***kura-, *kurija-** to gather, collect (собирать): MMong. *xurija-* (HY 40); WMong. *qura-*, *qurija-* (L 987, 989); Kh. *xura-*, *xurā-*; Bur. *xuŕā-*; Kalm. *xurə-*, *xurā-* (KPC); Ord. *xura-*; Dag. *xori-* (Тод. Даг. 178), *xorē-* (Тод. Даг. 177: *xoŕē-*), *hore-*, *hurā* (MD 164, 167); Dong. *Gura-*; Bao. *Gorudə-*; S.-Yugh. *χurā-*; Mongr. *xurā-* (SM 183).

◊ KW 197, 198, MGCD 390. Mong. > Kirgh. *qura-* etc., see ЭСТЯ 6, 157-158.

PTurk. ***küre-** 1 to rake 2 spade, shovel (1 сгребать 2 лопата): Karakh. *küri-* (MK) 1, *kürgäk* (MK) 2; Tur. *kürü-* 1, *kürek* 2; Gag. *kürü-* 1, *kürek* 2; Az. *kürü-*, *kürä-* 1, *küräk* 2; Turkm. *kürek* 2; Khal. *kürgɛk* 2; MTurk. *küre-* 1 (Pav. C.); Uzb. *kurɛ-* 1; Uygh. *kürɛ-* 1, *kurɛk* 2; Tat. *körɛ-* 1, *körɛk* 2; Bashk. *körɛ-* 1, *körɛk* 2; Kirgh. *kürö-* 1, *kürök* 2; Kaz. *küre-* 1, *kürek* 2; KBalk. *küre-* 1; KKalp. *gürek* 2; Kum. *küre-* 1, *kürek* 2; Nogh. *küre-* 1, *kürek* 2; Khak. *küre-* 1; Oyr. *küre-* 1, *kürek* 2; Tv. *xŭ̄rek*, *kürüjek* (Todzh.); Tof. *xürüj̃ek*; Chuv. *kəʷreźe* 2; Yak. *kürt-* 1; Dolg. *kürt-* 1.

◊ VEWT 310, ЭСТЯ 5, 150-152, Stachowski 166. Turk. **küre-ček* > MMong. *kürǯek*, WMong. *kürže*, see Щербак 1997, 129 (borrowed back > Yak. *kürǯex*, Dolg. *kürǯek*, see Stachowski ibid.).

PJpn. ***kur-** to delve (долбить): MJpn. *kur-*; Tok. *kur-*.

‖ EAS 97, KW 248, Poppe 79, Цинциус 1984, 121-122. The etymology seems quite probable, although the TM vocalism is not clear (a result of some contamination?). For Jpn., however, cf. alternatively PA **kŭ̀rV* 'to cut out' or PA **kʹuli* 'dig' q.v.

✱**kʿ[ú]ŕa** pole; finger, toe: Tung. ***xurū**; Mong. ***kuruɣu, *-gu**; Turk. ***K[a]ŕguk**; Kor. ***kàràk**.

PTung. ***xurū** 1 hoof 2 handful (1 копыто 2 пригоршня, горсть): Evk. *urūn* 1, *urū* 2; Ul. *χṵrṵ* 2; Ork. *χṵ̄rṵ* 1, *χṵrṵ* 2; Nan. *χōrõ* 1, *χoro* 2; Orch. *ū-ŋki* 1; Ud. *ū* 1, 2.

◊ TMC 2, 287, 288.

PMong. ***kuruɣu, *-gu** finger, toe (палец): MMong. *quru'un* (HY 46, SH), *qorɣan* (IM), *qurun* (MA); WMong. *quruɣu(n)* (L 991); Kh. *xurū*; Bur. *xurga(n)*; Kalm. *xurɣṇ*; Ord. *xurū*; Mog. *qurūn*; ZM *qorun* (2-9b); Dag. *xorō* (Тод. Даг. 178), *horō* (MD 164); Dong. *Gurun*; Bao. *xur* (MGCD Gor); S.-Yugh. *χurūn*; Mongr. *xuri* (SM 185).

◊ KW 198, MGCD 392.

PTurk. ***K[a]ŕguk** pole, peg (палка, колышек): OTurk. *qazɣuq* (OUygh.); Karakh. *qazŋuq* (MK); Tur. *kazɨk*; Gag. *qazɨq*; Az. *gazɨx* (dial.); Turkm. *GazɨG*; MTurk. *qazuq* (Бор. Бад., Pav. C.); Uzb. *qɔziq*; Uygh. *qozuq*; Krm. *qazɨq*; Tat. *qazɨq*; Bashk. *qaδa-* 'to stick into', *qaδaq*, *qaδɨq* 'nail'; Kaz. *qazɨq*; KBalk. *qazɨq*; KKalp. *qazɨq*; Kum. *qazɨq*; Nogh. *qazɨq*; SUygh. *quzuq*; Oyr. *qazɨq*; Chuv. **karuH* > Hung. *karó* (see Gombocz 1912, MNyTESz 2, 387)..

◊ EDT 682 (derivation from **Kaŕ-* 'dig' is highly dubious, although the vocalism could have been influenced by the verbal root), VEWT 243, ЭСТЯ 5, 190-191. Because of its consonant the Bashk. form belongs rather here than to PT **Kāta-* (v. sub **kā́jta).*

PKor. ***kàràk** finger; pole (палец; палка): MKor. *sonìs-kàràk* 'finger', *kàràk* 'pole'; Mod. *son-karak*, *karak*.

◊ Liu 19, KED 10.

‖ EAS 88, 113, Цинциус 1984, 118, Дыбо 316-317. The Turkic vowel is not quite clear: cf. the variant **Kuŕguk*; perhaps the forms reveal a variation **Kuŕgak* / **Kaŕguk* in early Turkic.

✱**kʿuŕe (~ -i)** a k. of fur animal: Tung. ***xur-**; Mong. ***kürene**; Turk. ***Küŕen**.

PTung. ***xur-** 1 bear 2 gopher 3 bear's flesh (as food) 4 young tarbagan (1 медведь 2 суслик 3 медвежье мясо (как пища) 4 тарбаган (до 5 месяцев)): Evk. *urike* 2, *urka-* 3; Evn. *ṵrka-* 3, *urgeɣe* 4; Neg. *ujguli* 1; Ul. *xuǯuli* 1; Nan. *xujguluẽ* 1; Orch. *ugguli* 1, *urike* 'fox-seal'.

◊ TMC 2, 251, 284, 285, 286. For the forms meaning 'gopher, seal' cf., however, some Turkic Siberian forms: Khak. *örke*, Yak. *örgö*, Tuva *örge* (VEWT 374-375) - which may be borrowed from Tungus, but may also constitute a separate root (note that Turk. > Hung. *ürge* 'gopher', see Gombocz 1912, Russ. Siber. *jerkeška*, see Аникин 202).

PMong. ***kürene** ferret, weasel (хорек, ласка): WMong. *kürene* (L 504); Kh. *xürne*; Bur. *xüneri* (with a metathesis); Kalm. *kürṇ*; Ord. *kürene* 'Mustela putorius'.

◊ KW 248. Mong. > Man. *kurene* etc., see Doerfer MT 99, Rozycki 147.

PTurk. ***Küŕen** ferret, weasel (хорек, ласка): Karakh. *küzen* (MK) 'an animal of the rat family used to hunt sparrows and jerboas'; Turkm. *alaǯgözen*, dial. *küzen*; MTurk. *küzen* (Qutb), Kypch. *küzen* (CCum.); Uzb. *kuzɛn*; Uygh. *küzɛn*; Tat. *közɛn*; Bashk. *köδɛn*; Kirgh. *küzön*; Kaz. *küzen*; KKalp. *güzen*; Kum. *sasɨq-gözen*; Nogh. *küzen*; Khak. *küzen*; Oyr. *küzen*; Tv. *küzen*.

◊ VEWT 312, ЭСТЯ 5, 86, Лексика 163, EDT 761. Turk. > Hung. *görény*, see MNyTESz 1, 1089.

‖ Лексика 163. A Western isogloss. Note also similar names for 'squirrel' in Mong. (*keremü*; borrowed in Evk. *keremun* etc., see Doerfer MT 123) and Siberian Turkic languages (Khak. *körək*, Yak. *kürǯügäs* etc., borrowed in Kalm. *kōrəg*, see KW 243, VEWT 293).

✱**kʿűŕkV** glowing coals: Tung. ***xurk-**; Turk. ***kōŕ**.

PTung. ***xurk-** 1 soot 2 sulphur (1 сажа 2 сера): Man. *xurku* 2; Ul. *χorχi* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 471, 478.

PTurk. ***kōŕ** glowing coals (раскаленные уголья): Karakh. *köz* (MK); Tur. *köz*, *küz*; Az. *köz*; Turkm. *kōz*; MTurk. *köz* (AH, Qutb., Pav. C.); Khak. *kös*; Tv. *kös*; Chuv. *kъʷvar*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 5, 85-86, Лексика 365-366. There are also variants **Kōŕ* / **Kōr* (VEWT 285) and the verb **kōre-* 'to glow'.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss. A Turk.-Mong. derivative of this root may be the name of 'lead', PT **Korguĺ(č)in* (see Лексика 407-408, ЭСТЯ 6, 172-174), Mong. *qorγalǯi*, *qorγolči*. If this is the case, there is no need to assume a borrowing either in Turk. < Mong. (despite Лексика ibid.), or in Mong. < Turk. (despite TMN 3, 453, Щербак 1997, 141).

✱**kʿusa** a k. of tree (cedar, oak): Tung. ***xusikta**; Mong. ***kusi**; Jpn. ***kasi**.

PTung. ***xusi-kta** 1 acorn 2 oak-tree 3 big nut (1 желудь 2 дуб 3 большой орех): Evk. *usikta* 2; Man. *usiχa* 3; Nan. *χosaqta* 1; Ud. *uhikta* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 291.

PMong. ***kusi** cedar, thuja (кедр, туя): WMong. *qusi* (L 991), *qosi*; Kh. *xuš*; Bur. *xuša*; Kalm. *xoš*; Ord. *Guši*.

◊ KW 189.

PJpn. ***kasi** Quercus acuta Thunb. (вид дуба): OJpn. *kasi*; MJpn. *kàsì*; Tok. *káshi*; Kyo. *kàshî*; Kag. *kashí*.

◊ JLTT 441. The accent is not quite clear: either **kàsì* (cf. RJ) or **kàsî* (suggested by the Kyoto form).

‖ Цинциус 1984, 118. Cf. **kušu*. Cf. also Kor. *kasi* 'acorn' (if not < Jpn.).

✱**kˈutˈV (~ -o-, -t-)** to itch, scab: Tung. ***xutu-**; Turk. ***Kotur**.

PTung. ***xutu-** to itch (чесаться, зудеть): Evk. *utuni-*; Evn. *ụtụń-*; Neg. *otoxon-*; Ul. *χotụrsị-*; Nan. *χotorsị-*; Orch. *xutunsi-*; Ud. *utunihi-*.

◊ TMC 2, 294-295.

PTurk. ***Kotur** scab, mange (парша): OTurk. *qotur* (OUygh.); Tur. *kotur* (dial.); Az. *Gotur*; Turkm. *Gotur*; MTurk. *qotur* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *qọtir*; Uygh. *qotu(r)*; Krm. *qotur*, *qotɨr*; Tat. *qutɨr*; Bashk. *qutɨr*; Kirgh. *qotur*; Kaz. *qotɨr*; KKalp. *qotɨr*; Kum. *qotur*; Nogh. *qotɨr*; SUygh. *qodur*; Khak. *xodɨr*; Oyr. *qodur*; Tv. *qodur*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 6, 86-87, EDT 604.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss. See Цинциус 1984, 99-100.

✱**kˈuʒV** trace, to follow: Tung. ***xuʒa**; Mong. ***koʒi-**.

PTung. ***xuʒa** 1 trace, track 2 to trace, follow tracks (1 след 2 выслеживать, идти по следу): Evk. *uʒa* 1, *uʒa-* 2; Evn. *ụʒ* 1, *ụʒ-* 2; Neg. *oʒa* 1; Ul. *xoʒa-* 2; Nan. *xoʒa-* 2; Orch. *uʒa-* 2; Ud. *uʒa-* 2; Sol. *ụʒi* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 249. TM > Dag. *wāʒi* (Тод. Даг. 128).

PMong. ***koʒi-** 1 to stay behind, be late 2 late, afterwards (1 опаздывать, задерживаться 2 позднее, после): MMong. *qoʒida-* 1, *qoʒit* 2 (SH); WMong. *qoʒi-*, *qoʒida-* 1, *qoʒid*, *qoʒim* 2 (L 975); Kh. *xoʒi-*, *xoʒdo-* 1, *xoʒid*, *xoʒim* 2; Bur. *xožomdo-* 1, *xoʒom* 2; Kalm. *xoʒəm* (KPC); Ord. *xoʒim*, *xoʒit* 2, *xoʒimdo-* 1.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**kˈuʒV** part of stomach, bladder: Tung. ***xuʒük**; Mong. ***kuʒirkaj**.

PTung. ***xuʒük** 1 urinary bladder 2 anus (1 мочевой пузырь 2 anus): Evk. *uʒik* 1; Evn. *uʒik* 1; Neg. *uʒix* 1; Ul. *xuʒu* 1; Ork. *xudu(γū)* 1; Nan. *xuʒũ* 1; Sol. *uʒixi* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 250.

PMong. ***kuʒirkaj** thick part of stomach (утолщенная часть стенки рубца): WMong. *quʒirqai* (MXTTT); Kh. *xuʒirxaj*.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**kˈÈsá (~ k-, g-, -č-)** hat, umbrella: Jpn. ***kàsá**; Kor. ***kás**.

PJpn. ***kàsá** umbrella (зонтик): OJpn. *kasa*; MJpn. *kàsá*; Tok. *kása*; Kyo. *kàsá*; Kag. *kasá*.

◊ JLTT 441.

PKor. ***kás** hat (шляпа): MKor. *kát*; Mod. *kat* [*kas*].

◊ Nam 18, KED 57.

‖ EAS 155. Cf. also MKor. *kòs-kár* 'hat'. Formally this Kor.-Jpn. isogloss may be derived from PA **kˈi̯ùča* 'skin from animal's paw' (if the original meaning is postulated as 'skin covering'?); however, until some additional information is available, we prefer to keep these two etyma apart.

L

✸**la-** on this side, near: Tung. ***la-kV, *la-ŋ**; Mong. ***naɣa-**; Kor. ***njək**.

PTung. ***la-kV, *la-ŋ** near (близко, близкий): Ul. *laŋ*; Ork. *laqqa*, *laŋ*; Nan. *laŋ*; Orch. *laki*, *laŋ*; Ud. *Ĺaŋ*.

◊ TMC 1, 488, 492.

PMong. ***naɣa-** on this side (по эту сторону): MMong. *inaqši-* (MA); WMong. *naɣa-ɣur*, *naɣa-si* (L 557); Kh. *nāš*, *janāš*; Bur. *nāša*, *nāna*; Kalm. *nā*; Ord. *nāsi*; Dag. *nāši* 'toward here, hither' (MD 194); S.-Yugh. *nāna*, *naGšə*; Mongr. *naGšə* (SM 255).

◊ KW 272, MGCD 496.

PKor. ***njək** side (сторона): MKor. *njək*; Mod. *jək* [*njəkh*].

◊ Nam 108, KED 338.

‖ TMC 1, 488, АПиПЯЯ 293. Originally a monosyllabic deictic root with directive affixes.

✸**là̄blè** moss, lichen: Tung. ***lālbi-kta / *lelu-kte**; Mong. ***lujilV**; Jpn. ***nə̀rì**.

PTung. ***lālbi-kta / *lelu-kte** moss, lichen (мох, лишайник): Evk. *lālbikta*, *lelukte*, *ńalbakta*; Neg. *lēlixe*; Ul. *lelikte*; Orch. *nāpka*, *nabuxa*.

◊ TMC 1, 489, 516.

PMong. ***lujilV** Siberian orach (лебеда сибирская): WMong. *lujil* (MXTTT); Kh. *lujl*; Ord. *lūli* 'Kochia scoparia Schrad'.

PJpn. ***nə̀rì** sea moss, sea weed (морской мох, морские водоросли): OJpn. *nori*; MJpn. *nori*; Tok. *norí*; Kyo. *nórì*; Kag. *norí*.

◊ JLTT 500.

‖ The vocalism is somewhat shaky, like in many names of plants (in this case, secondary labialization in Mong. may be due to the medial cluster).

✸**làbò** more, better: Tung. ***lab-du**; Mong. ***lab / *naj**; Turk. ***jaba**; Jpn. ***nàpə́**; Kor. ***nǎboi**.

PTung. ***lab-du** many, plenty (много, обильно): Man. *labdu*; SMan. *lavədu*, *lavədə* (2852); Nan. *labdo*.

◊ TMC 1, 485.

PMong. ***lab / naj** very, extreme; better, stronger; exactly (очень, чрезвычайно; лучше, сильнее; верно, точно): MMong. *nai* (SH);

WMong. *lab* (L 513); *nai*; Kh. *lav;* dial. *naj*; Bur. *lab*; Kalm. *law* (KPC); Ord. *lab*; Dag. *lab* (Тод. Даг. 152); S.-Yugh. *lab*.

◊ MGCD 470.

PTurk. ***jaba** very (очень): Khak. *jaba*; Tv. *čā*, *čab-čā*.

PJpn. ***nàpə́** better, more (лучше, больше): OJpn. *nap(w)o*; MJpn. *nàfó*; Tok. *náo*; Kyo. *nàó*; Kag. *náo*.

◊ JLTT 493. All evidence points to **nàpə́*, except for Kagoshima (possibly under literary influence).

PKor. ***năboi** again; better (снова; лучше): MKor. *nă'oi*.

◊ Nam 93.

‖ SKE 162, Martin 226, АПиПЯЯ 68, Doerfer MT 144 (Mo < TM).

✱**labV̀ / *lebV̀** rope, long hair, rags: Tung. ***lab- / *leb-**; Mong. ***lab- / *lob-**; Turk. ***job-lač (*jabu-lač)**; Jpn. ***nàp-**; Kor. ***nòh (< *nVbVh)**.

PTung. ***lab- / *leb-** 1 antler 2 rags 3 to wear out, be worn (1 отросток оленьего рога 2 лохмотья 3 изнашиваться): Evk. *lawā* 1, *lewgī-* 3; Evn. *nēwun* 1, *nebdъ-* 'to tear out, wear out'; Ul. *lebeke*, *lebeli* 'old cotton cloth'; Nan. *leber* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 485, 518, 615. TM > Dag. *lawā* 'branch' (Тод. Даг. 152).

PMong. ***lab- / *lob-** 1 rags 2 be ragged, worn out (1 лохмотья 2 быть поношенным, в лохмотьях): MMong. *nabtasu*, *nabtasun* 1 (MA 244, 313); WMong. *nabtasu* 1 (L 556), *labtara-* 2, *lobsi*, *nobsi* 1 (L 517, 587); Kh. *navtas*, *novš*, *lovš* 1, *navtra-*, *lavtra-* 2; Bur. *nobšo* 1, *nabtar-* 2; Kalm. *nowšə* 1, *lawtrə-* 'изнашиваться, полностью стираться' (KPC); Ord. *?labši-* 'неумело шить'.

PTurk. ***job-lač (*jabu-lač)** fine goat's hair (тонкая козья шерсть): Karakh. *jovlač* (MK).

◊ EDT 870.

PJpn. ***nàp-** 1 to wind (a string) 2 string, rope (1 вить (веревку) 2 веревка): OJpn. *napa* 2; MJpn. *nàf-* 1, *nàfà* 2; Tok. *ná-* 1, *nawá* 2; Kyo. *nà-* 1, *náwà* 2; Kag. *nà-* 1, *nawá* 2.

◊ JLTT 494, 733.

PKor. ***nòh** string (тесемка, веревка): MKor. *nò* (*nòh-*); Mod. *no*.

◊ Nam 110, KED 338.

‖ Martin 240 (Jpn.-Kor.). An expressive root with some variation of reflexes, but no doubt archaic. In Jpn. the root may have merged with **lǎp'o* q.v.: this could be one of the reasons of the the accent discrepancy between Kor. and Jpn. (otherwise explainable as a result of contraction in Korean after the loss of *-b-).

✱**láčà (~ *Í-)** a k. of plant with drooping branches: Tung. ***lasa-**; Jpn. ***násì**; Kor. ***nəčhúr**.

PTung. ***lasa-** 1 drooping branches 2 young larch, birch (1 нависшие ветви 2 молодая лиственница, береза): Evk. *ńahamna*, dial. *ńašamda* 2; Man. *lasari* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 494, 636.

PJpn. ***násì** pear (груша): OJpn. *nasi*; MJpn. *násì*; Tok. *nashí*; Kyo. *náshì*; Kag. *náshi*.

◊ JLTT 494.

PKor. ***nəčhúr** drooping branches (свисающие ветви, лоза): MKor. *nəčhúr*; Mod. *nənčhul*.

◊ Nam 104, KED 332.

‖ An Eastern isogloss; cf. perhaps Chuv. *śüźe* 'willow' (which can go back to PT **jača-*).

✱**làjpʹV** to glue, stick to: Tung. ***labgān-, *lipa-**; Mong. ***niɣa-**; Turk. ***jạp-ɨĺč-**; Jpn. ***nàimpà-r- (~-ia-)**.

PTung. ***labgān-, *lipa-** 1 to glue, stick 2 to smear, poach in mud (1 прилипать 2 мазать, вязнуть в грязи): Evk. *labgān-*, *lamba-* 1, *lipa-* 2; Evn. *labgan-*, *nabgan-* 1; Neg. *labgān-* 1; Man. *lifa-* 2; Ul. *lịpa-* 2; Ork. *lamba-* 1; Nan. *lịpa-* 2; Ud. *lagbamu-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 484-485, 490, 498-499. PTM **labgān-* is probably a contraction < **lipagān-*.

PMong. ***niɣa-** to glue, stick to (приклеивать): MMong. *ni'a-* (SH); WMong. *niɣa-*, *naɣa-* (L 556); Kh. *nā-*; Bur. *ńā-*; Kalm. *nā-* (KPC); Ord. *nā-*; Mog. *niōldu-* (Ramstedt 1906); Dag. *niā-*; Dong. *niaɣa-*; Mongr. *niā-* (SM 269), *nā-*.

◊ MGCD 497.

PTurk. ***jạp-ɨĺč-** to glue, stick to (приклеиваться, прилипать): OTurk. *japɨš-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *japuš-*, *japɨš-* (MK); Tur. *japɨš-*; Gag. *japɨš-*; Az. *japɨš-*; Turkm. *japɨš-*; Khal. *japuš-*; MTurk. *japɨš-* (AH, Ettuhf.); Uzb. *jəpiš-*; Uygh. *jepiš-*, *jopuš-*; Krm. *japɨš-*, *japuš-*, *jabuš-*; Tat. *jabɨš-*; Bashk. *jäbeš-*; Kirgh. *ʒabɨš-*; Kaz. *žabɨs-*; KBalk. *žabɨš-*; KKalp. *žabɨs-*; Kum. *jabuš-*, *jabɨš-*; Nogh. *jabɨs-*; Tv. *čɨ'pšɨn-*; Chuv. *śɨbъś-*; Yak. *sɨsɨn- šɨbā* - 'to plaster, smear'.

◊ VEWT 187, ЭСТЯ 4, 132-133, EDT 880-881. The deriving stem **jạp-* is probably preserved in Karakh. (MK) *jap-* 'stick to', Az. *jap-* 'to model dung for drying' and **jap-ma* 'modelled dung' (see ЭСТЯ 4, 130, 133); thus the analysis of **jạp-ɨĺč-* as reciprocal from **jap-* 'make, create' or 'cover' (EDT ibid.) is certainly incorrect.

PJpn. ***nàimpà-r- (~-ia-)** to glue, stick to (приклеиваться, прилипать): MJpn. *nemar-*; Tok. *nebár-*; Kyo. *nébár-*; Kag. *nèbàr-*.

◊ JLTT 734.

‖ Владимирцов 209, 369, Poppe 39, 47, 74, ОСНЯ 2, 19, Miller 1986, 203, АПиПЯЯ 75, Мудрак Дисс. 91. Cf. also OJpn. *nìbè* 'fish glue'; diphthong in Jpn. and vowel variation in Jpn. and TM probably indi-

cates PA *-j-. Doerfer (TMN 4, 49) denies the Turk.-Mong. parallel - in a hardly plausible way.

✱**lako** a k. of foliage tree: Tung. ***laKa-**; Mong. ***nüger- (~ nigür-)**; Turk. ***jöke**.

PTung. ***laKa-** 1 elm 2 a k. of oak (1 вяз 2 вид низкорослого дуба): Evk. *lakamawun* 1; Man. *laχari* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 488.

PMong. ***nüger- (~ nigür-)** a k. of alder (ольха кустарниковая): WMong. *nügürsü* (L 597); Kh. *nügers*; Bur. *nū̄rgedehe(n)*, *nū̄rhe(n)*; Mongr. *nuguʒə* 'espèce d'herbe caprifoliacée' (SM 289).

PTurk. ***jöke** lime-tree (липа): Tur. *ʒöge* (DS); Az. *ʒökä*; Uzb. *žǫkə*; Tat. *jükɛ*, dial. *ʒükɛ*; Bashk. *jüke*; Kaz. *žöke*; KKalp. *žöke*; Kum. *jöge*; Nogh. *jöke*; Chuv. *śъʷga*.

◊ VEWT 207, ЭСТЯ 4, 32, Мудрак 51, Лексика 128-129.

‖ A Western isogloss. Turkic vocalism is not quite clear (**jaka* would be normally expected).

✱**làku (~ -kʹ-)** dirt, dregs: Tung. ***lakti- / *legdi-**; Mong. ***lag**; Jpn. ***núká-r-**.

PTung. ***lakti- / *legdi-** 1 to be burnt (of food) 2 soot (1 пригореть (о пище) 2 сажа, нагар): Evk. *nakti-mu-*, *negdi-* 1; Neg. *naktị* 2; Ud. *lakti-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 576.

PMong. ***lag** 1 mud, dirt, clay, sweepings 2 to become sticky, dirty (1 грязь, ил, осадок 2 становиться липким, грязным): MMong. *nag menegei* 'turtle' (HY); WMong. *laγ* 1, *laγda-* 2 (L 514); Kh. *lag* 1, *lagda-*, *lagalda-* 2; Bur. *lag* 1; Ord. *laG melekei* 'turtle' ("dirt frog"); S.-Yugh. *lag širū* 1.

◊ MGCD 471. Mong. > Nan. *laGʒị-*, Oroch *lagdi-*, Ud. *lagʒi-* 'to become sticky' (TMC 1, 486).

PJpn. ***núká-r-** to get muddy (пачкаться, быть топким): Tok. *nùkar-*; Kyo. *núkár-*; Kag. *nukár-*.

◊ JLTT 738.

‖ Cf. perhaps also Turk. **jak-* 'to smear' - usually confused with **jāg* 'fat' (see e.g. ЭСТЯ 4, 58), but having a different vowel and consonant.

✱**lakʹ[a]** a k. of bird: Tung. ***lakun**; Mong. ***lag**; Turk. ***jakɨl-**; Kor. ***nokočiri**.

PTung. ***lakun** 1 hen 2 wild duck (1 курица 2 чирок (дикая утка)): Neg. *naxụn* 1; Man. *luxu* 2; Ul. *nakụ(n)* 1; Ork. *naqqụ(n)* 1; Orch. *naku* 1; Ud. *naʹu* (Корм. 266) 1.

◊ TMC 1, 509, 579.

PMong. ***lag-(turaɣu)** hazel-hen, grouse (куропатка, рябчик): MMong. *lax* (HY 15); WMong. *nuɣturuu* (L 594); Kh. *nogtrū*; Mongr. *loGtor* (SM 225).

◊ Modern languages reflect a compound **lag-turaɣu* (with **turaɣu* ʿraven, crow'). Mong. > Manchu *nuturu* 'sand grouse (Syrrhaptes paradoxus)' (see Rozycki 165).

PTurk. ***jakɨl-** a k. of small hawk (вид небольшого ястреба): MTurk. *jaɣlabaj* (Ettuhf.); Tat. *jaɣɨlbaj*; Bashk. *jaɣɨlbaj*; Kirgh. *ǯaɣalmaj*; Kaz. *žaɣaltaj*; Khak. *čaɣɨlbaj*; Oyr. *jaŋalbaj* 'siskin'.

◊ VEWT 186, ЭСТЯ 4, 10-11.

PKor. ***nokočiri** field lark (полевой жаворонок): MKor. *nokočiri*; Mod. *nogožiri* (arch.).

◊ Nam 110, KED 338.

‖ The root probably denoted a small field bird (grouse or hazel-hen); the meaning ʿhawk' in the Turkic derivative is obviously < ʿthe one hunting grouses'. The reconstruction of Auslaut presents some problems: the Kor. form presupposes something like **lakʿu*, in which case we would expect *-x- in TM. One wonders if Kor. *nokočiri* is not in fact one of Mongolian loanwords (since a hazel-hen, grouse or lark are good prey for a falcon, it may have been borrowed together with other falcon-hunt words); a form like **nugtɨrū* (cf. WMong. *nuɣturuu*) could have been easily borrowed like **nugutiru* > *nokočiri*. If this is the case, the word will be a Western isogloss, with a most plausible reconstruction **laku*.

✱**lakʿa (~ -k-)** a k. of big fish: Tung. ***laka**; Mong. ***laka**; Jpn. ***nakatai**.

PTung. ***laka** name of a fish, goby (назв. рыбы, бычок): Evk. *laka*; Neg. *laxana*; Man. *laqačan nisiχa*, *laqča nimaχa*; Ul. *laqa*; Ork. *lāqqa* 'herring'; Nan. *lāqa*; Orch. *laka*; Ud. *laʿsā* (Корм. 256).

◊ TMC 1, 487, 488.

PMong. ***laka** sheat-fish (сом): WMong. *laqa* (L 515); Kh. *lax*.

PJpn. ***nakatai** a k. of fish, eel (вид рыбы, угорь): OJpn. *nakate*.

‖ See Doerfer MT 91 (regarding Mong. as borrowed < Tung.). Cf. also a variant with *-o-: TM **lokija* > Neg. *loxon* 'верхогляд', Ud. *Ĺöxö* 'терпуг', Man. *Ĺoxo* 'a k. of salmon', Orok *loqqo* 'камбала', see TMC 1, 501, 502; Mong. *lioqo* 'ein weißgestreifter Seefisch' - see Doerfer MT 144 (suggesting Mong. < TM). It may well be that the original shape should be reconstructed as **luk(ʿ)a* > Mong. **laka*, TM **lok(ij)a*, Jpn. **nakatai* - with TM **laka* being secondarily borrowed from Mong. Note that the Mong. form is also borrowed in Turkic: Turkm. *laGGa balɨq*, Uzb. *laqqa baliq* ʿsheat-fish'.

✱**lȁkʿa (~ *Í-)** a k. of plant with edible root: Tung. ***lāk-**; Jpn. ***nànkui**; Kor. ***nək-**.

PTung. ***lāk-** a k. of plant (with flowers and edible root) (вид растения (с цветами и съедобным корнем)): Ork. *lāqa* 'рогоз широколистый'; Nan. *lāqa* 'рогоз широколистый'; Orch. *nakki* 'назв. растения (травянистого, с длинными узкими листьями и синими цветами, со съедобным корнем)'; Ud. *nakki* 'назв. растения (прибрежной морской полосы, со съедобным корнем, напоминающим по вкусу брюкву)'.

◊ TMC 1, 487, 579.

PJpn. ***nànkui** 1 a k. of grass (pickerelweed, water mallow?) 2 a k. of onion (1 вид травы (водяная мальва?) 2 вид лука): OJpn. *nagi* 1; MJpn. *nàgì* 1; Tok. *négi* 2; Kyo. *nègî* 2; Kag. *negí* 2.

◊ JLTT 491, 495. Modern forms (attested since 18th c.) probably reflect a reinterpretation of the stem as a compound "root + onion" (**kui*), which explains also some accent irregularities.

PKor. ***nək-** roots and stalks (of water plants) (корни и стебли (водных растений)): MKor. *nəks*; Mod. *nəgər*.

◊ Nam 104, KED 329.

‖ An Eastern isogloss. Cf. perhaps also WMong. *naŋgi* 'water caltrop, water chestnut' (L 564), although the medial cluster is unclear.

✱**làkʿù** to bend, hang, hanger: Tung. ***laxu-**; Mong. ***naki-**; Jpn. ***nuki**; Kor. ***náks**.

PTung. ***laxu-** 1 to hang 2 hanger, cross-beam (for hanging) 3 harpoon rudder 4 harpoon point (1 вешать, подвешивать 2 вешалка, козлы (для вешания) 3 руль плавающего гарпуна 4 наконечник гарпуна): Evk. *laku-ča* 'loop'; Man. *laǵa-* 1, *laǵaqu* 2; SMan. *ĺaki-* 'to hang, to dangle' (1646); Ul. *laχu̯* 3; Ork. *lāχu̯* 4.

◊ TMC 1, 488, 501-502. The root should be distinguished from **loka-* (v. sub **luke).*

PMong. ***naki-** to bend (сгибать, наклонять): WMong. *naki-* (L 561); Kh. *naxij-*; Bur. *naxī-*; Kalm. *nakī-*.

◊ KW 270.

PJpn. ***nuki** cross-beam (балка, поперечная рейка): MJpn. *nuki*; Tok. *nuki*.

◊ Usually analysed as a deverbative from **núk-* 'to pass through' - but external evidence shows that this is rather a folk etymology.

PKor. ***náks** hook (крюк): MKor. *náks*; Mod. *nak:si*.

◊ Nam 94, KED 298.

‖ The original meaning was probably 'hook or (bent) stick for hanging smth.', which can well explain all the available reflexes. It is also possible to reconstruct a derivative **làkʿù-čV* 'smth. bent, curved' reflected in MKor. *náks* (< **nák-č*) and Evk. *laku-ča*.

✱**làlè** sticky substance: Tung. ***lala**; Mong. ***nila-**; Turk. ***jilik**; Jpn. ***nərì**.

PTung. ***lala** 1 gruel 2 (fish) slime (1 каша 2 слизь (на рыбе)): Evk. *nilli*, *ńalliγ*, *ńallikta* 2; Neg. *lala* 1; Man. *lala* 1; SMan. *lala* 1 (357); Ul. *lala* 1; Ork. *lala* 1; Nan. *lala* 1; Orch. *lala* 1; Ud. *lala* 1.

◊ Cf. also Nan. *lala-* 'to be smeared in blood'. TMC 1, 489, 593.

PMong. ***nila-** clingy, sticky substance; to smear, glue (липкое, клейкое вещество; мазать, прилипать): MMong. *nila-* 'to plaster' (MA); WMong. *nila-*, *nilča-* (L 583); Kh. *ńala-*, *ńalc-*; Bur. *nildaj-* 'be clingy, sticky'; Kalm. *nilā̄-*.

◊ KW 276.

PTurk. ***jilik** marrow (костный мозг): OTurk. *jilik* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jilik* (MK); Tur. *ilik*; Az. *ilik*; Turkm. *jilik*; Sal. *ileh* (ССЯ); MTurk. *jilik* (AH, Ettuhf.); Uzb. *ilik*; Uygh. *jilik*; Krm. *ilik*; Tat. *jelek*, *ʒelek*; Bashk. *jelek*; Kirgh. *ʒilik*; KBalk. *ʒilik*; KKalp. *žilik*; Kum. *jilik*; Nogh. *jilik*; Oyr. *ďilik*; Tv. *čilig*; Yak. *silī*.

◊ EDT 927, 928, VEWT 203, TMN 2, 214, ЭСТЯ 4, 265, Лексика 263. Turkm. and Uzb. dialectal *jülük* 'marrow' may reflect a contamination with **jülük* / **juluk* 'juice' q.v. sub **dilu*.

PJpn. ***nərì** rice starch; coagulated blood (рисовый крахмал; свернувшаяся кровь): OJpn. *nori*; MJpn. *nori*; Tok. *norí*; Kyo. *nórì*; Kag. *norí*.

◊ JLTT 500.

‖ Лексика 264. A rather usual fronting in Turk.: **jilik* < **jɨlɨk*.

✱**lalV** weak, exasperated: Tung. ***lali-**; Mong. ***nal-**, ***nalk-**; Turk. ***jalk-**.

PTung. ***lali-** be hungry, weak, exasperated (быть голодным, слабым, изнемочь): Neg. *lal-*; Man. *lala-*; Ork. *lallụ-*; Nan. *lalị-*; Orch. *lali-*; Ud. *lali-*.

◊ TMC 1, 489.

PMong. ***nal-**, ***nalk-** be faint, drowsy, weak (быть слабым, терять сознание): WMong. *nalqaji-*; (L 561:) *nalaji-* 'be slow, sluggish'; Kh. *nalxaj-*, *nalmi-gar*; Bur. *nalaj-* 2.

PTurk. ***jal-k-** to suffer pain, be nauseated, hate (чувствовать боль, тошноту, отвращение): Karakh. *jalq-* (MK); MTurk. *jalqɨ-* (Pav. C.); Yak. *sal-t-*.

◊ EDT 924, VEWT 183, ЭСТЯ 4, 14-15. Note that modern Kypch. and Sib.-Tat. forms meaning 'lazy, be lazy' (*jalqɨ-*, *ʒalqɨ-*) do not belong here but are rather borrowed < Mong. *ʒalka-* having a quite different origin (see under **ʒeĺo*). On the other hand, cf. the common Turkic derivative **jal-ta-*, perhaps reflected in the above Yak. form, as well as in Turkm. *jalta*, Shor *čaltak*, Khak. *čaltɨ* 'lazy', Tur. *jaltak* 'bootlicker' etc. (see ЭСТЯ 4, 101-102).

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**lami** convenient, helpful: Tung. ***nam**; Mong. ***limbaj**; Turk. ***jAmak**.

PTung. ***nam** convenient, skilled (удобный, удобно): Neg. *nam*; Ul. *nam*; Ork. *nam-nam*; Nan. *nam*; Orch. *nam*.

◊ TMC 1, 580.

PMong. ***limbaj** accurate, strict (аккуратный, точный): WMong. *nimbai* (L 584); Kh. *ńambaj*; Mongr. *lemben* 'agile, facile à manier' (SM 223).

PTurk. ***jAmak** helper (помощник): Tur. *jamak*; MTurk. *jamaɣ* (R).

◊ VEWT 184.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**lā́mo** a k. of bag: Tung. ***lam(b)a**; Mong. ***nambuga**; Turk. ***jĀmčɨk**; Kor. ***nȁmȁčh**.

PTung. ***lam(b)a** 1 saddlebag 2 bag 3 to saddle 4 saddle (1 вьюк 2 мешок, куль 3 седлать 4 седло): Evk. *lamba* 1 (dial. *nama*), *lamba-* 3, *nēme*, *nama* 4; Evn. *nam-* 3; Neg. *nama-* 3, *nāme* 4; Ork. *nama-*, *namba-* 3, *nēme* 4; Ud. *lamba* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 490, 580-581. Words meaning 'saddle' are somewhat divergent phonetically and may be actually borrowed from Mong. (cf. Mong. *nemne-* 'to cover with a horse-cloth', see under PA **nema*). Evk. *nama* > Dolg. *nama* (see Stachowski 184).

PMong. ***nambuga** a big leather bucket or sack (большой кожаный бурдюк): MMong. *nambuqa* (SH); WMong. *nambaɣa*, *nambuqu* (БАМРС); Kh. *nambaga*, *nambux* (БАМРС).

PTurk. ***jĀmčɨk > *jānčɨk** pocket, sash, bag (карман, мешочек, сумка): Karakh. *jančuq* (MK); Tur. *janǯɨk*; Turkm. *jānǯɨq*; Sal. *jenǯux*; MTurk. *jančuq* (Houts., AH); Uzb. *jɔnčiq*; Uygh. *jančuq*; Krm. *jančɨq*, *jančɨx*; Tat. *jančɨq*; Bashk. *jansɨq*; Kum. *jančiq*; Khak. *nančɨɣ*, *nandɨx*; Oyr. *jančɨq*, *d́ančɨq*; Tv. *čančɨq*.

◊ VEWT 185, EDT 945, ЭСТЯ 4, 118 (related to **jān* 'side' by folk-etymology). The old form is preserved in Osm. *jamčɨ* 'raincoat' etc. (VEWT 184, ЭСТЯ 4, 110; Turk. > Mong. *ǯamči, ǯaŋči).*

PKor. ***nȁmȁčh** small bag, pocket (мешочек, карман): MKor. *nȁmȁčh*, *nȁmȁs*.

◊ Nam 92.

‖ A derivative **lā́mo-čʿV* (or even **lā́mo-čʿV-kʿV*) can be reconstructed on the basis of PT **jĀm-čɨk* and PK **nȁmȁčh*. There seems to have existed a similar root with a medial cluster *-mb- and meaning a k. of vessel, reflected in Evk. *lamban* ʿscoop, ladle' and PJ **nampai*, OJ *nabe* ʿvessel, pan' (probably borrowed into Kor. *nampi* id.); a merger with this root may explain occasional -b- in TM and -b- in Mongolian.

✱**lȁmò (~ -a)** sea, wave: Tung. ***lāmu**; Mong. ***namug**; Jpn. ***nàmì**.

PTung. ***lāmu** 1 sea 2 wave (1 море 2 волна): Evk. *lāmu* 1; Evn. *nām*, *lām* 1; Neg. *lām* 1; Man. *namu* 1; Ul. *namụ* 1; Ork. *namụ* 1, *lamu* 2; Nan. *namụ*, *lamụ* 1; Orch. *nāmu* 1; Ud. *namu* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 490-491. Shortening in Nanai is not quite clear (for historical length cf. also Yak., Dolg. *lāmɨ* < TM, see Stachowski 173).

PMong. ***namug** marsh, swamp (болото): MMong. *namurqan* 'pool' (SH); WMong. *namuɣ*, *namaɣ* (L 563); Kh. *namag*; Bur. *namag*, *namarga*; Kalm. *naməg* (KPC).

◊ Mong. > Evk. *namargan* (TMC 1, 581).

PJpn. ***nàmì** wave (волна): OJpn. *namji*; MJpn. *nàmì*; Tok. *namí*; Kyo. *námì*; Kag. *namí*.

◊ JLTT 492.

‖ ОСНЯ 2, 30, Murayama 1962, 109 (Jpn.-TM). Cf. also Koguryo **nuami* 'pond, sea', see Lee 38, Menges 1984, 280-281.

✱**lǎŋi** dirt, slime: Tung. ***laŋga**; Mong. ***laj**; Jpn. ***nìnkər-**.

PTung. ***laŋga** cloggy, slimy substance; clammy (жижа, вязкая масса; вязкий, клейкий): Evn. *naŋga*; Neg. *laŋgas*; Ork. *laŋGaq*; Nan. *laŋaq*; Orch. *laŋga-*; Ud. *laŋga-laŋga*.

◊ TMC 1, 584.

PMong. ***laj** mud, dirt, silt (in a well or pond) (грязь, ил (в колодце или пруду)): WMong. *lai* (L 515); Kh. *laj*; Bur. *laj*.

◊ Sukhebaatar suggests borrowing from Chin. *lài* (meaning probably 瀨 'shallow place') which seems not quite plausible semantically.

PJpn. ***nìnkər-** be dreggy, muddy (быть грязным, с осадком): OJpn. *nigor-*; MJpn. *nìgòr-*; Tok. *nigór-*; Kyo. *nígór-*; Kag. *nìgòr-*.

◊ JLTT 735.

‖ PTM and PJ reflect a suffixed form **lǎŋi-kV*.

✱**láp´ì** flat, broad: Tung. ***lapta-**; Mong. ***labta-**; Turk. ***jap-**; Jpn. ***nípá**; Kor. ***nàp- / *nəp-**.

PTung. ***lapta-** 1 flat, level 2 fish fins (1 плоский, ровный, низкий 2 рыбьи плавники): Evk. *napta- / lapta-* 1; *lāpčā* 2; Evn. *napča*, *ńapča* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 494, 584.

PMong. ***labta-** to be flat, level, down (быть плоским, ровным, низким): WMong. *nabta-* (L 555); Kh. *navtgar*; Bur. *nabtar*; Dag. *lartagar* (Тод. Даг. 152).

PTurk. ***jap-** 1 to smooth, level 2 flat (1 выравнивать, сглаживать 2 плоский): Karakh. *japur-* (MK) 1; Az. *japɨG* 2; MTurk. *japalaq* 2 (R.); Uygh. *japilaq* 2; Krm. *japalaq* 2; Kirgh. *ǯapalaq* 2; Kum. *japalaq* 2; Tv. *čɨ´pɨt* 2.

◊ ЭСТЯ 4, 16-17, 130, EDT 879.

PJpn. ***nípá** yard (двор): OJpn. *nipa*; MJpn. *nífá*; Tok. *nìwa*; Kyo. *níwá*; Kag. *níwa*.

◊ JLTT 498.

PKor. ***nàp- / *nəp-** level, wide (ровный, широкий): MKor. *nàp- / nəp-*; Mod. *nap-čak*.

◊ Nam 99, 105, KED 311.

‖ SKE 160, Poppe 37, Цинциус 1984, 8. Despite Doerfer MT 97, hardly borrowed in TM < Mong. The root should be distinguished from **li̯apʿe* 'leaf'.

✸**lā́ŕgu** sloppy job: Tung. ***largī**; Mong. ***nargi-**; Turk. ***jạ̄ŕ-**; Jpn. ***núká-r-**; Kor. ***nòrā́s**.

PTung. ***largī** 1 diligent, pleasant 2 disorder, commotion (1 усердный, старательный 2 беспорядок, суматоха): Evk. *largī* 2; Man. *largin* 2; SMan. *ĺarixin* 'troublesome, complicated' (2003); Ul. *larGị* 1, 2; Nan. *largịã* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 494. Man. > Dag. *largin* 'disorder' (Тод. Даг. 152).

PMong. ***nargi-** to carouse (кутить, веселиться): WMong. *nargi-* (L 565); Kh. *nargi-*; Bur. *naŕja-* 'rattle, din, make noise'; *nerjē(n)* 'noisy discussion, thunder'; Ord. *nargil-* 'chirp, chirrup (of birds)'.

PTurk. ***jạ̄ŕ-** to miss, sin (промахиваться, грешить): OTurk. *jaz-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jaz-* (MK); Tur. *jazɨk* (n.); Gag. *jazɨq* (n.); Az. *jazɨG* (n.); Turkm. *jāz-*, *jāzɨq* (n.); MTurk. *jaz-* (Pav. C., AH); Uzb. *jɔz-*; Tat. *jaz-*; Bashk. *jaδ-*; Kirgh. *ǯaz-*; Kaz. *žaz-*; KBalk. *ǯaz-*; KKalp. *žaz-*; Kum. *jazɨq* (n.); Nogh. *jazɨq* (n.); Khak. *čas-*; Oyr. *jas-*, *ḋas-*; Tv. *čas-*; Yak. *sīs-*; Dolg. *hīs-*.

◊ VEWT 193 (should be distinguished from **āŕ-*), ЭСТЯ 4, 72-73, TMN 4, 162, EDT 983-984, Stachowski 121.

PJpn. ***núká-r-** to miss, misbehave, make a faux pas (допускать оплошность, промах): MJpn. *núká-r-*; Tok. *nùkar-*; Kyo. *núkár-*; Kag. *nukár-*.

◊ JLTT 738.

PKor. ***nòrā́s** 1 fun 2 work (1 забава 2 работа): MKor. *nòrā́s* 1; Mod. *norɨt* [*norɨs*] 2.

◊ Nam 111, KED 341.

‖ Cf. also Mong. *nerme* 'to make worse'. Reason for closed *-ạ̄- in Turkic is not quite clear.

✸**lā̀tʿá (~ Í-)** wave, storm: Tung. ***lāta**; Jpn. ***nàntá**.

PTung. ***lāta** 1 storm 2 wave (1 шторм 2 волна): Ork. *lāta* 1; Nan. *lāta* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 495.

PJpn. ***nàntá** open sea (открытое море): OJpn. *nada*; MJpn. *nada*; Tok. *náda*; Kyo. *nádà*; Kag. *náda*.

◊ JLTT 490. Accent is not quite clear: most probably **nà(n)tá* (> Tok. *náda*, with a further accent borrowing in Kyoto and Kagoshima).

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss.

✸**laǯV** heavy, clumsy: Tung. ***laǯu**; Mong. ***noǯo-**.

PTung. ***laǯu** heavy, clumsy (тяжелый, неуклюжий): Man. *laǯu*.

◊ TMC 1, 486-487.

PMong. ***noʒo-** to be heavy, clumsy (быть тяжелым, неуклюжим): WMong. *noʒoɣora-* (БАМРС); Kh. *noʒō-ro-*; Bur. *nozog-*.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss. Attested only in Manchu, and could be a loanword from some Mong. dialect preserving *l-, thus rather uncertain.

✱**lebV (~ -p-)** to eat greedily: Tung. ***lebge-**; Mong. ***labsi-**.

PTung. ***lebge-** to eat greedily (жадно есть): Neg. *lebge-*; Ul. *legbe-*; Nan. *legbeči-*; Ud. *legbe-*.

◊ TMC 1, 514.

PMong. ***labsi-** to eat greedily (жадно есть): WMong. *labsi-* (L 513); Kh. *lawši-*.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. expressive isogloss. In PTM cf. also **labada-* 'to grasp with teeth', **lupku-* 'to suck'.

✱**lèja** to go out, break forth: Tung. ***lēj- (*lī-)**; Mong. ***niɣe-**; Jpn. ***nà-r- / *nà-s-**; Kor. ***ná-**.

PTung. ***lēj- (*lī-)** to open (открывать): Evk. *nī-*; Neg. *nī-*; Man. *nej-*; SMan. *li-* (557, 1687); Ul. *ńī-*; Ork. *ńī-*; Nan. *ńi-xeli-*; Orch. *ńī-*; Ud. *ŋīgi-*, *nê-ntile-*.

◊ TMC 1, 588.

PMong. ***niɣe-** to open (открывать): MMong. *ni'e-* (HY 17), *ne'e-* (SH), *ni-* (MA); WMong. *nege-*, *negege-* (L 568); Kh. *nē-*; Bur. *nē-*; Kalm. *nē-*; Ord. *nē-*; Dag. *nē-* (Тод. Даг. 157, MD 196); Dong. *nie-*; Bao. *nē-*; S.-Yugh. *nī-*; Mongr. *nē-* (SM 272).

◊ KW 275-276, MGCD 502.

PJpn. ***nà-r- / *nà-s-** 1 to be born, become 2 to bear, bring forth (1 рождаться, становиться 2 рождать, создавать): OJpn. *nar-* 1, *nas-* 2; MJpn. *nàr-* 1, *nàs-* 2; Tok. *nár-* 1, *nás-* 2; Kyo. *nàr-* 1, *nàs-* 2; Kag. *nàr-* 1, *nàs-* 2.

◊ JLTT 733.

PKor. ***ná-** to go out, break forth (выходить, вырываться): MKor. *ná-*; Mod. *na-*.

◊ Nam 86, KED 286.

‖ EAS 76, KW 276, Владимирцов 212, Poppe 39, Rozycki 162 (Mong.-Tung.), Martin 225-226. In MKor. cf. also *nath-* 'to become, appear' - a derivative?

✱**lèjkʿá** to intend, demand: Tung. ***leKe-**; Mong. ***neke-**; Jpn. ***niànkà-p-**; Kor. ***njə̀kí- / *nə̀ikí-**.

PTung. ***leKe-** 1 to be busy with smth. 2 to intend 3 to demand (1 заниматься чем-л. 2 намереваться 3 требовать): Evk. *ńeke-* 1, 2; Evn. *ńek-* 1, 2; Neg. *ńexe-* 1, 2; Man. *lexe-* 3; Nan. *leksir-* 'to come true (of a premonition)' (?); Orch. *ńē-* 1; Ud. *ńexe-* 1, 2.

◊ TMC 1, 515, 651-652. In Manchu cf. also the derivatives: *lexe-me xexe* 'prostitute, whore', *lexe-le* (*šuj*) 'illegitimate, born of a whore', whence WMong. *nekelei*, Kh. *nexlij*, Kalm. *nekəlē* id. (see Rozycki 150).

PMong. ***neke-** 1 to pursue, follow 2 to demand (1 преследовать, гнаться, следовать 2 требовать): MMong. *neke-* 1 (SH, HYt); WMong. *neke-* (L 572); Kh. *nexe-* 1,2; Bur. *nexe-* 1,2; Kalm. *nekə-* 1,2; Ord. *neχe-* 2; Dag. *negĕ-* (Тод. Даг. 157), *nehe* 1 (MD 196).

◊ KW 274.

PJpn. ***niànkà-p-** to wish, demand (желать, требовать): OJpn. *negap-*; MJpn. *nègàf-*, *nègáf-*; Tok. *negá-*; Kyo. *négá-*; Kag. *nègà-*.

◊ JLTT 734.

PKor. ***njèkí- / *nəikí-** to consider, regard (считать, рассматривать, предполагать): MKor. *nàkí-*, *njəki-*, *nəiki-*; Mod. *jəgi-*.

◊ Nam 103, 106, KED 1161. Cf. also *nákí-hă-*, mod. *nägi-ha-* (Nam 86, KED 316) 'to bet, gamble'.

‖ KW 274, EAS 76, Poppe 39, 56, АПиПЯЯ 78. Korean has a "verbal" low tone. The medial cluster with *-j- is in this case responsible for some peculiar reflexes: diphthongs both in Jpn. and Kor. and the palatalized initial reflexes (*Í-?) in TM languages. Despite Doerfer MT 51, TM cannot be borrowed from Mong, and - despite Rozycki 150 - Mong. cannot be borrowed from TM. Doerfer (TMN 1, 531) argues fervently against the Mong.-Kor. comparison ("Ramstedt verstößt hier gegen seine eigenen Prinzipien. Man kann das kor. Wort [nəgi-, njəgi- in Ramstedt's transcription] natürlich nicht mit dem mo. vergleichen, wenn man (cf. RAM 85!) ursprachlich -k- = mo. -k- = kor. -k-,-kh- ansetzt."), evidently unaware that modern Kor. -g- is a phonetic variant of -k- in intervocalic position.

✱**lélugV** kerchief, pendant: Tung. ***lelu(ke)**; Mong. ***nolga**; Turk. ***jaglɨk**; Kor. ***nòríkái**.

PTung. ***lelu(ke)** 1 apron, corsage 2 gore, gusset (1 нагрудник, передник 2 ширинка (подмышечная часть у панциря)): Evk. *nel* 1; Evn. *nel* 1; Neg. *leleke* 1; Man. *leli* 2; Ul. *lelue* 1; Ork. *nolu* ~ *nelu* 1; Nan. *lelū* 1; Orch. *leli* 1; Ud. *leli* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 619.

PMong. ***nolga** shaman's adornment (украшение шамана): WMong. *nolγa* (L 595: *nulqa*); Kh. *nolgo*.

PTurk. ***jaglɨk** kerchief (платок): Tur. *jaγlɨk*; Gag. *jālɨq*; Az. *jajlɨG*; Turkm. *jaγlɨq*, dial. *jālɨq*; Uygh. *jaγliq*; Krm. *jaγlɨq*; Tat. *jawlɨq*; Bashk. *jawlɨq*; Kirgh. *šōluq*; Kaz. *žawlɨq*; KKalp. *žawlɨq*; Kum. *jawluq*; Nogh. *jawlɨq*; Chuv. *śulъk*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 4, 61 (with Turkm. *jāGlɨq*), Мудрак 27, Ашм. XII, 224, Федотов 2, 132-133. Derivation from **jag* 'fat' (TMN 4, 179) seems quite improbable.

PKor. ***nòríkái** smth. worn on the belt (предмет, подвешиваемый к поясу): MKor. *nòríkái*; Mod. *norigä*.

◊ Liu 156, KED 341.

‖ In Kor. the word also means 'plaything', and is usually derived < *nōr-* 'to play'; external evidence shows that the derivation is rather opposite ('to play' < 'to fondle with a pendant').

✱**lēmo** fresh, raw; vegetables: Mong. ***lamaɣa**; Turk. ***jẹ̄miĺč**; Jpn. ***nàmâ**; Kor. ***nǎ̀mǎ̀rh**.

PMong. ***lamaɣa** leaf (of some plants) (лист (некоторых растений)): MMong. *laba* (IM) 'leaf'; WMong. *namaɣa* (L 562), *namči*; Kh. *namā*; Bur. *namā*; Kalm. *namčə* (KPC); Ord. *namā*; Mog. *nōm* (Ramstedt 1906); Dag. *lavā* 'petal'.

◊ The root should be distinguished from **labči* (v. sub **lị̀ap'[à]*). Mong. > Yak. *labā* 'branch' (possibly through Evk. *lawā* id., see Poppe 1961, 130, TMC 1, 485), although Kalm. *namčə* may be a contamination of two roots.

PTurk. ***jẹ̄miĺč** vegetable, fruit (овощи, фрукты): OTurk. *jemiš* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jemiš* (MK); Tur. *jemiš*; Az. *jemiš*; Turkm. *ijmiš*; MTurk. *jemiš* (Sangl.); Uygh. *jemiš*; Tat. *jimeš*; Bashk. *jemeš*; Kirgh. *ǯimeš*; Kaz. *žemĭs*; KBalk. *ǯemiš*; KKalp. *žemis*; Khak. *nimĭs*; Tv. *čemiš* 'nut kernel'; Chuv. *śimə́ś*.

◊ EDT 938, VEWT 197. Turk. > MMong. (HY) *ǯemiši* (see Clark 1980, 42), Hung. *gyümölcs* (Gombocz 1912).

PJpn. ***nàmâ** fresh, raw (свежий, сырой): OJpn. *nama*; MJpn. *nama*; Tok. *náma*; Kyo. *nàmâ*; Kag. *namá*.

◊ JLTT 491.

PKor. ***nǎ̀mǎ̀rh** vegetables, greens (овощи, зелень): MKor. *nǎ̀mǎ̀r* (*nǎ̀mǎ̀rh-*); Mod. *namul*.

◊ Nam 92, KED 289.

‖ Martin 232 (Kor.-Jpn.). The Turkic word is traditionally analysed as 'food' (< **jē-* 'eat' < PA **ǯē* q.v.), but this may well be a reinterpretation.

✱**lemV** meat, fat (of animals): Tung. ***lemuk**; Mong. ***lami-**; Turk. ***jạm-**.

PTung. ***lemuk** fat (under the skin of animals) (сало (под кожей у животных)): Evk. *lemuk*; Evn. *нетък*; Neg. *lemux*; Ul. *нети*; Ork. *нети*; Ud. *leme* 'in pieces (of fat)' (Корм. 257).

◊ TMC 1, 516-517.

PMong. ***lami-** meat on sheep's rump (мясо на крестце у барана): WMong. *namilqai* (MXTTT); Kh. *namilxaj*; Mongr. *lanʒin* 'cuisse' (SM 220).

PTurk. ***jạm-** 1 groin 2 pubic hair (1 пах 2 волосы в паху): OTurk. *jamɨz* (OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *jamɨz* (MK) 1, *jamdu* (MK) 2 (EDT: *jemdü*);

Tur. *jamɨz* (dial.) 1; Az. *janbɨz* 'side, hip'; Turkm. *jamɨz* 1; MTurk. *jambuz* 1 (R.); Tat. *jamɨs* (dial.) 1; KBalk. *ǯamɨz* 1; Nogh. *jamɨz* 1; Yak. *sɨmɨs* 1.

◊ VEWT 184, EDT 935, 940, ЭСТЯ 4, 110-111. Turk. > MMong. (MA) *ǯamiz* (Щербак 1997, 122).

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**leńa** to incline, sway, shake: Tung. ***leŋgī-**; Mong. ***naji-(gu)-**; Turk. ***jAń-ka-**.

PTung. ***leŋgī-** to bow, incline (наклоняться, склоняться): Evk. *neŋī-*, *neŋe-*; Evn. *neŋ-*; Neg. *neŋiŋ-*; Ork. *leŋge-*; Nan. *leŋge-* 'to pray'; Ud. *neŋi* 'a bent tree'.

◊ TMC 1, 623.

PMong. ***naji-** to shake, sway, hang over (качаться, раскачиваться, свешиваться): WMong. *najiɣu-*, *najilǯa-* (L 558, 559); Kh. *najga-*; Bur. *najga-*.

◊ Mong. > Man. *najχu-* id. (see Rozycki 161).

PTurk. ***jAńka-** to shake, bring into motion (качать(ся), приводить в движение): OTurk. *jajqa-n-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jajqa-l-* (MK); Tur. *ja-jka-*; Turkm. *jajqa-*; MTurk. *jajqa-l-* (Sangl., Pav. C.); Uygh. (dial.) *jajqa-*; Krm. *jajqa-*; Kirgh. *ǯajqa-*; Kaz. *žajqal-*; Nogh. *jajqa-l-*; Khak. *čajxa-*, dial. *najxal-*; Oyr. *ďajqa-*, dial. *ďajɣa-*; Tv. *ča'jɣa-*; Tof. *ča'jha-* (Рас. ФиЛ 77).

◊ ОСНЯ 3, 58-59, ЭСТЯ 4, 77-78, EDT 981. PT **jańka-* is usually treated as derived from **jāj-* 'to shake, rinse' (see e.g. ЭСТЯ 4, 75-76, EDT ibid.), but the latter does not seem to show any traces of nasal and may be separately compared with Mong. *ǯaji-lu-* 'to rinse', *ǯaji-mu-* 'to shake, stir', see KW 471.

‖ EAS 75, Владимирцов 369, ОСНЯ 3, 58-60. A Western isogloss. Borrowing in Mong. from Turk. is quite improbable, despite Щербак 1997, 121.

✱**lépù(-nV) (~ -b-)** swamp: Tung. ***lebē(n)-**; Mong. ***labku, *lobku**; Jpn. ***númà**; Kor. ***nɨp(h)**.

PTung. ***lebē(n)-** 1 swamp, marsh 2 to poach (in a swamp) (1 болото, топь 2 вязнуть (в болоте)): Evk. *lewē* 1, *lewē-* 2; Evn. *liwin* 1; Neg. *lewē* 1, *lewē-* 2; Man. *lebeŋgi* 1; Ul. *liwe-* 2; Ork. *lemu(ne)* 1, *lemu-*, *liwe-* 2; Nan. *liwe-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 514.

PMong. ***labku, *lobku** marshy ground (влажная, болотистая почва): WMong. *labqu*, *labqan* (L 514), *lobqu* (L 517); Kh. *lavx*, *lovx*; Kalm. *lowxə* (KPC).

PJpn. ***númà** swamp, marsh (болото): OJpn. *numa*; MJpn. *númà*; Tok. *numá*; Kyo. *númà*; Kag. *núma*.

◊ JLTT 502.

PKor. ***nɨp(h)** swamp, marsh (болото): Mod. *nɨp* [*nɨph*].

◊ KED 376.

‖ Martin 236, Whitman 1985, 25, TMC 1, 514. Jpn. **númà* < **núbà-n*, with normal regressive dissimilation.

✱**lép´ó (~ *Í-)** to rise, high: Tung. ***lep- / *lupu-**; Jpn. ***nə́mpə́r-**; Kor. ***nòph-**.

PTung. ***lep- / *lupu-** 1 to raise hands 2 to jump out 3 to move out 4 to pull out (1 поднимать руки 2 выскочить, вылететь 3 выходить, проникать 4 вытащить): Evk. *lupū-* 3, *luptu-* 4; Neg. *lepujiken-* 2; Man. *lebkide-* 1; Ul. *lupurum* 4; Nan. *lopto-* 4; Ud. *lopto-* 4.

◊ TMC 1, 511-512, 514.

PJpn. ***nə́mpə́r-** to rise (подниматься): OJpn. *nobor-*; MJpn. *nóbór-*; Tok. *nòbor-*; Kyo. *nóbór-*; Kag. *nobór-*.

◊ JLTT 736.

PKor. ***nòph-** to be high, elevated (быть высоким, приподнятым): MKor. *nòph-*; Mod. *nop-* [*noph-*].

◊ Nam 113, KED 352.

‖ Martin 1996, 98. An Eastern isogloss.

✱**lígà (~ *Í-)** to weep, cry: Tung. ***ligi-**; Turk. ***jɨ̄g-(la-)**; Jpn. ***nák-**.

PTung. ***ligi-** to snore (храпеть): Evk. *liɣirī-*; Evn. *nī̯ɣri̯-*; Neg. *li̯ɣī-*; Ork. *lī̯-*.

◊ TMC 1, 497.

PTurk. ***jɨ̄g-(la-)** to weep, cry (плакать): OTurk. *ɨɣ-la-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *ɨɣla-*, *jɨɣla-* (MK), *jɨɣla-* (KB); Turkm. *āɣ-la-*; MTurk. *jɨɣla-* (Sangl.); Uygh. *aɣla-*; Tat. *jɨla-*; Kaz. *žɨla-*; KBalk. *zɨla-*; KKalp. *žɨla-*; Kum. *jila-*; SUygh. *jiɣla-*; Khak. ɨ̄; Shr. *ɨlɣa-*; Oyr. *ɨjla-*.

◊ VEWT 8, ЭСТЯ 1, 79-81.

PJpn. ***nák-** to weep, cry (плакать): OJpn. *nak-*; MJpn. *nák-*; Tok. *nàk-*; Kyo. *nák-*; Kag. *nák-*.

◊ JLTT 731.

‖ Cf. Kor. *nɨk:i-da* 'to weep' (with unclear vowel and gemination; see Martin 242).

✱**li̯ája** sound, to sound: Tung. ***leje- / *ńiaja- (< *liaja-)**; Mong. ***najita-**; Jpn. ***nái**.

PTung. ***leje- / *ńiaja- (< *liaja-)** 1 to shamanize 2 to sing (without rules and rhythm) (1 шаманить, петь во время камлания 2 шаманская песня 3 петь (без соблюдения правил музыки и меры)): Evk. *jaja-* 1; Evn. *ńāja-* 1; Neg. *jaja-* 1; Man. *leje-* 2; Ul. *jaja-* 1; Ork. *jāja-* 1; Nan. *jaja-* 1; Orch. *jaja-* 1; Ud. *jeä-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 338, 515.

PMong. ***najita-** to sneeze (чихать): MMong. *nəjta-* (LH); WMong. *najita-* (L 561); Kh. *najta-*; Bur. *najtā-*; Kalm. *nǟtəx-* (KPC); Ord. *nǟta-*; Dag. *naitə-* (Тод. Даг. 156: *naitā-*); Dong. *naita-*; Bao. *nitə-*; S.-Yugh. *naitā-*; Mongr. *nāta-* (SM 269), *naitā-*.

◊ MGCD 498.

PJpn. ***nái** sound (звук): OJpn. *ne*; MJpn. *ne*; Tok. *nè*; Kyo. *nȅ*; Kag. *né*.

◊ JLTT 495. OJ *na-r-* 'to sound' is probably derived from this root (and not related to **nia̯uru*, despite Martin 241).

‖ An onomatopoeic root; seems, however, be well enough reconstructable for PA.

✱**lia̯àmba (~ *Í-, -o)** a k. of big fish: Tung. ***liamba-***; Jpn. ***nàmà(n)tù**.

PTung. ***liamba-** 1 salmon 2 fish (1 лосось 2 рыба): Evk. *lêmba* 1; Man. *nimaxa* 2; SMan. *niməhā* 2 (331, 2174); Jurch. *limwa-xa* (163) 2; Ul. *ńimu̯* 1; Ork. *loima* 'trout'; Nan. *imaχa* 2, *ńimo* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 496, 501.

PJpn. ***nàmà(n)tù** sheat-fish (сом): MJpn. *nàmàdù*; Tok. *nàmazu*; Kyo. *námàzù*; Kag. *namazú*.

◊ JLTT 492. The Tokyo accent is aberrant (pointing rather to LHH).

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss; but cf. perhaps also Khak. *nomza* 'dace' (< **jom-*); Tat. *jumba*, *ǯumba* 'burbot' (VEWT 210).

✱**lia̯àp´[à]** leaf: Mong. ***labči**; Turk. ***japur-gak**; Jpn. ***nàpài**; Kor. ***níph**.

PMong. ***labči** leaf (лист): MMong. *nabučin* (HY 7), *nabčin* (MA), *nabčīn* (Lig.VMI); WMong. *nabči(n)* (L 555); Kh. *navč*; Bur. *nabša*; Kalm. *napčə*; Ord. *nabči*; Dag. *larči* (Тод. Даг. 152), *lariči* (MD 185) 1; Dong. *lačən*; Bao. *labčoŋ*; S.-Yugh. *łabǯəg*; Mongr. *la(b)śʒi* (SM 218), (MGCD *labǯi*).

◊ KW 272, MGCD 497. Mong. > Evk. *napči*, see Doerfer MT 127.

PTurk. ***japur-gak** leaf (лист): OTurk. *japɨrɣaq* (OUygh.); Karakh. *japurɣaq* (MK); Tur. *japrak*; Gag. *japraq*; Az. *jarpaG*; Turkm. *japraq*; Sal. *järfɨχ*; MTurk. *japɨrɣan* (Abush.), *j[a]praq* (MA); Uzb. *japrɔq*; Uygh. *jopurmaq*; Krm. *japrax*; Tat. *jafraq*; Bashk. *japraq*; Kirgh. *ǯalbɨraq*; Kaz. *žapɨraq*; KBalk. *čapraq*; KKalp. *žapɨraq*; Kum. *japraq*; Nogh. *japɨraq*; Oyr. *ďalbɨraq*; Tv. *čövüree* 'bark'; Tof. *čö'prää* 'bark'; Yak. *sebirdex*; Dolg. *hebirdek*.

◊ VEWT 188, EDT 879-80, ЭСТЯ 4, 130-132, Лексика 111-112, Stachowski 100. Clauson derives **japur-gak* from **japur-* 'to smoothe, level', which is an obvious contamination - just as the contamination with **jalpɨ-* 'flat' (v. sub **dȅlp´à*) in some languages.

PJpn. ***nàpài** sprout (росток): OJpn. *nape*; MJpn. *nàfè*; Tok. *náe*; Kyo. *nàé*; Kag. *naé*.

◊ JLTT 490. Both Tokyo and Kyoto point to a variant **nàpái* (Kagoshima is ambiguous).

PKor. ***níph** leaf (лист): MKor. *níp* (*níph-*); Mod. *ip* [*iph*].

◊ Nam 126, KED 1370.

‖ EAS 75, KW 272, Владимирцов 369, Poppe 37, 44, АПиПЯЯ 19, 42, 282, Лексика 112. The Kor. vowel is probably secondary (pointing to a variant **lia̯àp´e*).

✸**li̯apʿV** spleen: Tung. ***lipče**; Mong. ***niɣalta**; Turk. ***japal**.

PTung. ***lip-če** spleen (селезенка): Ork. *lipče*.

◊ TMC 1, 499.

PMong. ***niɣalta** spleen (of animals) (селезенка (животных)): WMong. *niɣalta* (L 557: *naɣalta*); Kh. *nālt*; Bur. *ńālta*; Ord. *nālta*.

PTurk. ***japal** spleen (селезенка): Tv. *čavana*, Todzh. (Рас. ФиЛ, 194) *čɨ'val*; Tof. *ča'pʿal*.

◊ An isolated Sayan root.

‖ A Western isogloss. Very scantily represented in Turkic and TM, but probably archaic.

✸**li̯ŏga** green, dark: Tung. ***ĺog-**; Mong. ***nogoɣan**; Turk. ***jạgɨŕ**; Jpn. ***nà**; Kor. ***nò-nắ-**.

PTung. ***ĺog-** 1 green 2 dark (1 зеленый 2 темный): Evk. *lugdume* 2; Evn. *nuɣde*, *ńeɣčeńe*, *ńevčeńe* 2; Man. *ńowaŋǵan* 1; SMan. *ńuŋ́an*, *niŋəńan* 1 (2421); Jurch. *nioŋ-gian* (616) 1; Ul. *ńogǯo(n)* 1; Ork. *ńōgdo* 1; Nan. *noŋǵā̄(n)* 1.

◊ See TMC 1, 506, 650, 601-603 (some of the forms there are obviously < Mong., but the ones listed above are hardly borrowed).

PMong. ***nogoɣan** green; vegetables (зеленый): MMong. *noxo'an* (HY 41), *noqo'an* (SH), *nuɣan* (MA); WMong. *noguɣan* (L 588); Kh. *nogōn*; Bur. *nogōn*; Kalm. *noɣān*; Ord. *noGōn*; Dag. *nugā* (Тод. Даг. 158), *nuguo*; *nuā(n)* (MD 200); Dong. *noGon*, *noɣon*; Bao. *noGoŋ*; S.-Yugh. *noɣōn*; Mongr. *noGōn* (SM 281), *nuGōn*.

◊ KW 278, MGCD 511.

PTurk. ***jạgɨŕ** brown (бурый): OTurk. *jaɣɨz* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jaɣɨz* (MK); Tur. *jaɣɨz*, *jaɨz*; Gag. *jāz*; Turkm. *jaɣɨz*; MTurk. *jaɣɨz* (AH), *jowuz* (Ettuhf.); Kum. *jawuz*; Chuv. *śɨr(ъ)*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 4, 64-65, EDT 909. Despite Poppe 61, Владимирцов 267 and Clauson (EDT 909) Mong. *dajir* 'brown' - with which they would like to compare the Turkic form - does not exist.

PJpn. ***nà** greens, vegetables (овощи, зелень): OJpn. *na*; Tok. *ná*.

◊ JLTT 490.

PKor. ***nò-nắ-** light yellow (светло-желтый): MKor. *nònắ-*.

◊ Nam 110.

‖ KW 278, АПиПЯЯ 293, Poppe 38, Doerfer MT 56-57 (Tung.-Mong.). Kor. reflects a form with an -n-suffix and has a usual verbal low tone.

✸**li̯òmù** bow: Tung. ***liam-**; Mong. ***lumu**; Turk. ***jüm-**; Jpn. ***dùmì**.

PTung. ***liam-** 1 bow 2 to shoot (1 лук 2 стрелять): Evk. *nēmkī* 1, (Sym. arch.) *lêman* 'loop of a bow string'; Evn. *nā̄m* 'bow-string', *nemkъn* 'shooting'; Neg. *nemku-* 1; Ork. *lajmatčị* 'strap for tying together parts of harpoon'.

◊ TMC 1, 496, 620-621.

PMong. ***lumu** bow (лук): MMong. *питип* (HY 18), *пити* (SH), *поти* (IM), *пйти* (MA); WMong. *пити(п)* (L 595); Kh. *пот*, *пит*; Bur. *пото*; Kalm. *питп̣*, *потп̣*; Ord. *пити*; Dag. *пет* (Тод. Даг. 157); S.-Yugh. *nəmən*; Mongr. *luтu* (SM 227) (MGCD *пити*).

◊ KW 279, 281, MGCD 518.

PTurk. ***jüm-** bow, arrow (лук, стрела): Chuv. *śəʷmren*, *śəʷməʷrlen*.

◊ Федотов 2, 108-109.

PJpn. ***dùmì** bow (лук): OJpn. *jumji*; MJpn. *jùmì*; Tok. *yumí*; Kyo. *yúmì*; Kag. *yùmí*.

◊ JLTT 579.

‖ The Jpn. word is hard to separate; initial d- is probably due to influence of **da* 'arrow'. If this is the case, one would be also tempted to compare PTM **lukī* 'arrow' and PJ **duki* 'quiver' - with exactly the same Anlaut correlation.

✱**lḭòŋè** a k. of insect: Tung. ***loŋ-**; Mong. ***newne, *neɣüne**; Jpn. ***nəmì (~ -ua-, -ui)**.

PTung. ***loŋ-** butterfly (бабочка): Ud. *loŋto*.

◊ TMC 1, 504. Attested only in Ud., with possible external parallels.

PMong. ***newne, *neɣüne** lady bug (божья коровка): WMong. *neüne* (MXTTT); Kh. *nṹne*.

PJpn. ***nəmì (~ -ua-, -ui)** flea (блоха): Tok. *nomí*; Kyo. *nómì*; Kag. *nomí*.

◊ JLTT 500.

‖ The root is not well attested and somewhat insecure, denoting some small insect (bug or butterfly). But the correspondences are regular and the match seems possible.

✱**lḭùbu (~ -ḭa-)** resin, clay, dirt: Tung. ***lū**; Mong. ***luw-**; Jpn. ***nì (~ *nù-i)**.

PTung. ***lū** 1 resin, gum 2 to fill holes, crevices with resin (1 смола, вар 2 просмаливать): Evk. *lū* 1, *lū-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 506.

PMong. ***luw-** eye pus (глазной гной): WMong. *luuqa* (L 518), *nuuqa*; Kh. *lūx*, *nūx*; Bur. *nūtaj-* 'быть заплывшим (о глазах)'; Kalm. *lox* (KPC), *nūx*; Ord. *lūxa*, *nūxa*; Dag. *laug*, (Тод. Даг. 152: *lōgo*); Mongr. *nauxa*, *log*.

◊ KW 282, MGCD 473.

PJpn. ***nì (~ *nù-i)** earth, dirt; red clay (земля, грязь; красная глина): OJpn. *ni*; MJpn. *nì*; Tok. *ni*.

◊ JLTT 496.

‖ JOAL 102, 1981, 853 (attracting also OJ *núr-* 'to paint', which seems less plausible because of tone incongruence with **nì*; on its etymology see **nḭúŕe*).

✱**lu̯u[k]u** thick, dense: Tung. ***lōgdi, *luku(tu)**; Mong. ***nigta / *lüg / *lug**; Turk. ***jigi / *jɨgɨ**.

PTung. ***lōgdi, *luku(tu)** thick, dense (густой, плотный): Evk. *lōgdi*, *luku*; Evn. *nōγ*, *nu̯qtị*; Neg. *logdị*, *loxo*; Man. *loqdi*, *luqdu*, *luku*; SMan. *lukə* (2078); Ul. *loGdo*, *lugdi*, *loko*; Ork. *lugǯi*, *lukku*; Nan. *loGdị*, *lugǯi*; Orch. *loko*, *luku*; Ud. *logbo-logbo*, *luktu*.

◊ TMC 1, 501, 508, 509, 609.

PMong. ***nigta / *lüg / *lug** thick, dense (густой, плотный): WMong. *niγta* (L 578), *lüg* (L 518), *luγ*; Kh. *ńagt*, *lüg*; Bur. *nigta*; Kalm. *niktə*; Ord. *nigta*.

◊ KW 276. Mong. > Tat. *niq*, Chuv. *nъγъ* (Róna-Tas 1973-1974).

PTurk. ***jigi / *jɨgɨ** thick, dense (густой, плотный): OTurk. *jigi* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jigi* (MK); Tur. *jɨγɨ*; Turkm. *jɨγɨ*; Kaz. *žiji*; KKalp. *žiji*; Nogh. *jɨjɨ*; Oyr. *jik*; Tv. *čɨ'q*.

◊ EDT 911, VEWT 202, ЭСТЯ 4, 272.

‖ A Western isogloss. An expressive form with somewhat irregular correspondences; however, despite Doerfer MT 51, TM cannot be explained as borrowed from Mong.

✱**lu̯ŭk´a (~ -u)** seam, to stitch: Tung. ***luK-**; Mong. ***log-si-**; Turk. ***jīk**.

PTung. ***luK-** 1 to sew in (ornaments) 2 to prick (1 вшивать (полоски меха для украшения) 2 вкалывать, вонзать): Evk. *luktu-* 1; Man. *nuqa-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 508, 608.

PMong. ***log-si-** to stitch, sew (стегать, прошивать): WMong. *loγsi-* (L 517); Kh. *logši-*; Bur. *logši-*.

PTurk. ***jīk** seam (шов): Tat. *ǯek*, dial. *jek*; Bashk. *jek* (dial.); Kirgh. *ǯik*; Kaz. *žik*; KBalk. *ǯik*; KKalp. *žik*; Kum. *jik*; Khak. *čək*; Oyr. *jik*, *d́ik*; Yak. *sīk*.

◊ VEWT 195, 202, ЭСТЯ 4, 197-198, 257-258. The root should be distinguished from *jib q.v. sub **zu̯upi*.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**lu̯ŭmo (~ Í, -e)** to swallow, drink: Tung. ***lümŋe-**; Jpn. ***nə̀m-**; Kor. ***nəm-ku-**.

PTung. ***lümŋe-** to swallow (глотать): Evk. *nimŋe-*; Evn. *ńimŋъ-*; Neg. *nimŋe-*; Man. *nuŋgi-*, *nuŋge-*; SMan. *nuŋətə*, *nuŋutə* (402); Ul. *luŋbe-*; Ork. *numGe-*; Nan. *luŋbe-,lumge-*; Orch. *ńimme-*; Ud. *niŋme-*, *ńiŋme-*; Sol. *niŋe-*.

◊ TMC 1, 595.

PJpn. ***nə̀m-** drink (пить): OJpn. *nom-*; MJpn. *nòm-*; Tok. *nóm-*; Kyo. *nòm-*; Kag. *nóm-*.

◊ JLTT 737.

PKor. ***nəm-ku-** to swallow (глотать): Mod. *nəmgu-*.

◊ SKE 164.

‖ SKE 164, Poppe 74, Murayama 1962, 110, АПиПЯЯ 19, 69, 105-106, 274. An Eastern isogloss.

✱**lokʹo (~ -u-)** a cutting instrument: Tung. ***loxa**; Jpn. ***nə̀kə̂**.

PTung. ***loxa** sword, sabre (меч, сабля): Evk. *likučiūn*, *lukučiur*; Neg. *loxon*; Man. *loχo*; SMan. *lohə* (607, 812); Jurch. *lo-xo*; Ul. *loχo(n)*; Nan. *loχõ*; Orch. *loxo(n)*; Ud. *lō*.

◊ TMC 1, 509.

PJpn. ***nə̀kə̂** saw (пила): OJpn. *nop(w)ogjiri*; MJpn. *nòfôgìrì*; Tok. *nóko*, *nokogíri*; Kyo. *nòkô*, *nòkògírì*; Kag. *nokó*, *nokogirí*.

◊ JLTT 500. The OJ form with -p- is quite strange, perhaps a dialectal dissimilation (< *nokogjiri*); all modern forms quite uniformly have -k-.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss.

✱**lòŋé (~ -u-)** chisel, drill: Tung. ***luŋu**; Jpn. ***nə̀muí (~ -əi)**.

PTung. ***luŋu** drill (сверло): Neg. *loŋo*; Ul. *lūŋu*; Nan. *luŋu*; Orch. *loŋo*, *luŋu*; Ud. *loŋo*.

◊ TMC 1, 504.

PJpn. ***nə̀muí (~ -əi)** chisel, adze (долото): OJpn. *nomi*; MJpn. *nòmí*; Tok. *nómi*; Kyo. *nòmí*; Kag. *nomí*.

◊ JLTT 500.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss. Cf. perhaps Mong. **düji-le-* 'to shave' (WMong. *düil-*, L 279), which would make us reconstruct **ĺoŋe*.

✱**lopʹV** nest (of rodents): Tung. ***lopi(gi)**; Mong. ***nowkai**.

PTung. ***lopi(gi)** squirrel nest (беличье гнездо): Evk. *lopi* (dial. *lokī*); Neg. *lōbị*; Ul. *logbụ*; Nan. *lōbị*; Ud. *loi*.

◊ TMC 1, 505. Length in Nan. is compensatory.

PMong. ***nowkai** rodent nest (гнездо грызунов): WMong. *nouqai* (MXTTT); Kh. *nōxoj*; Bur. *nōxoj*.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**lŭge (~ -i)** bridle: Tung. ***luksi**; Turk. ***jügen**.

PTung. ***luksi** traces, central belt in a yoke-team (постромка, потяг (центральный ремень в оленьей упряжке)): Evk. *lukšipka*; Neg. *nusku*, *nuksi*; Ul. *nusku*; Ork. *nusku*; Nan. *luksur*; Orch. *nuksu*; Ud. *nuki*.

◊ TMC 1, 509.

PTurk. ***jügen** bridle (уздечка): Karakh. *jügön* (MK, IM); Tur. *ojan*; Az. *jüjän*; Turkm. *üjen*, *ujan*; MTurk. *ujan* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *jugan*; Uygh. *jügän*; Krm. *ijgen*, *jügen*; Tat. *jögän*; Bashk. *jügän*; Kirgh. *ʒügön*; Kaz. *žügen*; KBalk. *ʒügen*; KKalp. *žüwen*; Kum. *jügen*; Nogh. *jüwen*; SUygh. *juɣɨn* (ЯЖУ); Khak. *čügen*; Shr. *čügen*; Oyr. *üjgen*; Tv. *čüɣen*; Chuv. *jəʷven*; Yak. *ǖn*.

◊ VEWT 212, EDT 913, ЭСТЯ 1, 577, Егоров 77, Лексика 556.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**lúke** to bow, bend: Tung. ***loka-**; Mong. ***nugu-**; Turk. ***jükün-**; Jpn. ***nə́kí (~ -ua-)**.

PTung. ***loka-** 1 to hang 2 hanger, cross-beam (for hanging) (1 вешать 2 вешалка, вешала): Evk. *loko-* 1, *loko-ptin* 2; *lokso*, *lekse* 'knee'; Evn. *noq-* 1, *noqъm* 2; Neg. *loxo-* 1, *loxo-wun* 2; Ul. *lō-*, *lōqo-* 1, *lōpụ* 2; Ork. *lō-*, *loqqo-* 1, *lōno* 2; Nan. *lō-* 1, *lōčaqo* 2; Orch. *lō-* 1, *lōkońi*, *lōńi* 2; Ud. *loʿ-* 1 (Корм. 256); Sol. *loko-*, *loxo-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 501-502, 515.

PMong. ***nugu-** to bend (гнуться): WMong. *nuɣu-ra-* (L 595); Kh. *nugara-*, *nugal-*; Bur. *nugar-*, *nugal-* (caus.); Kalm. *nuɣər-*, *nuɣəl-* 'to bend, to separate bones at the joints' (KPC); Ord. *nuGul-*; Mongr. *nugurā-*, *noGlā-*.

◊ MGCD 517.

PTurk. ***jükün-** to bow (кланяться, склоняться): OTurk. *jükün-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *jükün-* (MK); Tur. *jüken-*, *jügün-* (dial.); MTurk. *jükün-* (AH, Ettuhf.); Uzb. *jukun-*; Uygh. *jükün-*; Krm. *jügün-*, *jugun-*; Tat. *jögen-*, *jegen-* (dial.); Bashk. *jögön-*; Kirgh. *ʒügün-*; Kaz. *žügin-*; KKalp. *žügin-*; Kum. *jügün-*; Yak. *sügün-* 'to go to the bridegroom's home'.

◊ EDT 913, ЭСТЯ 4, 264.

PJpn. ***nə́kí (~ -ua-)** hanging edge of roof, eaves (стреха, свисающий край крыши): OJpn. *n(w)ok(j)i*; MJpn. *nókí*; Tok. *nòki*; Kyo. *nókí*; Kag. *nókì*.

◊ JLTT 500.

‖ ОСНЯ 3, 64-65 (Turc-Mong). Cf. **lakʿu*.

✱**luko** wild pig: Tung. ***luke- / *lukte (*lekte)**; Mong. ***nogtu-**; Kor. ***nɨktai (?)**.

PTung. ***luke- / *lukte (*lekte)** 1 wild boar 2 1-year-old boar (1 дикий кабан 2 годовалый кабан): Man. *nuxen* 2; Ul. *nekte* 1; Ork. *ńekte* 1; Nan. *nekte* (dial. *likete*) 1; Orch. *nekte* 1; Ud. *nakta*, *nekte* 1, *nugese* 2; Sol. *nuksẽ* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 609, 617.

PMong. ***nogtu-** wild male boar (дикий кабан): WMong. *noɣtumal* (L 588); Kh. *nogtmol*; Kalm. *noktəmər*.

◊ KW 278.

PKor. ***nɨktai** wild boar, pig (дикий кабан): Mod. *nɨktä*.

◊ SKE 169.

‖ The Kor. match is glossed as "wild boar" by Ramstedt (in SKE), but as "jackal" or "Korean wolf" in modern dictionaries - thus it may be actually the same word as *nɨktä* < **l[ù]kʿV* 'lynx'; but the Mong.-TM parallel is still valid.

✸**lùku (~ *Ĺ-, -o-, -kʿ-)** to take off (clothes): Tung. ***luK-**; Jpn. ***nùk-**.

PTung. ***luK-** to take off (clothes) (снимать (одежду)): Evk. *luk-*, *lukti-*; Evn. *nụq-*; Neg. *lok-*; Ud. *lukta-*; Sol. *loko-*.

◊ TMC 1, 507.

PJpn. ***nùk-** to take off clothes (снимать одежду): OJpn. *nuk-*, *nukjit-*; MJpn. *nùg-*; Tok. *núg-*; Kyo. *nùg-*; Kag. *nùg-*.

◊ JLTT 738.

‖ Miller 1985b, 194. A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss.

✸**lúkʿì (~ -o-)** to break through: Tung. ***lokta-**; Mong. ***nüke-**; Jpn. ***núk-**.

PTung. ***lokta-** to pass through, break through (проходить насквозь, протыкать насквозь): Neg. *loktol-*; Ul. *luktu-lu-*; Ork. *lokto-*; Nan. *luktu-*; Orch. *lokto(n)-*; Ud. *lotogo-*.

◊ TMC 1, 502-503.

PMong. ***nüke-** 1 hole, 2 to make a hole in (1 дыра, 2 проделывать отверстие): MMong. *nukele-* 2 (SH), *nukän* 'tomb' (IM), *noket* 'holes' (LH), *nūken* 1 (Lig.VMI); WMong. *nüke(n)* 1, *nükele-* 2 (L 597); Kh. *nüx(en)* 1; Bur. *nüxe(n)* 1; Kalm. *nükṇ*; Ord. *nüχü(n)*, *nüχe(n)* 1; Dag. *nugu* 1 (Тод. Даг. 158); Dong. *nokien* 1; Bao. *nəkuŋ* 1; S.-Yugh. *nögön*, *nukö* 1; Mongr. *nuko* 1 (SM 282).

◊ KW 282, MGCD 521, 615.

PJpn. ***núk-** to break through, pass through (проходить через, насквозь): OJpn. *nuk-*; MJpn. *núk-*; Tok. *nùk-*; Kyo. *núk-*; Kag. *nùk-*.

◊ JLTT 738. Kagoshima has an irregular accent.

‖ ОСНЯ 2, 28-29, АПиПЯЯ 75.

✸**l[ù]kʿV̀ (~ -k-)** lynx, wild cat: Tung. ***luKV**; Mong. ***nogu-ɣal**; Jpn. ***niàkua (~ *nàikua)**; Kor. ***nɨk-**.

PTung. ***luKV** 1 lynx 2 blue fox 3 young lynx (1 рысь 2 голубой песец 3 рысенок): Evk. *luku* 1 (диал.); Man. *luka* 2; Orch. *loke* 1.

◊ See ОСНЯ 2,35.

PMong. ***nogu-ɣal** young of lynx (детеныш рыси): WMong. *noɣuɣal* (L 595: *nuɣuul*); Kh. *nogōl*; Bur. *nogōl*; Kalm. *noɣālā*, *noɣālā̈* 'зайчонок весеннего приплода'.

◊ KW 278.

PJpn. ***niàkua (~ *nàikua)** cat (кошка): OJpn. *nekwo*; Tok. *néko*; Kyo. *nékò*; Kag. *nekó*.

◊ JLTT 495. Accent is not quite clear: probably a variation of **nàikuà* (> Kyoto *nékò*) and **nàikuá* (Tokyo *néko*); Kagoshima supports low tone on the first syllable, but is irrelevant for the second one.

PKor. ***nɨk-** jackal, (KED) wolf (шакал; волк): Mod. *nɨktä*.

◊ KED 367.

‖ The Jpn. vocalism is aberrant; the diphthong may require a reconstruction like **lòjkʿV*. Cf. also notes to **luko*.

✱**lumV** a k. of small wild animal: Tung. ***nenme- (~ *l-)**; Mong. ***lomun**; Turk. ***jumra-**.

PTung. ***nenme- (~ l-)** tarbagan (тарбаган): Evk. *nenmekčin*.

◊ TMC 1, 622.

PMong. ***lomun** mole (крот): MMong. *nomun* (HY 11); WMong. *nomun* (L 591); Kh. *nomon*, *nomin*; Kalm. *soxər numn̥* (KPC); Ord. *nomoŋ*, *numuŋ*, *numūn*; Dong. *manan* (Тод. Дн.) ?; Mongr. *lumōn* 'taupe' (SM 227).

PTurk. ***jumra-** 1 gopher 2 ground-squirrel (1 суслик 2 евражка): Turkm. *jumran* 1 (dial.); MTurk. *jumran* 'mole' (AH); Uzb. *jumrɔn* 1; Uygh. *jumran* 1; Tat. *jomran* 1; Bashk. *jomran* 1; KBalk. *ǯuburan* 1; Oyr. *jɨmran*, *jɨbɨran* 2.

◊ VEWT 210, ЭСТЯ 4, 247-248, Лексика 165-166. Turk. > Mong. *ǯurum*, *ǯurama*, Khalkha *ʒuram*, *ʒurma*, Dag. *ǯombor*, (Tod. 145) *ǯumbrā* (see MGCD 464, KW 481, TMN 4, 220), whence Man. *ǯumara* etc., see Doerfer MT 102, Rozycki 127. Cf. also **jamlan* / **jalman* (VEWT 183, ЭСТЯ 4, 97; > Mong. *jalman*). Turk. > Russ. dial. *jevrán* and similar forms, see Аникин 195, 199, 205.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**lúŋa** a k. of fur animal: Tung. ***loŋ-sa**; Mong. ***nagaj**; Jpn. ***ná-i**; Kor. ***nə̀ŋ'úrí**.

PTung. ***loŋ-sa** 1 lynx 2 male sable 3 sable (1 рысь 2 самец соболя 3 соболь): Evk. *nonno* 1; Evn. *nuŋučan* (dimin.) 'small mouse'; Man. *luŋgu*, *luŋga* 2 (Захаров 858); Orch. *noso* 3; Ud. *nühǫ* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 510, 605, 612.

PMong. ***nagaj** female tarbagan (самка тарбагана): WMong. *naγai* (L 557: "female marmot"); Kh. *nagaj*.

PJpn. ***ná-i** rat (as a cyclic sign) (крыса (как циклический знак)): OJpn. *ne*; MJpn. *ne*; Tok. *nè*; Kyo. *nê*; Kag. *né*.

◊ JLTT 495. Derived is perhaps OJ *nezumji* 'rat' (although folk-etymologically analysed as 'living in root(s)'.

PKor. ***nə̀ŋ'úrí** otter (выдра): MKor. *nə̀ŋ'úrí*.

◊ Nam 105.

‖ See Лексика 165. Cf. **ĺeŋgV* (in Kor. a partial contamination is possible).

✱**lúŋu (~ *Í-, -o-, -i)** morning or evening dawn: Tung. ***luŋur**; Jpn. ***núN- / *núiN- / *núaN-**; Kor. ***nò'ɨr**.

PTung. ***luŋur** evening, dusk (вечер, сумерки): Evk. *luŋur*.

◊ TMC 1, 511. Attested only in Evk., with possible parallels in Kor. and Jpn.

PJpn. ***núN- / *núiN- / *núaN-** rainbow (радуга): OJpn. *nizi*, *nuzi*, dial. *n(w)ozi*; MJpn. *nízì*; Tok. *nijí*; Kyo. *níjì*; Kag. *níji*.

◊ JLTT 498-499. The word raises many problems, due to irregular reshapings. Most forms reflect **nVn-si*, but there are some going back to **nVn-ki*, like Akita *nogi*, Shuri *nūži*

etc. (see ibid.), so we conclude that the original stem must have been *nuN-, with varying suffixation.

PKor. ***nò'ɨ̀r** morning or evening dawn, red glow in the sky (утренняя или вечерняя заря): MKor. *nò'ɨ̀r*; Mod. *nōl*.

◊ Nam 111, KED 347.

‖ An Eastern isogloss.

✱lŭrkV (~ *Ĺ-, -i̯u-,-i̯o-,-o-) to burn; warm: Tung. ***lurgi-**; Jpn. ***nùkù-**; Kor. ***nòk- / *nuk-**.

PTung. ***lurgi-** to burn (гореть, пылать): Evk. *lurgi-*; Neg. *lujgī-*; Man. *lur lur* (*descr*.).

◊ TMC 1, 512. TM > Dag. *lurgi-* (MGCD 121).

PJpn. ***nùkù-** warm (теплый): MJpn. *nukuto-*, *nuku-* (Edo); Tok. *nukú-*; Kyo. *núku-*; Kag. *nukí*.

◊ JLTT 854.

PKor. ***nòk-** 1 to melt, dissolve 2 to get warm (1 таять, растворяться 2 теплеть): MKor. *nòk-*; Mod. *nok-* 1, *nuk-* 2.

◊ Nam 112, KED 344, 359.

‖ Martin 245, АПиПЯЯ 278. An Eastern isogloss. Korean has a secondary verbal low tone.

Í

✸**Íábó** a k. of plant: Tung. ***labikta / *lebukte**; Mong. ***debeɣe**; Turk. ***jaba**; Jpn. ***náimpú**.

PTung. ***labi-kta / *lebu-kte** 1 a k. of moss (cudbear) 2 lichen, moss 3 root of edible plant (1 ягель 2 лишайник 3 корень съедобного растения): Evk. *lawikta* 1, *lewukte* 2; Evn. *nāwtə̣* 1; Neg. *lawụkta* 1; Ul. *lepču(n)* 3; Ork. *lawịqta* 1, *lewikte* 2; Orch. *laukta* 1; Ud. *labuga* 1, *leukte* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 485, 514, 518. Evk. > Dolg. *labıkta*, *labukta* (see Stachowski 172).

PMong. ***debeɣe** meadow, pasture (луг, пастбище): WMong. *debege* (L 237); Kh. *devē*, *deveg*; Kalm. *dewē(n)*.

◊ KW 90. Mong. > Man. *debejen* 'sedge'.

PTurk. ***jaba** 2 wild onion 3 onion-like edible plant (1 вид грибка 2 съедобное растение, похожее на лук): OTurk. *java* 2(?) (OUygh.); Karakh. *java* (MK) 'al-ṭurṯūṯ' [Bib.-Kaz.: 'a reddish edible plant', Belot: 'a medicinal grass', Lane: 'cynomorium']; 'a plant the juice of which is used to colour noodles'.; Tur. *juwa* 2; Turkm. *juva* 2; MTurk. *jawa* OKypch (Houts.) 2, 'leek'; Tat. *juwa*, Sib. *juwa* 2; Bashk. *jɨwa* 2; Kirgh. *ǯua* 2; Kaz. *žuwa* 2; KKalp. *žuwa* 2; Nogh. *juwa* 2; Khak. *čama* 'mountain garlic'; Tv. *čāt* 'cudbear, lichen'; Tof. *čāt* 'horse-tail'.

◊ EDT 871-872, ЭСТЯ 4, 240. The OUygh. word is attested in a Buddhist text describing blossoming spring plants: *özlerdeki özeklerdeki java čigidem* "the java and the crocuses in valleys and ravines"; so, despite Clauson 414, this is certainly not a mushroom; probably some onion-like plant (гусиный лук?).

PJpn. ***náimpú** silken acacia, Albizzia Julibrissin Durazz. (шелковистая акация): OJpn. *nebu*; MJpn. *nébúrí-ki*; Tok. *nemu-no-ki*.

◊ JLTT 495.

‖ Jpn. has one of the rare cases of the Inlaut -ai- (-ia-) diphthong. Otherwise correspondences are regular, although the precise botanical nature of the plant is not quite clear.

✸**Íàkʿè** bad, evil: Tung. ***lāK-**; Mong. ***ǯeke-j (< *ǯike-j)**; Turk. ***jek**; Jpn. ***nəkə**; Kor. ***nək-**.

PTung. ***lāK-** 1 difficulty, distress 2 unsuccessful (in hunting) 3 disorder (1 затруднение 2 неудачливый (на охоте) 3 суета, беспорядок): Evk. *lākeptin* 1; Man. *laqu*, *laxu* 2, *laxin* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 488.

PMong. ***ǯeke-j** mediocre, ordinary, worse (посредственный, хуже): WMong. *ǯekei* (L 1044); Kh. *ʒexij*; Kalm. *zekē*.

◊ KW 472.

PTurk. ***jek** 1 demon, evil spirit 2 bad, evil 3 to hate, despise 4 to scold (1 демон, злой дух 2 плохой, отвратительный 3 ненавидеть, презирать 4 бранить): OTurk. *jek* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *jek* 1 (MK); Turkm. *jekir-* 3, *jek* (dial.) 2; MTurk. *jek* 1 (AH), 2 (Pav. C.), *jigir-* 3 (R.); Uzb. *ǯekir-* 4; Uygh. *jäklä-* 3, *ǯekir-* 4; Krm. *jek* 1, 2; Tat. *ǯik* 2, *ǯiker-* 4; Bashk. *jek* 2, *jeker-* 3; Kirgh. *ǯek* 2, *ǯekte-* 3, *ǯekir-* 4; Kaz. *žek* 2, *žekir-* 4; KKalp. *žek* 2, *žekir-* 4; Kum. *jekir-* 3; Nogh. *jekir-* 3; Shr. *ček* 1; Oyr. *jek*, *ďek* 1, 2, *jikir-* 3.

◊ EDT 910, VEWT 194, ЭСТЯ 4, 170-171, 173-174. Loan from Prakr. *yakkha* (through some unattested Sogdian intermediary) cannot be excluded, but also cannot be ascertained. Turk. > MMong. (MA) *ǯikir-* 'hate, abhor'.

PJpn. ***nəkə** brazenly (бесстыдно, без стеснения): Tok. *noko-noko*.

PKor. ***nək-** brazen, shameless (бесстыдный): Mod. *nək-sal*.

◊ KED 332.

‖ Martin 227 (Kor.-Jpn.). Turk. -e- instead of expected -ɨ- is probably due to contamination with **Íègi* q.v.

✱**Íakʿ V (~ -e-)** fur clothes: Tung. ***leKu (/ *laKu)**; Mong. ***daku**; Turk. ***jaku**.

PTung. ***leKu (/ *laKu)** 1 warm cotton trousers 2 deerskin footwear 3 slippers (1 теплые ватные штаны 2 обувь из оленьей шкуры 3 тапочки): Evk. *leke-mī*, *loko-mī* 2; Neg. *loxomị̄* 2; Man. *laqu* 1; Ul. *lēmi* 3; Ork. *lemi-le-* 'to wear shoes'; Nan. *lēmi* 3; Ud. *lexeme* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 488, 516.

PMong. ***daku** coat (меховая накидка, шуба): MMong. *daqu* (SH); WMong. *daqu*; Kh. *dax*; Bur. *daxa*; Kalm. *daxə*; Ord. *daxu*; Dag. *dagu*; Mongr. *daxu*, *dāxu* 'habit court et sans manches porté jadis par les femmes monguor' (SM 41).

◊ KW 72, MGCD 205. Mong. > Evk. *daku* etc., see Poppe 1966, 195, TMN 4, 283-284, Doerfer MT 37, Rozycki 53, Аникин 179).

PTurk. ***jaku** coat (плащ, шуба): Karakh. *jaqu* (MK); Bashk. *jaqɨ*; Kirgh. *ǯaqɨ* (dial.); Kaz. *žaqɨ* (dial.); Oyr. *jaqqɨ*, *ďaqqɨ*, *jaqa*, *ďaqa*; Tv. *čaɣɨ*; Yak. *saɣɨńńax*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 4, 60-61, Лексика 476. The form *jaɣqu* is not really attested: it is a folk etymology related by MK. Turk. > Russ. *jegá*, see Аникин 195, 721.

‖ A Western isogloss. Mong. cannot be < Turk., despite Щербак 1997, 121.

✱**ĺàpʿo (~ -i)** string, strap: Tung. ***lāpV-ki**; Mong. ***deɣe-sü**.

PTung. ***lāpV-ki** tiers, straps (for skis) (крепление, ремень (у лыж)): Ul. *lāxi*; Ork. *lāpu*; Nan. *lāpi*; Orch. *lappi*.

◊ TMC 1, 494.

PMong. ***deɣe-sü** rope (веревка): MMong. *de'esun* 'thread' (HY 19), *disun* (MA), *dēsūn* (Lig.VMI); WMong. *degesü(n)* (L 244); Kh. *dēs(en)*; Bur. *dēhe(n)*; Kalm. *dēsn̥*; Ord. *dēsü*; Mog. *deisün*; Dag. *dēs* (Тод. Даг. 136); Dong. *ǯiesun*; Bao. *desoŋ*; S.-Yugh. *dīsən*; Mongr. *dēsə* (SM 53), *dērge* 'grosse corde faite de poils pour lier les animaux' (SM 52).

◊ KW 92, MGCD 208. Mong. > Evk. *desun* etc. (see Poppe 1966, 197, TMC 1, 238).

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss. Cf. **labV*. Cf. perhaps Karakh. (MK) *jabtač* 'cloth, handkerchief' (merged with *jap- 'to cover').

✱**ĺáp'V** bifurcated pole: Tung. ***lap-**; Mong. ***daɣaga(n)**; Turk. ***jāpa(k)**.

PTung. ***lap-** 1 to insert, press between branches 2 poles with bifurcation 3 vertical, sticking out 4 branch inserted between two branches (a road sign) (1 вставлять, впихивать между ветками 2 раздвоенные жерди 3 вертикальный, торчащий 4 ветка, вставленная между двумя другими (дорожный знак)): Evk. *lapki-*, *lapku-* 1, *lapki*, *lapku* 4; Evn. *nāpqъ-* 1; Ul. *lapam* 'зацепившись'; Ork. *lapa(n)* 2; Nan. *lapa* 3; Orch. *lapam* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 493.

PMong. ***daɣaga(n)** horizontal bar in a yurt (горизонтальная балка в юрте): WMong. *daɣaɣa* (L 216); Kh. *dāga*; Bur. *dāgan* bū 'carbine'; Ord. *dāGa*.

PTurk. ***jāpa(k)** 1 wooden fork 2 shovel (1 деревянные вилы 2 лопата): Tur. *jaba* 1, dial. 2; Gag. *jaba* 1; Az. *jaba* 1; Turkm. *jābaq*, *jāba* 1; Sal. *jōwa*, *jowa* 1; MTurk. *japa* (Pav. C.) 2; Uzb. *jāwa* (dial.) 1; Krm. *ǯaba* 2; Tat. *jaba*; Kaz. *žaba* (dial.) 1; KKalp. *žaba* 1.

◊ VEWT 187, ЭСТЯ 4, 45. Not quite clear are fronted cognates: Yak. *seb*, Kumd. *jep*, Tat., Bashk. *jəp* 'fork, bifurcation'.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**ĺègì** to hate, abhor: Tung. ***lēgī-**; Mong. ***ǯig-**; Turk. ***jigren- (~ -e-)**; Jpn. ***nìkù-**.

PTung. ***lēgī-** 1 to scold 2 to pacify, persuade (1 ругать, бранить 2 унимать, уговаривать): Evk. *lēɣī-* 1; Evn. *nēji-* 1; Neg. *lēɣī-* 1; Nan. *lēi-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 514-515.

PMong. ***ǯig-** to hate, abhor, be disgusted (ненавидеть, испытывать отвращение): WMong. *ǯigsi-*, *ǯigegür-* (L 1052); Kh. *ǯigš-*; Bur. *žegše-*; Kalm. *ǯigšə-* (KPC); Ord. *ǯigši-*.

◊ Mong. > Tat. *ǯiksin-* etc. (ЭСТЯ 4, 171).

PTurk. ***jigren- (~ -e-)** to hate, abhor (испытывать отвращение): Karakh. *jigren-* (MK); Tur. *ijren-*; Gag. *īren-*; Az. *ijrän-*; Turkm. *jigren-*;

MTurk. *jigren-* (Ettuhf., AH); Uzb. *jirgän-*, *ǯirgen-*; Krm. *iren-*; Tat. *ǯirɛn-*; Bashk. *jerän-*; Kirgh. *ǯerin-*, *ǯiren-*, *ǯijirken-*; Kaz. *žijren-*; KKalp. *žijren-*, *žijirken-*; Kum. *ǯirgen-*; Nogh. *jijren-*; Yak. *sirgen-*.

◊ EDT 914-915, ЭСТЯ 4, 200-201.

PJpn. ***nìkù-** hateful, hate (противный, ненавидеть): OJpn. *niku-*, *niku-m-*; MJpn. *niku-*, *nìkù-m-*; Tok. *nikú-*, *nikú-m-*; Kyo. *níkù-*, *níkú-m-*; Kag. *nikú-*, *nìkùm-*.

◊ JLTT 837.

‖ Ozawa 270-272, ЭСТЯ 4, 200-201. Cf. **ĺ̀ǎkʿe.*

✸**ĺekleKV** a k. of aquatic bird: Tung. ***leg(l)ek-**; Mong. ***deglej**; Turk. ***[j]eglek**.

PTung. ***leg(l)ek-** a k. of duck (вид утки (утка-казарка)): Evk. *leɣegdi*, *liglakī*, *ilagli*; Evn. *ịlъ̣ɣlịqa*, dial. *niglij* 'goose'.

◊ TMC 1, 304, 498, 515, 589. Evk. > Dolg. *lagli*, see Stachowski 172.

PMong. ***deglej** heron (цапля): WMong. *deglei* (L 213: *degelei*); Kh. *deglij*; Bur. *xüxe deglɨ*; Kalm. *deglɛ̄*; Ord. *göχö degelī*.

◊ KW 85.

PTurk. ***[j]eglek** stork (аист): Tur. *leglek*; Az. *läjläk*.

◊ VEWT 316 (hardly from Arab.)

‖ A Western isogloss; no doubt, onomatopoeic in origin, but interlanguage loans seem to be excluded in this case.

✸**ĺḗlV** to run, ride, hurry: Tung. ***lelu-**; Mong. ***ǯilu-**; Turk. ***jēl-**.

PTung. ***lelu-** 1 to jump 2 to ride, trot (1 прыгать 2 скакать): Evk. *lulunče-*, *lelūn-*, *nelūn-*, *nelihu-* 1; Evn. *melu-met-*, *meluŋči-* 1 (with a peculiar dissimilation); Man. *ńolxu-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 509, 620, 643.

PMong. ***ǯilu-** to flee, run away (убегать): WMong. *ǯilu-* (L 1055); Kh. *ʒulba-*, *ʒulda-*; Kalm. *zul-* (KPC).

PTurk. ***jēl-** to ride, trot (бежать (рысью), нестись): OTurk. *jel-* (Orkh.); Karakh. *jel-* (MK, KB); Tur. *jel-*; Az. *jel-li* ʿquickly'; Turkm. *jel-me* ʿtrot'; MTurk. *jel-* (Pav. C., MA, Ettuhf.), *jil-* (AH); Uzb. *jel-*; Tat. *ǯil-*; Bashk. *jel-*; Kirgh. *ǯel-*; Kaz. *žel-*; KKalp. *žel-*; Nogh. *jeli-*; Shr. *čel-*; Oyr. *jäl-*, *d́el-*; Tv. *čel-*; Yak. *siel-*.

◊ EDT 918, VEWT 195, ЭСТЯ 4, 176-177.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✸**ĺèmo** to be lazy, negligent: Tung. ***lemūk-**; Mong. ***dömü-**; Jpn. ***nàmàka-**.

PTung. ***lemūk-** weak-charactered (слабохарактерный, постоянно недовольный): Evk. *lemūk*.

◊ TMC 1, 516. Attested only in Evk., but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***dömü-** 1 to be barely sufficient, live poorly 2 to be careless, floppy (1 недоставать, едва сводить концы с концами 2 делать не-

брежно, кое-как): WMong. *dömü-* (L 267) 1; Kh. *dömö-* 1, *dömnö-* 2; Bur. *düme-* 1; Kalm. *demir-* 'to become worse than smth.'.

◊ KW 87.

PJpn. ***nàmàka-*** to be lazy (лениться): MJpn. *namaka-*; Tok. *namaké-*; Kyo. *námáké-*; Kag. *namaké-*.

◊ JLTT 731. Tone correspondence is not quite regular (low tone would be expected in Kagoshima).

‖ The TM and Jpn. forms point to a common derivative **ĺèmo-kV* (-kʿV).

✱**ĺeŋgV** a k. of predator: Tung. ***leŋgur***; Mong. ***ʒiŋger***.

PTung. ***leŋgur*** 1 wolf 2 cat (1 волк 2 кошка): Evk. *ńeɣūr* 1; Man. *ninuri* 2; Ul. *jeŋgul* 1; Nan. *jeŋgur* 1; Orch. *ńiŋgu* 1, *liŋgapu* 'wolverine'; Ud. *ńeŋu* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 498, 639, 650, 598.

PMong. ***ʒiŋger*** bitch (сука): WMong. *ʒiŋger* (БАМРС); Kh. *ʒiŋger*.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss. Cf. also **lúŋa*.

✱**ĺepʿa (~ -o, -u)** feather, down, wool: Tung. ***lepu-***; Mong. ***daɣaki***; Turk. ***jAp***.

PTung. ***lepu-*** 1 feather 2 down 3 bear 4 peltry (1 перо 2 пух 3 медведь 4 пушнина): Evk. *lepurē* 1; Evn. *nebuli* 'fluffy'; Neg. *lupulte* 2; Man. *lefu* 3; SMan. *lefə* 3 (2203); Jurch. *lefu* (145) 3; Ul. *nepulte* 4; Ork. *nepulte* 4; Nan. *ńepulte* 4; Orch. *nepukte* 4; Ud. *lofosʿo* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 518, 625. Cf. also TM **ńepu-* 'warm' (TMC 1, 355) (< 'soft'?).

PMong. ***daɣaki*** exuviation (of animals), tangled hair (сброшенная кожа (животных), спутанные волосы): MMong. *daqi* (MA 139); WMong. *daɣaki* (L 217), *daki*; Kh. *dāx́*; Bur. *dāxi*; Kalm. *dākṛ-*, *dā̄kṛ-* 'to become tangled (of wool)'; Ord. *dāχi*; Mongr. *dākir* 'touffe de poils enchevêtrés' (SM 41).

◊ KW 81, 83.

PTurk. ***jAp-*** a mass of hair or wool (масса, клубок волос или шерсти): Karakh. *jap, japɣut*, *japaqu* (MK); Tur. *japaɨ*; Gag. *japā*; Az. *japaq*, *japaɣɨ* (dial.); Turkm. *japaGɨ*; MTurk. *japaq* (Ettuhf.); Uzb. *ʒabiqa*; Krm. *japaɣa*; Tat. *jabaɣa*; Bashk. *jabaɣɨ*; Kirgh. *ʒabaɣa*; Kaz. *žabaɣɨ*; KBalk. *ʒabaɣɨ*, *zabaɣɨ*; KKalp. *žabaɣɨ*; Kum. *jabaɣɨ*; Nogh. *jabaɣɨ*.

◊ EDT 870, 874-875, ЭСТЯ 4, 125-126. Turk. > Hung. *gyapjú* (< **ʒapaɣu*), see Gombocz 1912.

‖ Владимирцов 208. A Western isogloss. Possibly derived is the Turk.-Mong. name for "foal" (< "down, hair fading"): Turk. **japak* (ЭСТЯ 4, 159-160), Mong. *daɣagan* (> Evk. *daɣakan* etc., see Doerfer MT 99), see KW 81, Poppe 47.

✱**Ĺipˈú** dark red, violet: Tung. ***lipe-**; Mong. ***ʒibi**; Turk. ***(j)ip-**; Jpn. ***numpa-**.

PTung. ***lipe-** dark red (темно-красный): Evk. *lipereme*.

◊ TMC 1, 500. Attested only in Evk., but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***ʒibi** rust (ржавчина): WMong. *ʒibi*, *ʒebi*, *ʒibe* (L 1048); Kh. *ʒev*, *ʒiv*; Bur. *ʒeve*; Kalm. *zewə* (KPC); Ord. *ʒiwe*, *ʒiwi*; Dag. *ʒíb* (Тод. Даг. 143), *ʒibi* (MD 178); Mongr. *ʒwē* (SM 95), *ʒē*.

◊ MGCD 439.

PTurk. ***(j)ip-** violet-coloured, purple (фиолетовый, бордовый): OTurk. *jipin*, *jipgin*; Karakh. *jipkil* (MK); Krm. *ipkin*; Tv. *ökpeŋ*; Chuv. *jəʷpkəʷn* 'deep-coloured'.

◊ EDT 877, 874, Федотов 1, 197.

PJpn. ***numpa-** fruit of the *hiōgi* plant (Belamcanda chinensis; dark red, violet / black in colour) (плод дерева Belamcanda chinensis; темно-красного, фиолетового / черного цвета): OJpn. *nuba-tama*; Tok. *ubatama*.

◊ JLTT 501.

‖ An interesting common Altaic colour term.

✱**Ĺi̯ŏ̀ki** to run away: Tung. ***luktu-**; Mong. ***ʒigutu-**; Jpn. ***nìnká-**.

PTung. ***luktin-** to run some distance (пробежать (некоторое расстояние)): Evk. *luktin-*.

◊ TMC 1, 508.

PMong. ***ʒigutu-** to run away (убегать): WMong. *ʒiɣutu-* (L 1077: *ʒuɣtaɣa-*, *ʒiɣutaɣa-*); Kh. *ʒugta-*; Bur. *zugada-*.

PJpn. ***nìnká-** to run away, escape (убегать): OJpn. *niga-*; MJpn. *nìgá-*; Tok. *nigé-*; Kyo. *nigé-*; Kag. *nìge-*.

◊ JLTT 735.

‖ Ozawa 269. The voicing in Jpn. contradicts unaspirated *-k- in PA: it may be secondary, under the influence of the synonymous **nuànkà-ra-* (see **nŭkˈe*).

✱**Ĺi̯ŏmo(ŋa)** name; spell, divination: Tung. ***nim-ŋā-**; Mong. ***dom, *domag**; Turk. ***jom, *jom(ŋ)ak**; Jpn. ***ná(N)**; Kor. ***ni'jaki**.

PTung. ***nim-ŋā-** 1 to shamanize 2 fairy-tale (1 шаманить 2 сказка): Evk. *nimŋān-* 1, *nimŋākān* 2; Evn. *ńi̯mqan* 2; Neg. *ńamka-* 1; Ul. *ńi̯ŋman-* 1, *ńi̯ŋma(n)* 2; Ork. *ni̯ŋman-* 1, *ni̯ŋma* 2; Nan. *ni̯ŋmã̄* 2; Orch. *ńima* 2; Ud. *nimaˈŋku* 2 (Корм. 266).

◊ TMC 1, 594.

PMong. ***dom, *domag** 1 magic 2 legend (1 колдовство 2 легенда, сказка): MMong. *domoxči* 'blabber, chatterer' (SH); WMong. *dom* 1 (L 260), *domaɣ* 2 (L 261: *domuɣ*); Kh. *dom, domog*; Bur. *dom*; Kalm. *dom*; Ord. *dom* 1; Dag. *dom* 1, *domege* 1 (MD 137); S.-Yugh. *dom* 1, *domog* 2.

◊ KW 95, MGCD 224, 225.

PTurk. ***jom, *jom(ŋ)ak** 1 tale, legend 2 luck, omen 3 word 4 riddle (1 рассказ, притча 2 счастье, доброе предзнаменование 3 слово 4 загадка): Tur. *jom* 2 (dial.); Turkm. *jomaq* 'joke'; MTurk. *jumaq* 1 (Ettuhf.), *jom* 2 (AH); Uzb. *ǯumbɔq* 4; Krm. *jomaq* 1; Tat. *ǯomaq* 4; Bashk. *jomaq* 4; Kirgh. *ǯomoq* 1; Kaz. *žumbaq* 4; KBalk. *ǯomaq*, *zomaq* 4; KKalp. *žŭmbaq* 4; Kum. *jomaq* 1; Nogh. *jumaq* 4; SUygh. *lomaq* 1; Khak. *nɨmax* 1, *čōx* 3; Shr. *nɨbaq* 1; Yak. *nomoq* 1 (possibly < Mong.).

◊ ЭСТЯ 4, 220-221, VEWT 206,119 (one root in two different places). Despite late attestation the root is no doubt archaic (it must have originally pertained to a shamanistic ritual).

PJpn. ***ná(N)** name (имя): OJpn. *na*; MJpn. *nà*; Tok. *nà(mae)*; Kyo. *nẫ*; Kag. *ná*, *namáe*.

◊ JLTT 490. RJ has *nà*, but all modern dialects point unanimously to **ná(N)*. Final -N is indicated by Hateruma *nàN*.

PKor. ***ni'jaki** tale, story (рассказ): MKor. *ni'jaki*; Mod. *ijagi*.

◊ Nam 123, KED 1333.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 69, 110, 276, EAS 51. The verbal correlate for **naN* 'name' in PJ is **nəm-* 'to pray'. The noun goes back to the suffixed form **Í̯iŏm(o)-ŋa* (note the recurring *-ŋ-suffix in the reflexes: MKor. *ni'jàkì* also goes back to **nìŋa-ki* < **nimŋa-ki* with early cluster simplification). Despite Щербак 1997, 124-125, Mong. cannot be < Turk.

✱**Í̯iuga(rV)** to knead: Tung. ***lug-**; Mong. ***ǯiɣura-**; Turk. ***jugur- (~ -i-)**; Jpn. ***niàr- (~ *nàir-)**; Kor. ***nəhír-**.

PTung. ***lug-** 1 to whip up, mix 2 gruel-like, watery (1 взбивать 2 жидкий, кашеобразный): Evk. *lugdu-* 1; Nan. *lujr-lujr* bī 2.

◊ TMC 1, 506, 507.

PMong. ***ǯiɣu-ra-** to cling to, clutch, squeeze, knead (хватать, сжимать, месить): MMong. *ǯura-* (MA 234); WMong. *ǯiɣura-* (L 1051); Kh. *ʒūra-*; Bur. *zūra-*; Kalm. *zūr-*; Ord. *ǯūra-*; Dag. *ǯuāra-*; Dong. *ǯuwa-*; Bao. *ǯira-*; S.-Yugh. *ǯū̃ra-*; Mongr. *ʒurā-* 'pétrir, mélanger avec de l'eau et broyer' (SM 96), *ǯurā-*.

◊ KW 482, MGCD 459.

PTurk. ***jugur- (~ -i-)** to knead (месить): OTurk. *joɣur-* (*juɣur-*) (OUygh.); Karakh. *juɣur-* (MK); Tur. *jour-*; Gag. *jur-*; Az. *joɣur-*; Turkm. *juɣīr-*, *juɣur-*; Sal. *juɣur-*; Khal. *joɣūr-*; MTurk. *juɣur-* (MA, Houts.), *joɣur-* (AH); Uygh. *juɣu(r)-*, *žuɣu(r)-*; Kirgh. *ǯūr-*; SUygh. *juɣur-*, *joɣur-*; Khak. *čura-*; Shr. *čūr-*; Oyr. *jura-*, *ďura-*; Chuv. *śəʷr-*.

◊ VEWT 205, ЭСТЯ 4, 243-244, TMN 4, 173, EDT 906. Turk. > Hung. *gyúr-* (Gombocz 1912, MNyTeSz 1, 1138).

PJpn. ***niàr- (~ *náir-)** to tan, knead (дубить, мять): OJpn. *ner-*; MJpn. *nèr-*; Tok. *nér-*; Kyo. *nèr-*; Kag. *nèr-*.

◊ JLTT 734.

PKor. ***nəhɨ́r-** to gnaw, crunch (грызть, глодать): MKor. *nəhɨ́r-*; Mod. *nəl-*.

◊ Nam 104, KED 332.

‖ KW 482. Despite Щербак 1997, 196, Mong. is not < Turkic.

✱**Í̯iul[o]** to ransom, ask: Tung. ***l[i]l- (~ -ü-)**; Mong. ***doli-**; Turk. ***jul-**; Jpn. ***nai (~ *nia)**.

PTung. ***l[i]l-** to ask (просить): Evk. *lelol-* (Тит.).

◊ TMC 1, 516.

PMong. ***doli-** to barter, ransom, exchange (торговать, выкупать, обмениваться): WMong. *doli-* (L 259); Kh. *doli-*; Bur. *doli-*; Kalm. *doĺ-*.

◊ KW 94. Mong. > Oyr. *tolɨ-n* etc.

PTurk. ***jul-** 1 to ransom 2 ransom (1 выкупать 2 выкуп): OTurk. *juluɣ* 2; Karakh. *jul-* 1, *juluɣ* 2; KBalk. *ǯuluv* 2; Yak. *sulū* 2.

◊ VEWT 210. Turk. > Mong. *ǯoli-* 'to ransom' (KW 476; Щербак 1997, 164: MMong. *ǯolia*, WMong. *ǯoliɣ* < Turk. *juluɣ*), whence Man. *ǯoliɣan* etc. (see TMC 1, 263).

PJpn. ***nai (~ *nia)** price (цена): Tok. *nè*; Kyo. *nê*; Kag. *né*.

◊ JLTT 495. Original tone is not quite clear (a rare case of monosyllabic circumflex in Kyoto).

‖ KW 94, Poppe 75, Лексика 346 (Turk. **jul-* : Mong. **doli-*). Despite TMN 4, 315: "das scheint lautlich nicht aufzugehen"), the Turk.-Mong. match is quite satisfactory. The TM and Jpn. parallels are, however, somewhat problematic, because of scarce attestation in TM and phonetic contraction in Japanese (the form may go back to **Í̯iul(o)-gV*, cf. Turk. **juliɣ*).

✱**Í̯iŭp´ù** to sew, pierce: Tung. ***lup-**; Mong. ***ǯeɣeg (< *ǯiɣeg)**; Turk. ***jiɨp / *jip**; Jpn. ***nùp-**; Kor. ***nupi-**.

PTung. ***lup-** 1 to prick 2 to pierce, pass through (1 колоть 2 протыкать, проникать, проходить через): Evk. *lupa-* 1, *lupū-* 2; Evn. *nụbas* an- 1; Neg. *lepu-* 2; Ul. *loqpa-* 1; Ork. *lụqqa-* 1; Nan. *lopqa-*, *loqpa-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 511, 512.

PMong. ***ǯeɣeg (< *ǯiɣeg)** thin thread; skirting, border thread (тонкая нить, окаймление): WMong. *ǯeɣeg* (L 1043); Kh. *ʒēg*; Kalm. *zēg*.

◊ KW 474. Mong. > Kaz. *žijek* etc. (see VEWT 195, ЭСТЯ 4, 27).

PTurk. ***jiɨp / *jip** thread (нитка): OTurk. *jɨp* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jɨp* (MK); Tur. *ip*; Gag. *jip*; Az. ip; Turkm. *jüp*; Sal. *jip*; Khal. *jip*; MTurk. *jip* (AH, Ettuhf.), *ip* (Pav. C., AH); Uygh. *jip*; Krm. *jip*; Tat. *ǯep*; Bashk. *jep*; Kirgh. *ǯip*; Kaz. *žip*; KBalk. *ǯib*, *zip*; KKalp. *žip*; Kum. *jip*; SUygh. *jip*, *jep*; Khak. *čəp*; Shr. *čip*; Oyr. *jip*, *d́ip*; Chuv. *śip*; Yak. *sip* 'hook on a fishing rod', *sippe* 'thread'.

◊ EDT 870, VEWT 204, ЭСТЯ 4, 268-269. Cf. also the derivative **jipek* id. (ЭСТЯ 4, 269-270).

PJpn. ***nùp-** to sew (шить): OJpn. *nup-*; MJpn. *nùf-*; Tok. *nú-*; Kyo. *nù-*; Kag. *nù-*.

◊ JLTT 739.

PKor. ***nupi-** to quilt (стегать): MKor. *nupi-*; Mod. *nubi-*.

◊ Liu 162, KED 358.

‖ Martin 241 (Kor.-Jpn.), KW 474 (Turk.-Mong.).

✱**ĺoŋgV** to accuse, blame: Tung. ***loŋ-si-**; Mong. ***doŋgud-**; Turk. ***joŋ**.

PTung. ***loŋ-si-** to chatter, nag (болтать, ворчать, быть сварливым): Man. *loŋsi-*, *loqsi-*; Nan. *loŋsị-*.

◊ TMC 1, 504.

PMong. ***doŋgud-** to blame, rebuke (винить, ругать): MMong. *duŋqodun* (HY 1) 'thunder', *dunγoṭ-* 'to disturb, obstruct' (IM); WMong. *doŋγud-* (L 261); Kh. *doŋgodo-*, *dongoso-*; Bur. *dongodo-*; Kalm. *dongəd-*; Ord. *dongod-*; Mongr. *doŋGordi-* (SM 61) 1.

◊ KW 95.

PTurk. ***joŋ** 1 accusation 2 to accuse (1 обвинение 2 обвинять): OTurk. *joŋa-* (OUygh.) 2, *joŋšur-* (Orkh.) 'to embroil'; Karakh. *joŋa-* (MK) 2; Turkm. *joŋ* 'indisposition'; Khak. *čoŋ*; Oyr. *joŋ* 1; Yak. *soŋ* 'enforcement'.

◊ EDT 944, VEWT 206, ЭСТЯ 4, 223.

‖ KW 95. A Western isogloss.

✱**Ĺóre (?)** a k. of deer: Tung. ***lor- (?)**; Mong. ***ʒüre**; Jpn. ***nərə ~ *nuarua**; Kor. ***nòrǎ**.

PTung. ***lor-** 1 female musk deer 2 deer (3 y. old) (1 кабарга-самка 2 трехлетний олень): Evk. *ńarōs*, *ńorōs*, *ńerēs* 1; Man. *lor-bodo* 2 (?).

◊ TMC 1, 505, 635-636.

PMong. ***ʒüre** female roe, wild goat (самка косули, дикая коза): WMong. *ʒüre* (L 1085: *ʒür*); Kh. *ʒür*; Bur. *zür*; Kalm. *zürə* (KPC).

◊ TMN 1, 300.

PJpn. ***nərə ~ *nuarua** Manchu roe, Capreolus bedfordi Thomas. (маньчжурская косуля): Tok. *noro*, *noro-jika*.

PKor. ***nòrǎ** a deer, a river-deer (олень, речной олень): MKor. *nòrǎ*; Mod. *noru*.

◊ Nam 111, KED 341.

‖ The root presents several problems: a) Mong. has *ʒ-* instead of an expected d-; b) the TM forms are few and rather controversial (it is not really clear whether the Manchu form is related to Evk.); c) the Jpn. form is attested late. There may also have been some confusion with the reflexes of **negre* '(female) deer' q.v.

✱**Ĺù̃ńi (~ -e)** snow: Tung. ***lū́ńe**; Kor. ***nūn**.

PTung. ***lū́ńe** wet snow (мокрый снег): Evk. *lū́ńe*; Neg. *luńe*.

◊ TMC 1,510.

PKor. ***nūn** snow (снег): MKor. *nūn*; Mod. *nun*.

◊ Nam 115, KED 360.

‖ EAS 77, SKE 173, ОСНЯ 3, 34-35, Menges 1984, 281, АПиПЯЯ 19. A Tung.-Kor. isogloss. Depalatalization in Kor. is probably assimilative (**nūń* > **nūn*).

M

✱**ma** a negative particle: Tung. ***-me**; Turk. ***-ma-**; Jpn. ***-ma-**; Kor. ***mō-t**.

PTung. ***-me** a prohibitive particle (запретительная частица): Man. *ume*; SMan. *emə* 'don't' (3005); Jurch. *ume* (472); Nan. *em*; Orch. *em*.

◊ TMC 2, 272. Initial u- is probably an original verbal root (possibly PTM **ō-* 'to make; become').

PTurk. ***-ma-** not (не): OTurk. *-ma-*; Karakh. *-ma-*; Tur. *-ma-*; Gag. *-ma-*; Az. *-ma-*; Turkm. *-ma-*; Sal. *-mɨ-*; Khal. *-ma-*; MTurk. *-ma-*; Uzb. *-ma-*; Uygh. *-ma-*; Krm. *-ma-*; Tat. *-ma-*; Bashk. *-ma-*; Kirgh. *-ma-*; Kaz. *-ma-*; KBalk. *-ma-*; KKalp. *-ma-*; Kum. *-ma-*; Nogh. *-ma-*; SUygh. *-ma-*; Khak. *-ma-*; Shr. *-ma-*; Oyr. *-ma-*; Tv. *-ma-*; Tof. *-ma-*; Chuv. *-ma-*; Yak. *-ma-*.

PJpn. ***-ma-** dubitative suffix (суффикс дубитатива): OJpn. *-ma-*; MJpn. *-ma-*; Tok. *-ma-i*.

PKor. ***mō-t** impossible (adv.); bad, wicked (невозможно (нар.); плохой): MKor. *mōt* 1, *mōtír-* 2; Mod. *mōt* [*mōs*], *mōǯil-*.

◊ Nam 215, 217, KED 635, 647.

‖ ОСНЯ 2, 57. A monosyllabic root, but, unlike the 1st p. pron. or the accusative particle, it did not undergo denasalization in PA. This may be explained by the fact that it was in most cases already incorporated into the verbal form as a suffix. It is interesting to note Mong. **büi*, **bu* 'neg. particle' - which may be originally the same morpheme, but functioning as a separate word and thus subject to the rule *mV > *bV.

✱**m[a]bči** worm, insect: Tung. ***ma[b]ši-**; Mong. ***meče**; Jpn. ***músí**.

PTung. ***ma[b]ši-** 1 bread worm 2 scorpion 3 leech (1 хлебный червь 2 скорпион 3 пиявка): Man. *mobsexe* 1; Nan. *mačị* 3; Ud. *masiŋku* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 532, 533, 541.

PMong. ***meče** tapeworm (ленточный червь): WMong. *meče*, *mečegei* (MXTTT); Kh. *mec*, *mecgij*; Kalm. *meckā̃* (KPC).

PJpn. ***músí** worm, insect (червь, насекомое): OJpn. *musi*; MJpn. *músí*; Tok. *mùshi*; Kyo. *múshí*; Kag. *múshi*.

◊ JLTT 489.

‖ In Turkic cf. **bõnček* 'insect' (Az. *miček*, Turkm. *mõǯek* etc.) - if not, as usually thought, a contraction < **bõgen-ček* (see under **bōgi*).

✱**máč'à** to fast, hunger: Tung. ***maču-**; Mong. ***mačag**; Turk. ***bAča-**; Jpn. ***mátúr-**.

PTung. ***maču-** 1 to lose weight, grow thin 2 fast (1 терять вес, худеть 2 пост): Man. *maču-* 1, *mačixi* 2; SMan. *mačə-* (699, 700).

◊ TMC 1, 533. Attested only in Manchu, but having rather probable external parallels.

PMong. ***mačag** fast (пост): WMong. *mačaγ* (L 519); Kh. *macag*; Bur. *masag*; Kalm. *macəg* (KPC); Ord. *mačaG*.

PTurk. ***bAča-** 1 to fast 2 fast (1 поститься 2 пост): OTurk. *bača-* 1, *bačaq* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *bačaq* 2 (MK).

◊ EDT 293. Turk. *bača-k* 'fast' > WMong. *bačag*.

PJpn. ***mátúr-** to worship (*relig*.) (поклоняться, обожествлять): OJpn. *matur-*; MJpn. *mátúr-*; Tok. *màtsur-*; Kyo. *mátsúr-*; Kag. *matsúr-*.

◊ JLTT 722.

‖ Mong. *mačag* cannot be < Turk., despite EDT 293, Clark 1980, 43; it is also difficult to suppose Man. *mačixi* (especially the verb *maču-*) < Mong. *mačag*. The root thus seems to be reconstructable for PA, with the meaning approx. "to fast, hunger with religious purposes".

✱**máč'V̀** target: Jpn. ***mátua**; Kor. ***màč-**.

PJpn. ***mátua** target (цель, мишень): OJpn. *matwo*; MJpn. *máto*; Tok. *màto*; Kyo. *mátó*; Kag. *mátò*.

◊ JLTT 473.

PKor. ***màč-** to meet, correspond, hit the target (встречать, соответствовать, попадать в цель): MKor. *màč-*; Mod. *mat-* [*mač-*].

◊ Nam 206, KED 592-593.

‖ Martin 229; it is not quite clear whether PJ **mat-* 'wait' belongs here as well (or rather to **mude* 'finally' q.v.). A Kor.-Jpn. isogloss; cf. perhaps Mong. **möči* 'edge' (if not = **möči* 'limb').

✱**maja** to miss, fail, bad luck: Tung. ***maja-**; Mong. ***maɣu**; Turk. ***bAńɨ-**.

PTung. ***maja-** to fail, be unsuccessful, be spoiled (не иметь удачи, не удаваться): Evk. *maja-*; Evn. *maj-*; Neg. *maja-*; Man. *maja-* 'disappear'; Ork. *maja-*; Nan. *maj-* (Он.), *mańa-*; Orch. *maj-maki-* 'to lack, be absent'; Ud. *maja-*, *majasi-* (Корм. 258).

◊ TMC 1, 521.

PMong. ***maɣu** bad (плохой): MMong. *mau'un* (HY 55), *ma'u(n)* (SH), *māwu* (IM), *mu, mǎwu* (MA); WMong. *maγu* (L 520); Kh. *mū*; Bur. *mū*; Kalm. *mū*; Ord. *mū*; Dag. mō (Тод. Даг. 154); Dong. *mau* (MGCD *mou*); Bao. *mu* (MGCD *moŋ*); S.-Yugh. *mū*; Mongr. *mṻ* (SM 243), (MGCD *mau*).

◊ KW 269, MGCD 493, TMN 1, 495-496.

PTurk. ***bAńɨ-** to fade away, disappear, weaken (исчезать, слабеть): Karakh. *majɨš-* (MK); Tur. *bajɨ-l-*; Gag. *bajɨl-*; Az. *bajɨl-*; Krm. *bajɨl-*; Kirgh. *bajɨ-*; Khak. *majɨl-*; Tv. *bajla-*.

◊ ОСНЯ 2, 50, EDT 773, ЭСТЯ 7.

‖ A Western isogloss. ОСНЯ 3, 50-51; Дыбо 13. PT **bAńɨ-* regularly < **mAjɨ-* (with nasalization not lost completely, but shifted to the *-j-).

✱**maji** protecting spirit: Tung. ***maji-n**; Turk. ***baj (~ -ń)**; Jpn. ***mi**.

PTung. ***maji-n** protecting spirit (дух-покровитель): Evk. *majin*; Evn. *majɨs*; Neg. *majɨn*; Nan. *majin*.

◊ TMC 1, 521.

PTurk. ***baj (~-ń)** 1 holy 2 God 3 true, reliable, honest (1 святой 2 бог): Karakh. *bajat* 2 (MK - Argu, KB), *bajɨq* (MK Oghuz, IM) 3; Tur. *bajat* 2, *bajɨq* (dial.) 3; MTurk. *bajat* 2 (Abush., Sangl.); Kirgh. *baj terek* 'protection, advocacy'; Oyr. *baj-lu* 1, *maj-* 'first part in a number of theonyms', *baj terek* 'world tree'; Yak. *bajanaj* 'name of a God'.

◊ EDT 385. See VEWT 56-57 (for derivatives), TMN 2, 379. The root should be probably distinguished from **bāj* 'rich' (v. sub **bēžu*). An unattested Tuva source > Russ. dial. (Tuva) *bajbá* 'spirit of hunting luck', see Аникин 109. Yak. > Russ. (Yak.) *bajanaj*, see Аникин 125-126.

PJpn. ***mi** protecting spirit (дух-покровитель): OJpn. *mji*.

◊ JLTT 476.

‖ ОСНЯ 3, 51. An interesting common Altaic religious term (although within Turkic it is rather hard to distinguish from **bāj* 'rich' < **bēžu* q.v.).

✱**màjŋì** temple, forehead, ear: Mong. ***maŋlai**; Turk. ***bejŋi**; Jpn. ***mìmì**.

PMong. ***maŋlai** forehead (лоб): MMong. *maŋlai* (HY 45, SH), man; WMong. *maŋlai*, *maŋnai* (L 527); Kh. *maŋlai*, *magnaj*; Bur. *manlaj*, *magnaj*; Kalm. *maŋnǟ*; Ord. *mǟŋlǟ*, *maŋnǟ*; Dag. *mangil* (Тод. Даг. 153); Dong. *manləu*; S.-Yugh. *maŋlī*; Mongr. *maŋlī* (SM 232), *manləi*.

◊ KW 257, MGCD 475. Mong. > Chag. *maŋlai* etc. (VEWT 327, TMN 1, 502, Щербак 1997, 206; Yak., Dolg. *maŋnaj*, see Kał. MEJ 15, Stachowski 176).

PTurk. ***bejŋi** brain (мозг; вместилище разума): OTurk. *meji*, *meŋi* (OUygh.); Karakh. *meŋi* (MK, KB); Tur. *bejin*; Az. *bejin*; Turkm. *bejni*, *mejni*; Khal. *mein*; MTurk. *miji* (MA), *mejn* (Sangl.); Uzb. *mija*; Uygh. *miŋä*; Krm. *miji*; Tat. *mi*; Bashk. *meje*; Kirgh. *mē*; Kaz. *mɨj*; KBalk. *mije*; KKalp. *mij*; Kum. *miji*; Nogh. *mɨj*; Khak. *mī*; Shr. *mī-s*; Oyr. *mē*; Tv. *mē*; Tof. *mǟ*; Chuv. *mimə*; Yak. *mejī*; Dolg. *meńī* 'head'.

◊ VEWT 70, EDT 348-349, ЭСТЯ 2, 106-107, TMN 4, 35, Лексика 195, Stachowski 178. Turk. > MMong. *mije*, *miji* (Щербак 1997, 105).

PJpn. ***mìmì** ear (ухо): OJpn. *mjimji*; MJpn. *mìmì*; Tok. *mimí*; Kyo. *mímì*; Kag. *mimí* (= *míŃ*).

◊ JLTT 478. Cf. Yon. *mìmbùrù* 'head'.

‖ Лексика 195-196.

✱**májŋV** go-between: Tung. ***maŋa**; Jpn. ***mániák-**; Kor. ***mjə̀ńírí**.

PTung. ***maŋa** go-between, matchmaker (посредник, сват): Evk. *maŋa*; Evn. *maŋnaž*; Neg. *maŋga-n*; Ul. *maŋGa*; Ork. *maŋGa*; Orch. *maŋa*; Ud. *maŋa*.

◊ TMC 1, 530.

PJpn. ***mániak-** to call, invite (приглашать): OJpn. *manek-*; MJpn. *mánèk-*, *mànèk-*; Tok. *manék-*; Kyo. *mánék-*; Kag. *manék-*.

◊ JLTT 720. The accent reveals some variations, but generally points to high tone on the first syllable.

PKor. ***mjə̀ńírí** daughter-in-law (невестка, сноха): MKor. *mjə̀ńírí*, *mjənări*; Mod. *mjəniri*.

◊ Nam 213, KED 619.

‖ An Eastern isogloss.

✱**majV** fat: Tung. ***majā**; Mong. ***majaɣa**; Turk. ***bań**.

PTung. ***majā** 1 food rests 2 food store (1 остатки пищи 2 запас продовольствия, припасы): Evk. *majā* 1; Evn. *māja* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 521.

PMong. ***majaɣa** butter churn (маслобойка): WMong. *majaɣa* (MXTT); Kh. *majā*.

PTurk. ***bań** fat (жир): Turkm. *maj*; MTurk. *maj* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *mɔj*; Uygh. *maj*; Krm. *maj*; Tat. *maj*; Bashk. *maj*; Kirgh. *maj*; Kaz. *maj*; KKalp. *maj*; Kum. *maj*; Nogh. *maj*; Khak. *sar-maj* 'butter' (Sag.); Oyr. *maj*; Yak. *as-maǰax* (Пек.).

◊ VEWT 322, Лексика 453-454.

‖ A Western isogloss. Turkic has a normal transfer of nasalization to *-j-.

✱**makʿé** to be deceived, perplexed: Tung. ***maka-**; Mong. ***mek(e)-**; Jpn. ***mənka-r-**; Kor. ***mə̀k-**.

PTung. ***maka-** 1 to become dizzy, muzzy 2 to be afraid 3 to hate (1 одуревать, ошалевать 2 бояться 3 противно): Man. *maqa-* 1; Ork. *maqqa* 3; Nan. *māqā-* ʿto gaze at' (Он.); Ud. *maka* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 522, 565.

PMong. ***mek(e)-** 1 deceit, trickery 2 to be disturbed, perplexed 3 embarrassed (1 обман, надувательство 2 быть растерянным, озадаченным 3 смущенный): MMong. *mekri*, *mekr* 1 (MA 235, 327); WMong. *meke* 1, *megde-* 2, *mekei* 3 (L 533); Kh. *mex* 1, *megd-* 2, *mexij* 3; Bur. *mexe* 1, *megde-* 2; Kalm. *mekə* 1; Ord. *meχe*.

◊ KW 260. Mong. > Evk. *meke*, see Doerfer MT 127; > Yak., Dolg. *meke* (Kał. VII 44, Stachowski 178).

PJpn. ***mənka-r-** to deceive, lure (обманывать, соблазнять): MJpn. *moga-r-*.

PKor. ***mə̀k-** to be deaf (глохнуть, быть глухим): MKor. *mə̀k-*; Mod. *mək-*.

◊ Liu 313, KED 610.

‖ Cf. **mékʿa*.

✱**ma[kʿ]o** to wind, twist, bend: Tung. ***makti-**; Mong. ***makiji-**; Kor. ***mə̀i-**.

PTung. ***makti-** 1 to wind (ropes) 2 to wrap up (cloth) 3 to bend, wrap (1 вить (веревки) 2 закручивать (платье), подбирать края внутрь 3 сгибать, загибать): Neg. *makčị-nda-* 1; Man. *mači-* 2; Ul. *maqtị-la-* 1, *moqpụlị-* 3; Ork. *mụqpụri-* 3; Nan. *maχčị-ra-* 1; Orch. *makči-nda-* 1; Ud. *maktigi* 'a device for winding ropes'.

◊ TMC 1, 523, 544.

PMong. ***makiji-** to bend, curve (гнуть, искривлять): WMong. *makiji-*; Kh. *maxij-*; Kalm. *mäki-*.

◊ KW 258.

PKor. ***mə̀i-** to bind, tie up (связывать, завязывать): MKor. *mə̀i-*; Mod. *mə̃-*.

◊ Nam 206, KED 598.

‖ Cf. **múkʿe*. Loss of *-kʿ- in Kor. is unclear.

✱**mála** far, rare: Tung. ***mali-**; Jpn. ***mára**; Kor. ***mər-**.

PTung. ***mali-** 1 to be devoid of smth., to hunt without result 2 only, exclusively 3 abstemious, sparing (1 лишаться чего-л., ничего не добыть на охоте 2 только, исключительно 3 бережливый, умеренный): Evk. *malī-* 1; Neg. *malịxan* 2; Man. *malχun* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 524. Evk. > Yak. *malij-*, *melij-* (hardly vice versa, despite TMC ibid.).

PJpn. ***mára** 1 stranger, guest 2 rare (1 чужак, гость 2 редкий): OJpn. *mara-pjito* 1, mare 2; MJpn. *maraudo*, *mareudo* 1, *máré* 2; Tok. *màre* 2; Kyo. *máré* 2; Kag. *máre* 2.

◊ JLTT 472.

PKor. ***mər-** far (далекий): MKor. *mər-*; Mod. *məl-*.

◊ Nam 211, KED 613.

‖ Whitman 1985, 128, 192, 238. An Eastern isogloss.

✱**male** honey, plant oil: Tung. ***mala**; Mong. ***milaɣa-**; Turk. ***bạl**.

PTung. ***mala** sesame oil, plant oil (кунжутное масло, растительное масло): Man. *malaŋGu*; Ul. *mala* (*simseni*); Nan. *malengu* (*imekseni*).

◊ TMC 1, 523-524.

PMong. ***milaɣa-** to anoint, smear with oil (смазывать маслом): MMong. *malija-* 'to offer', *mali'an* 'service' (SH); WMong. *milaɣa-* (L 538); Kh. *ḿalā-*; Bur. *mila* 'satiety', *milāŋ* 'birthday'; Kalm. *melē-*, *malī-*, *malā́-* 'to smear with oil (on occasion of birth etc.)'; Ord. *milā-*.

◊ KW 255, 260, 262. A secondarily developed meaning is 'to treat, entertain (on some occasion)'. Mong. > Oyr. *malki-*, Yak. *malā-sin* (VEWT 324).

PTurk. ***baḷ** honey (мед): Karakh. *bal* (MK Suvar, Kypchak, Oghuz); Tur. *bal*; Gag. *bal*; Az. *bal*; Turkm. *bal*; Sal. *pal*; MTurk. *bal* (Sangl.); Uzb. *bɔl*; Uygh. *bal*; Krm. *bal*; Tat. *bal*; Bashk. *bal*; Kirgh. *bal*; Kaz. *bal*; KBalk. *bal*; KKalp. *bal*, *pal*; Kum. *bal*; Nogh. *bal*; Khak. *pal*; Shr. *pal*; Chuv. *pɨl*.

◊ VEWT 59, EDT 330, ЭСТЯ 2, 47. Turk. > Mong. *bal* (Щербак 1997, 103).

‖ A Western isogloss; but cf. perhaps *moro-* in Jpn. *moro-mi* 'undistilled sake, soy sauce', *moro-haku* 'distilled sake'.

✱**màli** stick, cudgel: Tung. ***mala**; Mong. ***milaɣa**; Turk. ***baltu**; Kor. ***már**.

PTung. ***mala** club, pestle (колотушка, молот, пест): Man. *mala*; Ud. *muĺeu*; Sol. *malã*.

◊ See TMC 1, 523.

PMong. ***milaɣa** whip (кнут): MMong. *mina'a* (HY 18, SH), *mina* (MA); WMong. *milaɣa* (L 538), *minaɣa*, *malija*; Kh. *malia*, *malā*; Bur. *minā*; Kalm. *maĺā*; Ord. *milā* 'a strip for fixing a whip on its handle'; Dag. *minā*, *nimā* (Тод. Даг. 154), *minā* (MD 191); Dong. *mina*; Bao. *mela*; S.-Yugh. *munā*.

◊ KW 254, MGCD 627. Khalkha *ḿalga* is borrowed from WMong.

PTurk. ***baltu** axe (топор): OTurk. *baltu* (OUygh.); Karakh. *baldu* (MK, KB); Tur. *balta*; Az. *balta*; Turkm. *palta*; MTurk. *baltu* (Abush., Sangl.); Uzb. *bɔlta*; Krm. *balta*; Tat. *balta*; Bashk. *balta*; Kirgh. *balta*; Kaz. *balta*; KBalk. *balta*; KKalp. *balta*; Kum. *balta*; Nogh. *balta*; Khak. *paltɨ*; *malta* (Sag.); Shr. *malta*; Oyr. *malta*; Tv. *ba'ldɨ* (Бичелдей 112); Yak. *balta*, *baltɨsax* 'arrow with blunt end'.

◊ VEWT 61, EDT 333, Лексика 397, ЭСТЯ 7. Modern forms with -a may in fact be secondary loans from Mong., see TMN 1, 199-200. Yak. *baltɨsax* can be probably identified with Turkm. *balžak*, Tur. *balčak* '(sword)-hilt'.

PKor. ***már** post, pole (шест, жердь): MKor. *már*; Mod. *mal-t:uk*.

◊ Nam 200, KED 583.

‖ Cf. also modern Kor. *moru* 'anvil', *moru-čhä* 'hammer' (although the vocalism is not quite clear < **maru*?). Turk. **baltu* 'axe' > Mong. *balta* (whence Evk. *balta* etc.), see Doerfer 1, 199, Щербак 1997, 104. Both Iranian and Akkadian origins of Turk. **baltu* (see Poppe 1953, Menges 1953) seem improbable and its Altaic origin quite possible.

✱**màli** disease, wound: Tung. ***māl-**; Mong. ***milan**; Turk. ***bAlɨg**.

PTung. ***māl-** 1 to die (of epidemic) 2 to destroy 3 bad omen 4 to catch an epidemic disease (1 вымирать (от эпидемии) 2 уничтожать 3 плохая примета 4 заразиться (во время эпидемии)): Neg. *malga* 3; Man. *majla-* 4; Ul. *mal-* 1, 2; Ork. *mal-* 2; Nan. *māl-* 1; Ud. *magi-* 2, *maga-* 1 (Корм. 258).

◊ TMC 1, 520, 524.

PMong. ***milan** plague (чума): WMong. *milan* (L 539); Kh. *ḿalan*; Bur. *mila(n)*.

PTurk. ***bAlɨg** wounded (раненый): OTurk. *balɨγ* (OUygh.); Karakh. *balɨγ* (MK, KB); Khak. *palɨγ*; Shr. *palɨγ*; Oyr. *balu*; Tv. *balɨγ*; Tof. *balɨγ*.

◊ VEWT 53, EDT 335, ЭСТЯ 2, 88-89. Turk. > Bur. *bala* 'bruise, injury'.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**màltʿe** to bend, twist: Tung. ***maltu-**; Mong. ***möltür- / *multur-**; Jpn. ***mǝ̀ntì-**.

PTung. ***maltu-** to bend (сгибать, складывать): Evk. *maltu-*; Evn. *maltʊ-*; Neg. *maltị-*; Ork. *māltịma* 'folding knife'; Sol. *malta-*.

◊ TMC 1, 524-525.

PMong. ***möltüre- / *multura-** to twist, contort, disentangle (вывихивать, выкручивать): MMong. *mulitul* (HY 40) 'to take off, move out'; WMong. *möltüre- / multura-* (L 546, 551); Kh. *möltr- / multr-*; *multla-* 'to take off, move out'; Bur. *mülterxej* 'slippy, intangible'; Kalm. *möltərə-* (KPC); Dong. *muturə-*; Mongr. *mutirē-* (SM 252), *mutərē-*; *mutili-* (SM 252), *mutələ-*.

◊ MGCD 489, 494.

PJpn. ***mǝ̀ntì-** to twist, bend (скручивать, сгибать): OJpn. *m(w)odip-*; MJpn. *mòdìr-*; Tok. *mojír-*; Kyo. *mójír-*; Kag. *mòjìr-*.

◊ JLTT 728. Accent in Kagoshima is irregular.

‖ A derivative **màltʿe-rV* is reflected in PM **möltü-r- / *multu-r-* and PJ **mǝ̀ntì-r-*.

✱**máltʿu** to dig, bury: Tung. ***malta-**; Mong. ***malta-**; Turk. ***baĺtar (?)**; Jpn. ***úntú-m- (< *múntú-m-)**; Kor. ***mùt-**.

PTung. ***malta-** to dig (soil with a hoof) (рыть (снег, землю копытом)): Evk. *malta-*; Man. *matala-*.

◊ TMC 1, 524. Man. *maltaku* 'a tool used for scraping dirt or mud' may be < Mong. (see Rozycki 154).

PMong. ***malta-** to dig (копать): MMong. *malta-* (SH); WMong. *malta-* (L 524); Kh. *malta-*; Bur. *malta-*; Kalm. *maltə-*; Ord. *malta-*; Dag. *malta-* (Тод. Даг. 153); Dong. *manta-*; Bao. *mantal-*; S.-Yugh. *malta-*; Mongr. *manta-*, *mənta-* (SM 231).

◊ KW 255, MGCD 478.

PTurk. ***baĺtar** sickle (серп): Karakh. *baštar* (MK).

◊ EDT 378.

PJpn. ***úntú-m- (< *mú-)** to dig, bury (копать, хоронить): OJpn. *udu-m-*; MJpn. *údú-m-*; Tok. *ùzume-*; Kyo. *ùzùmè-*; Kag. *uzumé-*.

◊ JLTT 782. Accent in Kyoto is irregular.

PKor. ***mùt-** to dig, bury (копать, хоронить): MKor. *mùt-*; Mod. *mut-*.

◊ Nam 223, KED 674.

‖ Poppe 1966, 196, Doerfer MT 61, Rozycki 155 regard the TM form as borrowed from Mong., which is not excluded (although dubious).

The Karakh. word may belong here if its original meaning was 'digging instrument' (> 'cutting instrument' > 'sickle'), but on the whole it is rather dubious, because of the unique cluster -št- (violating Helimski's rule). The Jpn. form reflects a frequent confusion between **mV-* and *V- in front of the following nasal.

✱**màlù** room: Tung. ***malu**; Jpn. ***mùruà**; Kor. ***maru**.

PTung. ***malu** honourable space within the house (front corner) (почетное место в жилище (передний угол)): Evk. *malu*; Evn. mal; Neg. *malụ*; Ul. *malụ*; Ork. *malụ*; Nan. *malụ*; Ud. *mali*, *malu*; Sol. *malū̱γū̱*.

◊ TMC 1, 525.

PJpn. ***mùruà** room (комната): OJpn. *murwo*; MJpn. *mùrò*; Tok. *muró*; Kyo. *múró*; Kag. *muró*.

◊ JLTT 488. Accent in Kyoto is irregular.

PKor. ***maru** floor (пол): MKor. *maru*, *maro*; Mod. *maru*.

◊ Liu 298, KED 561.

‖ An Eastern isogloss. See SKE 139 (Kor.-Tung.), Martin 232 (Jpn.-Kor.).

✱**máĺe** wild cat: Tung. ***mala-**; Mong. ***malur**; Turk. ***bɨńĺ(ɨk)**; Jpn. ***músásà(m)pì**.

PTung. ***mala-** wild cat; steppe hare (дикая степная кошка; степной заяц): Man. *malaxi*.

◊ TMC 1, 523. Novikova (Новикова 1972, 122) quotes Mong. *maluqai* (from "Пятиязычный словарь", Пекин 1957, III, 4919) as the source of the Manchu word.

PMong. ***malur** wild cat (дикий кот): WMong. *malur* (L 525); Kh. *malar*.

PTurk. ***bɨńĺ(ɨk)** cat (кошка): Karakh. *müš* (MK); Tur. *pɨšɨk* (dial.), *pisi*; Az. *pišik*; Turkm. *pišik*; Sal. *mišix*; Khal. *pušuq*; MTurk. *pišik*, *mušuq* (Pav. C., Abush., MA); Uzb. *mušuk*; Uygh. *möšük*; Tat. *pesi*, dial. *mɨšɨq*; Bashk. *bisäj*; Kirgh. *mɨšɨq*; Kaz. *mɨsɨq*; KKalp. *pɨšɨq*; Kum. *mišik*, *bišew*; Nogh. *mɨsɨq*; SUygh. *miš*, *mišik*; Oyr. *mɨžɨq*.

◊ VEWT 337, EDT 772, ЭСТЯ 7. Cf., however, OUygh. *mišqič* < Sogd. *mwškyšč* id. Tur. *pisi*, Tat. *pesi* are expressive calling forms, which may explain their irregularity (medial -s-).

PJpn. ***músásà(m)pì** flying squirrel (белка-летяга): OJpn. *musasabji*; MJpn. *músásàbjì*; Tok. *mùsasabi*, *musásabi*; Kyo. *mùsásábì*; Kag. *musasábi*.

◊ JLTT 489.

‖ In Jpn. -u- is irregular (*-ə- would be expected); this is probably a distortion in a long word. Turkic, as in a number of other cases, preserves here some traces of nasalization.

✱**mana** many, big: Tung. ***mani**; Mong. ***mandu- / *mantu-**; Turk. ***bạnɨ- ~ *bonɨ-**; Jpn. ***manai-**; Kor. ***mān(h)-**.

PTung. ***mani** crowd, flock, herd (толпа, стая): Evk. *man*; Neg. *man*; Ul. *mandụ*; Ork. *mandị*; Nan. *mandụ*; Orch. *maṅi*; Ud. *mani*.

◊ TMC 1, 526.

PMong. ***mandu- / *mantu-** big, large (большой): MMong. *mandu-* 'to increase, develop' (SH, HYt); WMong. *mandu-* (L 526) / *mantu-*; Kh. *mandgar*, *mantaj*; Bur. *mandagar*, *mantan*, *mantagar*.

◊ Cf. also MMong. *mene* 'very' (> Yak. *mēne* 'very', see Kał. VII 44, Stachowski 178).

PTurk. ***bạnɨ- ~ *bonɨ-** big, large (большой): Chuv. *mъ^{w}nъ^{w}*.

◊ Федотов 1, 349.

PJpn. ***manai-** many (много, многочисленный): OJpn. *mane-*.

PKor. ***mān(h)-** many (много): MKor. *mān-hǎ-*; Mod. *mān-* [*mānh-*].

◊ Nam 199, KED 578.

‖ Ozawa 27-28 (Jap-Mong.); МССНЯ 348, Martin 249, АПиПЯЯ 26, 276.

✱**mána (~-o)** to learn, try: Tung. ***man-dū-**; Jpn. ***máná(m)p-**.

PTung. ***man-dū-** to try, strive (стараться, стремиться): Evk. *man-dūw-*; Evn. *manru-*; Ork. *mandụ-*.

◊ TMC 1, 528.

PJpn. ***máná(m)p-** to learn (учиться): OJpn. *manab-*; MJpn. *mánáb-*; Tok. *mànabu*; Kyo. *mánábú*; Kag. *manáb-*.

◊ JLTT 720.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss. Not quite reliable, since the Jpn. word is usually derived < **mána-* 'imitating, similarity' (v. sub **méŋa*); but a confusion of two originally different root was possible in Japanese.

✱**mànčʿu (~ -i̯a-)** swaddling-clothes: Mong. ***mančuj**; Jpn. ***mùtù-kí**.

PMong. ***mančuj** swaddling-clothes (пеленки): WMong. *mančui* (L 525); Kh. *mancuj*; Bur. *mansɨ*; Kalm. *mancū* (KPC); Ord. *mančʷī*.

PJpn. ***mùtù-kí** swaddling-clothes (пеленки): MJpn. *mùtù-kí*; Tok. *mútsuki*; Kyo. *mútsúkí*; Kag. *mutsukí*.

◊ JLTT 489. Accent in Kyoto is not quite regular (*mútsúkì* would be expected).

‖ A Mong.-Jpn. isogloss. It is interesting to note PT **belčük* 'cradle' - perhaps < **benčük*, under the influence of **bele-* 'to swaddle'.

✱**mǎndo** a k. of elk: Tung. ***manda-ksa**; Mong. ***manǯi**; Turk. ***botu**.

PTung. ***manda-ksa** elk (лось): Evk. *mandaksa*; Neg. *mandaksa*.

◊ TMC 1, 527.

PMong. ***manǯi** male elk (самец лося): WMong. *manǯi* (MXTTT); Kh. *manǯ*.

PTurk. ***botu** young of camel (верблюжонок): Karakh. *botu* (MK); Tur. *potak* (dial.); Az. *pota* 'young of buffalo, bear'; MTurk. *bota* 'child;

young of animal' (Abush., Sangl.); Uzb. *bọta*; Uygh. *bota*; Krm. *bota*; Tat. *buta*; Bashk. *buta*; Kirgh. *boto*; Kaz. *bota*; KKalp. *bota*; Nogh. *bota*.

◊ EDT 299, ЭСТЯ 2, 198-200, Лексика 448 (with an error: the Az. form is listed as Turkm.) (> MMong. *botoγan*, KW 53, TMN 2, 328-329, Щербак 1997, 109; Oyr. *botōn* and Tuva *bo'daγan* are probably backloans from Mong.).

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**mā́n[u]** useless, insufficient: Tung. ***mana-**; Turk. ***būn**; Jpn. ***múná-si-**.

PTung. ***mana-** to be spent, exhausted, worn out (израсходовать(ся), истощить(ся), износить(ся)): Evk. *mana-*; Evn. *man-*; Neg. *mana-*; Man. *mana-*; SMan. *manə-* (276); Jurch. *man-na-lar* (839); Ul. *mana-*; Ork. *mana-*; Nan. *mana-*; Orch. *mana-*.

◊ TMC 1, 526-527. Cf. also a variant **mene* 'few; in vain' (TMC 1, 569).

PTurk. ***būn** defect (недостаток, дефект): Karakh. *mun* (KB), *muna-* 'be defective'; *mun*, *mun-luγ* (IM); Kirgh. *munžu* 'cripple'; Oyr. dial. *miŋ-da-* 'become insufficient'; Yak. *mīn-* 'be insufficient'.

◊ ОСНЯ 3, 55, VEWT 344, ЭСТЯ 7. EDT 347 does not see back vowel forms in old texts and relates all the forms to **bün* 'defect' q. v. sub **mùne*.

PJpn. ***múná-si-** empty, useless (пустой, напрасный, бесполезный): OJpn. *muna-si-*; MJpn. *múná-si-*; Tok. *mùnashi-*; Kyo. *múnáshì-*; Kag. *munashí-*.

◊ JLTT 835.

‖ Cf. **mùne*, **múnu*. Turkic *-ū- is irregular here (**bān* would be expected).

✱**mā́ńa** paw, hand: Tung. ***mańa**; Turk. ***bĀń-**.

PTung. ***mańa** paw (of an animal) (лапа): Evk. *mana*, *mańa*; Evn. *māna*; Neg. *mańa*; Ul. *mańa*, *maī*; Nan. *māja*; Orch. *māńaka*; Ud. *mana*.

◊ TMC 1, 526. Length in Nan. is not quite clear (perhaps compensatory < **majā* < **mańaka*).

PTurk. ***bĀń-** 1 sole (of foot) 2 footwear (1 подошва (ноги) 2 обувь (войлочные чулки, валенки)): Tur. *maja* 'fleshy part of the palm' (Vidin, Németh 1965), SDD); Az. dial. *maja* 'подошва копыта' (Nakhich.); Turkm. dial. *māja* (Tek.) 'aja' (ТДГДС 124), *pajpaq* (144) 2; Uzb. *pajpɔq* 2, 'camel's foot', dial. *mъjələk* 'mitten' (Фармонов 19); Tat. *majmaq* 'stable, steadfast' (of an animal's paw, hoof), dial. *pajpaq* (KCTT) 2; Kirgh. *bajmaq* 'lower part of shank', *bajpaq* 2, *majpɨq* 'flat' (of a horse's hoof, bear's paw); Kaz. *bajpaq* 2; KKalp. *bajpaq* 2; Khak. *majmax* 2; Tv. *majɨq* 1.

◊ VEWT 323. Cf. also Oyr. *majrɨk* 'стаптываться' etc. Forms with the meaning 'footwear' are explained by Budagov as compounds with an iranism (*paj - baγ* "foot bandage"), which does not seem convincing; we are dealing rather with a dialectal diffusion of the derivative **bāń-mak*. Cf. TMN 4, 275, Шипова 49, Аникин 110, 382, 458.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss; cf. perhaps also Kh. (*dalnɨ*) *majā* 'шейка лопатки'.

✱**mańu(kʹV)** a k. of fish: Tung. ***māńgu / *mańma**; Mong. ***munig**; Turk. ***bańak-**; Jpn. ***mùná(n)kí**; Kor. ***mə̀ijùkí**.

PTung. ***māńgu / *mańma** 1 Salmo Lenoc 2 trout 3 crucian 4 whitebaits (1 ленок 2 форель 3 карась 4 снетки): Evk. *mājgu* 1, *majma* / *manma* 2; Evn. *mönke* 2; Neg. *manma* 2; Man. *marma nisiχa* 2; *moŋgošun* 3; *muŋku* 4; Nan. *menekse* 'назв. рыбы'; Ud. *mojoʹu*, *mejeu* 1 (Корм. 261).

◊ TMC 1, 521-522, 545, 548. TM > Mong. *marma* (see Doerfer MT 91); > Russ. *maĺma* (see Аникин 371).

PMong. ***munig** bleak, ablet (уклейка): WMong. *muniγ*; Kh. *munig*; Kalm. *mūńəg*.

◊ KW 269.

PTurk. ***bańak-** white-fish (сиг): Yak. *maǰaγas* (Пек.).

PJpn. ***mùná(n)kí** eel (угорь): OJpn. *munagji*; MJpn. *mùnágí*; Tok. *ùnagi*; Kyo. *ùnàgí*; Kag. *unagí*.

◊ JLTT 562.

PKor. ***mə̀ijùkí** trout; (KED) catfish, wels, horned-pout (форель): MKor. *mə̀ijùkí*; Mod. *megi*.

◊ Nam 213, KED 616.

‖ Cf. also Kalm. *manžə(g) zaγəsn* 'Plötze; Kaulbarsch' (KW 255, 256); WMong. *montuwqai*, Khalkha *montōxoi* 'a k. of fish', *maj* 'herring'. Like in many other fish names, there are phonetic problems, probably due to interdialectal borrowing.

✱**maŋga (~-o)** big, strong: Tung. ***maŋga**; Jpn. ***manki-**.

PTung. ***maŋga** strong, hard (сильный, крепкий, твердый): Evk. *maŋa*; Evn. *maŋ*; Neg. *maŋga*; Man. *maŋGa*, *meŋge*; Jurch. *maŋ-ga* (702); Ul. *maŋGa*; Ork. *maŋGa*; Nan. *maŋGa*; Orch. *maŋga*, *maŋasi*; Ud. *maŋga*, *maŋahi*; Sol. *mandê*, *mandī* 'very, heavily'.

◊ See TMC 1, 529. TM > Dag. *manga* (Тод. Даг. 153).

PJpn. ***manki-** big (большой):

◊ A Ryukyu root: Shuri *mágí-*, Yonaguni *máí-* etc.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 113, 280. A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss (within Jpn. preserved only in the Ryukyu dialects, where it is the basic word for 'big'). Cf. perhaps Khak., Oyr. *maŋ* 'success, luck' (if not < OUygh. (Suv.) *maŋal* < Sanskr. *maŋgala*). In TM a possible derivative is **maŋ(g)ī* 'giant; evil spirit' (TMC 1, 530) - which brings us to Mong. *maŋgus* id. (which, despite Doerfer MT 39, can hardly be the source of Tungus words).

✱**m[a]ŋi** cicada, a k. of insect: Tung. ***mana-**; Turk. ***bAŋiŕ (~-s)**; Jpn. ***mìmìnsúkù**; Kor. ***mə̀ijàmí**.

PTung. ***mana-** louse (вошь): Evn. *manačān*; Ork. *maŋuluṭče-* 'to bite (of fleas, bedbugs)'.

◊ TMC 1, 527, 531.

PTurk. ***bAŋiŕ (~-s)** gad-fly (овод): Khak. *mās*; Shr. *mās*; Oyr. *paas* 'gad-fly' (Leb.), *maŋγis* 'locust' (Oyr.); Tv. *mãas*; Tof. *mās*.

◊ VEWT 329, 327.

PJpn. ***mìmìnsúkù** Ledra auditura Walker (кобылочка японская (цикадка)): Tok. *mímizuku*, *mimízuku*; Kyo. *mìmìzúkù*; Kag. *mimizukú*.

PKor. ***mǎijàmí** cicada (цикада): MKor. *mǎijàmí*; Mod. *mā̃mi*.

◊ Nam 207, KED 599.

‖ Some irregularities are due to the root semantics.

✱**maŋi (~ *meŋa)** joy: Mong. ***maɣa-**; Turk. ***beŋi**.

PMong. ***maɣa-** 1 conceited 2 to smile, enjoy, feel joy (1 самодовольный 2 улыбаться, наслаждаться, радоваться): WMong. *maγad-*, *maγas-* (БАМРС); Kh. *mādgar* 1, *mās-* 2; Bur. *mādagar* 1; Kalm. *māsxəlzə-* 2 (КРС); ? *mādəγər* 'хмурый, насупившийся'.

PTurk. ***beŋi** joy, pleasure (радость, удовольствие): OTurk. *beŋi*, *meŋi*; Karakh. *meŋi* (MK).

◊ EDT 348, Лексика 195 (sub 'brain').

‖ A Turk.-Mong. isogloss.

✱**màra (~-ŕ-)** to refuse, quarrel: Tung. ***mari-**; Mong. ***margu-**; Jpn. ***màtuàp-**; Kor. ***mār-**.

PTung. ***mari-** 1 to quarrel 2 to refuse, resist 3 be stubborn (1 спорить 2 отказываться, сопротивляться 3 быть упрямым): Man. *mara-* 2; Ul. *moṛiqu* 3; Nan. *maṛia-* 1,3; Orch. *mari-* 1; Ud. *malea-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 532.

PMong. ***margu-** to quarrel, resist, contest (ссориться, сопротивляться, оспаривать): WMong. *maryu-* (L 529); Kh. *marga-*; Bur. *marga-*; Kalm. *maryə-*; Ord. *marGuči-*; S.-Yugh. *marGāda* 'quarrel'; Mongr. *marGāndo* 'quarrel'.

◊ KW 257, MGCD 481.

PJpn. ***màtuàp-** to hesitate (сомневаться): OJpn. *matwop-*; MJpn. *màtòf-*; Tok. *madó-*; Kyo. *mádó-*; Kag. *madó-*.

◊ JLTT 719. Accent in Kagoshima is irregular (probably under literary influence).

PKor. ***mār-** to refrain, shun, avoid (отказываться (от ч.-л.), воздерживаться, не сметь): MKor. *mār-*; Mod. *māl-*.

◊ Nam 200, KED 582.

‖ SKE 138-139, PKE 103, Menges 1984, 277. Despite Doerfer MT 144, hardly borrowed in TM < Mong. In Turk. the root has probably merged with **boŕ- / *buŕ-* 'damage, oppress' (cf. also **burul- ~ *borul-* 'to be angry', ЭСТЯ 2, 269). The Korean form may be alternatively compared with Mong. *melǯe-* 'to refuse, refrain'.

✱**mā́ro** sand, stony earth, marsh: Tung. ***mar-**; Mong. ***mara-**; Turk. ***bōr**; Jpn. ***mana-n-kua**; Kor. ***mòr'ái**.

PTung. ***mar-** moor, marsh (марник, болото): Evk. *mar, mari-kta*.

◊ TMC 1, 531. Attested only in Evk., but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***mara-** salty earth (солончак): WMong. *mara*, *marayan*; Kh. *marā*; Bur. *marā*; Kalm. *marā*.

◊ KW 257.

PTurk. ***bōr** 1 chalk 2 earth 3 clay (1 мел 2 земля 3 глина): Tur. *bor* 2; Turkm. dial. *bōr* 1; MTurk. *bor* 1 (Pav. C.); Uzb. *bọr* 1; Uygh. *bo(r)* 1; Krm. *bor* 1; Tat. *bur* 1; Bashk. *bur* 1; Kirgh. *bor* 1; Kaz. *bor* 1; KKalp. *bor*, *por* 1; Kum. *bor* 1; Nogh. *bor* 1; Khak. *por* 1; Tv. *por* 3; Tof. *bor* 'солонцы'; Chuv. *porъ* 1; Yak. *buor* 2; Dolg. *buor* 2, 3.

◊ VEWT 80, ЭСТЯ 2, 192-193, Лексика 100, 376, Федотов 1, 444, Stachowski 66-67. Turk. > Kalm. *borə*, Bur. *bor*.

PJpn. ***mana-n-kua** sand (песок): OJpn. *mana-gwo*.

◊ The world is attested already in Manyōshū, and its derivation < **ma-suna-gwo* (JLTT 473) seems hardly possible.

PKor. ***mòr'ái** sand (песок): MKor. *mòr'ái*; Mod. *morä*.

◊ Nam 218, KED 629.

‖ SKE 151 (Turk.-Kor.), АПиПЯЯ 288. In MKor. cf. also a reduplicated form: *màmǎrǎ-* 'rough, stony (ground)'. The Jpn. form must be explained as a result of nasal assimilation (**mana-* < **mara-n-*); but cf. for Jpn. **mana-n-kua* alternatively Mong. **maŋka* 'long sandy hill' (MGCD 481).

✱**máro (~-í-)** to roll, bend: Tung. ***mari-**; Mong. ***marija-, mirija-**; Jpn. ***mát(u)áp-**; Kor. ***mǎr-**.

PTung. ***mari-** 1 to bend, curl 2 to turn, return (1 гнуться, виться 2 оборачиваться, возвращаться): Evk. *mariw-* 1; Evn. *marlụ-* 1; Man. *mari-* 2; SMan. *mari-* (1178) 2.

◊ TMC 1, 532.

PMong. ***marija-, mirija-** to creep (up), crawl, be in ambush (подползать, быть в засаде): WMong. *marija-*, *mirayа-*, *mirija-* (L 529); Kh. *ḿarā-*; Bur. *maŕā-*; Kalm. *merā̄-*; Mongr. *mara* (SM 233).

◊ KW 261.

PJpn. ***mát(u)áp-** to roll up, wrap (свертывать, заворачивать): OJpn. *matup-*; MJpn. *mátóf-*; Tok. *mató-*; Kyo. *mátó-*; Kag. *mató-*.

◊ JLTT 721. The Tokyo accent is irregular.

PKor. ***mǎr-** to roll up, curl up (свертывать, скручивать): MKor. *mǎr-*; Mod. *mal-*.

◊ Nam 202, KED 582.

‖ The Mong. form is somewhat dubious semantically ('creep up' < 'coil up'?); otherwise the root seems quite reliable.

✱**maru (~ -ŕ-)** heap, crowd, many: Tung. ***mar(b)u**; Jpn. ***mə́rə́, *múrà**; Kor. ***muri, *múr**.

PTung. ***mar(b)u** 1 heap 2 flock, herd (1 куча 2 стая, стадо): Evk. *murbu* 1; Man. *maru* 2; Ul. *marụ(n)* 2; Nan. *mārõ* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 532, 558.

PJpn. ***mə́rə́, *múrà** 1 all, every 2 crowd 3 mountain (все, каждый): OJpn. *m(w)oro*, *m(w)orom(w)oro* 1, *mura* 2, mure 3; MJpn. *mórómóró* 1, *múrà* 2; Tok. *mòromoro* 1, *mùre* 2; Kyo. *mórómóró* 1, *múré* 2; Kag. *moromóro* 1, *múre* 2.

◊ JLTT 485, 488.

PKor. ***muri, *múr** 1 crowd, many 2 every (1 толпа, множество 2 каждый): MKor. *múr* 2; Mod. *muri* 1.

◊ Nam 223, KED 657.

‖ Martin 229, Whitman 1985, 127, 194, 239, SKE 153, АПиПЯЯ 279. An Eastern isogloss. In MKor. cf. also *mɨrɨs* 'all, in general'. In Jpn. low tone would be expected; high tone here was probably induced by the similar **mə́r-* 'to heap up' (see under **mi̯alo*), which also influenced the vowel in **mə́rə́*.

✱**másа** more, stronger: Tung. ***masi**; Mong. ***masi**; Turk. ***bAsa**; Jpn. ***más-**.

PTung. ***masi** hard, strong, strongly (крепкий, сильный, сильно): Neg. *masi*; Man. *masi-la-* 'become stronger'; Ul. *masi*; Ork. *masi*; Nan. *masi*; Orch. *masi*; Ud. *mahi*.

◊ TMC 1, 528.

PMong. ***masi** very, extremely (очень, чрезвычайно): MMong. *maši* (SH, HYt); WMong. *masi* (L 530); Kh. *maš*; Bur. *maša*; Kalm. *mašə*; Ord. *maši*.

◊ KW 257.

PTurk. ***bAsa** also, as well (также, кроме того): OTurk. *basa* 'right after' (OUygh.); Karakh. *basa* 'afterwards' (MK); Turkm. *basa*; MTurk. (MKypch.) *basa* (AH, Ad-Durr.); Uzb. *base* 'frequently, often'; Kirgh. *basa*; Kaz. *basa* (R); Khak. *paza*; Shr. *paza*; Oyr. *baza*; Tv. *baza*; Yak. *bɨha* 'in the course of' (?).

◊ EDT 371 (but not from **bas-* 'press'!). Turk. > Mong. *basa* (Clark 1980, 39, Щербак 1997, 104).

PJpn. ***más-** 1 to become bigger 2 more, again (1 увеличиваться 2 больше, снова): OJpn. *mas-* 1, *masu(masu)* 2; MJpn. *más-* 1; Tok. *màs-* 1, *masúmasu* 2; Kyo. *màs-* 1, *màsúmásù* 2; Kag. *más-* 1, *masumásu* 2.

◊ JLTT 473, 721. Kyoto *màs-* is irregular.

‖ EAS 79, KW 257. TM may be borrowed from Mong. (see Doerfer MT 144).

✱**mébo (~ -p-)** to shamanize, dance: Tung. ***mebu-**; Jpn. ***máp-**.

PTung. ***mebu-** to shamanize, dance (камлать, танцевать): Ul. *mewu-*; Ork. *mewu-*; Nan. *meu-*; Orch. *mewu-*; Ud. *meu-* (Корм. 264).

◊ TMC 1, 562.

PJpn. ***máp-** to dance (танцевать): OJpn. map-; MJpn. *máf-*; Tok. *mà-*; Kyo. *má-*; Kag. *má-*.

◊ JLTT 722.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss.

✱**mḗča** monkey: Mong. ***mečin**; Turk. ***bĒčin**; Jpn. ***masi**.

PMong. ***mečin** monkey (обезьяна): MMong. *sor-məči* (IM); WMong. *meči(n)* (L 531); Kh. *meč*; Bur. *meše(n)*; Kalm. *sar-möčn̥* (KPC); Ord. *meči(n)* 'a cyclic sign'; Mongr. *mećin* (SM 237).

◊ TMN 2, 383. Mong. > Nogh., Kaz., KKalp. *mešin*, Kirgh., Oyr. *mečin*. The Kalm. and IM forms are a contamination with *sarmagčin* (q. v. sub **sara)*.

PTurk. ***bĒčin** monkey (обезьяна): OTurk. *bečin* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *bečin* (MK); Turkm. *bīǯin*; MTurk. *bečin* (MA, Sangl.); SUygh. *pičin*; Chuv. (Bulg.) *bexti* '(year of the) monkey'.

◊ VEWT 66, EDT 295-296, ЭСТЯ 2, 128-129, TMN 2, 382, Лексика 168. All IE sources (EDT 295, TMN 2, 382-383), like Pers. *būzīna*, proposed for this word are quite unclear etymologically and probably borrowed themselves.

PJpn. ***masi** monkey (обезьяна): OJpn. *masi*; MJpn. *masi*, *masira*.

◊ JLTT 473.

‖ Ozawa 98-99, Лексика 168. The Jpn. parallel shows that, despite Clark 1980, 43, there is no need for assuming Mong. < Turk. (which is difficult because of *m-, but still possible; the Mong. variant *bečin* is certainly < Turkic).

✱**meju** to shake, sway: Tung. ***mej-**; Mong. ***maji-**; Turk. ***bań-**; Kor. ***mūi- / *mùi'ú-**.

PTung. ***mej-** to shake, sway (качаться): Evk. *mej-*; Evn. *mēji-*; Ud. *mejmeli-* 'to descend on skis, sleigh' (Корм. 264).

◊ TMC 1, 564.

PMong. ***maji-** to sway, walk swayingly (качаться, шататься): WMong. *mai-mur-* (L 523: *maimari*), *mei-mere-*; Kh. *majmar-*; Bur. *majza-gajr-*; Kalm. *mā̄mr-*, *mīmr-*; Ord. *mā̄mar*.

◊ KW 259, 263.

PTurk. ***bań-** 1 to wave 2 to sway 3 club-footed 4 curved 5 to bend 6 to be bent, curved (1 махать 2 качаться 3 косолапый, кривоногий 4 кривой 5 гнуть 6 гнуться, быть согнутым): Karakh. *maj-γuq* 3 (MK); Turkm. *majɨr-* 5, *majrɨq* 'overstrained', *maj-tɨq* 3, *majmɨq* 4; MTurk. *ma-jruq* 3, 4 (Abush., Pav.C); Uzb. *majriq* 3, dial. *bajmaq* 3 (Radl.); Uygh. *majmaq* 3; Krm. *majɨš-* 6; Kirgh. *majrɨj-*, *majɨš-* 6, *maj-tar-* 5, *majrɨq* 3, *ma-jmaq* 3; Kaz. *majɨs-* 6, *majɨr-* 5, *majrɨq* 3, *majmaq* 3; KKalp. *majɨs-* 6, *majmaq*

3; Kum. *majɨr-* 'to wrench', *majšaj-* 'to mis-step', *majmaq* 3; Nogh. *majɨs-* 6, *majɨr-* 5; Shr. *majrɨq* 3, *majrɨl-* 6; Oyr. *majrɨq* 4, 3; Tv. *majɨš-qaq* 4, *majɨrɨq*, *maj-ta-q* 3; Yak. *bajātɨŋ-* 2, *bajāttaŋnā-* 1 (Пек. - without nasalization), dial. *majɣax* 'convolution'.

◊ See ОСНЯ 3, 45-46. Turk. **bańɨ-guk* > WMong. *majiɣaɣ*, Kalm. *mǎɣəɣ* (KW 259) 'club-footed'.

PKor. ***mūi- / *mùi'ú-** to shake, sway (качать(ся)): MKor. *mūi- / mùi'ú-*; Mod. *mwi-* (arch.).

◊ Nam 224, KED 685.

‖ See SKE 144, TMC 1, 564, ОСНЯ 3, 45-47, Дыбо 12. Turkic has a normal transfer of nasalization (**bań-* < **maj-*).

✱**mĕko** to pull out: Tung. ***meK(u)-**; Jpn. ***mək-**; Kor. ***mǎi-**.

PTung. ***meK(u)-** 1 to pull out (meat from kettle) 2 to borrow 3 to put aside 4 wooden dish (1 вытаскивать (мясо из котла) 2 брать в долг 3 отложить в сторону 4 деревянная миска): Evk. *meku-* 3, *mukči-kāt-* 2; Evn. *mēk-* 1, *mēkehek* 4; Ul. *mukse* 4; Nan. *muksu* 4; Orch. *moko* 4; Ud. *moxo* 4.

◊ TMC 1, 553, 565.

PJpn. ***mək-** to pull out (вырывать, отрывать): MJpn. *mòk-*; Tok. *móg-*; Kyo. *móg-*; Kag. *móg-*.

◊ JLTT 726. RJ and Tokyo point unambiguosly to low tone; accent in Kyoto and Kagoshima is most probably influenced by the Tokyo form.

PKor. ***mǎi-** to pull out, to weed (выдергивать, пропалывать): MKor. *mǎi-*; Mod. *mä-*.

◊ Nam 207, KED 598.

‖ An Eastern isogloss.

✱**mékʿà** to be in a bad position: Tung. ***meK-**; Mong. ***mak-**; Jpn. ***máká-**; Kor. ***màk-**.

PTung. ***meK-** to be beaten (быть избитым, поколоченным): Man. *mekere-*.

◊ TMC 1, 566.

PMong. ***mak-** 1 to walk with difficulty 2 to strive, be diligent (1 ходить с трудом 2 стараться, быть прилежным): WMong. *maqara-* 2 (MXTTT); Kh. *maxra-* 2; Bur. *maxa-* 1.

PJpn. ***máká-** to lose (a game etc.) (проигрывать): OJpn. *maka-*; MJpn. *máká-*; Tok. *màke-*; Kyo. *máké-*; Kag. *maké-*.

◊ JLTT 719.

PKor. ***màk-** to stop up, block, prevent (препятствовать): MKor. *màk-*; Mod. *mak-*.

◊ Nam 198, KED 569.

‖ Martin 226. Cf. **makʿe*.

✱**mékʿù** meat; part of body: Tung. ***meKile**; Mong. ***mikan**; Jpn. ***múkúrua**.

PTung. ***meKile** fat under bird's skin (жир (птичий подкожный)): Neg. *mexile*.

◊ TMC 1, 565. Attested only in Neg., but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***mikan** meat (мясо): MMong. *mixan* (HY 24, 48), *miqan* (SH), *mixa* (IM), *miqan* (MA); WMong. *miqa(n)* (L 540); Kh. *max(an)*; Bur. *ḿaxa(n)*; Kalm. *maxən*; Ord. *maxa(n)*; Mog. *miqōn*; ZM *miqān* (4-1a); Dag. *ḿaga*, *miag* (Тод. Даг. 153), *miahe*, *niahe* (MD 191, 198); Dong. *miGa*, *miɣa*; Bao. *meGa*; S.-Yugh. *maxGan*; Mongr. *maxa* (SM 230).

◊ KW 254, MGCD 483.

PJpn. ***múkúrua** body, dead body (тело, труп): OJpn. *mukur(w)o*; MJpn. *múkúro*; Tok. *mùkuro*, *mukuró*; Kyo. *múkúró*; Kag. *mukuró*.

◊ JLTT 488. The Tokyo variant *mukuró* and Kagoshima *mukuró* point to an accent variant **mùkùruà*.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 294.

✱**melo** a k. of fish: Tung. ***melu**; Turk. ***bẹl**.

PTung. ***melu** plaice (камбала): Orch. *mēlu*; Ud. *melu*.

◊ TMC 1, 567.

PTurk. ***bẹl** a k. of salmon (Salmo taimen) (вид лосося): Tat. *bil*; Oyr. *bel*; Tv. *bel*; Yak. *bil*.

◊ Лексика 179.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**mĕlu** a k. of berry: Tung. ***m[e]likte**; Mong. ***mojil-**; Turk. ***bẹleĺ**.

PTung. ***m[e]li-kte** rowan (рябина): Evk. *molikta*; Ul. *milekte*; Ork. *milekte*.

◊ TMC 1, 536.

PMong. ***mojil** bird-cherry (черемуха): MMong. *mojil-sun* 'a k. of fruit' (SH); WMong. *mojil*, *moji(l)-su* (L 542); Kh. *mojl*; Bur. *mojhon*; Dag. *mojle* (MD 191).

◊ Mong. > Kypch. *mojil* (see Лексика 136).

PTurk. ***bẹleĺ** rowan (рябина): Turkm. *meleš*; Tat. *mileš*; Bashk. *miläš*; Oyr. *pälä*; Chuv. *pileš*.

◊ VEWT 338.

‖ Дыбо 11. A Western isogloss. Note traces of nasalization preserved in PT (one could reconstruct **benleĺ* or **belenĺ*). Mong **mojil-* regularly < **molil-* (= **beleĺ*).

✱**mèl[ú]** to become stale, overripe, wither: Tung. ***mel-me- ?**; Jpn. ***mùrá-**; Kor. ***mǎrǎ-**.

PTung. ***mel-me-** to congeal (of blood) (сгущаться, запекаться (о крови)): Man. *melme-*.

◊ TMC 1, 567.

PJpn. ***mùrá-** to become stale; to be overboiled (становиться затхлым; развариваться): Tok. *muré-*; Kyo. *mùrè-*; Kag. *mùrè-*.

◊ JLTT 729.

PKor. ***mȁrȁ-** dry (сухой): MKor. *mȁrȁ-*; Mod. *mari-*.

◊ Nam 195, KED 561.

‖ Korean has a "verbal" low tone. Basically a Kor.-Jpn. isogloss; the TM parallel is much more problematic (poorly attested and semantically distant).

✱**mȅĺba (~ -p-)** to stir up: Tung. ***melbi-**; Jpn. ***mànsì-(p)-**.

PTung. ***melbi-** 1 to row 2 oar (1 грести 2 весло): Evk. *melbike* 2; Neg. *melbixen* 2; Man. *melbi-* 1, *melbiku* 2; Ul. *melbi-* 1, *melbike(n)* 2; Ork. *melbi* 2; Nan. *melbi-* 1, *melbiẽ* 2; Orch. *mebbu(ku)* 2; Ud. *megbu*, *mebu* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 566.

PJpn. ***mànsì-(p)-** to mix (смешивать): OJpn. *mazipa-*, *maza-*; MJpn. *màzìfa-*, *maza-*; Tok. *majié-*, *mazé-*; Kyo. *májié-*, *màzè-*; Kag. *majié-*, *màzè-*.

◊ JLTT 722.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss. Phonetically the match is precise; as for the meaning, one has to suppose a rather frequent development *'row' > 'stir up' > 'mix'.

✱**mȅĺʒu (~ -a)** head: Tung. ***meli-mu**; Mong. ***malʒa-**, ***melʒe-**; Turk. ***baĺč**; Kor. ***mȁrí**.

PTung. ***meli-** 1 neck joint 2 back part of neck 3 sinciput 4 fish skeleton 5 skeleton (1 шейный позвонок 2 задняя часть шеи 3 темя 4 рыбий костяк 5 скелет): Evn. *melimki* 1; Neg. *īxej-melin* 5; Ul. *mugže* 3; Ork. *melimu* 2; Nan. *mulgikte* 4; Orch. *muggikta* 5.

◊ TMC 1, 302, 549, 550, 567.

PMong. ***mal-ʒa-**, ***melʒe-**, ***malaji-** bald (лысый): WMong. *malʒan* (L 525), *melʒen* (L 535), *malaji-*; Kh. *malʒan*, *melʒen*; Bur. *malzan*, *melzen*, *malān*, *malaj-* 'be bald'; Kalm. *malzn*, *malā̈-*; Ord. *malʒan*; Dag. *malʒin* (Тод. Даг. 153).

◊ KW 254. Mong. > Yak., Dolg. *malān* (Kał. VII 43, Stachowski 175).

PTurk. ***baĺč** head (голова): OTurk. *baš* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *baš* (MK, KB); Tur. *baš*; Gag. *baš*; Az. *baš*; Turkm. *baš*; Sal. *baš*; Khal. *baš*; MTurk. *baš* (Abush., MA); Uzb. *bɔš*; Uygh. *baš*; Krm. *baš*; Tat. *baš*; Bashk. *baš*; Kirgh. *baš*; Kaz. *baš*; KBalk. *baš*; KKalp. *bas*; Kum. *baš*; Nogh. *bas*; SUygh. *baš*; Khak. pas; Shr. *paš*; Oyr. *baš*; Tv. *ba'š*; Tof. *ba'š*; Chuv. *poś*; Yak. *bas*; *battaq* 'hair of head'; Dolg. *bas*; *battak* 'head of reindeer; reindeer skin'.

◊ VEWT 64, ЭСТЯ 2, 85-88, TMN 2, 250-253, EDT 375-6, Федотов 1, 452, Ашм. X, 15, Лексика 194, Stachowski 54, 55.

PKor. ***mȁrí** head (голова): MKor. *mȁrí*; Mod. *məri*.

◊ Nam 210, KED 608.

‖ EAS 109, SKE 146, АПиПЯЯ 31-32, 282, Мудрак Дисс. 90, Лексика 194. Doerfer's (TMN 2, 253) criticism is short ("unklar"). On possible traces in Jpn. see under **kʿŏjli*. An unsuccessful attempt of refuting the etymology was undertaken by Vovin 2000, who argues that the attested Old Korean form is 麻帝 MC *mạ-tìej* [ma-te]. However, it is most probable that MC -t- was used here just to transcribe Korean -r- (since Middle Chinese, as well known, lacked r-). Anyway, it is hardly possible to make any decisions on the basis of very inadequate and scanty Kirim transcriptions.

✱**mḗmV** female breast; foster-mother: Tung. ***meme**; Mong. ***mömü**; Turk. ***mēme (*bēme)**.

PTung. ***meme** 1 breast (female), udder 2 foster-mother (1 грудь (ж.), вымя 2 кормилица): Man. *meme* 2; Nan. *meme* (dial.) 1.

◊ TMC 1, 567. An onomatopoetic root.

PMong. ***mömü** female breast (женская грудь): WMong. *mömü* (БАМРС); Kh. *mṏm*, *mṏmṏ*, *mēm*.

PTurk. ***mēme (*bēme)** 1 breast (fem.) 2 nipple 3(poet.) breast (1 грудь (ж.) 2 сосок 3 грудь (поэт.) 4 соска): Tur. *meme* 1, Old Osm. *memek* (17th c.); Gag. *mämä* 1; Az. *mämä* 2; Turkm. *mǟme* 3; Khal. *mǟmäk*; Uygh. *mämä* 1; Krm. *mämä* 2; Tat. *mɛmi*, *mɛmɛj* 1; Bashk. *mämäj* 1; KKalp. *mämmä* 1; Nogh. *mämäj* 1; Yak. *mēmē* 4.

◊ An onomatopoetic root. See VEWT 333, ЭСТЯ VII.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 281. An obvious "nursery" Western isogloss, thus the PA antiquity is dubious.

✱**ménčʿo (~ *mi̯ónčʿa, -nč-)** first of all: Jpn. ***mántù**; Kor. ***mònčjə́(i)**.

PJpn. ***mántù** first of all, soonest (прежде всего, скорее всего): OJpn. *madu*; MJpn. *mádù*; Tok. *mázu*; Kyo. *mázù*; Kag. *mázu*.

◊ JLTT 474. The Tokyo accent is irregular.

PKor. ***mònčjə́(i)** first of all (сначала, прежде всего): MKor. *mònčjə́(i)*; Mod. *mənʒə*.

◊ Nam 217, KED 612.

‖ Martin 248. A Kor.-Jpn. isogloss.

✱**mènò** self, body: Tung. ***mēn**; Mong. ***mön**; Turk. ***bu(-n) (?)**; Jpn. ***mònò**; Kor. ***móm**.

PTung. ***mēn** self, oneself (сам, свой): Evk. *mēn*; Evn. *mēn*; Neg. *mēn*; Man. *meni meni*; SMan. *meimeni* 'every one, each one, individual' (2880); Ul. *men, mene*; Ork. *mēn*; Nan. *mene*; Orch. *mēn*; Ud. *mene*; Sol. *mẽ*.

◊ TMC 1, 568.

PMong. ***mö-n** he, same (он, тот же): MMong. *mun* (SH, HYt); WMong. *mön* (L 547); Kh. *mön*; Bur. *mün*; Kalm. *mön* (KPC); Ord. *mön*; Mog. *mэna* (Weiers).

PTurk. ***bu(-n)** this (этот): OTurk. *bu, bun-* (Orkh.), *bu, mun-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *bu, mun-* (MK); Tur. *bu*; Gag. *bu*; Az. *bu*; Turkm. *bu*; Sal. *bu, vu*; Khal. *bo*; MTurk. *bu, mun-* (Abush., Sangl.); Uzb. *bu*; Uygh. *bu*; Krm. *bu, mu*; Tat. *bu*; Bashk. *bɨ-l*; Kirgh. *bu(l)*; Kaz. *bu-l*; KBalk. *bu*; KKalp. *bu-l*; Kum. *bu*; Nogh. *bu*; SUygh. *bu*; Khak. *pu*; Shr. *pu*; Oyr. *bu*; Tv. *bo*; Tof. *bo*; Yak. *bu*; Dolg. *bu* (*mun-*).

◊ VEWT 85, EDT 291-292, ЭСТЯ 2, 225-228, Stachowski 63.

PJpn. ***mànà** thing, method, being (вещь, сущность, способ): OJpn. *m(w)ono*; MJpn. *mònò*; Tok. *monó*; Kyo. *mónò*; Kag. *monó*.

◊ JLTT 485.

PKor. ***móm** body (тело): MKor. *móm*; Mod. *mom*.

◊ Nam 218, KED 645.

‖ The Turkic form may belong here if it represents a secondary development **bu(-n)* 'this' < **bun* 'self'; the vocalism, however, speaks against the comparison (**bạ(-n)* would be expected). The root reveals contaminations with **méŋu* 'whole' q.v. Illich-Svitych (ОСНЯ 2, 70) compares the Turk.-Mong. stem with PKartv. **m(a)-*, PU **mū* / **mō* etc.

✱**ménrV** garlic, onion: Tung. ***meŋgu-**; Mong. ***maŋgir, *maŋgina**; Jpn. ***mìrà**; Kor. ***mànǎr**.

PTung. ***meŋgu-** a k. of plant (вид травянистого растения, употребляемого в пищу): Orch. *meŋgulike* ((Аврорин-Лебедева 206).

◊ TMC 1, 569. Attested only in Oroch, with possible external parallels.

PMong. ***maŋgir, *maŋgina** wild onion, ramson (дикий лук, черемша): MMong. *maŋgir* (HY 8), *maŋgirsu(n)* (SH); WMong. *maŋgir* (L 527), *maŋgina*; Kh. *mangir*; Bur. *mangir*; Kalm. *maŋgṛsṇ*, *mäŋgṛsṇ*; Dag. *maŋgīrs*, *mangēs*; S.-Yugh. *maŋGarsən*.

◊ KW 256, 258, MGCD 480. Mong. > Oyr. *paɣɨr*.

PJpn. ***mìrà** Allium (лук): OJpn. *mjira*; Tok. *nirá*, *nìra*; Kyo. *nírà*; Kag. *nirá*.

◊ JLTT 498. The reason of *m- > n- in modern Japanese is not quite clear.

PKor. ***mànǎr** garlic (чеснок): MKor. *mànǎr*; Mod. *manɨl*.

◊ Nam 192, KED 559.

‖ SKE 140, Poppe 35, Lee 24, 26, 28. Low tone in Jpn. is probably due to contraction. Cf. also Old Koguryo **maiš* 'garlic' (thus in Miller 1979, 15; Lee reads **mail*).

✱**meń[o]** dwelling place, village: Tung. ***mēne-**; Mong. ***maji-kan**; Jpn. ***múrà**; Kor. ***mǎńǎrh**.

PTung. ***mēne-** 1 to settle down 2 settled down 3 to stay (1 жить оседло 2 оседлый 3 оставаться): Evk. *mēnē-* 1, *mēnē* 2; Evn. *mene* 2; Neg. *meneže-* 3; Ork. *meneži-* 3; Ud. *menže-* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 569.

PMong. ***maji-kan** tent (шатер): WMong. *majiqan* (L 523); Kh. *majxan*; Bur. *majxan*; Kalm. *mā̆xan*; Ord. *mā̆xun*; Dag. *maikan* (Тод. Даг. 153, MD 188).

◊ KW 259, MGCD 477. Mong. > Man. *majqan* etc. (see TMC 1, 520, Rozycki 153; despite Doerfer MT 80, hardly Mong. < Tung.).

PJpn. ***múrà** village (деревня): OJpn. *mura*; MJpn. *múrà*; Tok. *murá*; Kyo. *múrà*; Kag. *múra*.

◊ JLTT 488.

PKor. ***mǎńǎrh** village, vicinity (деревня, окрестности): MKor. *mǎńǎr* (*mǎńǎrh-*); Mod. *maɨl*.

◊ Nam 196, KED 564.

‖ The Kor.-Jpn. form is a derivative in *-rV (*-lV). The Tungus form fits very well semantically, but raises some phonetic doubts: vowel length and the quality of -n- (instead *-ń-) do not correspond to other languages. Cf. perhaps Turk. (Oyr.) *man* 'fence' (VEWT 325). See Vovin 1993, 257.

✱**méŋa** shape, face: Mong. ***maji-kaj**; Turk. ***bEŋiŕ**; Jpn. ***mána-i**.

PMong. ***maji-kaj** skin covering the head of animals (шкура с головы животных): WMong. *majiqai* (L 523); Kh. *majxaj* (БАМРС); Bur. *māxaj*.

◊ Mong. > Neg. *makī*, Nan. *maqị* etc. (TMC 1, 522). One can also mention WMong. *majaγ*, *maiγ* 'appearance, shape' (Khalkha, Kalm. *majag*, Mongr. *majaG* (234), Dag. *maigal*, *majge-tej* (MD 188, MGCD 477) - although the word is sometimes regarded (see Sukhebator) as borrowed < Tib. *mayig*, *mayiga* 'original'.

PTurk. ***bEŋiŕ** 1 face 2 be similar 3 open forestless place on a mountain slope (1 внешность, вид, лицо 2 быть похожим 3 открытое безлесное место на склоне горы): OTurk. *beŋiz* (Orkh.), *meŋiz* (OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *meŋiz* 1 (MK, KB); Tur. *beniz* 1, *benze-* 2; Gag. *beniz* 1, *benze-* 2; Az. *bäniz* 1, *bänzä-* 2; Turkm. *meŋiz* 1, *meŋze-* 2; MTurk. *beŋiz*, *meŋiz* 1 (Sangl.); Uzb. *mäŋiz* 'cheek'; Krm. *beŋz* 1, *beŋze-* 2; Kaz. *meŋze-* 'to consider useful'; KKalp. *megze-* 2; Khak. *mīs* 1 (Верб. - Abak.); Oyr. *mēs* 3; Tv. *mēs* 3; Tof. *mẽs* 3.

◊ VEWT 70, EDT 352, Лексика 208, ЭСТЯ 7, ФиЛ 207. In Chuv. cf. either *min* 'face colour' (if not = *min* 'red spot on face', see Лексика 208) or **paŋ* > Proto-Perm.*baŋ (Лыткин-Гуляев 37). Turk. > MMong. *meŋiz* 'comparison, metaphor' (Щербак 1997, 129).

PJpn. ***mána-i** imitating, similarity (подражание, сходство): OJpn. *mane*; MJpn. *mane*; Tok. *màne*; Kyo. *mánè*; Kag. *máne*.

◊ JLTT 471.

‖ For the same semantic relationship cf. PA **mi̯atʿi*.

✸**mĕŋa** to run, trot: Tung. ***meŋ-**; Mong. ***meŋde-**; Turk. ***baŋ**.

PTung. ***meŋ-** 1 to hurry 2 to run around (of a dog) 3 to run (of cattle) (1 торопиться, спешить 2 бегать (о бродячей собаке) 3 резвиться (о скоте)): Evk. *meniw-*, *meŋiw-* 1; Evn. *men-*, *menu-* 1, *munŋъn-* 2; Man. *muŋre-*, *muŋgire-* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 556-557, 569. Cf. also Evn. All. *maŋdị-* 'to trot'.

PMong. ***meŋde-** to hurry; to scurry (спешить; суетиться): WMong. *meŋde-*, *megde-* (L 536); Kh. *meŋde-*, *megde-*; Bur. *megde-*; Kalm. *meŋdə-*; Ord. *meŋde-*, *megde-*.

◊ KW 261. Mong. *meŋde-* > Evk. *mendē-lē-* etc., see Doerfer MT 103.

PTurk. ***baŋ** 1 to trot, ride 2 trot (1 идти рысью, скакать 2 бег): OTurk. *maŋ* 'a step' (OUygh.); Karakh. *maŋ-* (KB) 1; Tur. *man-* (dial.) 1; MTurk. *maŋ-* (Sangl.) 1; Uygh. *maŋ-* 1; Kirgh. *maŋ* 2, *maŋ-* 1; Kaz. *maŋ* 2; Nogh. *maŋ* 2; SUygh. *maŋ* 2, *maŋ-* 1; Khak. *maŋ* 2; Shr. *maŋ* 2; Oyr. *maŋ* 2; Tv. *maŋ-* 1; Tof. *maŋ-* 1; Yak. *maŋɨj-* 1.

◊ EDT 766, 767, VEWT 326.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✸**meŋe (~ -i, -a)** mole, scar: Mong. ***meŋge**; Turk. ***beŋ**; Kor. ***məŋ**.

PMong. ***meŋge** birth-mark, mole (родинка): MMong. *məŋge* (HY 48); *menge* (MA 239); WMong. *meŋge* (L 536); Kh. *meŋge*; Bur. *menge*; Kalm. *meŋgə*.

◊ KW 261.

PTurk. ***beŋ** mole on the face (родинка на лице): OTurk. *meŋ* (OUygh.); Karakh. *meŋ* (MK); Tur. *ben, benek*; Gag. *ben, benek*; Az. *bänäk*; Turkm. *meŋ*, *menek*; Sal. *meŋ*; MTurk. *meŋ* (Sangl.); Tat. *biŋ*; Bashk. *miŋ*; Kirgh. *meŋ*; Kaz. *meŋ*; KKalp. *meŋ*; Kum. *miŋ*; Nogh. *meŋ*; Khak. *miŋ*; Oyr. *meŋ*; Tv. *meŋ*; Chuv. *miŋ* (may be < Tat.); Yak. *meŋ*; Dolg. *meŋ*.

◊ VEWT 70, 334, EDT 346, Лексика 208, Stachowski 178.

PKor. ***məŋ** scar, bruise (шрам, синяк): Mod. *məŋ*.

◊ KED 615.

‖ KW 261. Despite TMN 1, 512, Щербак 1997, 129 Mong. is hardly < Turkic (final vowel is unexplained).

✸**méŋu** whole: Tung. ***meŋde-**; Mong. ***men-dü**; Jpn. ***mú-i**.

PTung. ***meŋde-** whole (целый): Neg. *meŋden*; Man. *meŋde* 'глухое окно'; Ul. *meŋde(n)*; Ork. *meŋde(n)*; Nan. *mendẽ*; Orch. *meŋde*.

◊ TMC 1, 570.

PMong. ***mendü** sane, healthy (здоровый, целый): MMong. *mendü* 'normal' (HYt); WMong. *mendü* (L 535); Kh. *mend*; Bur. *mende*; Kalm. *mendə*; Ord. *möndü*; S.-Yugh. *mȫndə*.

◊ KW 261, MGCD 484. Mong. > Evk. *mendu*, see Poppe 1966, 197, Doerfer MT 127.

PJpn. ***mú-i** 1 body 2 self 3 fruit (1 тело 2 сам 3 плод): OJpn. *mi* 1, 2, 3; MJpn. *mí* 1, 2, 3; Tok. *mì* 1, 3, *mí-zukara* 2; Kyo. *mí* 1, 3; Kag. *mí* 1, 3.

◊ JLTT 476, 483.

‖ KW 261, SKE 151, Martin 226, АПиПЯЯ 69, 280. The Japanese meaning was partially influenced by the root **mēno* q.v.

✱**méra** a k. of berry: Tung. ***m[e]rVŋV**; Mong. ***maril**; Turk. ***bürü-lgen**; Kor. ***mər'úi**.

PTung. ***m[e]rVŋV** 1 rowan 2 cloudberry (1 рябина 2 морошка): Evk. *moroŋo* 2; Nan. *mīrēŋkule* (Он. 263) 1.

◊ TMC 1, 547.

PMong. ***maril** a k. of red round berry or fruit (вид красной круглой ягоды или плода): WMong. *maril* (MXTTT); Kh. *maril*.

PTurk. ***bürü-lgen** a k. of berry (вид ягоды): Uygh. *bölʒü(r)gän*; Tat. *börlegen*; Bashk. *börðögɛn*; Kirgh. *büldürkön*; Kaz. *büldirgen*; Nogh. *bö/üldirgen*; Chuv. *pe^{w}rle^{w}xen*.

◊ VEWT 93, Лексика 139-140 (forms like Kaz. *büldirgen* may reflect the same stem: **bürül-degen*). Cf. also Mong. forms: *bürelgene* 'калина', *bõrölgönö* 'костяника' which may be of Turkic origin.

PKor. ***mər'úi** grapes (виноград): MKor. *mər'úi*; Mod. *məru*.

◊ Nam 212, KED 608.

‖ ОСНЯ 2, 44, Дыбо 11. Turk. **bürü-lgen* < **berü-lgen* with labial attraction.

✱**méru (~-ŕ-)** spot: Tung. ***merī-**; Mong. ***merije- / *marija-**; Jpn. ***múrá**.

PTung. ***merī-** variegated (пестрый): Evk. *merī-kte*, *merī-me*; Evn. *märgi̇-ta*; Man. *mersen* 'spot'.

◊ TMC 1, 571-572.

PMong. ***merije- / *marija-** spotted, variegated (пятнистый, пестрый): Kh. *erēn ḿarān*; Bur. *eŕēn maŕān*; Ord. *erēn merēn*.

PJpn. ***múrá** spot, spotted (пятно, пятнистый): MJpn. *mura*; Tok. *mùra*; Kyo. *múrá*; Kag. *múra*.

◊ JLTT 488.

‖ Poppe 35, АПиПЯЯ 74. Turk. **beŕe* 'to ornament' (ЭСТЯ 2, 105-106) would be a good match; but it may be in fact a crasis < **bedŕe* (see **peda*).

✱**mésV** wild apple, grape: Tung. ***mes(k)u-**; Kor. ***mə̀s**.

PTung. ***mes(k)u-** grape (виноград): Man. *muču*; Jurch. *me-ču* (130); Ork. *muskeri* 'name of a tree'; Nan. *muksulte*; Ud. *mesukte*.

◊ TMC 1, 572.

PKor. ***mə̀s** wild apple; cherry (дикое яблоко; вишня): MKor. *mə̀s*.

◊ Nam 212.

‖ A Tung.-Kor. isogloss.

✱**mèto** to ask: Tung. ***mete-**; Mong. ***möči-**; Jpn. ***mətə̀-ma-**; Kor. ***mūd-**.

PTung. ***mete-** to warn, let know (предупреждать, сообщать): Evk. *metew-*; Evn. *metu-*; Neg. *metew-*; Ork. *metteu-*.

◊ TMC 1, 572.

PMong. ***möči-, *mötü-** to examine, investigate (испытывать, экзаменовать): MMong. *močgi-* (SH); WMong. *möče-* (L 544); Kh. *möči-*, *möcö-*; Bur. *müšxe-*; Kalm. *möčə-*; Mongr. *mutoG* 'soupçon, doute' (SM 253).

◊ KW 267, TMN 1, 502.

PJpn. ***mətə̀-ma-** to ask, demand (спрашивать, требовать): OJpn. *m(w)otoma-*; MJpn. *mòtòma-*; Tok. *motomé-*; Kyo. *mótómé-*; Kag. *mòtòmè-*.

◊ JLTT 727.

PKor. ***mūd-** to ask (спрашивать): MKor. *mūt-* (-r-); Mod. *mut-* (-r-).

◊ Nam 223, KED 675.

‖ Should be kept distinct from **m̥iuti* 'to know, believe' (although contaminations were possible).

✱**mét'i(-rkV)** bird's crop or navel; pudenda: Tung. ***motoka**; Turk. ***böteke**; Jpn. ***mitua**; Kor. ***mərtə̀kə́n**.

PTung. ***motoka** vulva (vulva): Evk. *motoko*; SMan. *motəqun* 'genitalia of a nubile girl' (122), *motərə* 'child's vulva' (123).

◊ TMC 1, 547. ?? Cf. Evn. *mereldiwke* 'cerebellum'.

PTurk. ***böteke** 1 bird's crop, craw 2 kidneys of animals 3 vulva 4 bird's stomach (1 зоб птицы 2 почки животных 3 vulva 4 желудок у птиц): Karakh. *bütege* 1 (OKypch., At-Tuhfat); Az. *pätänäk* 4; Turkm. *peteke* 1 (perhaps a back-borrowing < Mong.?); Tat. *bütäkä* 1, *böteg* 3; Bashk. *bütägä* 1; Kirgh. *bötög/kö* 4; Kaz. *bötäkä* 2; KKalp. *böteke* 1, 2; Kum. *böteke* 1; Nogh. *böteke*, *bötege* 1; Chuv. *pudege* 1,2; Yak. *bötögö* 4.

◊ EDT 304 (sub 'egg-plant'), VEWT 84, Ашм. X, 44. Turk. > Mong. *betege* 'bird's crop'.

PJpn. ***mitua** pudenda (гениталии): OJpn. *mjitwo*.

PKor. ***mərtə̀kə́n** bird's navel; (KED) the craw (crop) of a bird or insect (птичий пупок): MKor. *mərtə̀kə́n*; Mod. *məlt:əguni*.

◊ Nam 212, KED 613.

‖ The initial vowel correspondence is not quite clear (probably secondary labialization in PT).

✱**mét'ò** most: Mong. ***-med**; Jpn. ***mə́tə̀-mə̀**; Kor. ***mə̀t**.

PMong. ***-med** the most, the eldest (самый, старший): MMong. *döji-med* (SH) 'the eldest of younger sisters'; WMong. *-mad, -med* (MXTTT); Kh. *-mad, -med*.

◊ Occurs in some compounds: *aqa-mad* 'the eldest (brother)', *egeči-med* 'elder (woman)', *jeke-med* 'the elder ones' etc.

PJpn. ***mə́tə̀-mə̀** the most (самый): OJpn. *m(w)ot(w)om(w)o*; MJpn. *mótòmò*; Tok. *móttomo*; Kyo. *móttómó*; Kag. *mottómo*.

◊ Accent correspondences are rather uncertain; but the evidence is for the most part in favour of high tone on the first syllable.

PKor. ***mǎt** the eldest (старший): MKor. *mǎt*; Mod. *mat*.

◊ Nam 199, KED 578.

‖ SKE 142, EAS 79, Martin 247. Cf. also similar forms (maybe specialized usages of the same root): MKor. *mātǎi* / *mátǎi* 'top', Jpn. *maT-* 'emphatic prefix'; Evk. *mātālīkān* 'up to the top', *moton* 'even'.

✱**mìltʹe (~ -i)** full, fill: Tung. ***milte-**; Mong. ***melteji-**; Jpn. ***mìt-**.

PTung. ***milte-** full, whole (полный, целый): Evn. *miltъrъ*; Ork. *milte-milte*.

◊ TMC 1, 536-537.

PMong. ***melteji-** to fill, overflow (наполнять, переполнять): WMong. *melteji-* (L 535); Kh. *meltij-*; Bur. *melti-*; Kalm. *meltā̆-* (KPC).

PJpn. ***mìt-** full, be filled (полный, наполняться): OJpn. *mjit-*; MJpn. *mìt-*; Tok. *michí-*; Kyo. *mìchì-*; Kag. *mìchì-*.

◊ JLTT 725.

‖ KW 260, АПиПЯЯ 111, 278. The root is very similar to **mi̯ólo* 'full, fill' and may indeed be derived: **mi̯ol-tʹi*. Such an explanation, however, would involve a metatony in Japanese and borrowing in TM (*milte-* < Mong. *melte-*), so we prefer to separate the two roots for the time being.

✱**miń̇a (~ -o, -u)** a k. of grass: Turk. ***bɨń̇an**; Kor. ***mìnàrí**.

PTurk. ***bɨń̇an** a k. of grass (солодка, лебеда): Tur. *bojan*, *mejan*; Az. *bijan*; Turkm. *bujan*; MTurk. *bijan*, CCum. *bujan*; Uzb. *mija*; Uygh. *buja*; Tat. dial. *mɨja*; Kirgh. *mɨja*; Kaz. *mɨja*; KKalp. *bojan*; Kum. *mija*; Nogh. *mɨja*; Chuv. *mъjan*.

◊ Егоров 131. Turk. > Kalm. *bujā* 'лебеда', Russ. Siber. *bojalič* 'солянка древовидная' Аникин 125.

PKor. ***mìnàrí** celery, parsley (сельдерей, петрушка): MKor. *mìnàrí*; Mod. *minari*.

◊ Liu 345, KED 687.

‖ A Turk.-Kor. isogloss.

✱**míŋa (~ -o, -u)** large number, thousand: Mong. ***miŋgan**; Turk. ***bɨŋ**.

PMong. ***miŋgan** thousand (тысяча): MMong. *mingan* (HY 43), *minqa(n)* (SH), *minγān* (IM); WMong. *miŋγa(n)* (L 539); Kh. *ḿangan*; Bur. *ḿanga(n)*; Kalm. *miŋγṇ* (KPC); Ord. *miŋGa(n)*; Dag. *miange(n)* (MD 191); Mongr. *miŋxən* (SM 238).

◊ Mong. > Evk. *miŋgan* etc., see Doerfer MT 77, Rozycki 158.

PTurk. ***bɨŋ** thousand (тысяча): OTurk. *bɨŋ*, *biŋ* (Orkh., OUygh.), *miŋ(OUygh.)*; Karakh. *miŋ* (MK, KB); Tur. *bin*; Gag. *bin*; Az. *min*; Turkm.

müŋ; Sal. *miŋ*; Khal. *miŋ*; MTurk. *miŋ* (Abush., Sangl.); Uzb. *miŋ*; Uygh. *miŋ*; Krm. *min*; Tat. *meŋ*; Bashk. *meŋ*; Kirgh. *miŋ*; Kaz. *mɨŋ*; KBalk. *miŋ*; KKalp. *mɨŋ*; Kum. *miŋ*; Nogh. *miŋ, mɨŋ*; SUygh. *meŋ*; Khak. *muŋ*; Shr. *muŋ*; Oyr. *muŋ*; Tv. *muŋ*; Chuv. *pin*; Yak. *muŋ*.

◊ VEWT 76, MNT 4, 1742, EDT 347-347, Лексика 574. Cannot be < Chin. (see Clauson 1964, 24-25).

‖ EAS 78, Владимирцов 324, Poppe 72. A Turk.-Mong. isogloss, but the Mong. form can hardly be explained as borrowed from Turkic, despite TMN 4, 33, Щербак 1997, 107. Cf. perhaps MKor. *màńǎn* 'forty' < 'big number'?

✱**m[ī́]ro** arrow: Tung. ***m[i]rV**; Mong. ***merge-n**; Turk. ***bū̄ri**.

PTung. ***m[i]rV** 1 arrow 2 cross-bow (1 стрела 2 самострел): Evn. *mīr* 1; Nan. *moralị* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 537.

PMong. ***merge-n** sharp-shooter (хороший стрелок): MMong. *mergan* (HY 37, SH); WMong. *mergen* (L 537); Kh. *mergen*; Bur. *merge(n)*; Kalm. *mergṇ*; Ord. *mergen*; Dag. *mergen* (Тод. Даг. 154), *meregen* (MD 190); Dong. *meryen* (Тод. Дн.); Mongr. *mergen* (SM 236), *murgen*.

◊ KW 261-262, MGCD 485. A later semantic development is 'sharp-shooter' > 'skilled, wise', although Doerfer (TMN 1, 498) suggests rather 'skilled' > 'skilled in shooting'. If he is correct, the Mong. word should be removed from the Altaic etymology. In any case, Mong. > Manchu *mergen* 'a very good hunter or fisherman; outstanding, wise, worthy, skilled', Evk. *mergen* 'mind, reason' etc. (see TMC 1, 571, Doerfer MT 80, Rozycki 158),

PTurk. ***bū̄ri** head of an arrow (наконечник стрелы): Karakh. *büri* 'end of shaft inserted into arrow head' (MK); Yak. *bür-ges* (dimin.) 'awl, arrow with awl-like head'; Dolg. *bū̄rges* 'ein Kampfpfeil mit pfriemförmiger Spitze'.

◊ EDT 356, VEWT 71, Stachowski 69.

‖ A Western isogloss. Vocalism is somewhat uncertain.

✱**mi̯ač'e** to move, climb: Tung. ***miči-**; Mong. ***mača-**; Kor. ***mìčhɨ́-**.

PTung. ***miči-** to move, move back (подвигаться, придвигаться; отодвигаться): Evk. *miči-*; Evn. *mịt-/č-*; Nan. *mịčị-*.

◊ TMC 1, 539.

PMong. ***mača-** to climb up, hurry (карабкаться; спешить): WMong. *mača-* (L 519: *mači-*); Kh. *maca-*; Kalm. *macə-* (KPC); Ord. *mači-*.

PKor. ***mìčhɨ́-** to reach, come to (достигать): MKor. *mìčhɨ́-*, *mič-*; Mod. *mičhi-*.

◊ Liu 346, 348, KED 693.

‖ One of common Altaic motion verbs.

✱**mi̯àga** glory, praise: Tung. ***m[ia]g-**; Mong. ***magta-**; Turk. ***bAgatur**; Jpn. ***màwə̀-s-**; Kor. ***mār**.

PTung. ***m[ia]g-** 1 to shamanize 2 to be noisy, produce noise (1 камлать 2 шуметь): Evk. *migdi-* 2; Orch. *magui-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 520, 535.

PMong. ***magta-** to praise, glorify (хвалить, прославлять): MMong. *maxta-* 'to laud, carol' (HY 32), *maqta-* (MA); WMong. *maɣta-* (L 520); Kh. *magta-*; Bur. *magta-*; Kalm. *maktə-*; Ord. *maGta-*; Dag. *maktāl* 'praise'; S.-Yugh. *maχda-*; Mongr. *mašdaG* 'discours prononcé à la louange du gendre le jour du mariage' (SM 233), *maxda-*.

◊ KW 254, MGCD 475, 476. Mong. > Manchu *makta-* etc. (see Rozycki 153).

PTurk. ***bAgatur** hero (герой): OTurk. *baɣatur* (Orkh., n. pr.); Turkm. *bātɨr*; MTurk. (Xwar.) *bahatur*, CCum. *baɣatur*; Kirgh. *bātɨr*; Oyr. *bātɨr*; Tv. *mādɨr*; Yak. *bātɨr*.

◊ EDT 313, VEWT 55. Cf. the name of the Xiongnu shanyu, MC *mâw-ton* (**maɣu-tur*). This Turkic word was borrowed into numerous surrounding languages (Iranian, Mongolian etc., see the literature in ЭСТЯ). Modern forms like *batɨr*, *batur* are back-borrowings from Mong.; forms of the type *baxatir* - back-borrowings from Persian.

PJpn. ***màwə̀-s-** to speak (polite) (говорить (вежл.)): OJpn. *mawos-*; MJpn. *maus-*; Tok. *mős-*; Kyo. *mős-*; Kag. *mȍs-*.

◊ JLTT 726.

PKor. ***mār** speech (речь): MKor. *mār*; Mod. *māl*.

◊ Nam 200, KED 579.

‖ Kor. **mār* < **maga-r*.

✱**mi̯ăkʹó** illness, stomach sickness: Tung. ***muxa-**; Mong. ***mekeji-**; Turk. ***b(i)ăk**; Jpn. ***manka**.

PTung. ***muxa-** 1 stomach disease 2 to be ill, sick (1 желудочное заболевание 2 болеть): Evk. *mukān* 1; Ul. *mōko* 'идол от желудочной болезни' (< **muka-ka*); Ork. *muxule-* 2; Nan. *muxu* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 552.

PMong. ***mekeji-** to suffer from hunger or stomach pains (страдать от голода или болей в желудке): WMong. *mekeji-*; Kh. *mekij-* 'втягивать живот' (БАМРС); Kalm. *mekē-* 'иметь подтянутый, тощий живот'; Ord. *meχī-*.

◊ KW 260.

PTurk. ***b(i)ăk** bad, evil (плохой, дурной, негодный): Oyr. *baɣaj*; Tv. *ba'q*; Tof. *ba'q*; Yak. *baɣajɨ* 'fool, monster'.

◊ VEWT 57.

PJpn. ***manka** evil, bad luck (зло, несчастье): OJpn. *maga*.

◊ JLTT 470.

‖ The TM-Mong. match suggests that the original meaning was 'stomach sickness', with a later development into a more general 'sickness, disease' and 'misfortune, bad (circumstabces)' elsewhere.

✱**mi̯ǎkʿo** frog: Tung. ***moKo(lV)-**; Mong. ***mekelej, *melekej**; Turk. ***b(i)āka**; Kor. ***mə̀kùrí**.

PTung. ***moKo(lV)-** 1 bat 2 chipmunk (1 летучая мышь 2 бурундук): Evk. *mokoločī* 1; Evn. *mokotoj* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 544.

PMong. ***mekelej, *melekej** frog (лягушка): MMong. *menekai* (HY 12), *minäkäj* (MA), *menēkī* (Lig.VMI); WMong. *melekei* (L 534), *menekei* (DO 461); Kh. *melxij*; Bur. *melxej*; Kalm. *meklē*; Ord. *meleχī*; Dag. *meleg*, *melek* (Тод. Даг. 154), *melehe* (MD 190).

◊ KW 260, MGCD 484.

PTurk. ***b(i)āka** frog (лягушка): OTurk. *baqa* (OUygh.); Karakh. *baqa* (MK); Tur. *bā*; Gag. *qurbā*; Az. *baɣa*; Turkm. *Gurbāɣa*; Sal. *paɣa*; Khal. *bāqa* 'turtle'; MTurk. *baqa* (AH, Ettuhf.), *baqqa* (MA); Uzb. *baqa*; Uygh. *baqa*, *paqa*; Krm. *baqa*; Tat. *baqa*; Kirgh. *baqa*; Kaz. *baqa*; KBalk. *maqa*; KKalp. *baqa*; Kum. *baqa*; Nogh. *baqa*; Khak. *paɣa*; Shr. *paɣa*; Oyr. *baqa*; Tv. *paɣa*; Tof. *baɣa*; Yak. *baɣa*.

◊ VEWT 58, EDT 311-312, 646-647, ЭСТЯ 2, 40-41, 6, 160-161 (see ibid. on the onomatopoeic nature of the component **Kur-*) , Лексика 179-180. A more precise reconstruction would be perhaps **b(i)ākka*, with expressive gemination (suggested by non-voicing in Kypchak). Turk. > Hung. *béka*, see Gombocz 1912.

PKor. ***mə̀kùrí** frog, toad (лягушка, жаба): MKor. *mə̀kùrí*.

◊ Nam 209.

‖ SKE 144, Лексика 180. An unmistakable match is PT **b(i)āka* : MKor. *mə̀kùrí*. The Mong. forms may belong here if we assume the archaic nature of the Kalm. form (*meklē*), with innovations elsewhere. In TM one has to suppose a secondary shift of meaning: 'toad' > 'small creature' (bat, chipmunk).

✱**mi̯ákʿù** neck: Tung. ***muKa**; Turk. ***bAkan**; Jpn. ***múk-**; Kor. ***mòk**.

PTung. ***muKa** skin from deer's neck (шкура с шеи оленя): Evk. *muka*.

◊ TMC 1, 551. Attested only in Evk., but having possible Kor. and Jpn. parallels.

PTurk. ***bAkan** necklace, torque (ожерелье): Karakh. *baqan* (MK).

◊ EDT 316.

PJpn. ***múk-** to turn (one's head) towards, to face (поворачивать (голову) к чему-л.): OJpn. *muk-*, *mukap-*; MJpn. *muk-*, *múkáf-*; Tok. *mùk-*, *mùka-*; Kyo. *múk-*, *múká-*; Kag. *múk-*, *muká-*.

◊ JLTT 728.

PKor. ***mòk** neck (шея): MKor. *mòk*, *mòkài*; Mod. *mok*.

◊ HMCH 199, Nam 214, KED 636.

‖ SKE 150, Martin 233.

✱**mi̯akʿu** fur: Tung. ***muKa**; Mong. ***makalaj**; Jpn. ***muku**.

PTung. ***muKa** fur clothes (меховая одежда): Evk. *mukā*, *mukčukē*; Evn. *mụqa*; Ud. *moksuhö* 'shirt'.

◊ TMC 1, 551, 553. Evk. > Dolg. *mükčükē* (Stachowski 183); *deriv. mukā-lkan* > Dolg. *mukālkan* (Stachowski 181).

PMong. ***makalaj** fur hat (меховая шапка): MMong. *maqalai*, *malaqaj* (SH), *maγala* (IM), *maqalaj* (MA); WMong. *malaγaj* (MXTTT); Kh. *malgaj*; Bur. *malgaj*; Kalm. *maxlā̄*; Mog. *malGɛi* (Weiers); Dag. *malgaj* (MD); Dong. *maGala* (Tod. Dong.); Mongr. *marGa*.

◊ KW 254. Mong. > Man. *maxala*, see Doerfer MT 138, Rozycki 152-153.

PJpn. ***muku** thick, shaggy hair (густая шерсть): Tok. *muku*, *mùkuge*; Kyo. *mùkúgè*; Kag. *mukugé*.

◊ JLTT 488. Tonal reconstruction is not quite clear.

✱**mi̯ali(-kʿV)** bright, to shine: Tung. ***mia(l)-**; Mong. ***mel-**; Turk. ***bAlk-**; Kor. ***mǎrk-**.

PTung. ***mia(l)-** 1 to glitter (of eyes) 2 to blind (eyes) 3 glittering, bright 4 blinded, blind (1 сверкать (о глазах) 2 слепить (глаза) 3 яркий, ослепительный 4 ослепленный, слепой): Evk. *millūn-* (Bac. 252) 1, *mêlkēsē* 4; Nan. *mi̯arị* 3; Orch. *mia-n-* 2; Ud. *mili-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 534, 535.

PMong. ***mel-** bright, polished, shiny (светлый, блестящий, блестеть): WMong. *meli-ji-*, (L 534) *melmeji-*; Kh. *melij-*; Bur. *melmen*, *melgen*, *meliger*, *melij-*; Ord. *melmeŋ*, *melmeger*.

PTurk. ***bAlk-** to shine, glitter (сверкать, сиять): Tur. *balk-* (dial.); Turkm. *balqɨlda-*; MTurk. (MKypch., Xwar.) *balqɨ-(CCum.*, AH, Qutb); Krm. *balqɨ-*; Tat. *balqɨ-*; Bashk. *balqɨ-*; Kaz. *balqɨ-*; KKalp. *balqɨ-*; Kum. *balqɨ-*; Oyr. *malqɨl*, *malʁɨl* 'bright, shining'.

◊ ЭСТЯ 2, 56-57.

PKor. ***mǎrk-** clear, transparent (ясный, прозрачный): MKor. *mǎrk-*; Mod. *mak-* [*malk-*].

◊ Nam 203, KED 587.

‖ SKE 139.

✱**mi̯alu** a k. of evergreen tree: Tung. ***molari**; Mong. ***majila-su**; Turk. ***bAla- (?)**; Jpn. ***murua**.

PTung. ***molari** cypress (кипарис): Man. *molori*.

◊ TMC 1, 545. Attested only in Manchu, but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***majila-su** cypress (кипарис): WMong. *majila-su* (L 522); Kh. *majls*.

◊ Mong. > Manchu *mailasun* 'arbor vitae, cypress' (see Rozycki 153).

PTurk. ***bAla- (?)** fir tree (ель): Bashk. *balaštɨ* (VEWT); Kirgh. *balatɨ* 'young fir tree'; KBalk. *balas* (VEWT).

◊ VEWT 60 (the Bashk. and KBalk. forms are only found there, so the root is somewhat dubious).

PJpn. ***murua** juniper (можжевельник): OJpn. *murwo*.

‖ Mong. *majila-* < **mali-la*.

✱**mi̯àĺà** to measure, measure: Tung. ***miali-**; Mong. ***malu**; Jpn. ***màsù**; Kor. ***már**.

PTung. ***miali-** 1 to measure 2 a measure of weight 3 a measure for powder (1 мерить 2 мера веса 3 мерка для пороха): Man. *ḿali-* 1, *ḿalin* 2; Jurch. *mia-liaŋ-ha* 2 (524); Nan. (On.) *mialaqo* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 524.

PMong. ***malu** vessel, basket (for grain) (сосуд, корзина (для зерна)): WMong. *malu* (L 524); Kalm. *mal*.

◊ KW 254.

PJpn. ***màsù** a measure (for grain) (мера (зерна)): OJpn. *masu*; MJpn. *màsù*; Tok. *masú*; Kyo. *másù*; Kag. *masú*.

◊ JLTT 473.

PKor. ***már** a measure (18 kg) (мера веса): MKor. *már*; Mod. *mal*.

◊ Nam 200, KED 578.

‖ SKE 138, Martin 236, Miller 1976, 350-351, АПиПЯЯ 69. A completely regular match. It is interesting to note Karakh. (EDT 379) *bašɣan* 'a large fish weighing between 100 and 50 raṭls' (MK), used as a simile for the head-man of a tribe - although the word may, of course, be derived from *baš* 'head' (as suggested in EDT) - and thus unrelated to the present root.

✱**mi̯ā́ni** to be confused, hesitate: Tung. ***mian-**; Mong. ***men-**; Turk. ***bön̄**; Kor. ***mɨ̀ńɨ-**.

PTung. ***mian-** to be confused, wonder (тревожиться, растеряться, удивляться): Evk. *mēmbe-*; Evn. *mā̄n-*; Ul. *mê̄n-*; Nan. *mi̯an-*; Orch. *mā̄n-*.

◊ TMC 1, 567.

PMong. ***men-** to become dull, numb, stupid (глупеть, терять сознание, цепенеть): WMong. *mene-re-* (L 536); Kh. *menere-*; Bur. *mener-*; Kalm. *menr-*; Ord. *menen* 'stupid'; Dag. *mener-* (Тод. Даг. 154).

◊ KW 261. Mong. *meneg* > Yak., Dolg. *menik* (Stachowski 178); Mong. *meneŋ* 'stupid' > Manchu *menen* 'paralysed, stupid' (Rozycki 157).

PTurk. ***bön̄** 1 stupid, foolish 2 to go mad (1 глупый 2 сходить с ума): Karakh. *mün-* 2 (IM); Tur. *bön* 1, 2; Turkm. *mön̄* 1 (cf. also *mün̄* 'timidity').

◊ ОСНЯ 3, 53, 55. In ЭСТЯ 7 and VEWT 343-344 confused with other similar roots: **bün* 'defect', *bun- 'madness' (q. v. sub **mùne*, **múnu*) .

PKor. ***mɨ̀ńɨ-** to be afraid, scared (бояться): MKor. *mɨ̀ńɨ-*, *mɨ̀ńɨijə́p-* (-w-); Mod. *musəp-* (-w-).

◊ Nam 228, KED 660.

‖ Vocalism is not quite certain: in Turk. one has to suppose a secondary labialization: **bȍn* < **bēn*; in Kor. - vowel assimilation in a long wordform (**mìńíi-* < **mǎńi-*), as well as secondary palatalization *-n- > *-ń-.

✱**mi̯àrà (~ -ŕ-)** male, mature: Tung. ***miare-**; Jpn. ***màrà**.

PTung. ***miare-** to marry (жениться, выходить замуж): Evk. *mirē-*; Evn. *mierъn-*; Neg. *mijēn-*; Ul. *miren-*; Ork. *mīren-*; Nan. *marin-* (dial.).

◊ TMC 1, 538-539.

PJpn. ***màrà** penis (penis): OJpn. *mara*; MJpn. *màrà*.

◊ JLTT 472.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss. Note also several possible matches in Bur.: *morgo* 'male bear', *murā* 'male, mature', *mergeser* '3 y.-old pig'.

✱**mi̯ȁsò** a cutting or grinding tool: Tung. ***mōsa**; Mong. ***mese**; Jpn. ***màsà-**.

PTung. ***mōsa** 1 grinder, grinding stone 2 to grind 3 to thresh 4 thresher (1 жернов 2 молоть 3 молотить 4 молотилка): Man. *mose-la-* 2, *mose-la-qu* 1; Ul. *moso-lo-qu* 1; Nan. *mōso* (Bik., Он.) 1; *mōso-la-* 3, *mōso-laqo* 4.

◊ TMC 1, 547.

PMong. ***mese** sword, blade, axe (меч, лезвие, топор): MMong. *mese* (SH); WMong. *mese* (L 537); Kh. *mes*; Bur. *mese* < Khalkha ?; Kalm. *mesə*; Ord. *mese*.

◊ KW 262, TMN 1, 499.

PJpn. ***màsà-** 1 sword 2 timber axe (1 меч 2 топор): OJpn. *masakari* 2; MJpn. *màsàfi* 1, *màsàkàrì* 2; Tok. *masakari* 2.

◊ JLTT 472.

‖ Cf. also Orok *masāri* ʿaxe' (probably < Jpn.).

✱**mi̯atʿè** to bend: Tung. ***mita-**; Mong. ***mata-**; Jpn. ***mətər-**.

PTung. ***mita-** 1 to bend over 2 to go back (1 перегибаться, разгибаться 2 отскакивать обратно): Man. *mita-* 1; Jurch. *mi-ta-buje-* 2 (539).

◊ TMC 1, 539.

PMong. ***mata- (/ *mita-)** to bend, bow (сгибать, склонять(ся)): WMong. *mata-* (L 530), *matari-*, *mitara-* 'se courber' (SM); Kh. *mata-*; Bur. *mata-*; Kalm. *matə-*; Ord. *matā-*; Dag. *mata-* (Тод. Даг. 154: *matĺēn* 'bent, curved'); Mongr. *mātari* 'petit pain enroulé et cuit au bain-marie' (SM 234).

◊ KW 258, MGCD 482. Mong. > Evk., Man. *mata-* (TMC 1, 533), see Doerfer MT 61.

PJpn. ***mətər-** 1 to bend 2 to deviate (1 изгибаться 2 отступать, расходиться): OJpn. *motor-* 1; Tok. *motór-* 2; Kyo. *mótór-* 2; Kag. *motór-* 2.

◊ JLTT 727. Accent is not quite clear.

‖ Correspondences are regular, and the etymology seems quite reliable.

✱**mi̯atʹi** head skin, face: Tung. ***miata**; Mong. ***metü**; Turk. ***bět**.

PTung. ***miata** skin from animal's head (шкура с головы животного): Evk. *mêta*; Evn. *mā̂t*; Neg. *mêta*; Ul. *mêta*; Ork. *mêta*; Nan. *mi̯ata*; Orch. *miata*; Ud. *mäta* (Корм. 260); Sol. *ḿêta* 'face'.

◊ TMC 1, 535.

PMong. ***metü** like, as, similar (похожий, подобно): MMong. *metu* (SH, HYt); WMong. *metü* (L 538); Kh. *met*; Bur. *mete*; Kalm. *metə, mötə*; Ord. *mötü*; Mog. *metu* (Weiers); Dong. *mutu*; Bao. *mətgo*; Mongr. *madu* (SM 229).

◊ KW 262, MGCD 485.

PTurk. ***bět** 1 face 2 side, near (1 лицо 2 сторона, близко): OTurk. *bet* 1 (OUygh.); Tur. *bet-beniz* 'face colour'; Az. *bät-bäniz* 'face colour'; MTurk. *bet* 1 (Sangl.); Uzb. *bet* 1, 2; Uygh. *bät* 1, 2; Krm. *bet* 1; Tat. bit 1, 2; Bashk. *bit* 1, 2; Kirgh. *bet* 1, 2; Kaz. *bet* 1, 2; KBalk. *bet* 1, 2; KKalp. *bet* 1, 2; Kum. *bet* 1, 2; Nogh. *bet* 1, 2; Oyr. *bet* 1; Tv. *beti* 2; Tof. *be't* 2; Chuv. *pat-* 2 *(pit* 1 < Tat.); Yak. *bet-* 2.

◊ VEWT 72, EDT 296, ЭСТЯ 2, 121-122, Лексика 207.

‖ EAS 79, KW 262, Лексика 207-208. A Western isogloss. The Jpn. cognates present problems. Ozawa 292-293 compares OJ *mod(w)ok(j)i* 'resembling, similar', which is quite irregular vocalically. It is interesting to note Modern Jpn. *mitai* id. (used exactly in the same suffixed position and being phonetically quite a good match for Mong. *metü* etc., but attested late and usually analysed (folk-etymologically?) as a desiderative form of *mi-* 'to see'.

✱**mi̯oje** to hate, dislike: Tung. ***mujē-**; Mong. ***mejeɣe-**; Kor. ***mùi-**.

PTung. ***mujē-** to treat badly, oppress (обижать, притеснять): Evk. *mujē-*; Evn. *mõje-*.

◊ TMC 1, 551.

PMong. ***mejeɣe-** envious, conceited (завистливый, тщеславный): Bur. *mejēn*; Kalm. *mejērkəg* (KPC), *mejū̃r-* (KW 260).

PKor. ***mùi-** to dislike, hate (не любить, ненавидеть): MKor. *mui-, mɨi-p-* (-w-); Mod. *mip-* (-w-), *miwə-ha-*.

◊ Nam 224, 233, KED 699.

‖ SKE 153, TMC 1, 551.

✱**mi̯ójńi (~ -n-)** to become overripe, rot: Tung. ***munī-**; Turk. ***bAńɨl**; Jpn. ***mínə́-r-**; Kor. ***mǎi-b-**.

PTung. ***munī-** 1 to rot (trans.), spoil 2 to rot (1 гноить, портить 2 гнить): Evk. *munī-* 1, *munu-* 2; Evn. *mun-* 2; Sol. *mune-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 557.

PTurk. ***bAńɨl** overripe (перезрелый): Karakh. *majɨl, majɨl-* 'to become overripe' (MK).

◊ EDT 772. Cf. also Oyr. *mɨnčɨk* 'musty'.

PJpn. ***mínə́-r-** to ripen, become ripe (созревать): OJpn. *m(j)in(w)or-*; Tok. *mìnor-*, *minór-*; Kyo. *mínór-*; Kag. *minór-*.

◊ JLTT 724.

PKor. ***mǎi-b-** bitter, acid, to make acid (горький, кислый, квасить): MKor. *mǎip-* (-w-); Mod. *mǎp-* (-w-).

◊ Nam 208, KED 605.

‖ Medial *-j- has to be reconstructed to account for the secondary palatalization in Turkic and for the -i-reflex in Korean.

✱**mi̯ŏjo** to be mislead, mad: Tung. ***mija-**; Turk. ***boj-**; Jpn. ***maju(a)-**; Kor. ***mì-čhi-**.

PTung. ***mija-** to go astray, be mislead (заблудиться, сбиться с пути): Evk. *mija-*; Evn. *mie-*; Neg. *mī(j)-*; Ul. *mi-*; Ork. *mī-*.

◊ TMC 1, 536.

PTurk. ***boj-** 1 to be dilatory and careless 2 to rage, rough-house 3 rampant 4 to rot, spoil (1 быть неосторожным, рассеянным 2 буянить 3 буйный, ретивый 4 протухать, портиться, хиреть): Karakh. *bojba-* (MK) 1; Turkm. *bojna-* 2, *bojnaq* 3; Uzb. *bo̯j-la-* 4; Krm. *boj-ɣɨn* 'fainted'; Bashk. *buj-la-* 2; Kirgh. *buj-da-* 'to be confused'; Tv. *boj-la-* 4.

◊ EDT 385.

PJpn. ***maju(a)-** to go astray (сбиваться с пути): OJpn. *maju-p-* / *majwo-p-*; MJpn. *majof-*; Tok. *mayó-*; Kyo. *máyó-*; Kag. *mayó-*.

◊ JLTT 722. Accent reconstruction is not clear: either **máju̯a-* (Kyoto-Kagoshima, with deviation in Tokyo) or **màju̯a-* (Tokyo-Kyoto, with deviation in Kagoshima); the word is unfortunately absent in RJ.

PKor. ***mì-čhí-** to be mad (сходить с ума): MKor. *mì-čhí-*; Mod. *mi-čhi-*.

◊ Liu 346, KED 693.

‖ SKE 149.

✱**mi̯ók´[ú]** to bow: Tung. ***miaxu-**; Mong. ***meküji-**; Turk. ***bok-**; Jpn. ***mánká-**.

PTung. ***miaxu-** to bow, kneel (кланяться, становиться на колени): Neg. *mixeret-*; Man. *ńaqura-*; SMan. *jaqurə-*, *jaquru-* (1447); Jurch. *mia-ku-ru-* (466); Ul. *ḿêxoron-*; Ork. *mẽχoran-*; Nan. *mi̯χoran-*, *mi̯aqora-*; Orch. *mäxurava-*; Ud. *mäula-*.

◊ TMC 1, 536. Cf. also **mekč-* 'hump' (TMC 1, 565-566).

PMong. ***meküji-** to bow (кланяться, нагибаться): WMong. *meküji-* (L 574); Kh. *mexij-*, *möxij-*.

PTurk. ***bok-** to bend knees, bow, cross the legs (сгибать колени, нагибаться, скрещивать ноги): Karakh. *boq-* (MK); Kaz. *buq-*; KKalp. *buq-*; Oyr. *bɨɣɨ-*; Yak. *bokuj-*.

◊ EDT 311, VEWT 79.

PJpn. ***mánká-** to bow, bend (сгибать(ся)): OJpn. *maga-(r-)*; MJpn. *mágá-(r-)*; Tok. *màgar-*, *màge-*; Kyo. *mágár-*, *mágé-*; Kag. *magár-*, *magé-*.

◊ JLTT 719.

‖ TMC 1, 536. The parallel seems plausible, although in Jpn. one would rather expect -u-.

✱**mi̯óle** to present, gift: Tung. ***mula-**; Mong. ***melʒe-**; Turk. ***bẹlek**; Jpn. ***mə́ráp-, *mər-**; Kor. ***mūr-**.

PTung. ***mula-** to pity (жалеть): Evk. *mulān-*; Evn. *mụlān-*; Neg. *molān-*; Ul. *munalsị-*; Ork. *mụnālị-*; Nan. *monịalsị-*; Orch. *muńalisi-*; Ud. *muńali-*; Sol. *mụlān-*.

◊ TMC 1, 554.

PMong. ***melʒe-** 1 a bet, wager 2 to bet (1 ставка, пари 2 делать ставку): MMong. *milʒeldu-* 'ссориться (из-за вещи)' (MA); WMong. *melʒige* 1, *melʒi-* 2 (MXTTT); Kh. *melʒē* 1, *melʒe-* 2; Bur. *melze-* ʿrefuse'; Kalm. *melzə* 1 (KPC); Ord. *melʒēčūl-* 'faire concourir pour un prix'.

◊ Mong. > Manchu *melʒe-* etc. (see Rozycki 156).

PTurk. ***bẹlek** gift (подарок): OTurk. *belek* (OUygh.); Karakh. *belek* (MK); Tur. *belek* (dial.); Khal. *pelek*; MTurk. *belek* (Sangl.); Uygh. *bäläk* (dial.); Krm. *belek* 'приплод'; Tat. *büläk*; Bashk. *büläk*; Kirgh. *belek*; SUygh. *pelek* (ЯЖУ); Oyr. *belek*; Tv. *belek*; Chuv. *pil* 'blessing'; Yak. *belex*; Dolg. *belek*.

◊ VEWT 69, TMN 2, 413, EDT 338, ЭСТЯ 2, 112-113, Дыбо 1997, 78-79, Лексика 348-349, Stachowski 57. In Егоров 160, Федотов 1, 431 the Chuv. form is regarded as a variant of *pexil* 'blessing' (< Pers.), which is insecure phonetically. Derivation from bele'swaddle' (Clark 1977, 132) is highly dubious. The labialized vowel in Bashk., Tat. is a result of contamination with **bölek* 'part'. Turk. > WMong. *beleg*, Kalm. *beləg* (KW 41; TMN ibid., Щербак 1997, 104), whence Evk. *belek* etc., see Doerfer MT 141 (but Аникин 127 regards Evk. *belek* as borrowed < Yak.).

PJpn. ***mə́ráp-, *mər-** 1 to obtain, receive gifts 2 to guard, protect (1 получать, принимать подношения 2 защищать): OJpn. *m(w)orap-* 'to expect, await', *m(w)or-* 2; MJpn. *móráf-* 1, *mor-* 2; Tok. *mòra-* 1; Kyo. *mórá-* 1; Kag. *morá-* 1.

◊ JLTT 727.

PKor. ***mūr-** to pay, compensate (платить, возмещать): MKor. *mūr-*, *mùr'í-*; Mod. *mul-*, *mulli-*.

◊ Liu 334, Nam 224, KED 677, 679.

‖ The basic meaning of the root is "to present (or obtain) a gift"; a metaphorical change "present a gift > condescend > pity" must have occurred in TM.

✱**mi̯olkʿo** to creep, slide: Tung. ***milkü- / *mirkü-**; Mong. ***mölki-**; Jpn. ***məkə-jəp- (~-ua-)**.

PTung. ***milkü- / *mirkü-** to creep (ползти): Evk. *mirki-*, dial. *milki-*; Evn. *mirkъ-*; Neg. *mīxi-*; Man. *miču-*, *miži-*; SMan. *muči-*, *ḿuči-* (1236,

2302); Ul. *miču-*; Ork. *mitu-*; Nan. *miku-*; Orch. *mikki-*; Ud. *miki-*; Sol. *milki-*.

◊ TMC 1, 537-538.

PMong. ***mölki-** to creep (ползти): WMong. *mölkü-* (L 546); Kh. *mölxö-*; Bur. *mülxi-*; Kalm. *mölkə-*; Ord. *mölχö-*; Mog. ZM *molku-* (10-4b); Dag. *milku-*, *mulku-* (Тод. Даг. 154); S.-Yugh. *məlgə-*.

◊ KW 265, MGCD 489.

PJpn. ***məkə-jəp- (~-ua-)** to creep (as snake) (ползти (о змее)): OJpn. *m(w)ok(w)oj(w)op-* (~ -g-); MJpn. *mokojof-*.

‖ Poppe 36.

✱**mi̯ólo** full, to fill, thick: Tung. ***mila-**; Mong. ***mel- / *möl-**; Turk. ***bol**; Jpn. ***mə́r-**; Kor. ***mīr-**.

PTung. ***mila-** wide open, broad (широко раскрытый): Man. *mila*, *mila-χun*.

◊ TMC 1, 536. Attested only in Manchu, but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***mel- / *möl-** 1 to be full, become full 2 quite, full (1 быть полным, наполняться 2 вполне, полный): WMong. *melmeji-* (L 534), *melmelǯe- / mölmülǯe-* (L 535, 546) 1; Kh. *melmij-*, *melmelʒe-* 1; Bur. *melmelʒe-* 1; Kalm. *melmɛ:-* 1, *mel* 2; Ord. *melčirme-* 1, *melǖ*, *melē*.

◊ KW 260.

PTurk. ***bol** abundant, full (обильный, полный): Tur. *bol*; Turkm. *bol*; Uzb. *bɔl* (Chag.), *mɔl* (Uzb.); Tat. *mul*; Kirgh. *mol*; Chuv. *püle-mes*; *pül-lə* 'stalwart'.

◊ ЭСТЯ 2, 184-185.

PJpn. ***mə́r-** to fill, heap up (наполнять, нагромождать): OJpn. *m(w)or-*; MJpn. *mór-*; Tok. *mòr-*; Kyo. *mór-*; Kag. *mór-*.

◊ JLTT 727.

PKor. ***mīr-** tide (разлив, прилив): MKor. *mīr-mɨ́r* (*mɨ́r* 'water'); Mod. *mīlmul*.

◊ Nam 234, KED 697.

‖ Note traces of nasalization in Turkic (should one reconstruct **bonl*?). Cf. also **mìltʿe*.

✱**mi̯óńde** hare: Tung. ***mundu-kān**; Mong. ***möndele**; Turk. ***bAńɨ-**; Jpn. ***mə́m-**.

PTung. ***mundu-kān** hare (заяц): Evk. *mundukān*; Evn. *mụnrụqan*; Neg. *monoxān*.

◊ TMC 1, 556.

PMong. ***möndele** young of a tarbagan (детеныш тарбагана): WMong. *möndele* (L 547: *möndül*); Kh. *möndöl*.

◊ Cf. also WMong. *moltuγčin* (L 542) 'rabbit'.

PTurk. ***bAńɨ-** 1 hare 2 marmot (1 заяц 2 сурок): Tat. *bajbaq* 2; Bashk. *bajbaq* 2; Oyr. *majčɨq* 1; Chuv. *molgaś/č*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 7, under *majmak 'club-footed', Сетаров 1970. The traditional etymology of Chuv. (Федотов 1, 362, Егоров 134-135) from an unattested Udm. *mu 'earth' + lud keč 'field hare' is quite incredible: the Chuv. form is well explained < *bańi-l-kač (a diminutive).

PJpn. ***mə́m-** flying squirrel (белка-летяга): MJpn. *mómí*; Tok. *momonga*.

◊ JLTT 484.

‖ The root (containing a rare cluster *-ńd-) must have denoted a small wild animal, most probably a hare. It occurs with various suffixes; a common formation may be Chuv. *mulgaś* < *bańi-l-(kač) = PM *mönde-le < *mi̯óńde-lV.

✱**mi̯óńù** heart; breast: Tung. ***miańam**; Jpn. ***múnà-i**; Kor. ***mǎńǎm**.

PTung. ***miańam** heart (сердце): Evk. *mêwan*; Neg. *mêwan*; Man. *ńaman*; SMan. *ńamən* (86); Ul. *mêwa(n)*; Ork. *mêwa(n)*; Nan. *m'ā̃wa(n)*; Orch. *mā̃wa(n)*; Ud. *meäwa(n-)*; Sol. *ḿēɣã*, *mīɣã*.

◊ TMC 1, 533-534. All languages except Manchu underwent an assimilative change *miańam > *miawan; however, Manchu *ńaman* speaks strongly in favour of the original palatal *ń, corresponding well to the external data.

PJpn. ***múnà-i** breast (грудь): OJpn. *mune*; MJpn. *múnè*; Tok. *muné*; Kyo. *múnè*; Kag. *múne*.

◊ JLTT 488. *muna-* in OJ compounds (*muna-saka* etc.).

PKor. ***mǎńǎm** heart (сердце): MKor. *mǎńǎm*; Mod. *maim*.

◊ Nam 196, KED 564.

‖ An Eastern isogloss. See SKE 136, EAS 79, Whitman 1985, 202, 237, АПиПЯЯ 48, 290, Robbeets 2000, 103. The MKor. variant *njəm-* in *njàm-thòŋ* 'heart' (which Lee 1958, 115 attempts to compare separately with Manchu *ńaman*), is most probably just a contraction in a compound < *mǎńǎm-thòŋ*.

✱**mi̯oŋe** red, blood-red: Tung. ***muŋsi**; Mong. ***min-či- / *men-te- (?)**; Jpn. ***məmi (~ -ua-)**.

PTung. ***muŋsi** 1 red (as blood) 2 clot of blood (1 красный (как кровь) 2 сгусток крови): Evk. *munŋi* 1; Evn. *munsъ* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 556.

PMong. ***min-či- / *men-te-** to become red (краснеть): WMong. *minči-*; Kh. *minčij-*; Bur. *menti-*; Kalm. *minč-*.

◊ In KW 263: *mintə ulān urltē* 'mit hellroten Lippen'. Ramstedt says *minta < Tib. *mendi* < Sanskr. *mendhī* 'Lawsonia alba; wird zum Rotfärben der Nägel verwendet'; *minčī-* is glossed (ibid.) as 'prahlerisch gekleidet sein'.

PJpn. ***məmi (~ -ua-)** red cloth, red colour (красная ткань, красный цвет): MJpn. *momi*; Tok. *mómi*; Kyo. *mómí*; Kag. *mómi*.

◊ JLTT 484. Tone reconstruction is not quite clear.

‖ Since the Mong. reflex is somewhat dubious, basically a Tung.-Jpn. isogloss.

✱**mi̯ore** to hurt, damage, wound: Tung. ***mur-dul-**; Mong. ***mer**; Turk. ***bert-**; Jpn. ***miar- (~ *mair-)**.

PTung. ***mur-dul-** 1 to slaughter (a deer) 2 to peel (bark) (1 заколоть (оленя) 2 ободрать (кору)): Evk. *murdul-* 1, *murdune-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 558. Attested only in Evk., but having possible external parallels.

PMong. ***mer** 1 wound 2 (expr. for) a painful sensation 3 to gnaw at smth. (1 рана 2 (изобр.) чувство боли 3 глодать что-л.): MMong. *mer* (MNT, SH) 1; WMong. *mer* 2, mere- 3 (L 536); Kh. *mer* 2, *mere-* 3; Bur. *mere-* 3; Kalm. *mer* 2, *mer-* 3.

◊ KW 261, 262.

PTurk. ***bert-** to break, damage, wound (ломать, вредить, ранить): OTurk. *bert-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *bert-* (MK); Tur. *bert-*; Gag. *bert-*; Az. *pärt-*; Turkm. *berti-*; Khal. *pärt-lä-* ʿto throw'; MTurk. *bertik* 'bone' (in the context: bone fracture) (Pav. C.); Tat. *birt-*; Bashk. *birt-*; Kirgh. *bertik* 'contortion', *bertin-* = *mertin-* (refl.); Kaz. *mertik* 'contortion'; KKalp. *mert-*; Nogh. *mertik* 'contortion'; Khak. *pirtək* 'mutilation'; Shr. *peret-*; Oyr. *bert-in-* (refl.); Tv. *bertik* 'mutilation'; Chuv. *part* '(imit.) crackling'.

◊ VEWT 71, EDT 358, 359, ЭСТЯ 2, 70-72. Turk. > Mong. *berte-*.

PJpn. ***miar- (~ *mair-)** to decrease, diminish, drain away (уменьшаться, ухудшаться): MJpn. *mer-*; Tok. *meri* (n.).

◊ JLTT 475, 723.

‖ The Jpn. parallel is not quite certain, both semantically and phonetically; if it really belongs here it might demand a reconstruction **mi̯ojre*.

✱**mi̯óre (~ -ŕ-)** to long, show affection: Tung. ***mur-**; Mong. ***mereji-**; Jpn. ***mútú-m-**.

PTung. ***mur-** 1 spiritual power, luck 2 thought, mind, determination, resolution 3 love, affection 4 to think (1 душевная сила, удача, счастье 2 мысль, ум, решимость 3 любовь, влечение 4 думать): Evk. *murač* 1; Man. *mužin* 2, *mužilen* 2, 3; *muru* 'shape, form'; SMan. *mužin* 2 (1998); *muru* 'pattern, outline' (2343); Jurch. *miuǯil[e]n-be* (506) 'heart'; Ul. *muru(n)* 2, *muruči-* 4; Ork. *muru(n)* 2, *murutči-* 4; Nan. *murũ* 2, *muruči-* 4; Orch. *muiči-* 4.

◊ TMC 1, 551, 558, 559.

PMong. ***mereji-** to strive, make an effort (стремиться): WMong. *mereji-* (L 536); Kh. *merij-*.

PJpn. ***mútú-m-** to be friendly, show affection (быть дружественным, приветливым): OJpn. *mutub-*; MJpn. *mútúm-*, *mútúb-*; Tok. *mùtsum-*; Kyo. *mútsúm-*.

◊ JLTT 729.

‖ One of the common Altaic verbs of emotion.

✱**mi̯óri** road, track; to follow: Mong. ***mör**; Turk. ***bar-**; Jpn. ***mítí**; Kor. ***mōr-**.

PMong. ***mör** road, track (дорога, след): MMong. *mor* (HY 4, SH), *mor* (IM), *mur* (MA); WMong. *mör* (L 548); Kh. *mör*; Bur. *mür*; Kalm. *mör*; Ord. *mör*; Mog. *mür*; KT *mor* (11-2b); Dag. *mure* (MD 192); Dong. *mo*; Bao. *mor*; S.-Yugh. *mör*; Mongr. *mōr* (SM 240), (MGCD *mur*).

◊ KW 266, MGCD 491.

PTurk. ***bar-** 1 to walk, go (away) 2 to come, reach (1 ходить, идти 2 приходить, достигать): OTurk. *bar-* 1 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *bar-* 1 (MK); Tur. *var-* 2; Gag. *var-* 1, 2; Az. *var-* 2; Turkm. *bar-* 1; Sal. *var-*, *bār-*, *pār-* 1 (ССЯ); Khal. *var-* 1; MTurk. *bar-* 1 (Abush., Sangl.); Uzb. *bɔr-* 1, 2; Uygh. *ba(r)-* 1; Krm. *bar-* 1; Tat. *bar-* 1; Bashk. *bar-* 1; Kirgh. *bar-* 1; Kaz. *bar-* 1; KBalk. *bar-* 1; KKalp. *bar-* 1; Kum. *bar-* 1, 2; Nogh. *bar-* 1; SUygh. *par-* 1; Khak. *par-* 1; Shr. *par-* 1; Oyr. *bar-* 1, 2; Tv. *bar-* 1; Tof. *bar-* 1; Chuv. *pir-* 1; Yak. *bar-* 1; Dolg. *bar-* 1.

◊ VEWT 62, ЭСТЯ 2, 64-65, EDT 354, Stachowski 52. Chuv. -i- is unclear.

PJpn. ***mítí** road (дорога): OJpn. *mjiti*; MJpn. *mítí*; Tok. *mìchi*; Kyo. *míchí*; Kag. *míti* (= *míT*).

◊ JLTT 481.

PKor. ***mōr-** to pursue, drive (преследовать, гнать): MKor. *mōr-*; Mod. *mol-*.

◊ Liu 325, HMCH 307, KED 641.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 89, 277.

✱**mi̯ótʿi** joint: Mong. ***möči**; Kor. ***mǎtǎi**.

PMong. ***möči** body part, extremity (часть тела, конечность): MMong. *muče* (MA 405); WMong. *möči* (L 544: *möče*, *möči*); Kh. *möč*; Bur. *müse*; Kalm. *möčə*; Ord. *möčö*; Dag. *muʒi* (Тод. Даг. 155), (MGCD) *moiʒi*; Mongr. *mučir*.

◊ KW 267, MGCD 492. Mong. > Kirgh. *mučö*, Kaz. *muše*, Yak. *müsä* etc. (see TMN 1, 505, Щербак 1997, 206).

PKor. ***mǎtǎi** joint (of bamboo; of body) (коленце (бамбука); сустав): MKor. *mǎtǎi*; Mod. *madi*.

◊ Nam 195, KED 561.

‖ A Mong.-Kor. isogloss.

✱**mi̯otʿì (~ -u-)** land: Jpn. ***mita (~ -u-)**; Kor. ***mut**.

PJpn. ***mita (~ -u-)** earth (земля):

◊ JLTT 481. A Ryukyu isolate: cf. Nase *mìčá*, Hateruma *ǹtá* etc.

PKor. ***mut** dry land (суша): MKor. *mut*; Mod. *mut* [*muth*].

◊ Nam 223, KED 685.

‖ A Kor.-Jpn. isogloss.

✱**mi̯údu** dragon: Tung. ***muduri**; Jpn. ***múi (~ *mói)**; Kor. ***mìrɨ́**.

PTung. ***muduri** dragon (дракон): Man. *muduri*; SMan. *muduri* (2276); Jurch. *mudu-ur* (135); Ul. *muduli*; Nan. *muduri*; Orch. *muduri*; Ud. *mudile* (Корм. 262); Sol. *mudur*.

◊ TMC 1, 550. TM > Dag. *mudur* (Тод. Даг. 155).

PJpn. ***múi (~ *mói)** snake (6th Zodiac sign) (змей (6 знак зодиака)): OJpn. *mi*; MJpn. *mi*; Tok. *mì*; Kyo. *mé*; Kag. *mí*.

◊ JLTT 476.

PKor. ***mìrɨ́** dragon (дракон): MKor. *mìrɨ́*.

◊ Nam 233.

‖ Whitman 1985, 61, 239 (Kor.-Jpn.); see also the discussion in Miller 2000. An interesting Eastern isogloss.

✱**mi̯ǔjre** shoulder: Tung. ***mū̃re**; Mong. ***mörü**; Jpn. ***mə̀t-**; Kor. ***mə̄i-**.

PTung. ***mū̃re** shoulder (плечо): Evk. *mīre*; Evn. *mīr*; Neg. *mīje*; Man. *meiren*; SMan. *mirin* (65); Ul. *ŋujre*; Ork. *mujre*; Nan. *mejre*; Orch. *mije*; Sol. *mīri*, *mīre*.

◊ TMC 1, 538.

PMong. ***mörü** shoulder (плечо): MMong. *muru* (SH), *muro* (HY 46), *murun* (MA); WMong. *mörü(n)* (L 549); Kh. *mör*; Bur. *mür(e)*; Kalm. *mörṇ* (KPC); Ord. *mörö*; Dag. *muru*, *mur* (Тод. Даг. 155), mure (MD 192); S.-Yugh. *murə*, *mərə*.

◊ MGCD 491.

PJpn. ***mə̀t-** to carry, hold (нести, держать): OJpn. mot-; MJpn. *mòt-*; Tok. *mót-*; Kyo. *mòt-*; Kag. *mòt-*.

◊ JLTT 728.

PKor. ***mə̄i-** to carry on the shoulder (нести на плече): MKor. *mə̄i-*; Mod. *mē-*.

◊ Nam 212, KED 616.

‖ Poppe 35, TMC 1, 538, SKE 145, Колесникова 1972a, 91-92, АПиПЯЯ 291, Дыбо 308, Rozycki 156. The cluster *-jr- accounts for Kor. -i- (but note that in TM it may be perhaps reconstructed directly: a reconstruction **mūjre* is also possible).

✱**mi̯úkčʹ[à]** a k. of hammer: Tung. ***mukča**; Jpn. ***mútì**; Kor. ***màčhí**.

PTung. ***mukča** mallet (палица, дубина): Neg. *mu̯kočan*; Man. *muqšan*; SMan. *muqəšan*, *muqəsan* 'club, stave' (679); Ul. *mu̯kča*; Nan. *moksa-* 'to hit with a mallet'; Orch. *mučaŋki*; Ud. *mūsi-* 'to hit with a fist, mallet' (Корм. 263); Sol. *mu̯xšã*.

◊ TMC 1, 553, 561.

PJpn. ***mútì** whip (кнут, бич): OJpn. *muti*; MJpn. *muti*; Tok. *múchi*; Kyo. *múchì*; Kag. *múchi*.

◊ JLTT 489. Kyoto and Kagoshima point to **mútì*, but the Tokyo accent is irregular.

PKor. ***màčhí** wooden hammer, mallet (деревянный молоток, колотушка): MKor. *màčhí*; Mod. *mačhi*.

◊ Liu 301, KED 567.

‖ An Eastern isogloss. Cf. perhaps also Turk. **bičkak* 'knife' (if re-analysed semantically on analogy with **bič-* 'cut'). The vowel reflex in Jpn. points to a variant **mi̯ukčʹo* (or *mi̯ukčʹu*).

✱**mi̯ūko** snake: Tung. ***mūkū**; Mong. ***mogaji**; Turk. ***böke**; Jpn. ***múkátai (~ -tia)**; Kor. ***mək-**.

PTung. ***mūkū** snake (змея): Neg. *mīxi*; Man. *meixe*; SMan. *meixə* (2271); Jurch. *muj-xe* (165); Ul. *mui*; Ork. *mui* / *mujγi*; Nan. *mujki*; Orch. *mīki*; Ud. *miki*.

◊ TMC 1, 537-538.

PMong. ***mogaj** snake (змея): MMong. *moxai* (HY 12), *moqai* (SH), *məγa* (IM), *muγaj* (MA); WMong. *moγai* (L 541); Kh. *mogoj*; Bur. *mogoj*; Kalm. *moγǟ*, *moγā*; Ord. *moGȫ*; Mog. *maγōī*; ZM *māγāj* (21-7a); Dag. *mogo*, *mogu*, *mog* (Тод. Даг. 154); Dong. *moGi*, *moγəi*; Bao. *moGui*; S.-Yugh. *moγui*, *moGoi*; Mongr. *muGwə̄* (SM 244), *moGui* (Huzu).

◊ KW 263, MGCD 487, TMN 1, 508-509.

PTurk. ***böke** a big snake (большая змея): Karakh. *böke* (MK).

◊ Лексика 180, EDT 324. Clauson doubts MK's derivation of *böke* 'warrior' from 'big snake' (MK quotes a folk-tale about the snake with seven heads called *böke*, and says that the warriors are called by it); but external evidence rather supports Kashgari's point of view. If this is the case, MMong. *bökö* 'warrior, wrestler' (whence Evk. *buku* etc., see Doerfer MT 235) must be a Turkic loanword (see EDT ibid.).

PJpn. ***múkátai (~-tia)** centipede (многоножка): MJpn. *múkádè*; Tok. *mùkade*; Kyo. *mùkádè*; Kag. *mukáde*.

◊ JLTT 487. Accent is not quite clear: most dialects (including RJ) point to high tone on the first two syllables, but Kyoto suggests rather **mùkátài*.

PKor. ***mək-** a big black snake (большая черная змея): Mod. *mək-kuri*, *mək-kurəŋi*.

◊ KED 609.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 36, 293, Лексика 180. The Mong.-Tung. match is precise; other reflexes present bigger or lesser problems, possibly of tabooistic nature. PJ has irregular tone (but cf. the accentuation in Kyoto, pointing to **mùká-*); in PT one would rather expect a back vowel; the Kor. word is analysed as "ink-snake" (which is probably a folk-etymology).

✱**mi̯uktu (~ -i)** stump, horn foundation: Tung. ***mugde-ke**; Mong. ***mugǯi-**; Kor. ***mìth**.

PTung. ***mugde-ke** stump (пень): Evk. *mugdekēn*; Evn. *muγdъkъn*; Neg. *mugdixēn*; Man. *mukdexen*; Ul. *mugdu(n)*; Ork. *mūgde(n)*; Nan. *mugdu*, *mugdekẽ*; Orch. *mugde(n)*; Ud. *mugdaʹa* (Корм. 262); Sol. *mugdexẽ*.

◊ TMC 1, 549-550.

PMong. ***mugǯi-** 1 short-necked and plump 2 hornless, hairless (1 короткошеий и толстоватый 2 безрогий, безволосый): WMong. *muγǯiγar* (MXTTT) 1; Kh. *mugǯgar* 2; Ord. *muGdū* 2.

PKor. ***mìth** bottom, foundation (дно, основание): MKor. *mìt*, *mìth*; Mod. *mit* [*mith*].

◊ Nam 234, 235, KED 699.

‖ The old deriving stem is perhaps preserved in Mong. *muqur*, *moγutur* 'blunt, hornless', MMong. *muγular* id., Khalkha *moxo-*, Kalm. *muxə-* 'to make blunt' etc. (whence numerous TM forms, see TMC 1, 552-553). Some of them (especially suffixless forms or forms with -l-, like Evk. *muku-* 'to become blunt', Sol. *moxō* 'blunt', Evn. *muk-* 'to chop off') may actually be genuine, see Poppe 55. In Mong. cf. also the fronted variant *mökü* 'blunt' (KW 265).

✱**mi̯uĺi** ignorant: Tung. ***mul-(di-)**; Mong. ***mulgu-**; Jpn. ***misu-**; Kor. ***mòrǎ-**.

PTung. ***mul-(di-)** to be unable (не уметь): Evk. *mulli-*; Evn. *mu̯lrъ-* 'to doubt'; Neg. *molị-*.

◊ TMC 1, 555.

PMong. ***mulgu-** to act foolishly (поступать глупо): WMong. *mulγu-* (MXTTT); Kh. *mulga-*.

PJpn. ***misu-** annoying, bothersome (надоедливый, привередливый): OJpn. *mjisu-*.

PKor. ***mòrǎ-** to be unable, ignorant (не уметь, не знать): MKor. *mòrǎ-*; Mod. *morɨ-*.

◊ Nam 215, KED 630.

‖ Jpn. -s- (even in the absence of Turkic forms) points to PA *-Í- here.

✱**mi̯ú̯ĺi** ice, hail: Mong. ***möl-sü, *möl-dür**; Turk. ***bū(n)ŕ**; Jpn. ***mínsə́-rá-**; Kor. ***múrúi**.

PMong. ***möl-sü, *möl-dür** 1 ice 2 hail (1 лед 2 град): MMong. *molsun* (HY 1, SH), *mulsun* (MA), *mundur* (HY 2), *mūlsūn* (Lig.VMI); WMong. *mösü(n)*, *mölsü(n)* (L 546, 550) 1, *möndür* 2; Kh. *mös* 1, *möndör* 2; Bur. *mülĺhe(n)*; Kalm. *mösn*; Ord. *mösü*; Dag. *meise*, *meis* (Тод. Даг. 154) 1; *murtul* 2 (Тод. Даг. 155), *mejse* 1 (MD 190), *muretule* 2 (MD 192); Dong. *mensun* (MGCD *mandəu* 2); Bao. *menšu* (MGCD *minśəu*); S.-Yugh. *mösən*; Mongr. *morʒə* (SM 240), (MGCD *molsə*).

◊ KW 266, 267, MGCD 489, 492. Mong. **möl-dür* is proved by the Dagur form, as well as by Turkic loans: Chag. *möldür*, Uygh. *möldür*. See VEWT 341, Лексика 32.

PTurk. ***bū(n)ŕ** ice (лед): Karakh. *buz* (MK, KB, IM); Tur. *buz*; Gag. *buz*; Az. *buz*; Turkm. *būz*; Sal. *muz*; Khal. *buzäk*; MTurk. *buz*, *muz* (Abush., MA, Sangl.); Uzb. *muz*; Uygh. *muz*; Krm. *buz*; Tat. *boz*; Bashk. *boδ*; Kirgh. *muz*; Kaz. *muz*; KBalk. *buz*; KKalp. *muz*; Kum. *buz*; Nogh.

buz; SUygh. *pɨz*; Khak. *pus*; Shr. *mus*; Chuv. *pъʷr*; Yak. *mūs*, *būs*; Dolg. *būs*.

◊ VEWT 91, EDT 389, ЭСТЯ 2, 238-239, Лексика 17-18, TMN 2, 336, Stachowski 67.

PJpn. ***mínsə̀-rá-*** 1 to fall (of rain with snow) 2 wet snow, rain with snow (1 идти (о дожде со снегом) 2 мокрый снег, дождь со снегом): MJpn. *mizora-* 1; Tok. *mìzore* 2; Kyo. *mízóré* 2; Kag. *mizóre* 2.

◊ JLTT 482.

PKor. ***múrúi*** hail (град): MKor. *múrùi*; Mod. *muri* (dial.).

◊ Nam 221, KED 658.

‖ EAS 79, SKE 155, Poppe 35, 138. The Turkic form presents biggest problems: it must be explained as a result of dissimilation and contraction - **bū(n)ŕ* (cf. obvious traces of nasalization in reflexes) < **bū́l(V)ŕ* < **mi̯ū́li-ŕV* or even **mi̯ūli-dVŕV* (cf. Mong. **möldür*, Evk. *melder-*); early loss of *-i- would then also account for the back vowel reflex. All other forms are more or less plausibly united under the protoform **mi̯ū́li*.

✱**mi̯ùní (~ -o-)** a k. of skin or cloth: Tung. ***mune-***; Jpn. ***mìnə́***.

PTung. ***mune-*** 1 skin, fur (from deer's feet) 2 to pad skis with skin, fur 3 fur clothes (1 шкурка, мех (с ног оленя) 2 подбивать лыжи шкуркой, мехом 3 меховая одежда): Evk. *munekse* 1; Evn. *munъs* 1, *muni-* 2, *munek* 3; Ul. *munekse* 1; Ork. *muneske* 1, *munesi-* 2; Nan. *munekse* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 557.

PJpn. ***mìnə́*** straw coat (соломенный плащ, накидка): OJpn. *mjino*; MJpn. *mìnó*; Tok. *míno*; Kyo. *mìnó*; Kag. *míno*.

◊ JLTT 480. Accent in Kagoshima is irregular.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss. Cf. perhaps MMong. (HY) *minda-sun*, WMong. *mindasu(n)*, Khalkha *ḿandas* 'floss-silk, silk thread'.

✱**mi̯ùnʒù** a k. of of badger: Tung. ***mō[nʒ]ika***; Mong. ***minʒi***; Jpn. ***mùnsìnà***.

PTung. ***mō[nʒ]ika*** bear eating ants (медведь-муравьед): Evk. *mōdikā*; Neg. *monoqo*; Man. *moʒiχan*, *močinʒi*; Ul. *monoko(n)*; Nan. *monoqo* 'Tibetan bear' (On.).

◊ TMC 1, 542.

PMong. ***minʒi*** beaver (бобер): WMong. *minʒi*, (L 539) *miŋʒi(n)*; Kh. *minʒ*.

PJpn. ***mùnsìnà*** a k. of badger ("badger-bear", anakuma badger) (вид барсука): OJpn. *muzina*; MJpn. *mùzìnà*; Tok. *mujiná*, *mùjina*; Kyo. *mújìnà*; Kag. *mujína*.

◊ JLTT 489. Accentuation in Kagoshima and the Tokyo variant *mùzina* are aberrant.

‖ The root contains a rare cluster -nʒ- (with not quite clear reflexes in TM); nevertheless, the etymology seems probable.

✱**mi̯uŋo** suffering: Tung. ***miŋnī- (~ -ü-)**; Mong. ***muŋ**; Turk. ***buŋ**; Jpn. ***munkua-**.

PTung. ***miŋnī- (~ -ü-)** to nag (of joints, heart) (ныть (о суставах, сердце)): Evk. *miŋnī-*.

◊ TMC 1, 537. Attested only in Evk., but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***muŋ** difficulty (трудность): MMong. *muŋ* (SH); WMong. *muŋ* (L 551: *muŋla-* 'to be in need'); Kh. *munla-* 'to be in need, to be exhausted' (БАМРС).

PTurk. ***buŋ** suffering (мучение, страдание): OTurk. *buŋ* (Orkh.), *muŋ* (OUygh.); Karakh. *muŋ* (MK); Tur. *bun*; Gag. *bun*; Turkm. *muŋ-lɨ* 'sorrowful' (dial.); MTurk. *muŋ* (Abush., Sangl.); Uzb. *muŋ*; Uygh. *muŋ*; Tat. *moŋ*; Bashk. *moŋ*; Kirgh. *muŋ*; KKalp. *muŋ*; Kum. *muŋ*; Nogh. *muŋ*; Oyr. *muŋ*; Tv. *muŋ*; Yak. *muŋ*; Dolg. *muŋ*.

◊ VEWT 344, EDT 347, ОСНЯ 2, 73, ЭСТЯ 7, Stachowski 182.

PJpn. ***munkua-** horrible (ужасный): Tok. *mugó-*; Kyo. *múgò-*; Kag. *múgo-*.

◊ JLTT 853. The PJ accent is unclear.

‖ Владимирцов 350, Poppe 71. Mong. may be < Turk. The root seems to be different from **mùne* q. v.

✱**mi̯urgu** wheat: Tung. ***murgi**; Jpn. ***mùnkí**; Kor. ***mírh**.

PTung. ***murgi** barley (ячмень): Man. *muži*; Jurch. *mir-γe-i* 'product of agriculture' (825); Ul. *muži*; Nan. *muži*; Sol. *mu̯rgil* 'ярица, яровое поле'.

◊ TMC 1, 551, 558. TM > Dag. *murgil* 'wheat' (Тод. Даг. 155).

PJpn. ***mùnkí** wheat, barley (пшеница, ячмень): OJpn. *mugji*; MJpn. *mùgjí*; Tok. *múgi*; Kyo. *mùgí*; Kag. *mugí*.

◊ JLTT 487.

PKor. ***mírh** wheat (пшеница): MKor. *mír* (*mírh-*); Mod. *mil*.

◊ Nam 234, KED 696.

‖ Martin 251, АПиПЯЯ 69. An Eastern isogloss; but cf. also Turk. **bogu-* (< **borgu-* ?) in **bogu-daj* > **bugdaj* (ЭСТЯ 2, 232-234, Лексика 461, Chuv. *pъʷri* 'полба'; borrowed in Mong. *buγudaj*, see Щербак 1997, 110, Hung. *búza* 'wheat', see MNTESz 398; not < Chin., despite Joki 1963, 106, Menges 1984, 285), **boguŕ* 'хлеб в зерне', **bogur-sak* > Mong. Kh. *bōrcog* 'вид печенья'. Cf. also Bur. *murā* 'flour'.

✱**mi̯ȕri** water: Tung. ***mū**; Mong. ***mören**; Jpn. ***mí(-n-tú)**; Kor. ***mɨ́r**.

PTung. ***mū** water (вода): Evk. *mū*; Evn. *mṍ*; Neg. *mū*; Man. *muke*; SMan. *mukē*, *mukū* (347); Jurch. *mo* (51); Ul. *mū*; Ork. *mū*; Nan. *muke*; Orch. *mū*; Ud. *mu-de* 'inundation'; Sol. *mū*.

◊ TMC 1, 548-549.

PMong. ***mören** river (река): MMong. *muren* (HY 2, SH), *murän* (MA); WMong. *mören* (L 548); Kh. *mörön*; Bur. *müre(n)*; Kalm. *mörṇ*;

Ord. *mörön*; Dag. *mure* (Тод. Даг. 155, MD 192), *mur* (Тод. Даг. 155); Dong. *moren*, *moran*; Bao. *moroŋ*; S.-Yugh. *merēn*, *merēm*; Mongr. *murōn* (SM 250).

◊ KW 267, MGCD 298, 492. Mong. > MTurk. *müräп* 'river' (TMN 1, 506, Щербак 1997, 206). The MMong. form in LHa - *merän* - is certainly not enough to reconstruct PM **meren*, as attempted by Doerfer (TMN 1, 507) (cf. -ö- or -ü- in other sources). This is obviously done in order to attack the traditional etymology of the word, which nevertheless still holds.

PJpn. ***mí(-n-tú)** water (вода): OJpn. *mjidu*; MJpn. *mídú*; Tok. *mìzu*; Kyo. *mízú*; Kag. *mízu* (= *míT*).

◊ JLTT 483.

PKor. ***mɨ́r** water (вода): MKor. *mɨ́r*; Mod. *mul*.

◊ Nam 229, KED 675.

‖ EAS 79, 147, KW 267, Poppe 35, Lee 1958, 115, Martin 246, ОСНЯ 2, 61, Murayama 1962, 109, Menges 1984, 277-278, АПиПЯЯ 28-29, 69, 86, 278, Rozycki 160. Turkic has preserved the root only within the archaic compound **jag-mur* 'rain'. Tone in Jpn. is irregular (probably because of reduction and the position within a compound; suffixless *mi is also attested in OJ, but its accent is unknown); loss of resonant presupposes a suffixed form: **mí* < **mi̯ù̀r(i)-gV* (cf. Manchu *mū-ke*).

✱**mi̯uŕu** to press, damage: Tung. ***muru-**; Turk. ***buŕ- / *boŕ-**; Kor. ***mīr-**.

PTung. ***muru-** 1 to press 2 to oppress 3 to touch (1 давить 2 притеснять 3 задеть, зацепить): Evn. *murke-* 2, *mu̯rlā-* 3; Man. *muri(nǯa)-* 'be stubborn'; Ul. *murū-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 559, 532.

PTurk. ***buŕ- / *boŕ-** to damage, destroy (причинять вред, разрушать): OTurk. *buz-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *buz-* (MK, KB); Tur. *boz-*; Gag. *boz-*; Az. *poz-*; Turkm. *boz-*; Khal. *puz-* (< Ogh.?); MTurk. *buz-* (Sangl.); Uzb. *buz-*; Uygh. *buz-*; Krm. *buz-* (T,H,K); Tat. *boz-*; Bashk. *boδ-*; Kirgh. *buz-*; Kaz. *buz-*; KBalk. *buz-*; KKalp. *buz-*; Kum. *buz-*; Nogh. *buz-*; SUygh. *puz-*; Khak. *pus-*; Shr. *puza-*; Oyr. *bus-*; Tv. *bus-*; Chuv. *pъ^{w}s-*.

◊ EDT 389, VEWT 91, TMN 2, 337, Федотов 1 404, Егоров 150, ЭСТЯ 7. -s- in Chuv. may be explained either as a loan from Kypch. or as a reflex of the old cluster -ŕs- (Мудрак Дисс. 98).

PKor. ***mīr-** to push, press (толкать, давить): MKor. *mīr'oat-*, *mī-či-*; Mod. *mīl-*, *mīl-čhi-*.

◊ Nam 233, 234, KED 696, 698.

‖ See also notes to **bùro*.

✱**mi̯usi** a k. of flour: Tung. ***musi**; Mong. ***musi**; Jpn. ***mìsə́**; Kor. ***mìsí**.

PTung. ***musi** 1 roasted flour 2 drink made of roasted flour 3 jelly (made of fish skin) (1 поджаренная мука 2 питье, смешанное с поджаренной мукой 3 студень (из рыбьей кожи)): Neg. *mosi̯n* 3; Man.

musi 1, 2; Jurch. *mu-ĉin* (538) 1; Nan. *musũ* ‘frozen (of meat, fish)’ (On.); Ul. *mosi̯(n)* 3; Orch. *mosi̯(n)* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 547, 560.

PMong. ***musi** pap made of flour thinned with water or bouillon (каша из муки, разбавленной водой или бульоном): WMong. *musi* (L 552); Kh. *moši* ‘напиток из поджаренной муки’ (БАМРС).

PJpn. ***mìsə́** miso (a k. of thick bean gruel) (вид густой бобовой каши): MJpn. *mìsó*; Tok. *míso*; Kyo. *mìsó*; Kag. *misó*.

◊ JLTT 481.

PKor. ***mìsí** a k. of gruel, mixed water and rice flour (вид каши, вода, смешанная с рисовой мукой): MKor. *mìsí*; Mod. *misi*.

◊ Nam 233, KED 690.

‖ Kor. and Jpn. have a tone mismatch, so borrowing is not excluded; a borrowing in Mong. < Man. or vice versa is also possible (see Rozycki 160, proposing Mong. > Manchu).

✱**mi̯úsu** to bind, strand: Mong. ***musgi-**; Jpn. ***músú(m)p-**; Kor. ***mɨsk-**.

PMong. ***musgi-** to twist, strand (rope) (скручивать (веревку)): WMong. *musgi-* (L 552: *muski-*, *muški-*); Kh. *mušgi-*; Bur. *mušxa-*; Kalm. *moškl-*, *muškl-*; Ord. *mušχi-* ‘крутить (о желудке), выкручивать, извиваться (о змее)’; Dag. *morki-*; Dong. *mušɨɣəi-*; Bao. *məśGə-*; Mongr. *mušgi-* (SM 252), *muśgə-*.

◊ KW 265, 269, MGCD 495. Mong. > Evk. *motki-*, see Doerfer MT 127. Cf. also WMong. *mösün* ‘strand of rope’ (L 550).

PJpn. ***músú(m)p-** to bind (связывать): OJpn. *musub-*; MJpn. *músúb-*; Tok. *mùsub-*; Kyo. *músúb-*; Kag. *mùsùb-*.

◊ JLTT 729.

PKor. ***mɨsk-** to bind (связывать): MKor. *mɨsk-*, *mɨs-*; Mod. *muk-* [*muk*:-].

◊ Nam 232, KED 670.

‖ Martin 227. ? Cf. Man. *maselaqu* ‘loops, trap’ (TMC 1, 533).

✱**mi̯usu (~ -a, *mi̯osi)** to smile: Tung. ***musim-**; Mong. ***misije-**.

PTung. ***musim-** to smile, sneer (улыбаться, усмехаться): Evn. *musъm-*; Neg. *musi-musi*; Man. *ḿosiri-la-*; Ork. *musimu-*.

◊ TMC 1, 561.

PMong. ***misije-** to smile, laugh (смеяться, улыбаться): WMong. *misije-* (L 540); Kh. *mišē-*; Bur. *miher-*.

‖ TMC 1, 561. A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**m[i̯u]ti** to know, believe: Tung. ***mute-**; Mong. ***mede-**; Turk. ***büt-**; Kor. ***mìt-**.

PTung. ***mute-** can, be able (мочь, уметь): Man. *mute-*; SMan. *mutə-*, *mutu-* ‘to be capable’ (3020); Ul. *mute-*; Ork. *mute-*; Nan. *mute-* (On.).

◊ TMC 1, 561 (reflexes coincide with *mute- 'to fulfil': in PTM a merger occurred of the Altaic roots *mŭt'i 'to complete' and *m[i̯u]ti 'to know, believe').

PMong. ***mede-** to know (знать): MMong. *mede-* (HY 33, SH), *mēdɛ-*, *mīdɛ-* (IM), *midă-* (MA); WMong. *mede-* (L 531); Kh. *mede-*; Bur. *mede-*; Kalm. *medə-*; Ord. *mede-*; Mog. *mede-* (Weiers); Dag. *mede-* (Тод. Даг. 154, MD 189); Dong. *mežie-*, *meižie-*; Bao. *made-*, *mede-*; S.-Yugh. *mede-*; Mongr. *mude-* (SM 244).

◊ KW 259, MGCD 483. Mong. > Evk. *mede-*, Nan. *mede-* etc. (TMC 1, 563-564), see TMN 1, 512-513, Poppe 1966, 191, Doerfer MT 24, Rozycki 155.

PTurk. ***büt-** 1 to believe 2 sign, token (1 верить 2 знак): Karakh. *büt-* 1 (MK, KB); MTurk. *büt-* 1 (Pav. C.); Uygh. *püt-* 1 (dial.); Shr. *püt-* 1; Oyr. *büt-* 1; Yak. *bit* 2.

◊ VEWT 93, EDT 298-299 (together with *büt-* 'finish'), ЭСТЯ 2, 279-280.

PKor. ***mìt-** to believe (верить): MKor. *mìt-*; Mod. *mit-*.

◊ Nam 234, KED 695.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 15, 294. See SKE 149, EAS 149. Mong. **mede-* is perhaps < **möde-* with secondary delabialization.

✱**mŏčʿa (~ -u, -o)** edge, end: Tung. ***muč-**; Turk. ***būč-gak, -mak**; Kor. ***mǎčh-**.

PTung. ***muč-** 1 edge, limit, end 2 to turn back, return (1 край, предел, конец 2 поворачивать назад, возвращаться): Evk. *mučū-* 2; Evn. *mučụ-* 2; Neg. *močo-* 2; Jurch. *muta-bun* (378) 2; Ul. *mụča* 1, *mụčụ-ǯị-* 2; Ork. *mụčča* 1, *mụttụ-* 2; Nan. *moča* 1, *močogo-* 2; Sol. *mosō-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 561, 562.

PTurk. ***būč-gak, -mak** (outer) corner, angle (внешний угол): Karakh. *bučγaq* (MK) 'region of the world, corner'; Tur. *buǯak*; Gag. *buǯaq*; Az. *buǯaγ*; Turkm. *būǯaq* 'lower ends of a winebag'; MTurk. *buǯaq* (Sangl.); Tat. *počmaq*; Krm. *bučaq*, *bučqaq*; Chuv. *pəʷśmex*.

◊ VEWT 85, ЭСТЯ 2, 282-283. Despite EDT 294 and Clark 1980, 38, not derived < **bič-* 'cut' (because of semantic and phonetic - vowel length and vowel quality - differences).

PKor. ***mǎčh-** 1 to finish 2 finish, end (1 заканчивать 2 конец): MKor. *mǎs-*, *mǎč-*, *mǎčhǎ-* 1, *mǎčhǎm* 2; Mod. *mačhi-* 1.

◊ Nam 198, 205, 206, KED 568.

‖ EAS 79, АПиПЯЯ 76, Дыбо 13.

✱**módè (~ -u-, -o)** bend, circle: Tung. ***moda-**; Jpn. ***mə́tə́-pər-**; Kor. ***mùd-Vph > *mùrVph**.

PTung. ***moda-** 1 bend 2 rim, hoop (1 извилина, излучина 2 обод, обруч): Evk. *mōdan*, *mōdar* 1; Man. *mudan* 1; Ul. *modo-čo(n)* 2; Nan. *modã* 1; Orch. *muda(n)* 'turn', *muda(ŋ)gi-* 'to return'; Ud. *mudaŋa* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 542. The Evk. length is not parallelled elsewhere and is probably secondary (misrecorded?).

PJpn. ***mə́tə́-pər-** to turn round (вращаться): OJpn. *motop(w)or-*; MJpn. *mótófór-*.

◊ JLTT 727.

PKor. ***mùd-Vph > *mùrVph** knee (колено): MKor. *mùrùp(h)*, *mùrə̃p*; Mod. *murɨp*.

◊ Nam 221, KED 657.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 296. An Eastern isogloss.

✱**mőjńo** neck: Tung. ***moń-ga-n, *moń-pen**; Mong. ***mundaɣa**; Turk. ***bōjn**; Jpn. ***nəmpV**; Kor. ***mjə-k**.

PTung. ***moń-ga-n, *moń-pen** neck (шея): Evk. *moŋon*, *meŋun*; *meŋer* 'counter, scruff'; Neg. *moŋon*; Man. *moŋgon*, *meifen*; SMan. *muŋan* 'throat' (63), *mifin* (60); Jurch. *mei-fen* (509) 'neck, throat'; Ul. *moŋgo(n)*; Ork. *moŋo(n)*; Nan. *moŋo(n)*; Orch. *moŋo(n)*; Ud. *müö* (< **moń-gi*?); *moŋoli* 'necklace; collar'.

◊ TMC 1, 538, 546, 570, Дыбо 1996, 254-255.

PMong. ***mundaɣa** crest, withers (of a horse) (холка (лошади)): WMong. *mundaɣa* (L 551); Kh. *mundā*; Bur. *mundā*; Kalm. *mundā*; Ord. *mundā*.

◊ KW 268.

PTurk. ***bōjn** neck (шея): OTurk. *bojɨn* (OUygh.); Karakh. *bojun*, *bojɨn* (MK), *bojun* (KB); Tur. *bojun*; Gag. *bojnu*; Az. *bojun*; Turkm. *bojun*; Sal. *bojnɨ*; Khal. *būun*; MTurk. *bojn*, *bojun* (Sangl., MA); Uzb. *bụjin*; Uygh. *bojun*; Krm. *bojun*; Tat. *mujɨn*; Bashk. *mujɨn*; Kirgh. *mojun*; Kaz. *mojɨn*; KBalk. *bojun*; KKalp. *mojɨn*; Kum. *bojun*; Nogh. *mojɨn*; SUygh. *mojin*; Khak. *mojɨn*; Shr. *mojun*; Oyr. *mojun*; Tv. *mojun*; Tof. *möän* (*mojnu*); Chuv. *mъj*; Yak. *mōj*; Dolg. *muoj*.

◊ VEWT 80, EDT 386, ЭСТЯ 2, 180-182, Лексика 233-234, Stachowski 183. Turk. forms like Kirgh. *mojnoq* > Mong. Kh. *moinog* 'Wamme' (see Щербак 1997, 108).

PJpn. ***nəmpV** neck (шея):

◊ A local Ryukyu word: Hateruma *nùbùsɨÑ*, Yonaguni *nùbí*.

PKor. ***mjə-k** neck, throat (шея, горло): MKor. *mjək*; Mod. *mjək*.

◊ Nam 213, KED 619.

‖ EAS 98, Poppe 34, 67 (Turk.-Tung.), АПиПЯЯ 53, 280, Дыбо 5, Лексика 234. In Japanese, unfortunately, only Ryukyu forms are attested, which probably underwent an influence of the PJ root **nəmp-* 'to stretch, lengthen'; still, the origin of the Ryukyu stem from this PA root seems probable. The Kor. form is morphologically = PT **bojnak* < **mojńo-kʿV*; cf. also MKor. *mə̀ŋ-ʿə́i* 'yoke, harness' with preservation of nasal. The TM form also reflects velar suffixation (**mojn-ga-*).

✱**móju** all, whole: Tung. ***muja-**; Jpn. ***múina**; Kor. ***măin**.

PTung. ***muja-** whole (целый, весь): Man. *mujaχun*; Nan. *moĩ*; Ud. *mujeʿi* (Корм. 262).

◊ TMC 1, 551.

PJpn. ***múina** all (весь): OJpn. *mina* (Old Kyushu dial. *mone*); MJpn. *mína*; Tok. *miná*; Kyo. *mìnná*; Kag. *míńna*.

◊ JLTT 479.

PKor. ***măin** most, extremely, very (весь, самый, очень): MKor. *măin*; Mod. *mā̆n*.

◊ Nam 208, KED 603.

‖ An Eastern isogloss.

✱**mǒkʿa (~ -u-, -k-)** to sow, scatter: Tung. ***moK-**; Jpn. ***màk-**.

PTung. ***moK-** to scatter, throw out, sow (рассеивать, разбрасывать, сеять): Neg. *moklakunda-*; Man. *maqta-*; SMan. *maqətə-*, *mahətə-* (1549); Nan. *moGlola-*.

◊ TMC 1, 543.

PJpn. ***màk-** to sow (сеять): OJpn. *mak-*; MJpn. *màk-*; Tok. *mák-*; Kyo. *mák-*; Kag. *màk-*.

◊ JLTT 720.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss.

✱**mókʿì** old, aged: Tung. ***muxu-**; Mong. ***mökü-**; Turk. ***bük-tel- (~ö) (?)**; Jpn. ***múkási**; Kor. ***muk-**.

PTung. ***muxu-** 1 to lose powers, be exhausted 2 to die 3 distress, loss (1 изнемогать, истощаться 2 умирать 3 нужда, лишения): Evk. *mekčerē-*, *mukčerē-* 2; Evn. *mụqъj* 3; Man. *moχo-* 1; Ul. *moχo-* 1; Nan. *moχo-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 543, 552, 566 (cf. also Oroch *māk-* 'to die').

PMong. ***mökü-** to perish, fade away (погибать, вымирать): WMong. *mökü-* (L 545); Kh. *möxö-*; Bur. *müxe-*; Kalm. *mökr-* 'be unable'; Ord. *möχö-* 'subir des malheurs'; Dag. *muku-* (Тод. Даг. 155); Bao. *mɛgə-*.

◊ KW 265, MGCD 493, 609.

PTurk. ***bük-tel-** mature (зрелый): Karakh. *büktel* (MK).

◊ EDT 325.

PJpn. ***múkási** once upon a time, in old times (когда-то, давным-давно): OJpn. *mukasi*; MJpn. *múkási*; Tok. *mùkashi*; Kyo. *mùkàshí*; Kag. *mukáshi*.

◊ JLTT 487. The Kyoto accent is irregular.

PKor. ***mùk-** to become old, stale; to stay, remain (стариться; оставаться): MKor. *mùk-*; Mod. *muk-*.

◊ Liu 332, KED 668.

‖ Martin 247, Дыбо 13, TMC 1, 566.

✱**mŏkʿV** dirt: Tung. ***muK-**; Mong. ***moki-**; Turk. ***bok**; Kor. ***muk**.

PTung. ***mux-** 1 to fart 2 bad smell (1 портить воздух 2 вонь): Evk. *mukē-* 1, *mukēn* 2; Evn. *mukē-* 2; Neg. *muke-* 1; Nan. *moxan mońi* 'elder'

(Bik.) ("stinking tree", cf. Mong. *ömgij xovol*) (Сем 143); Orch. *moki* 2; Ud. *muakta-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 552.

PMong. ***moki-** gum, clay, sulphur (смола, глина, сера): WMong. *mokin* (L 542: *moki*); Bur. *moxi(n)*; Kalm. *mokṇ*.

◊ KW 264. Despite Аникин 111, 388, not connected with **boki* 'нагар в курительной трубке'.

PTurk. ***bok** dirt, dung (грязь, навоз): OTurk. *boq* 'ярь' (OUygh.); Karakh. *boq* 'mildew on bread' (MK), 'dung' (IM); Tur. *bok*; Gag. *boq*; Az. *poχ*; Turkm. *boq*; MTurk. (OKypch.) *boq* (AH, Houts.); Krm. *boq*; Kirgh. *boq*; KBalk. *boq*; KKalp. *boq*; Nogh. *boq*; Khak. *pox*; Oyr. *boq*; Tv. *boq*; Tof. *moq*; Chuv. *pъʷx*.

◊ VEWT 79, EDT 311, ЭСТЯ 2, 183. Turk. > WMong. *boγ*, Kalm. *bog* (KW 48-49; see TMN 2, 349, Щербак 1997, 108).

PKor. ***muk** 1 jelly 2 coarse flour (left in the sieve) (1 желе 2 грубая мука (остающаяся в сите)): Mod. *muk* 1, *mugəri* 2.

◊ KED 652, 668.

‖ Дыбо 10.

✱**mola (~ -u-)** blunt, short: Tung. ***melu- ~ *mulu-**; Mong. ***moli-**; Jpn. ***marV- (?)**.

PTung. ***melu- ~ *mulu-** 1 (to become) blunt 2 teethless (1 тупиться 2 беззубый): Evn. *mele-* 2; Neg. *melu-melu* 1, *melmetu* 2; Man. *mentexe* 2; Ul. *muluptu-* 1; Ork. *melli-melli* 1; Nan. *mulup-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 567.

PMong. ***moli-** 1 to be blunt 2 blunt (1 быть тупым 2 тупой): WMong. *moli-ji-* 1, *moluγur* (L 542) 2; Kh. *molgor* 2; Bur. *molxi* 2; Kalm. *mölī-* 1; Dag. ? *mūle-* 'loose one's sharpness' (MD 192).

◊ Mong. *moliγar* 'blunt' (Kalm. *möĺəgər*) > Kirgh. *molaq* 'animal with a broken horn' (KW 265).

PJpn. ***marV-** short (короткий):

◊ The root is attested only in Ryukyu: Hateruma *márù-*, Yonaguni *màrá-*.

‖ The Jpn. parallel is somewhat dubious (a local Ryukyu word, and the semantic match is not quite convincing).

✱**mòle** sick, weak: Tung. ***mul-**; Turk. ***bül-**; Jpn. ***mərə̀-**; Kor. ***mɨrə̆-**.

PTung. ***mul-** 1 to fall ill 2 weak, tired (1 заболевать 2 слабый, усталый): Evk. *mul-* (Bac.), *multe* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 555 (Evk. > Yak. *möltö-*, not vice versa). Attested only in Evk., but having possible external parallels.

PTurk. ***bül-** 1 to be destroyed, ruined 2 to destroy (1 разрушаться, разоряться 2 разрушать): MTurk. OKypch. *bül-* 'to remove, fire' (AH); Krm. *bül-* 1; Tat. *böl-* 1; Bashk. *böl-* 1; Kirgh. *bülün-* 'to be alarmed'; Kaz. *bülin-* 1, *büldir-* 2.

◊ VEWT 92, EDT 332.

PJpn. ***mòrò-** fragile (хрупкий): OJpn. *m(w)oro-*; MJpn. *mòrò-*; Tok. *moró-*; Kyo. *móro-*; Kag. *móro-*.

◊ JLTT 835. The Kagoshima accent is aberrant.

PKor. ***mɨrə̀-** soft, weak (мягкий, слабый): MKor. *mɨrə̀-*, *mɨrì-*; Mod. *muri-*.

◊ Nam 226, KED 656.

‖ Martin 242 (Jpn.-Kor.)

✱**mǿli** to cut into pieces: Tung. ***m[o]l-**; Mong. ***möli-**; Turk. ***bǿl-**; Kor. ***mə̀rə̀-**.

PTung. ***m[o]l-** 1 to cut (into pieces etc.) 2 into small pieces (adv.) 3 wood cuttings 4 to break into pieces (1 разрезать на куски 2 на мелкие части 3 обрезки дерева 4 надламывать, переламывать): Evk. *meleɣe-*, *mēlepte-*, *molopto-* 1; Evn. *melles* 2; Ul. *molšị* 3; Nan. *molšị-* 4.

◊ TMC 1, 544, 567.

PMong. ***möli-** to cut (boughs etc.) (обрезать (сучки и т.п.)): WMong. *möli-* (L 546); Kh. *mölö-*; Bur. *müli-*; Kalm. *möl-*.

◊ KW 265.

PTurk. ***bǿl-** to divide, separate (делить, отделять): OTurk. *böl-* (Orkh.); Tur. *böl-*; Gag. *böl-*; Az. *böl-*; Turkm. *bǿl-*; Khal. *bīel-*; MTurk. *böl-* (Sangl., Pav. C.); Uzb. *bọl-*; Uygh. *bö(l)-*; Krm. *böl-*; Tat. *bül-*; Bashk. *bül-*; Kirgh. *böl-*; Kaz. *böl-*; KBalk. *böl-*; KKalp. *böl-*; Kum. *böl-*; Nogh. *böl-*; Khak. *pöl-*; Shr. *pöl-*; Oyr. *böl-*; Tof. *böl-*; Chuv. *pöl-*.

◊ VEWT 84, EDT 332, TMN 2, 323, ЭСТЯ 2, 214-217. Turk. > Mong. *bölög*, *böleg* 'group, division' (see TMN 2, 325, Щербак 1997, 109).

PKor. ***mə̀rə̀-** to cut, trim (резать, подрубать): MKor. *mə̀rə̀-*; Mod. *mari-*.

◊ Nam 195, KED 562.

‖ PKE 108. In Kor. one has to suppose vocalic assimilation **mə̀rə̀-* < **mòrə̀-* (cf. similarly **kʻǿli*).

✱**mólu** ridge, corner: Tung. ***mulu**; Turk. ***bul-**; Jpn. ***múná-i**; Kor. ***mə̀rə̀**.

PTung. ***mulu** 1 ridge of roof 2 bench (1 матица, конек (крыши) 2 скамья): Neg. *mulu* 1; Man. *mulu* 1, *mulan* 2; SMan. *mulə*, *mulu* 'ridge, ridgepole' (462); Jurch. *mul-an* (239) 2; Nan. *mulu* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 554, 555.

PTurk. ***bul-** 1 corner, angle 2 direction (1 угол 2 направление, сторона света): OTurk. *buluŋ* 2 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *buluŋ* 1 (MK); MTurk. OKypch. *buluŋ* 1 (CCum.); Uygh. *buluŋ* 1; Tat. *bolɨn* 'meadow'; Bashk. *bolon* 1; Kirgh. *buluŋ* 1; Kaz. *bulɨq* 'edge'; Khak. *puluŋ* 1; Tv. *buluŋ* 1; Tof. *buluŋ* 1; Yak. *buluŋ* 1.

◊ VEWT 88, EDT 343, ЭСТЯ 2, 261-262. Turk. > Mong. *buluŋ* (see Clark 1977, 133, Щербак 1997, 110), whence Evk. *bolon* (Doerfer MT 125).

PJpn. ***múná-i** ridge (of roof) (конек (крыши)): OJpn. *mune*; MJpn. *múné*; Tok. *muné*; Kyo. *múné*; Kag. *múne*.

◊ JLTT 488. The Tokyo accent is irregular (*mùne* would be expected).

PKor. ***mǎrǎ̆** ridge (of roof) (конек (крыши)): MKor. *mǎrǎ̆*, *mǎr*; Mod. *maru*.

◊ Nam 195, Liu 285, 289, KED 561.

‖ Lee 1958, 115 (Kor.-TM), Whitman 1985, 183, 237 (Kor.-Jpn.). Despite SKE 139, hardly a loan in Manchu from Kor. In Jpn. we have to assume **múná* < **mura-n* (cf. Turk. *buluŋ*); in Turkic - a secondary narrowing (**buluŋ* < **boluŋ*).

✱**móĺe** to bite, gnaw: Tung. ***mul-**; Mong. ***mölǯi-**; Jpn. ***músír-**; Kor. ***mìr-**.

PTung. ***mul-** 1 to swallow 2 jaw (1 глотать 2 челюсть): Man. *muĺa-* 1, *muĺan* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 554.

PMong. ***mölǯi-** to gnaw (глодать): WMong. *mölǯi-* (L 546); Kh. *mölǯi-*; Bur. *mülže-*; Kalm. *mölǯə-*; Ord. *mölǯi-*; Mog. ZM *molǯi-* (16-6a); Mongr. *murʒē-* (SM 248), *morʒi-* (Huzu).

◊ KW 265.

PJpn. ***músír-** to pluck out, pick out (выдергивать, срывать): MJpn. *músír-*; Tok. *mùshiru*; Kyo. *múshír-*; Kag. *mushír-*.

◊ JLTT 729.

PKor. ***mìr-** to bite (кусать): MKor. *mìr-*; Mod. *mul-*.

◊ Nam 229, KED 677.

‖ SKE 154, ОСНЯ 2, 70; Ozawa 296-297; АПиПЯЯ 295.

✱**mónŋo** to knead, press, stroke: Tung. ***monŋi-**; Mong. ***mun-**; Turk. ***boŋ**; Jpn. ***mə́m- (~-uá-)**; Kor. ***mǎn-čí-**.

PTung. ***monŋi-** 1 to squeeze, rumple 2 mallet (1 мять, комкать, растирать 2 колотушка): Evk. *moni-*, *moŋi-* 1; Evn. *monŋə̣-* 1; Neg. *moŋnị-* / *monŋị-* 1, *moŋị* 2; Man. *monǯi-* 1; SMan. *ḿonǯi-* 'to massage, to rub' (1571); Ul. *monǯičị-* 1; Ork. *monǯị-* 1, *mōnịčụ(n)* 2; Nan. *moŋgịčị-* 1, *meŋki* 'spoon, ladle'; Orch. *moŋiči-* 1; Ud. *muŋgi* 2 (Корм. 263).

◊ TMC 1, 545.

PMong. ***mun-** mallet (колотушка): WMong. *muna* (L 551), *monča* (L 542); Kh. *muna*; Bur. *munsa*; Kalm. *munə* (KPC).

PTurk. ***boŋ** mallet (молоток, колотушка): Tv. *moŋ*; Tof. *moŋ*.

◊ Лексика 383.

PJpn. ***mə́m- (~-uá-)** to knead, rumple (мять, жать, комкать): OJpn. *m(w)om-*; MJpn. *móm-*; Tok. *mòm-*; Kyo. *móm-*; Kag. *móm-*.

◊ JLTT 726.

PKor. ***mǎn-čí-** to stroke, rub (гладить, тереть): MKor. *mǎn-čí-*; Mod. *manǯi-*.

◊ Nam 199, KED 576.

‖ SKE 144, Lee 1958, 114, Лексика 383.

✱**mṓńe (~ -o)** a k. of fruit: Tung. ***moja- (-ń-?)**; Mong. ***mono-su**; Turk. ***bōń-**; Jpn. ***mə́mə́ (~ -ua-)**.

PTung. ***moja- (-ń-?)** name of a tree similar to quince (назв. дерева, похожего на айву): Man. *mojoro*, *mujari*.

◊ TMC 1, 550. Attested only in Manchu, with possible external parallels.

PMong. ***mono-su** bird-cherry (черемуха): WMong. *mono-su(n)* (MXTTT); Kh. *monos*.

PTurk. ***bōń-** 1 black currants 2 hazel-nut (1 черная смородина 2 орех): Chuv. *mъjъr* 2; Yak. *mōńńoγon* 1.

◊ Федотов 1, 346. Cf. also Yak. dial. *majiara* 'raspberry'. Chuv. > Hung. *mogyóro* 'hazelnut'.

PJpn. ***mə́mə́ (~ -ua-)** peach (персик): OJpn. *m(w)om(w)o*; MJpn. *mómó*; Tok. *mòmo*; Kyo. *mómó*; Kag. *mómo*.

◊ JLTT 484.

‖ EAS 123-124, Poppe 36, Мудрак Дисс. 75.

✱**mṓŋi (~ -e)** round: Tung. ***muŋu-, *muŋbu-**; Mong. ***möγer**; Turk. ***bōn-čok**; Kor. ***mūŋ-**.

PTung. ***muŋu-, *muŋbu-** 1 oval, round 2 blunt, rounded (1 овальный, круглый 2 тупой, закругленный): Evk. *mumō* 2, *mumbu-me* 1, *mombo-* 'roll'; Evn. *muŋuti* 1; Man. *mumuri* 2; Nan. *muŋgel-muŋgel* bī 1.

◊ Tung. > Yak. *mumur* / *muŋur* 'blunt'. See TMC 1, 544, 556, 558. Evk. *munčukē* 'beads' may be derived or else may be a later Turkism.

PMong. ***möγer** wheel, hoop (колесо, обруч): MMong. *mo'er* 'felloe, rim' (HY 18); WMong. *möger* (L 545); Kh. *mṑr*; Bur. *mṑr(e)*; Kalm. *mṑr*; Dag. *mēr* (Тод. Даг. 154).

◊ KW 268.

PTurk. ***bōnčok** beads, small balls as ornaments (бусы, маленькие шарики в качестве украшений): OTurk. *mončuq* (Orkh., OUIgh.); Karakh. *mončuq* (MK); Tur. *bonǯuk*; Gag. *bonǯuq*; Az. *munǯuγ*; Turkm. *mōnǯuq*; Khal. *munǯuq*; MTurk. *mɨnčaγ* (Sangl.), *bunǯuq* (Pav. C.), *munčaq* (MA); Uzb. *munčɔq*; Uygh. *mončaq* (dial.); Krm. *munǯax*; Tat. *muncaq* (KCTT); Bashk. *munsaq* (dial.); Kirgh. *mončoq*; Kaz. *monšaq*; KBalk. *minčaq*; KKalp. *monšaq*; Kum. *minčaq*; Khak. *mončɨx*, *monńɨx* (dial.).

◊ VEWT 340, EDT 349, ЭСТЯ 7. One can argue that this form is derived from **bōjn* 'neck' (in old sources the word is usually reserved for neck ornaments). Forms like *mojɨn-ča-k*, attested in Tat., Bashk., Nogh., Kirgh., as well as Chag. *mɨnčaγ*, KBalk., Kum. *minčaq* should be probably explained that way; but the form **bōn-čok* itself may rather reflect earlier **mōŋi-čʹV(kʹV)* 'round ornament', with secondary contaminations. Turk. > Russ. *munčakъ*, see Аникин 395.

PKor. ***mūŋ-** round, small round stone (круглый, маленький круглый камешек): MKor. *mūŋ'ɨ́rí-tōr*; Mod. *muŋi* 'round thing, lump', *muŋuri* 'round stone'.

◊ Nam 224, KED 685.

‖ OJ *mapa-r-* 'turn round' may belong here if it goes back to < **moŋ-bV* (cf. Tungus forms), although the vocalism is not quite right; cf. also Mong. (dissimilation?) *bömbüger* 'round', see EAS 116.

✱**mȍro** a k. of weed: Tung. ***mōr-**; Jpn. ***mə̀ (~*muà)**; Kor. ***mắr**.

PTung. ***mōr-** 1 sedge 2 horse-tail (weed) (1 осока 2 хвощ): Evk. *mōrda* 1, *moriŋā* 2; Nan. *mōri* 'ивняк' (Он.).

◊ TMC 1, 546.

PJpn. ***mə̀ (~*muà)** edible seaweed (водоросли (съедобные)): OJpn. *m(w)o*; MJpn. *mò*; Tok. *mò*; Kyo. *mṓ*; Kag. *mó*.

◊ JLTT 484. Modern accentuation points rather to high tone, but RJ explicitly has a low tone.

PKor. ***mắr** edible seaweed (водоросли (съедобные)): MKor. *mắr*; Mod. *marɨm*.

◊ Nam 201, KED 562.

‖ Whitman 1985, 144, 155, 237. An Eastern isogloss. In Turk. cf. perhaps Oyr., Shor *parga* 'weed' (which would require a modification of the PA form to **mi̯àro*). The loss of resonant in Jpn. presupposes a suffixed form like **mòr(o)-gV* (cf. the Turkic parallels) or **mòr(o)-ŋV* (cf. Evk. *moriŋa*).

✱**mórV** horse: Tung. ***murin**; Mong. ***mori**; Turk. ***bura (?)**; Kor. ***mằr**.

PTung. ***murin** horse (лошадь): Evk. *murin*; Evn. *mụrъ̣n*; Neg. *mojịn*; Man. *morin*; SMan. *morin* (2182); Jurch. *mu-rin*; Ul. *mụrị(n)*; Ork. *mụrị(n)*; Nan. *morĩ*; Orch. *muri(n)*; Ud. *mui*; Sol. *morĩ*.

◊ TMC 1, 558-559.

PMong. ***mori** horse (лошадь): MMong. *morin* (HY 9, SH), *mori* (IM), *murin* (MA); WMong. *mori(n)* (L 543); Kh. *moŕ*; Bur. *mori(n)*; Kalm. *mörṇ*; Ord. *mori(n)*; Mog. *morin*; ZM *morin* (20-6), KT *muren* (19-2b); Dag. *mori*, *moŕ* (Тод. Даг. 155, MD 192); Dong. *mori*; Bao. *more*; S.-Yugh. *mōrə*; Mongr. *mori* (SM 241).

◊ KW 267, MGCD 487, TMN 1, 507. Oirat (Kalm.) > Russ. *мерин*; Bur. > Russ. dial. *mórin*, see Аникин 391.

PTurk. ***bura (?)** soul of a sacrificial animal (horse) (душа жертвенного животного (коня)): Khak. *pura* 'picture of a male maral on a shaman drum'; Oyr. *pura* (dial.) 'sacrificial animal'.

◊ The Oyr. word is usually identified with *bura* 'camel' < PT **bugra*; the absence of vowel length (**būra* would be normally expected) is, however, baffling and could indicate a different origin of the Oyr. and Khak. words. Cf. perhaps also Yak. *burgunas* 'young cow, cow without calves'.

PKor. ***mằr** horse (лошадь): MKor. *mằr*; Mod. *mal*.

◊ Nam 201, KED 578.

‖ EAS 79, 141, Новикова 1984. Somewhat dubious as a PA etymon: the Turkic reflex is questionable, the Tungus forms may be borrowed from Mong., see TMN 1, 507-508, Doerfer MT 25, Rozycki 159 (although the vocalism is not quite satisfactory for a loan); however, the Kor. word is hard to explain as a Mong. borrowing.

✱**múbè** blunt, hornless, hairless: Tung. ***mub-(up)-**; Mong. ***müjide**; Jpn. ***mápí-rə(n)ka-**; Kor. ***məbi- / mɨbi-**.

PTung. ***mub-(up)-** to become blunt (тупиться): Evn. *mṻb-/p-*; Neg. *mōp-*; Man. *mufujen*.

◊ TMC 1, 549.

PMong. ***müjide** hornless (безрогий): Bur. *müjde*.

◊ Attested only in Buriat, but having probable external parallels.

PJpn. ***mápí-rə(n)ka-** to disrobe, make naked (снимать одежду, оголять): MJpn. *máfirógá-*.

◊ JLTT 718 (Martin transcribes *mabiroke-).*

PKor. ***məbi- / *mɨbi-** 1 to be naked 2 to be bald (1 быть голым 2 быть лысым): MKor. *mɨi-* 2, *məi-wàs-* 1 (*pàs-* 'to take off clothes'); Mod. *mui-* 2, *mä-n*, *mi-n* 'pure, bare'.

◊ Nam 212, 232, KED 603, 664, 693.

‖ The Jpn. word is traditionally analysed as 'totally spread' - most probably a folk-etymological reanalysis; note the obvious semantic parallel between MJ *mafiroge-* and MKor *məi-was-*.

✱**mùč'e** branch (of a pine, conifer): Tung. ***muči-kta**; Mong. ***möčir**; Jpn. ***màtú**.

PTung. ***muči-kta** 1 needles (branches) of a conifer 2 bamboo bast (1 хвоя 2 бамбуковое лыко): Evk. *mučukte* 1, *muču-* 'to be green (of a larch)'; Evn. *mụčịt* 1 (also 'young green sprouts'); Man. *mučiχa* 2.

◊ TMC 1,562. Evk. > Yak. *mučukta*, Dolg. *möčükte* (see Kał. TJ 266, Stachowski 180).

PMong. ***möčir** branch, twig (ветка): WMong. *möčir* (L 545); Kh. *möčir*; Bur. *müšer*; Kalm. *möčr*; Ord. *möčṻr*; Dag. cf. *mučurtu* (Тод. Даг. 155), *mučurete* (MD 192) 'grapes'; Mongr. *mučir*.

◊ KW 267, MGCD 493.

PJpn. ***màtú** pine tree (сосна): OJpn. *matu*; MJpn. *màtú*; Tok. *mátsu*; Kyo. *màtsú*; Kag. *matsú*.

◊ JLTT 474.

‖ Колесникова 1972a, 94; АПиПЯЯ 76.

✱**mude** soon, finally: Tung. ***mudan**; Mong. ***mödü**.

PTung. ***muda-n** end, limit, finish (конец, предел): Evk. *mudan*; Evn. *mụdḍn*; Neg. *modan*; Ul. *mụda(n)*; Nan. *modã*; Ud. *muda(n)*; Sol. *mudã*.

◊ TMC 1, 550. TM > Dag. *madan* (Тод. Даг. 153).

PMong. ***mödü** soon, shortly, later (скоро, вскоре, позже): WMong. *mödü* (L 545); Kh. *möd*.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss; cf. perhaps also PJ **mat-* 'to wait', **mata* 'again'. Ramstedt (SKE 142) compares the Tung. form with Kor. *mačhida* 'to end, finish' (Ramstedt: *mătčhida*), but MKor. has always -č- or -s- in this verb (*mǎč-tá*, *mǎs-tá*), see **mŏčʿa*.

✱**mūga** bonfire: Tung. ***mōgdi**; Mong. ***maj**; Jpn. ***mákí**.

PTung. ***mōgdi** instrument for obtaining fire (огниво): Evk. *mōgdi*; Evn. *mōdgi*; Neg. *mōgdi*; Nan. *moduli*; Orch. *mōdi*.

◊ TMC 1, 541-542.

PMong. ***maj** bonfire (костер): WMong. *mai* (L 522); Kh. *maj*.

PJpn. ***mákí (~ -ui)** firewood (дрова): Tok. *màki*; Kyo. *mákí*; Kag. *máki*.

◊ JLTT 470. The word is not attested in OJ and may be actually = *ma-ki* 'true wood' (see ibid.).

‖ Somewhat dubious because of a possible alternative etymology of the Japanese word and because of tonal discrepancy between TM and Japanese.

✱**múgdà** bank, earth: Tung. ***megdī / *mugdī**; Mong. ***muǯi**; Turk. ***bodun**; Jpn. ***mátì**; Kor. ***màt(h)**.

PTung. ***megdī / *mugdī** steep bank (берег (террасовый, крутой)): Evk. *megdīn*; Evn. *meγdin*; Neg. *megdin*; Man. *mudun*; Ul. *megdi(n)*; Ork. *megǯi(n)*; Nan. *megǯī* (dial. *mudũ* 'meadow', possibly < Manchu); Orch. *megdi(n)*; Ud. *mogзoʿ* (Корм. 260).

◊ TMC 1, 550, 563.

PMong. ***muǯi** territory, province (территория, провинция): WMong. *muǯi* (L 554); Kh. *muǯ*; Bur. *možo*; Kalm. *muǯə*; Ord. *muǯi*; Dag. *moǯi* (Тод. Даг. 155, MD 191).

◊ KW 268.

PTurk. ***bodun** people (народ): OTurk. *bodun* (OUygh., Orkh,); Karakh. *boδun* (MK).

◊ EDT 306, TMN 2, 812, Лексика 316.

PJpn. ***mátì** street, quarter (улица, квартал): OJpn. *mati*; MJpn. *mátì*; Tok. *machí*; Kyo. *mátì*; Kag. *máti*.

◊ JLTT 473.

PKor. ***màt(h)** place, enclosure, yard (место, огороженное место, двор): MKor. *màt*, *màth*; Mod. *madaŋ*, (arch.) *mat* [*mat*, *math*].

◊ Nam 199, 206, KED 560, 578, 596.

‖ EAS 78-79, Whitman 1985, 171, 237, АПиПЯЯ 279. The hypothesis of borrowing in Korean from Tibetan (SKE 137) is untenable. The Turkic form may be alternatively derived from **bod* 'body', in which case it may be unrelated to other forms above.

✱**mùgdó (~ *mògdé)** to coil, turn round: Tung. ***mugdi-**; Mong. ***muʒi-, *moʒi-**; Jpn. ***mə̀ntər-**; Kor. ***mɨrɨ̀-**.

PTung. ***mugdi-** to coil, make turns (извиваться, делать повороты): Evk. *mugdi-*; Neg. *mugdeli* 'round and round'; Nan. *megʒen-*; Ud. *mugʒili-*.

◊ TMC 1, 549.

PMong. ***muʒi-, *moʒi-** slanting, to be awry (косой, кривой): WMong. *muʒiji-*, *moʒiji-* (v.), *muʒiγar*, *moʒiγar* (adj.) (L 554); Kh. *muʒī-*, *muʒgar*; Bur. *muža-*; Kalm. *muʒi-* 'to disjoint'; Ord. *muʒugur* 'halting, lame'.

◊ KW 268.

PJpn. ***mə(n)tər-** to come back, return (возвращаться): MJpn. *mòdòr-*; Tok. *modór-*; Kyo. *módór-*; Kag. *mòdòr-*.

◊ JLTT 725.

PKor. ***mɨrɨ̀-** to return, turn around, retreat (возвращать(ся), поворачиваться, отступать): MKor. *mɨrɨ̀-*; Mod. *muri-*.

◊ Nam 226, KED 657.

‖ Kor. has a usual verbal low tone.

✱**mújŋi** horn; cartilage, tendon: Tung. ***muŋi**; Mong. ***möγer-sü (-ŋ-)**; Turk. ***bujŋuŕ (*büjŋüŕ)**; Kor. ***mɨi'ìm**.

PTung. ***muŋi** tendon (сухожилие (на конце мышцы)): Evk. *muŋi*.

◊ TMC 1, 557. Attested only in Evk., but having plausible external parallels.

PMong. ***möγer-sü (-ŋ-)** cartilage, gristle (хрящ): MMong. *muqur-sun* 'marrow, pith' (MA); WMong. *möge(r)sü*, *möŋgürsü* (L 545: *mögeresü(n)*); Kh. *mögō(r)s*, *mōrs*; Bur. *meŋgērhe(n)*; Kalm. *mōrsṇ*; Ord. *mōrösü*, *mōrös*; Dag. *muemči*; Mongr. *muŋgirʒə* (SM 248), (MGCD *mungərsə*).

◊ KW 268, MGCD 489.

PTurk. ***bujŋuŕ (*büjŋüŕ)** horn (рог): OTurk. *müjüz* (OUygh.); Karakh. *müŋüz* (MK); Tur. *bojnuz*; Gag. *bujnus*; Az. *bujnuz*; Turkm. *bujnuz*; Sal. *moŋɨz*; MTurk. *müŋüz*, *mügiz* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *mụgiz*; Uygh. *müŋgüz*; Krm. *muŋguz*; Tat. *mögez*; Bashk. *mögöδ*; Kirgh. *müjüz*; Kaz. *müjiz*; KBalk. *müjüz*; KKalp. *mujiz*; Kum. *müjüz*; Nogh. *müjiz*; SUygh. *moŋɨs*; Khak. *mūs*; Shr. *mūs*; Oyr. *mūs*; Tv. *mɨjɨs*; Tof. *miis*; Chuv. *mъjraga*; Yak. *muos*; Dolg. *muos*.

◊ VEWT 347, EDT 352, ЭСТЯ 2, 243, Лексика 148, Stachowski 183.

PKor. ***mɨi'ìm** gums (десны): MKor. *nì-s-mɨi'ìm*, *ní-s-mɨ'jòm*, *ni-s-mɨ'ɨm*, *ni-s-mɨi'jom* (*ni-* 'tooth'.

◊ Nam 127. The modern form *it-mom* is a result of reinterpreting the compound as 'tooth's flesh' (*mom*).

‖ EAS 120, Poppe 73, KW 268, VEWT 347b (but PTM **mū̃re* 'shoulder' is not related); TMC 1, 557 (Tung.-Mong.); АПиПЯЯ 282, Лексика 148.

✱**mujre** a bird of prey: Tung. ***muri**; Turk. ***bürküt**; Kor. ***māi**.

PTung. ***muri** eagle (орел): Evk. *muri*; Neg. *mūju*; Ud. *mui*, *muji*.

◊ TMC 1, 558.

PTurk. ***bürküt** 1 aquila fulva 2 eagle (1 беркут 2 орел): Turkm. *bürgüt* 1, 2; MTurk. *bürküt* (Бор. Бад., Abush., Pav. C.) 2; Uzb. *burgut* 1, 2; Uygh. *bürküt* 1, 2; Tat. *bŭrkĭt* 1, 2; Bashk. *bŭrkŭt* 2; Kirgh. *bürküt* 1; Kaz. *bürkĭt* 1; KKalp. *bürkit* 1; Oyr. *bürküt*, *mürküt* 1; Tv. *bürgüt* 1; Chuv. *pərgət* 1.

◊ ЭСТЯ 2, 300, Лексика 169, TMN 2, 331-333. Turk. > Mong. *bürgüd* 'eagle', Russ. *беркут*. As suggested in ЭСТЯ the original stem may have been **bür-* (preserved in Kaz., KKalp. *bür-* 'to grasp prey (of an eagle)').

PKor. ***māi** falcon (сокол): MKor. *māi*; Mod. *mā̃*.

◊ Nam 206, KED 596.

‖ The cluster *-jr- is reconstructed to account for the loss of *-r- in Korean.

✱**mù̃jV** to cut, tear: Tung. ***mū̃- (*mūj-)**; Kor. ***mɨ́i-**.

PTung. ***mū̃- (*mūj-)** to cut (резать): Evk. *mī-*; Evn. *mī-ne-*; Neg. *mī-*; Man. *mej-le-*, *mej-te-*; SMan. *miti-* 'to lop off' (1731); Ul. *ŋui-*; Ork. *mī-*; Nan. *mui-*; Orch. *mi-*; Ud. *mine-*.

◊ TMC 1, 535.

PKor. ***mɨ́i-** 1 to tear a hole 2 to get torn (1 прорывать дыру 2 разрываться): MKor. *mɨ́i-* 2; Mod. *mī-* 1, 2, *mii-* 2.

◊ Liu 344, KED 687.

‖ A Tung.-Kor. isogloss.

✱**múkʿè** to wrap, tie up: Tung. ***muK-**; Mong. ***muku-**; Jpn. ***mák-**; Kor. ***moka-**.

PTung. ***muK-** 1 cover, case 2 covered tent 3 ring, neck ring of sable tails 4 globular (1 покрышка, чехол 2 крытый шалаш 3 кольцо, опушка из собольих хвостов вокруг шеи 4 шаровидный): Evk. *mukāk* 2, *muku* 1, *mukče* 4; Man. *muxi* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 550, 552, 554. Some other forms (Sol. *mu̯xali* 'globular', Man. *muχaĺan* 'pellet', Nan. *muxergiẽ* 'ring' etc.) may be borrowed < Mong., see Doerfer MT 118, 144, Rozycki 159; but for the forms listed above it is highly unlikely.

PMong. ***muku-**, ***mökü-** 1 to wrap, tie up 2 to make round 3 rounded, spherical (1 заворачивать, завязывать 2 округлять 3 округленный, сферический): WMong. *muqulaji-da-* 1 (L 553: *muqulajid-* 2, *muqulaγ*, *muquliγ* 3); *mökülig*, *mökürig* 3 (L 545, 546); Kh. *muxlaj-da-* 1, *muxlag*, *möxlög* 3; Bur. *müxerēn* 3; Mongr. *moŋGuloG*, *muŋGuloG* (SM

239, 248) 3, *muGu* 'petites pierres rondes avec lesquelles les enfants jouent' (SM 244).

PJpn. ***mák-*** to wrap, wind around, tie into (заворачивать, обматывать): OJpn. *mak-*; MJpn. *mák-*; Tok. *màk-*; Kyo. *mák-*; Kag. *mák-*.

◊ JLTT 720.

PKor. ***moka-*** 1 bundle 2 numerative for bundles (1 связка 2 счетное слово для связок): Mod. *mogami* 1, *mogä* 2.

◊ The forms are quoted from SKE 150 (where they are incorrectly compared with Mong. *boγ-ča* etc.); KED 627 lists only *mogä* "all together, in the lump".

‖ Cf. **ma[kʿ]o*.

✱**m[ù]kʿè** to suck: Tung. ***muKu-***; Mong. ***meke***; Turk. ***bök-***; Jpn. ***màkà-nàp-***; Kor. ***mə̀k-***.

PTung. ***muKu-*** to fill mouth with liquid (набрать в рот жидкости): Evk. *muku-*; Evn. *mụq-*; Neg. *moxon-* ~ *mokun-*; Man. *muku-*; Ud. *mukun-*; Sol. *moxo-*.

◊ TMC 1, 552.

PMong. ***meke*** 1 female breast, to suck 2 to move jaws (1 грудь (ж.), сосать 2 двигать челюстями): WMong. *meke-re-* 2; Kh. *mexre-* 2; Bur. *mexer-* 2; Dag. *mek* 1, *mekē-* 2 (Тод. Даг. 154: *mekē-* 'to suck'), *meke* 1 (MD 190).

PTurk. ***bök-*** to be satiated, full (насыщаться, наедаться): Karakh. *bök-* (MK); Tur. *bɨk-*; Gag. *bɨq-*; Krm. *bɨq-*; Bashk. *bük-*; Kirgh. *bök-*; Kaz. *bök-*; Nogh. *bök-*; SUygh. *pek-*; Tv. *pök-*; Tof. *pök-* (note the absence of pharyngealization - pointing to PT length?); Yak. *böγöx* 'satiated'; Dolg. *bögök* 'satiated'.

◊ VEWT 83 (together with *bük-* 'to lock'), EDT 324, ЭСТЯ 2, 211, Stachowski 63.

PJpn. ***màkà-nàp-*** to feed, provide meals (кормить, предоставлять пищу): MJpn. *makanaf-*; Tok. *makaná-*; Kyo. *mákáná-*; Kag. *màkànà-*.

◊ JLTT 719.

PKor. ***mək-*** 1 to eat 2 to drink (1 есть 2 пить): MKor. *mə̀k-* 1; Mod. *mək-* 1, 2.

◊ Nam 211, KED 609.

‖ PKE 109, Lee 1958, 115, АПиПЯЯ 295, Дыбо 14. Korean has a verbal low tone; delabialization in Mong. (**möke* or **müke* would be expected) is not quite clear (cf. the same process in **mede-* < **mi̯uti*).

✱**mǜkʿé** a k. of fish: Tung. ***mōk-***; Mong. ***mök-***; Jpn. ***mànkúrúa***.

PTung. ***mōk-*** 1 a k. of white-fish 2 a k. of small fish 3 crucian (1 вид сига 2 вид мелкой рыбы 3 карась): Evk. *mōkčakā* 1, *mekē* 3; Ork. *mokkiri* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 544, 566.

PMong. ***mök-** 1 young of river fish 2 female carp (1 мальки речной рыбы 2 самка карпа): WMong. *mökütče* 1, *mökürü* 2 (MXTTT); Kh. *möxöc* 1, *möxrū̃* 2 (Gomb.).

◊ Cf. Manchu *muxuru* 'female čime fish': Mong. *mökürü* may be < Manchu (see Sukhebaatar; but a reverse borrowing is also possible).

PJpn. ***mànkúrúa** tuna-fish (тунец): Tok. *màguro*; Kyo. *màgùró*; Kag. *maguró*.

◊ JLTT 470.

‖ Cf. also Kor. *mik:uri* 'амурский вьюн'.

✱**mūkʿo (~ -u)** male: Tung. ***muxa- / *muxe-**; Mong. ***mok-**; Turk. ***būka**.

PTung. ***muxa- / *muxe-** 1 man 2 male (1 мужчина 2 самец): Neg. *muxeti* 2; Man. *muχan* 2; Nan. *moχa(n)* 1, 2; Orch. *mueti* 2; Ud. *mugeti*, *mueti* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 543, 554.

PMong. ***mok-** 1 2-years old male deer 2 penis (1 двухлетний самец оленя 2 penis): Bur. *moxotor* 1; Kalm. *moxr* 2 (KPC).

PTurk. ***būka** bull (бык): OTurk. *buqa* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *buqa* (MK, KB); Tur. *boa*; Gag. *buɣa*, *bua*; Az. *buGa*; Turkm. *buGa*; MTurk. *buɣa* (Sangl.); Uzb. *buqa*; Uygh. *buɣa*, *buqa*; Krm. *buɣa*; Tat. *buɣa* (dial.); Bashk. *buɣa*; Kirgh. *buqa*; Kaz. *buqa*; KBalk. *buɣa*; KKalp. *buɣa*; Kum. *buɣa*; Nogh. *buɣa*; SUygh. *puqa*; Khak. *puɣa*; Shr. *puɣa*; Oyr. *buqa*; Tv. *buɣa*; Tof. *buxa*; Yak. *buga*.

◊ VEWT 87, EDT 312, ЭСТЯ 2, 230-232, Sinor 1962, 320-321, Лексика 437. Turk. > Mong. *buqa* (see TMN 2, 299, Щербак 1997, 110), whence Evk. *buka* etc. (see TMN ibid., Poppe 1966, 194, Doerfer MT 99). Turk. > Hung. *bika*, see Gombocz 1912.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**mŭkʿV́ (~ -o-)** mole: Tung. ***muktu-**; Jpn. ***mənkura / *munkura**.

PTung. ***muktu-** 1 short-tailed mouse 2 mole (1 короткохвостая мышь 2 крот): Neg. *muktuj* 1; Man. *muqdun*, *muqtun* 1, 2; Ork. *muktuli* 1, 2; Nan. *muktur* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 552.

PJpn. ***mùnkura** mole (крот): MJpn. *ùgùrò-mòtì* (also *ugura-*); Tok. *mògura*, *mùgura*; Kyo. *mùgúrà*, *mùgùrá*; Kag. *mugurá*.

◊ JLTT 484, 560. Accent is varying greatly, but low tone on the first syllable may be more or less reliably reconstructed.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss.

✱**mula** a k. of deer: Tung. ***mul-**; Mong. ***maral**; Turk. ***bulan**.

PTung. ***mul-** 1 deer 2 young of elk, small deer 3 deer herd (1 олень 2 детеныш лося, маленький олень 3 стадо оленей): Evk. *mulkān* 1; dial. *mêlêlê*, Nep. *mêlan* 2; *multa* 3; Evn. *mụlqan* 1; Neg. *molkān* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 534, 555.

PMong. ***maral** mountain deer (горный олень): MMong. *maral* (SH), *mārāl* (LH), *maral* (MA); WMong. *maral* (L 529); Kh. *maral*; Bur. *maral*; Kalm. *marl̥*.

◊ KW 257. Mong. > Kaz. *maral* etc. (VEWT 327, TMN 1, 495, Щербак 1997, 206).

PTurk. ***bulan** elk (лось): Karakh. *bulan* 'unicorn from the Kyfchak country' (MK); MTurk. *bulan* (Ettuhf.), *bulnaq* (AH) 'onager'; Uzb. *bulɔn*; Tat. *bolan*; Bashk. *bolan*; Kirgh. *bulan*; Kaz. *bulan*; Nogh. *bulan*; Khak. *pulan*; Shr. *pulan*; Oyr. *bulan*; Tv. *bulan*; Chuv. *pъ^{w}lan*.

◊ VEWT 88, TMN 2, 356, EDT 343, ЭСТЯ 2, 260, Лексика 154. Chinese origin (Щербак 1961, 141-142) is hardly possible; it is curious to note MK's meaning: 'unicorn with its horn collecting snow and rain'. Turk. > Russ. *буланый* (horse color name)'; > Hung. *bölény* 'aurochs', see Gombocz 1912.

‖ Дыбо 8, Лексика 154. A Western isogloss. Mong. **maral* regularly < **mala-r*.

✱**muma (~ *mema)** a k. of small wild animal: Tung. ***mume- / *meme-**; Mong. ***mamu-wna**; Jpn. ***mami**.

PTung. ***mume- / *meme-** 1 bear 2 white hare (1 медведь 2 заяц (белый)): Evk. *mombokī* 2; Evn. *mömö*, *mēmeke*, *mēmeče* 1; Man. *mamuke*, *mamutun* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 526, 544, 568. The Even form is considered to be < Yukagh. *meme*, but the direction of loan may as well be reverse.

PMong. ***mamu-wna** rabbit (кролик): WMong. *mamuna* (MXTTT); Kh. *mamūna* (MXTTT).

◊ Hardly < TM, despite Sukhebaatar.

PJpn. ***mami** a k. of badger, bear-badger (вид барсука, барсук-медведь): Tok. *mami*.

‖ An expressive root; one of many common Altaic words for small animals.

✱**mùne** defect, lack: Mong. ***mun-du-**; Turk. ***bün**; Jpn. ***màntù-**.

PMong. ***mun-du-** to become insufficient (становиться недостаточным): WMong. *mundu-* (L 551: *muŋda-*); Kh. *munda-*; Kalm. *mundə-*.

◊ KW 268.

PTurk. ***bün** defect, sin (недостаток, грех): OTurk. *mün* (OUygh.); Karakh. *mün* (MK); Tat. *min* (KCTT); Kirgh. *mün*, *min*; Kaz. *min*; KKalp. *min*; Kum. *min-siz* 'flawless'; Nogh. *min*.

◊ VEWT 347, EDT 347, 767 (confused with other roots), ОСНЯ 3, 55-56, ЭСТЯ 7.

PJpn. ***màntù-** poor (бедный): OJpn. *madu-si*; MJpn. *màdù-si*; Tok. *mazu-shí-*; Kyo. *mázúshì-*; Kag. *mazushí-*.

◊ JLTT 834.

‖ Cf. **mǎn[u]*, **múnu* - the roots are sometimes difficult to distinguish. Cf. also Evk. *modu* 'greedy, miserly' (TMC 1, 542).

✱**múnu** wrong, mad, uneasy: Tung. ***moŋ-nV- (*mon-ŋV-)**; Mong. ***mun-**; Turk. ***bun-**; Jpn. ***múntú-ká-**.

PTung. ***moŋ-nV- (*mon-ŋV-)** 1 stupid 2 inconvenient (1 глупый 2 неудобный): Evk. *moŋnon* 1; Ul. *monị* 2; Nan. *monịã* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 544, 545.

PMong. ***mun-** 1 to become mad 2 ignorance 3 shame (1 сходить с ума 2 невежество 3 стыд): MMong. *mənγəq* (IM); *moŋqax* 'stupid' (HY 38), *muŋqax* 'silly' (SH); WMong. *muna-* 1, *muŋgaq* 2 (L 551: *muŋγani-*, *muŋkina-* 'to become stupid, be confused', *munaid* 'outrageous'); Kh. *muna-* 1, *munxag* 2, *mundur* 3; Bur. *munga-* 1; Kalm. *munə-* 1, *muŋxəg*, *moŋxū* 2, *mundr* 3; Ord. *munu-* 1, *muŋχaG* 2, *munäda-* 'to behave stupidly'.

◊ KW 264, 268, 269. Cf. also WMong. *muŋdani-* 'lose one's mind' (L 551: 'be in a difficult position, in need or distress') (Kalm. *mondń-*, KW 264) (-ŋ- probably under influence of **muŋ* q. v. sub **m̥iuŋo).*

PTurk. ***bun-** 1 to become mad, foolish 2 mad, crazy 3 to become old, senile (1 сходить с ума, глупеть 2 сумасшедший, слабоумный 3 дряхлеть): OTurk. *mun-* 1, *muŋqul* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *mun-* 1, *munduz* 2 (MK, KB); Tur. *buna-* 1; Gag. *bun-* 'to be tired, dissatisfied', *bunaq* 'senile person'; Turkm. *mun-* 3; Sal. *munax* 'irrational' (ССЯ); Krm. *buna-* 1, 3; Khak. *munu-* 3; Tv. *muŋγaq* 'resentful', *mɨnɨ-* 3 (Todž.), *muŋ* dial. 2 (< **mun-k*?); Yak. *mun-* 'to go astray'; Dolg. *mun-* 'go astray, lose one's way'.

◊ VEWT 514, EDT 348, 768, 769, ОСНЯ 3, 53, Stachowski 181.

PJpn. ***múntú-ká-** difficult (трудный): MJpn. *mútuká-si*; Tok. *mùzukashi-*, *muzukashí-*; Kyo. *múzúkáshì-*; Kag. *muzukashí-*.

◊ JLTT 835.

‖ KW 268, Poppe 35, ОСНЯ 3, 53. Lee 1958, 114 cites also a MKor. *məŋthəŋ'i* 'stupid', which we were unable to locate (but Manchu *mentu-χun* with which he compares it, is probably < Mong. *meŋde-γe-*, see **měŋa*).

✱**mùńa** to guard, graze: Tung. ***mun-di-**; Mong. ***mana-**; Jpn. ***màmuà-r-**; Kor. ***mòńí-**.

PTung. ***mun-di-** to look, observe (смотреть, наблюдать): Evk. *munni-li-*, *mundi-*; *mundē-* 'to comprehend'; Evn. *menri-*; Sol. *mundi-*.

◊ TMC 1, 556.

PMong. ***mana-** to graze, guard (пасти, охранять): WMong. *mana-* (L 525); Kh. *mana-*; Bur. *mana-*; Kalm. *manə-*; Ord. *mana-*; Dag. *mana-* (Тод. Даг. 153); S.-Yugh. *mana-*; Mongr. *manā-*.

◊ KW 256, MGCD 479.

PJpn. ***màmuà-r-** to guard, protect (защищать, охранять): OJpn. *mamwor-*; MJpn. *màmòr-*; Tok. *mamór-*; Kyo. *mámór-*; Kag. *mamór-*.

◊ JLTT 720. Accent in Kagoshima is irregular.

PKor. ***mòńí-** to graze (пасти): MKor. *mòńí-*.

◊ Nam 216.

‖ Korean has a verbal low tone; an old derivative is probably MKor. *màńǎr* 'office' (> Man. *mejren* etc.).

✱**mūńa(kV)** a k. of deer: Tung. ***mōń(i)ka-**; Turk. ***buńgak**; Jpn. ***manaka**.

PTung. ***mōń(i)ka-** 1 deer (1 year old) 2 young boar 3 young pig (1 олень (дикий, годовалый) 2 кабан (молодой) 3 поросенок): Evk. *mōjka*, *mōjkačān*, *mōjikān* 1; Man. *mixan*, *mixačan* 3; SMan. *mihan* 3 (2197); Nan. *mojxa* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 543. Evk. > Dolg. *muojka* (Stachowski 183).

PTurk. ***buńgak** female maral (самка марала): OTurk. *mujγaq* (OUygh.); Karakh. *mujγaq* (MK), *muŋγaq* (KB); Khak. *mɨjγax*; Oyr. *mɨjγaq*; Tv. *mɨjγaq*; Tof. *mɨjγaq*.

◊ VEWT 344, EDT 772, Лексика 153.

PJpn. ***manaka** a respectful name for a deer (почтительное название оленя): OJpn. *manaka*.

‖ Лексика 153. The Jpn. form is traditionally analysed as resp. prefix *mana-* + *ka* 'deer', which may be a folk etymology in the light of external evidence; otherwise the root is a Turk.-TM isogloss. Cf. Mong. (Khalkha) dial. *mundu* 'female deer', Tuva *mɨndɨ*, Tof. *mundučaq* id. - see Аникин, 142. According to Helimski and Anikin, the Turkic forms are borrowed from Southern Samoyedic, and Mongolian < Turkic; but the S.-Sam. word has no Uralic etymology, while Mong. *mundu* - if not for its poor attestation - could be a regular reflex of PA **mūńa*, and a possible source both for the Turkic (Tuva-Tof.) and the Samoyedic forms.

✱**muŋĺe** angle: Tung. ***moŋla**; Turk. ***büŋülĺ**; Jpn. ***masu-**.

PTung. ***moŋla** 1 measure of length (distance between the thumb and the index finger) 2 finger (1 мера длины (расстояние между большим и указательным пальцем) 2 палец): Ul. *mowgolo* 2; Ork. *momgu*, *moŋbo* 1,2; Orch. *moŋlo* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 545. The Orok and Ul. form are probably dissimilative developments of **moŋglo* < **moŋla.*

PTurk. ***büŋülĺ** angle (угол): Karakh. *müŋüš* (Rabg.); MTurk. *müŋüš* (Sangl.); Uzb. *mujuš*, *mujiš*; Krm. *müjüš*, *müvüš*; Tat. *müješ*; Bashk. *müges* (dial.); Kaz. *müjis*; KBalk. *müjüš*; KKalp. *müješ*; Kum. *mujuš*, *müjüš*; Nogh. *müjis*; Yak. *muŋ*, *muŋnuk*; Dolg. *muŋ*, *munnuk*.

◊ VEWT 344, EDT 771, ЭСТЯ 7, Stachowski 182 (on a different etymology of Yak. *muŋnuq* see Clark 1977, 133).

PJpn. ***masu-** square shape, shape with angles (квадратная форма): MJpn. *masu-gata*; Tok. *masugata*.

‖ An interesting Turk.-TM-Jpn. match; the meaning in TM probably reflects an intermediate stage "angle between the index finger and thumb".

✱**múŋna** mist, rain: Tung. ***meŋ- / *muŋ-**; Mong. ***maŋ-**; Turk. ***bunar**; Kor. ***mah**.

PTung. ***meŋ- / *muŋ-** 1 mist, darkness 2 cool, sombre (1 мгла, сумерки 2 прохладный, пасмурный): Ul. *meŋ-meŋ* 1, *muŋti* 2; Nan. *meŋtẽ* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 557, 570.

PMong. ***maŋ-** 1 fog 2 dark 3 to dawn (1 туман 2 темный 3 рассветать): MMong. *manan* 1 (MA 233); WMong. *manan* 1 (L 525: *manaŋ*, *manan*), *maŋsar* 2, *maŋka-* 3; Kh. *manan* 1, *manda-* 3; Bur. *mana(n)*, *manaŋ* 1; Kalm. *manār* 1, *maŋsər* 2, *maŋxā̆-* 3; Ord. *mana*, *manāri* 1; Dag. *manən* 1 (Тод. Даг. 153: *manan*), *manen* 1 (MD 189); S.-Yugh. *manaŋ* 1; Mongr. *namān* (SM 256), *manān*.

◊ KW 255-257, MGCD 479.

PTurk. ***bunar** mist (туман): Tat. *monar*; Bashk. *munar*, *monar*; Kirgh. *munar*; Kaz. *munar*; KKalp. *munar*; Nogh. *munar*.

◊ Лексика 35-36. A Kypchak root, but hardly borrowed from Mong. (because of the -u-vocalism); perhaps it is rather a modification of indigenous **buŋar* (*-ŋ- would be expected in Turkic) under Mong. influence.

PKor. ***mah** 1 rain, rainy season 2 southern wind (1 дождь, дождливый сезон 2 южный ветер): MKor. *ma* (*mah-*) 1, 2; Mod. *čaŋ-ma* 1, *ma, ma-pharam* 2.

◊ Nam 191, KED 558, 568, 1404.

‖ Kor. *mah* < **maŋh* (just like **kahi* < **kaŋhi* etc.).

✱**múra** round; turn, return: Tung. ***murV-**; Mong. ***murui**; Turk. ***bur(a)-**; Jpn. ***márə̄**; Kor. ***muri**.

PTung. ***murV-** 1 to walk round, return 2 round (1 обходить вокруг 2 круглый): Evk. *muru-* 1, *murume* 2; Evn. *merъk-* 1, *merēti* 2; Neg. *mejel* 2; Man. *murǵen* 2; Ul. *muru-muru* 2; Ork. *morolime* 2; Nan. *murǵi* 2; Ud. *mogolʹuö* 'around'.

◊ TMC 1, 559-560. TM (cf. Man. *murixan* 'bend, turn', Evk. *morokō* 'river bend') > Dag. *morikal* 'river bend' (Тод. Даг. 155), *moronku*, *murunku* 'screw-thread' (ibid.).

PMong. ***murui** awry, curve (кривой): MMong. *muru*, *muri* (IM), *muri* (MA); WMong. *murui* (L 552); Kh. *muruj*; Bur. *muŕū*; Kalm. *muŕū*; Ord. *mur^{w}ī*; Dag. *morčigui* (Тод. Даг. 155: *morčigoi*); Mongr. *murī* (SM 249).

◊ KW 269. Cf. also **molir* (Kalm. *mölr*, Khalkha *mölgör*) < **moril* 'round'.

PTurk. ***bur(a)-** to twist, wind round (крутить, вертеть, поворачивать): Tur. *bur-*; Gag. *bur-*; Az. *bur-*; Turkm. *bur-*; Khal. *burq-* 'вывернуть руку'; MTurk. *bur-* (Sangl., Pav. C.); Uzb. *bur-*, *bura-*; Uygh. *bur-*; Krm.

bur-; Tat. *bor-*; Bashk. *bor-*; Kirgh. *bur-, bura-*; Kaz. *bur-, bura-*; KBalk. *bur-*; KKalp. *bur-, bura-*; Kum. *bur-*; Nogh. *bur-, bura-*; Khak. *pur-*; Shr. *pur-*; Oyr. *buru-*; Chuv. *pъ^{w}r-*.

◊ VEWT 89, EDT 355, ЭСТЯ 2, 264-267. Turk. **bur(g)agu* > Kalm. *buryū*, see KW 62.

PJpn. ***máró** round (круглый): OJpn. *maro*; MJpn. *máró*; Tok. *màru-*; Kyo. *máru-*; Kag. *mári*.

◊ JLTT 834.

PKor. ***muri** halo, ring (round the sun or moon) (ореол, кольцо (вокруг солнца или луны)): Mod. *muri*.

◊ KED 658.

‖ Poppe 36, ОСНЯ 2, 74-75, АПиПЯЯ 93, 278 (however, Kor. *mɨri-* - rather to **mugdo* q.v.).

✱**mŭro** tree, forest: Tung. ***mō**; Mong. ***mo-du (< *mor-du)**; Jpn. ***mórí**; Kor. ***mōi(h), *mòró**.

PTung. ***mō** tree (дерево): Evk. *mō*; Evn. *mō*; Neg. *mō*; Man. moo; SMan. *mō* (2129); Jurch. *mo* (117); Ul. *mō*; Ork. *mō*; Nan. *mō*; Orch. *mō*; Ud. *mō*; Sol. *mō*.

◊ TMC 1, 540-541.

PMong. ***modu** tree (дерево): MMong. *modun* (HY 9, SH), *mu-du-ni* (SH), *mudon* (IM), *mudun* (MA); WMong. *modu(n)* (L 541); Kh. *mod(on)*; Bur. *modo(n)*; Kalm. *modṇ*; Ord. *mudu(n)*; Mog. *modun*; ZM *mādun* (19-2a); Dag. *mōd* (Тод. Даг. 155), *mōde* (MD 192); Dong. *mutun*; Bao. *mutoŋ, mortoŋ*; S.-Yugh. *mūdən*; Mongr. *mōdi* (SM 238).

◊ KW 263, MGCD 486.

PJpn. ***mórí** forest (лес): OJpn. *m(w)ori*; MJpn. *mórí*; Tok. *mòri*; Kyo. *mórí*; Kag. *mori*.

◊ JLTT 485.

PKor. ***mōi(h), *mòró** 1 mountain 2 wood, forest (1 гора 2 лес): MKor. *mōi* [*mōih-*] 1, *mòró* 1, 2; Mod. *mwē*, *me* (arch.) 1.

◊ Nam 215, 219, KED 616, 651.

‖ EAS 79, KW 263, Poppe 35, Martin 237, АПиПЯЯ 33-34, 69, 292; SKE 150, Doerfer MT 24. The parallel form **mōi* in Kor. presupposes a suffixed form **mōr-jV(-gV)* (?).

✱**mùsi** steam, spirit: Tung. ***musun**; Mong. ***mösü(n)**; Turk. ***bus**; Jpn. ***mùs-**.

PTung. ***musun** spirit, ghost (дух, сила природы): Evk. *musun*; Evn. *mụsan*.

◊ TMC 1, 561.

PMong. ***mösü(n)** personality, relationship with others; recurrent occasion (качество, отношения с другими; повторяющийся случай): WMong. *mösü(n)* (L 550); Kh. *mös*; Bur. *nege mühen* 'сразу'; Mongr. *musu* (: *nige-musu*) 'entièrement, tout à fait, en entier' (SM 275).

◊ The root is also grammaticalized and can be appended to numerals (*negemösen* 'simultaneously' etc.).

PTurk. ***bus** steam, fog (пар, туман): Karakh. *bus* (MK); Tur. *pus*; MTurk. *bus* (Ettuhf., CCum.); Uygh. *bus* (dial.); Bashk. *boϑ*; Kum. *pus*; Nogh. *pus*; Shr. *pus*; Tv. *bus*; Tof. *bus*; Chuv. *pъ^{w}s*.

◊ VEWT 90, EDT 370, ЭСТЯ 2, 277, Лексика 34. Turk. > Russ. dial. bus 'drizzle, flour dust', see Аникин 146

PJpn. ***mùs-** 1 to steam 2 spirit (1 варить на пару 2 дух): OJpn. *mus-* 1, *musupji* 2; MJpn. *mùs-* 1; Tok. *mús-* 1; Kyo. *mùs-* 1; Kag. *mùs-* 1.

◊ JLTT 729.

‖ For PT **bus* cf. alternatively PTM **bušu-* 'drizzle' (TMC 1, 117).

✱**mṳ̀sV (~ -ō-, -i̯ō-)** swamp, pond: Tung. ***mūsa**; Kor. ***mós**.

PTung. ***mūsa** pools in a swamp (лужи на болоте, болото травяное): Evk. *mūsu* / *mūsa*.

◊ TMC 1, 548. Attested only in Evk., with a possible Korean parallel.

PKor. ***mós** pond, lake, swamp (пруд, озеро, болото): MKor. *mós*; Mod. *mot* [*mos*].

◊ Nam 218, KED 647.

‖ See SKE 152. A Tung.-Kor. isogloss; cf. perhaps also Chuv. *pozъ* 'well' (< **bos-*).

✱**mṵt'ì** to complete, gather together: Tung. ***mute-**; Mong. ***möči-**; Turk. ***büt-**; Jpn. ***muta**; Kor. ***mòt-**.

PTung. ***mute-** 1 to fulfil 2 to overpower (1 исполнить 2 одолеть, смочь): Man. *mute-* 2; Jurch. *mu-te-bulu* (740) 1; Ul. *mute-* 2; Ork. *mute-* 2; Nan. *mute-* 2; Orch. *mute-* 2; Ud. *mute-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 561.

PMong. ***möči-** 1 just enough 2 to be just enough (1 в обрез, еле-еле 2 хватать только-только): WMong. *möčis* 1; Kh. *möčis*, *möčǖ* 1; Kalm. *möčəg* 1, *möčə-* 2.

◊ KW 267.

PTurk. ***büt-** 1 to end, accomplish 2 to be ended 3 to create, build 4 to heal 5 to grow, ripen (1 кончать, завершать 2 кончаться 3 создавать, строить 4 заживать 5 вырастать, вызревать): OTurk. *büt-* 2, 4, 5 (OUygh.); Karakh. *büt-* 2, 4, 5 (MK); Tur. *bit-* 2, 5; Gag. *bit-* 2; Az. *bit-* 2; Turkm. *bit-* 2, 4, 5; Khal. *bit-* 2; MTurk. *büt-* 2, 4, 5 (Abush., Sangl.); Uzb. *bit-* 2, 4, 5; Uygh. *büt-* 2; Krm. *bit-* 2, 5; Tat. *bet-* 2, *bet-ɛš-* 4; Bashk. *böt-* 2, *böt-öš-* 4; Kirgh. *büt-* 1,2, 4, 5; Kaz. *bit-* 2, 4; KBalk. *bit-* 2, 5; 'to close'; KKalp. *pit-* 2, 4, 5; Kum. *bit-* 2, 5; Nogh. *bit-* 2, 4, 5; SUygh. *pɨt-*, *put-* 1,2; Khak. *püt-* 3, 4; Shr. *püd-ür-* 3; Oyr. *büt-* 1, 4, 5; Tv. *bü't-* 2, 4; Tof. *bü't-* 2; Chuv. *pə^{w}t-* 2; Yak. *büt-* 1,2, 4; Dolg. *büt-* 1, 2.

◊ VEWT 93, TMN 2, 267, EDT 298-9, 306, ЭСТЯ 2, 152-154, 302-303, Stachowski 68. Cf. also PT **bütün* 'all, whole' - a derivative from **büt-*. Turk. > Mong. **büte-*, **bütü-* (KW 69-70, TMN 2, 268-269, Щербак 1997, 111).

PJpn. ***muta** together with (вместе с): OJpn. *muta*.

PKor. ***mòt-** all (весь): MKor. *mòtă-*; Mod. *modu*.

◊ Nam 214, 217, KED 641. Derived from the verbal root *mòt-* 'to gather, flock together'.

‖ EAS 58, АПиПЯЯ 27, 70, 86, 274, Дыбо 13. Doerfer (TMN 2, 208) is hardly right in criticizing the Turk.-Tung. match : it is quite satisfactory both phonetically and semantically.

✱**mV́** an interrogative root: Mong. ***-mu, -mi**; Turk. ***-mi**; Jpn. ***mə́-si**; Kor. ***mɨ̀**.

PMong. ***-mu, -mi** final interrogative particle (конечная вопросительная частица): MMong. *-mu, -mi* (SH).

PTurk. ***-mi** interrogative particle (вопросительная частица): OTurk. *-mu*; Karakh. *-mu*; Tur. *-mi*; Gag. *-mi*; Az. *-mi*; Turkm. *-mi*; Sal. *-mi*; Khal. *-mi*; MTurk. *-mu*; Uzb. *-mi*; Uygh. *-mu*; Krm. *-mo*; Tat. *-mi*; Bashk. *-mɨ*; Kirgh. *-bɨ*; Kaz. *-ma/me*; KBalk. *-mu/mɨ*; KKalp. *-ma/me*; Kum. *-mi*; Nogh. *-ma/me*; Khak. *-ma/-me*; Shr. *-ma/me*; Oyr. *-ba/be*; Tv. *-be*; Chuv. *-im*.

◊ Морфология 2.

PJpn. ***mə́-si** an interrogative / dubitative particle (частица вопроса / сомнения): OJpn. *mosi*; MJpn. *mósi*; Tok. *móshi*; Kyo. *móshì*; Kag. *móshi*.

◊ JLTT 485.

PKor. ***mɨ̀** what (что): MKor. *mɨ̀-*; Mod. *muət*.

◊ Nam 225, KED 663.

‖ SKE 147, АПиПЯЯ 297. Cf. perhaps also Evk. *mu* 'or' (in interrogative sentences) (Титов 1926, 94). Further Nostratic parallels of this grammaticalized interrogative stem see in ОСНЯ 2, 66-8.

N

✱**ná** thou: Turk. ***-ŋ**; Jpn. ***ná**; Kor. ***nə̀**.

PTurk. ***-ŋ** an ending of the 2d person (окончание 2-го *л.*): OTurk. *-ŋ* (Orkh., OUygh.), *-γ* (Orkh.); Karakh. *-ŋ* (MK, KB); Tur. *-n*; Gag. *-n*; Az. *-n*; Turkm. *-ŋ*; Sal. *-ŋ*; Khal. *-ŋ*; MTurk. *-ŋ*; Uzb. *-ŋ*; Uygh. *-ŋ*; Krm. *-n, -j*; Tat. *-ŋ*; Bashk. *-ŋ*; Kirgh. *-ŋ*; Kaz. *-ŋ*; KBalk. *-ŋ*; KKalp. *-ŋ*; Kum. *-ŋ*; Nogh. *-ŋ*; SUygh. *-ŋ*; Khak. *-ŋ*; Shr. *-ŋ*; Oyr. *-ŋ*; Tv. *-ŋ*; Chuv. *-n*; Yak. *-ŋ*; Dolg. *-ŋ*.

◊ Морфология 23-26, 28, 32.

PJpn. ***ná** thou (ты): OJpn. *na*; MJpn. *ná-mùdí*, *ná-múdí*.

◊ JLTT 490.

PKor. ***nə̀** thou (ты): MKor. *nə̀*; Mod. *nə*.

◊ Nam 103, KED 329.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 102, 280. Velarization in Turkic is not quite clear and probably secondary (perhaps a fusion with the attributive *-kʿi). The root is widely used only in the Kor.-Jpn. area, and its original function (to judge from the OJ opposition of si and na) was probably limited to the oblique stem of the suppletive 2d p. paradigm.

✱**nable** net, fish-trap: Tung. ***nalba**; Turk. ***jɨlɨm**.

PTung. ***nalba** fish trap (верша, *ловушка для рыбы*): Evk. *nalba*; Ul. *nalbi̯χa(n)*.

◊ TMC 1, 580.

PTurk. ***jɨlɨm** net (сеть): Turkm. *jɨlɨm*; MTurk. *ilim* (CCum.); Uzb. *jɨlɨm* (dial.); Tat. *ʒɨlɨm*; Bashk. *jɨlɨm*; Kirgh. *ʒɨlɨm*; Kaz. *ʒɨlɨm*; KKalp. *ʒɨlɨm*; Kum. *jɨlɨm*; Nogh. *jɨlɨm*; Chuv. *śiləm*; Yak. *ilim*; Dolg. *ilim*.

◊ VEWT 200, ЭСТЯ 4, 282-283, Stachowski 125. Turk. > Hung. *gyalom*, see Gombocz 1912.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**nad[i]** seven: Tung. ***nada-n**; Turk. ***jẹt(t)i**; Jpn. ***nana-**; Kor. ***nìr-kúp**.

PTung. ***nada-n** seven (семь): Evk. *nadan*; Evn. *nadъn*; Neg. *nadan*; Man. *nadan*; SMan. *nadən* (2741); Jurch. *nadan* (642); Ul. *nada(n)*; Ork. *nada(n)*; Nan. *nadã*; Orch. *nada(n)*; Ud. *nada(n)*; Sol. *nadã*.

◊ TMC 1, 576-577.

PTurk. ***jẹt(t)i** seven (семь): OTurk. *jeti* (Yen., OUygh.); Karakh. *jeti* (MK); Tur. *jedi*; Gag. *jedi*; Az. *jeddi*; Turkm. *jedi*; Sal. *jitti*; Khal. *jieti*, *jätti* (< Az.?); MTurk. *jeddī* (Ettuhf.); Uzb. *jetti*; Uygh. *jätti*; Krm. *jedi*; Tat. *ǯide*; Bashk. *jete*; Kirgh. *ǯeti*; Kaz. *žeti*; KBalk. *jeti*, *ǯeti*, *žeti*; KKalp. *žeti*; Kum. *jetti*; Nogh. *jeti*; SUygh. *jeti*, *jiti*, *ǯetä*; Khak. *čittə*; Shr. *četti*; Oyr. *jeti*; Tv. *čedi*; Chuv. *śiǯə*; Yak. *sette*; Dolg. *hette*.

◊ EDT 886, VEWT 199, ЭСТЯ 4, 167-168, TMN 4, 139, Stachowski 102.

PJpn. ***nana-** seven (семь): OJpn. *nana-*; MJpn. *nànà-*; Tok. *nanǎ-*; Kyo. *nánà-*; Kag. *nànà-*.

◊ JLTT 493. As with most other numerals, the accent reconstruction is not quite clear.

PKor. ***nìr-kúp** seven (семь): MKor. *nìr-kúp*; Mod. *ilgop*.

◊ Nam 124, KED 1350.

‖ Mong. **dal-* '7' may suggest PA **Ĺad[i]-* (with a development > Mong. **Ĺal-* (through assimilation) > *dal-*). The medial consonant in general behaves rather irregularly: one may suggest an original cluster like *-dd- to explain the Turkic reflex. Jpn. **nana-* regularly < **nada-n* (= TM **nada-n*); in Kor. one has to assume vowel elision already after *-d- > -r- (i.e. **nìr-kup* < **nìrV-kup*). Despite all these difficulties, the numeral 'seven' seems to be safely reconstructable for PA. Cf. also Koguryo **nanən* 'seven', see Lee 28, 39, Menges 1984, 278.

✱**naja** to envy, wish: Tung. ***nadi-**; Mong. ***najida-**; Jpn. ***nàità-m- (~ -ia-)**.

PTung. ***nadi-** 1 to suspect, doubt, deny 2 to consider (1 подозревать, сомневаться, отрицать 2 полагать, считать): Evk. *nadi-* 1, 2; Evn. *nadät-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 577-578.

PMong. ***najida-** 1 to hope, trust 2 envy (1 надеяться, доверять 2 зависть): WMong. *najida-* 1, *najidaŋγui* 2 (L 558); Kh. *najda-* 1, *najdangui* 2; Bur. *najda-* 1; Kalm. *nä, nǟtəg* 'hope' (KPC); Dong. *naita-* 1 (Тод. Дн.).

PJpn. ***nàità-m- (~ -ia-)** to envy, be jealous of (завидовать, ревновать): OJpn. *netam-*; MJpn. *nètàm-*; Tok. *netam-*.

◊ JLTT 734.

‖ Poppe 37, 140, 158, JOAL 70. All forms reflect a dental suffix.

✱**nàje** pole, shaft: Tung. ***najü**; Jpn. ***nə̀**.

PTung. ***najü** pole, shaft of fish-fork (шест, древко остроги): Evk. *naj*, *naji*; Evn. *naj*; Ul. *naị*; Ork. *naụ*, *naẃị*; Nan. *naị*; Orch. *nai*.

◊ TMC 1, 578.

PJpn. ***nə̀** bamboo for arrows (бамбук для стрел): OJpn. no; MJpn. *nò*.

◊ JLTT 499.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss.

✱**nàjÍV (~ -e-)** age: Mong. ***na-su**; Turk. ***jāĺ**; Kor. ***náh**.

PMong. ***na-su(n)** age, year of life (возраст, год жизни): MMong. *nāṣun* (IM), *nasun* 'life' (MA), *nasu-tu* '...years old' (SH); WMong. *nasu(n)* (L 566); Kh. *nas*; Bur. *naha(n)*; Kalm. *nasṇ*; Ord. *nasu(n)*; Dag. *nase* (MD 195,Тод. Даг. 156), *nas* (Тод. Даг. 156); Dong. *nasun*; Bao. *nasoŋ*; S.-Yugh. *nasən*, *nas*; Mongr. *nasə* (SM 260).

◊ KW 272, MGCD 501. Mong. > Evk. *nasun*, see Poppe 1966, 196, Doerfer MT 127.

PTurk. ***jāĺ** age; year (возраст; год): OTurk. *jaš* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *jaš* (MK); Tur. *jaš*; Gag. *jaš*; Az. *jaš*; Turkm. *jāš*; Sal. *jaš*; Khal. *jāš*; MTurk. *jaš* (Ettuhf., AH); Uzb. *jɔš*; Uygh. *jaš*; Krm. *jaš*; Tat. *jaš*; Bashk. *jäš*; Kirgh. *ǯaš*; Kaz. *žas*; KKalp. *žas*; Kum. *jaš*; Nogh. *jas*; SUygh. *jas*; Khak. *čas*; Shr. *čaš*; Oyr. *jaš*, *ďaš*; Chuv. *śol*; Yak. *sās*.

◊ EDT 975-6, ЭСТЯ 4, 161-163, Федотов 2, 130, TMN 4, 97, Лексика 84.

PKor. ***náh** age (возраст): MKor. *ná* (*náh-*); Mod. *na*, *nä*.

◊ Nam 85, KED 284.

‖ EAS 75, SKE 157, KW 272, АПиПЯЯ 288, Лексика 84. Mong. *nasun* regularly < **nal-sun* and the assumption of its being borrowed from Turk. (Щербак 1997, 123) is absolutely improbable (Doerfer in TMN 4, 97 refutes the comparison without further discussion). The cluster *-jĺ- has to be reconstructed to account for the loss of resonant in Korean (*-h is a trace of a velar suffix: **najĺV-gV*). It could be also interesting to mention a verb attested in MJpn.: *neba-* (< **nai-(m)pa-*) 'to grow old; to become grown up' - perhaps with an irregular loss of -s- (that would be an expected reflex of *-Í-) in a cluster. The root should be distinguished from **ńāĺ(b)a* 'young' q.v. (which, however, certainly influenced the Turkic reflex - whence an irregular long vowel).

✱**najV(rV)** lake, river: Tung. ***niāru**; Mong. ***naɣur**; Kor. ***nāih**.

PTung. ***niāru** 1 lake 2 swamp (1 озеро 2 болото): Evk. *ńārut* 1; Evn. *ńaruqaɣ* 2; Man. *ńari* 2; Nan. *ṇiarõ* 2; Ud. *ńau* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 636.

PMong. ***naɣur** lake (озеро): MMong. *na'ur* (HY 2, SH), *nāwor* 'sea' (IM), *nāwur* (Lig.VMI); WMong. *naɣur* (L 558); Kh. *nūr*; Bur. *nūr*; Kalm. *nūr*; Ord. *nūr*; Dag. *naur* (Тод. Даг. 156), *naure* (MD 195); Mongr. *nūr* (SM 290), (MGCD *nōr*).

◊ KW 282, MGCD 516, TMN 1, 515. Mong. > Evk. *nor* etc., see Doerfer MT 103.

PKor. ***nāih** river (река): MKor. *nāi* (*nāih-*); Mod. *nǟ*.

◊ Nam 101, KED 315.

‖ Should be kept apart from **ṇiúŕe*, despite ОССНЯ 2, 89.

✱**nakʿi (~ -o)** a k. of skin: Tung. ***naKita**; Mong. ***nekej**.

PTung. ***naKita** bear skin (медвежья шкура): Evk. *nakita*; Evn. *naqṭ*; Neg. *naxata*; Ork. *natta*; Ud. *naʿta* (Корм. 265).

◊ TMC 1, 579.

PMong. ***nekej** sheepskin (овчина): MMong. *nəkē* (IM); WMong. *nekei* (L 572); Kh. *nexij*; Bur. *nexɨ* 'меховой'; Kalm. *nekē* (KPC); Ord. *neχī*; S.-Yugh. *nəkī*; Mongr. *nikī* (SM 276), *nekī*.

◊ MGCD 506.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**nālV** earth, land: Tung. ***nā**; Mong. ***nala-**; Turk. ***jalaŋ**; Kor. ***nàráh**.

PTung. ***nā** earth (земля): Neg. *nā*; Man. *na*; SMan. *nā* (2066); Jurch. *na* (37); Ul. *nā*; Ork. *nā*; Nan. *nā*; Orch. *nā*; Ud. *nā*.

◊ TMC 1, 572-573.

PMong. ***nala-** extensive, wide (широкий, обширный): WMong. *nalai* (L 561); Kh. *nalaj*; Kalm. *nalǟ*.

◊ KW 270. Cf. also WMong. *nelei-* id. (L 573). Mong. > Yak., Dolg. *nalaj-*, *nelej-* (Kał. JW 187, VII 48, Stachowski 184, 185).

PTurk. ***jalaŋ** field, steppe (поле, степь): Khal. *čalaŋ*; Uzb. *jalaŋ*; Tat. *jalan*, dial. *jalaŋ*; Bashk. *jalan*; Kirgh. *ǯalaŋ* (dial.); Khak. *jalaŋ*; Shr. *čalaŋ*; Oyr. *ḱalaŋ*.

◊ VEWT 181, ЭСТЯ 4, 91. Turk. > Russ. *jeláń* , see Аникин 197.

PKor. ***nàráh** country (страна): MKor. *nàráh*; Mod. *nara*.

◊ Nam 87, KED 287.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 290, EAS 75, SKE 161 (the Japanese parallel cited by Ramstedt is dubious), Menges 1984, 278-279. The PTM form points to original length, so the low tone in Korean is irregular.

✱**nȁmo** testicle: Tung. ***nāma / *māna (*māŋa)**; Mong. ***(n)im**; Turk. ***jum-**.

PTung. ***nāma / *māna (*māŋa)** testicle (testiculi): Evk. *nāma*; Evn. *maŋa*.

◊ TMC 1, 530, 581.

PMong. ***(n)im** testicles (testiculi): WMong. *im, nim* (L 409: confused with *im* 'mark, sign'); Kh. *im*; Bur. *em-nī-* 'to castrate'; Kalm. *im*; Ord. *im, em*.

◊ KW 207.

PTurk. ***jumur** bowels, intestines (кишки, внутренности): Karakh. *jumur* (MK); Tv. *čumur* 'maw'; Tof. *ńumur* 'maw'.

◊ EDT 937-8. Historically the root should be probably kept distinct from **jum-* 'round' and **jumurtka* 'egg' - although internal contaminations were of course inevitable.

‖ A Western isogloss; somewhat dubious because of tabooistic irregularities and rather scarce attestation.

✱**nā́ne** skin: Tung. ***nansa**; Turk. ***jɨ̄n**.

PTung. ***nansa** 1 skin (of man) 2 skin (of animals) (1 кожа 2 шкура): Evk. *nanna* 2; Evn. *nanrъ* 2; Neg. *nana* 1; Man. *notχo*, *nontoχo* 'shell'; Ul. *nanta* 1; Ork. *nata* 2; Nan. *nanta* 2; Orch. *nasa* 2; Ud. *nehä* 1, 2; Sol. *nanda* 1, 2.

◊ TMC 1, 583-584, 606.

PTurk. ***jīn** skin, body (кожа, тело): OTurk. *jɨn* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jɨn* (MK); Yak. *sīn*.

◊ VEWT 203, EDT 941, Лексика 266-267.

‖ Лексика 267. A Turk.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**nàsà** grief, pity: Tung. ***nasa-**; Jpn. ***nàsàkài**.

PTung. ***nasa-** to regret, grieve (скорбеть, горевать): Man. *nasa-*.

◊ TMC 1, 586. Attested only in Manchu, with a possible parallel in Jpn.

PJpn. ***nàsàkài** pity, sympathy (сострадание, жалость): MJpn. *nàsàkè*; Tok. *nasaké*, *násake*; Kyo. *násàkè*; Kag. *nasaké*.

◊ JLTT 494.

‖ A TM-Jpn. isogloss.

✱**nátʹa (~ l-, -t-)** a k. of plant, cereal: Turk. ***jAt-**; Jpn. ***nátúmái**; Kor. ***nāt**.

PTurk. ***jAt-** winter rye (озимая рожь): Khak. *čadɨɣ* 'bush' (Sag.); Shr. *jadɨɣan* (Верб.); Oyr. *ďadaɣan*; Tv. *čadaɣ* 'low plant'.

◊ VEWT 177.

PJpn. ***nátúmái** jujube (ююба, плод ююбы): OJpn. *natum(j)e*; MJpn. *nátúmé*; Tok. *nàtsume*; Kyo. *natsumé*; Kag. *natsúme*.

◊ JLTT 494. Accent in Kyoto is aberrant.

PKor. ***nāt** cereal (злак): MKor. *nāt*; Mod. *nāt*.

◊ Nam 94, KED 302.

‖ Cf. perhaps Evk. *latarā* 'усыпанный ягодами (о ветке, кусте)' (TMC 1, 495).

✱**nāʒV** summer, midday: Mong. ***naʒir**; Turk. ***jāj**; Kor. ***náč**.

PMong. ***naʒir** summer (лето): WMong. *naʒir* (БАМРС); Kh. *naʒir* (БАМРС); Bur. *nažar*; Dag. *naʒir* (Тод. Даг. 156), *naʒire* (MD 194).

◊ MGCD 463.

PTurk. ***jāj** 1 summer 2 summer pasture 3 spring (1 лето 2 летнее пастбище 3 весна): OTurk. *jaj* (Orkh., OUygh.) 1, 3; Karakh. *jaj* (MK) 1, 3; Tur. *jaj-la* 2; Az. *jaj* 1, *jajla* 2; Turkm. *jāj-la* 2; Sal. *jij* 1; MTurk. *jaj* 1 (AH, Ettuhf.); Bashk. *jej* 1; Kirgh. *ʒaj* 1; KBalk. *ʒaj*, *žaj*, *zaj* 1; Kum. *jaj* 1; Nogh. *jaj* 3 (dial.); SUygh. *jaj* 1; Khak. *čaj* 1; Shr. *čaj* 1; Oyr. *jaj*, *ďaj* 1; Tv. *čaj* 1; Chuv. *śu*, *śův* 1; Yak. *saj* 1; Dolg. *hajɨn* 1.

◊ VEWT 179, ЭСТЯ 4, 74, 78-79, EDT 980, Лексика 74, Федотов 2, 128, Stachowski 93.

PKor. ***náč** day, day-time (день, дневное время): MKor. *náč*; Mod. *nat* [*nač*].

◊ Nam 101, KED 312.

‖ SKE 162, EAS 75, Лексика 74 (Turk.-Mong.). Unsubstantial criticism in TMN 4, 253 (for Kor.: "aus semantischen Gründen nicht hierher" (?), "lautlich unsicher" (?)"; for Mong.: "...müßte der bur. und dag.

Wortschatz erst noch gründlicher untersucht worden" (?). Let us note, however, a tonal discrepancy between Turkic and Korean.

✱**nḗ** to lie, put: Tung. ***nē-**; Mong. ***niɣu-**; Jpn. ***ná-**; Kor. ***nū-b-**.

PTung. ***nē-** to put (класть): Evk. *nē-*; Evn. *nē-*; Neg. *nē-*; Ul. *nē-*; Nan. *nē-*; Orch. *nē-*; Ud. *ne-de-*; Sol. *nē-*.

◊ TMC 1, 614-615. An old derivative may be **na-kan* 'bed' (TMC 1, 576).

PMong. ***niɣu-** to hide, conceal (прятать): MMong. *ni'u-* (SH), *niu-* (MA); WMong. *niɣu-* (L 579); Kh. *nū-*; Bur. *ńū-*; Kalm. *nū-*; Ord. *nū-*; Dong. *niu-*; S.-Yugh. *nū-*; Mongr. *nǖ-* (SM 279), *niu-*.

◊ KW 281-282, MGCD 516.

PJpn. ***ná-** 1 to lie 2 to sleep (1 лежать 2 спать): OJpn. *na-* 1, *wi-na-* 2; MJpn. *na-* 1, *i-na-*, *né-búr-* 2; Tok. *nè-* 1, *nè-mur-* 2; Kyo. *nê-* 1, 2; Kag. *né-* 1, *némur-* 2.

◊ JLTT 734.

PKor. ***nūb-** to lie (лежать): MKor. *nūp-* (*nūw-*); Mod. *nup-* (*nu-*).

◊ Nam 116, KED 365.

‖ Martin 235, АПиПЯЯ 72, 94, 276. One of common Altaic monosyllabic verbs. Mong. reflects a suffixed form (= Kor. *nūb-*); length in TM is exceptionally preserved in a monosyllabic root.

✱**nébì** new: Tung. ***nebi**; Mong. ***niɣu-n**; Turk. ***jub-ga**; Jpn. ***nípí-**; Kor. ***nə̄-**.

PTung. ***nebi** 1 new, fresh 2 younger (brother, sister) 3 wife's brother's wife (1 новый, свежий 2 младший (брат, сестра) 3 невестка (жена брата жены)): Evn. *neji* 1, *nə̄* 2; Man. *neje* 3, *neče* 3; Ul. *neu* 2; Ork. *new, neu* 2; Nan. *neil* 2 (plur.).

◊ TMC 1, 616, 617-618, 626. Cf. also **nē* 'now' (TMC 1, 614).

PMong. ***niɣu-n** child, boy (ребенок, мальчик): MMong. *no'un* (HY 29), *nu'u(n)* (SH); WMong. *niɣun*, *nuɣun* (L 580); Kh. *nugan*, *nugūn* (< WMong.); Dag. *nōn* (Тод. Даг. 158), *non* (MD 200).

PTurk. ***jub-ga** bastard, adopted son (внебрачный, приемный сын): Karakh. *juvɣa* (MK, KB).

◊ EDT 874, VEWT 209 (erroneously united with *juvqa* 'soft, weak').

PJpn. ***nípí-** new (новый): OJpn. *nipji-*; MJpn. *nífí-*; Tok. *nìi-*; Kyo. *níí-*; Kag. *ní-ke*.

◊ JLTT 497.

PKor. ***nə̄-** younger relative (in compounds) (младший родственник (в сложениях)): MKor. *nə-s-harmi* 'wife of grandfather's younger brother'; Mod. *nə̄-* [*nə̄-s-*] 'younger brother' (in compounds).

◊ Nam 105, KED 336.

‖ SKE 172, АПиПЯЯ 110, 279. Turkic has a vowel metathesis: **jub-ga* < **jab-gu*.

✱**nĕčʿá** to scrape, scrape off (skin); to fade: Tung. ***neču-**; Mong. ***ničügen**; Jpn. ***nàntá-**.

PTung. ***ńeču-** 1 to scrape off, to tan (skin) 2 to fade, exuviate (1 соскабливать (шкуру), дубить 2 линять): Evk. *ńečū-* 1, *ńečelle-* 2; Evn. *ńičuh*, *ńečuh* 'scraped skin, suede', *ńečēlre-* 2; Ork. *netu-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 655. *ń-* in Evk. and Evn. is assimilative.

PMong. ***ničügen** naked, bare (голый): MMong. *ničugun*, *ničuxun* (SH), *nəčegen* (IM), *ničkūn* (Lig.VMI); WMong. *ničügen* (L 577: *ničügün*); Kh. *nücgen*; Bur. *ńüsege(n)*; Kalm. *nücəgṇ*; Ord. *nüčügün*; Dag. *nušikē* (Тод. Даг. 159: *ńuškēn*, *ńiškōn*); Dong. *mučuγun* (Тод. Дн.); *nučugun*; Bao. *niśkoŋ*; Mongr. *nićigōr*, *nućigōr* (SM 279, 291), *nəčigōr*.

◊ KW 282, MGCD 521. Mong. > Evk. *ńučakin*, Man. *ńošuxun* / *ńoxušun* id.

PJpn. ***nàntá-** to stroke, pat (гладить): OJpn. *nada-*; MJpn. *nàda-*; Tok. *nadé-*; Kyo. *nàdè-*; Kag. *nàdè-*.

◊ JLTT 730.

‖ Дыбо 1995b. (Mong.-Tung.).

✱**nečʿè (~ l-)** late: Turk. ***jEče**; Jpn. ***nətì**; Kor. ***nɨč-**.

PTurk. ***jEče** as before, previously (как и раньше, прежде): OTurk. *ječe* (Orkh.).

◊ EDT 882.

PJpn. ***nətì** after, afterwards (потом, впоследствии): OJpn. *noti*; MJpn. *nòtì*; Tok. *nochí*, *nòchi*; Kyo. *nóchí*; Kag. *nochí*.

◊ JLTT 501. The Kyoto reflex and the Tokyo variant *nòchi* are irregular and may point to a variant **nə́tí* in PJ.

PKor. ***nɨč-** late (поздний): MKor. *nɨč-* (cf. also *nàčòi* 'evening'); Mod. *nɨt-* [*nɨč-*].

◊ Nam 90, 118, KED 375.

‖ Martin 234-235. The low tone in Kor. may be explained as "verbal"; but cf. an alternative variant *nə́tí in PJ.

✱**negle (~-a)** snag, root: Tung. ***nelge**; Mong. ***newle**; Jpn. ***nài (~ nìa)**; Kor. ***nər**.

PTung. ***nelge** 1 snag 2 block 3 saddle (1 коряга 2 колода 3 седло): Evk. *nelge* 1; Evn. *nelgъ* 1, 2; Ork. *nēlge* 3; Orch. *negge* 1, 2; Ud. *nege* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 619.

PMong. ***newle** brushwood; block (валежник; колода): WMong. *neüle* (MXTTT); Kh. *nṻl*; Bur. *nṻle*.

PJpn. ***nài (~ nìa)** root (корень): OJpn. ne; MJpn. *nè*; Tok. *nè*; Kyo. *nè̀*; Kag. *né*.

◊ JLTT 495.

PKor. ***nər** board (доска): MKor. *nər*; Mod. *nəl*.

◊ Nam 105, KED 332.

‖ TMC 1, 619.

✱**negre (~ -i)** a k. of deer: Tung. ***ne(r)gdi**; Turk. ***jẹgre-n**; Kor. ***nɨrə-**.

PTung. ***negdi** a female deer (важенка): Evk. *negdi*.

◊ TMC 1, 615.

PTurk. ***jẹgre-n** 1 yellow (of a horse) 2 deer, antelope (1 рыжий (о масти лошади) 2 олень, джейран, антилопа): OTurk. *jegren* 1 (Orkh.); Tur. *ǯeran*, *ǯeren* (DS) 1, 2; Turkm. *jegren*, *jergen* 1, dial. *ǯeren* 1, 2; MTurk. *ǯejren* (Буд.) 1, *ǯeren* 2 (Pav. C.); Uzb. *ǯijrən* 1; Uygh. *ǯirən* 1, dial. *ǯeren*, *ǯərrən*, *ǯegren* 2; Tat. *ǯiren* 1, *jɛrdɛ* (Tar.) 1; Bashk. *jeren* 1; Kirgh. *ǯejren* 1, 2, *ǯērde* 1; Kaz. *žijren* 1; KKalp. *žijren* 1; Nogh. *jijren* 1; SUygh. *ǯiger*, *jiger*, *ǯiɣɨr*, *jiɣɨr* 2; Khak. *čigren*, dial. *čigər* 1; Shr. *čeren*, *čegren*, *čergen* (R) 1; Oyr. *jeren*, *jēren*, *ďēren* 1, 2; Tv. *čēren* 2; Chuv. *śüren* 1; Yak. *sier* 1.

◊ ЭСТЯ 4, 22-24, 36. Turk. > Mong. *ǯeɣir-*, *ǯeɣerde* (TMN 1, 289, 4, 184) > Sol. *ǯegerẽ* 'antelope', Man. *ǯerde* (see Doerfer MT 136) > MKor. *čjərta* (*mǎr*) (see Lee 1958, 119). Pers. *ǯejran* (< Turk. or Mong.) is widely borrowed back into Turkic (Tur., Az. *ǯejran* etc.).

PKor. ***nɨrə-** female deer, doe (косуля, важенка): Mod. *nɨrəŋi*.

◊ KED 366.

‖ The Evk. form most probably reflects a suffixed **ner-gdi*; less probable is a specific development of the cluster *-gr-. Cf. **ĺóre*.

✱**neji** louse, nit: Tung. ***nej(l)e-**; Mong. ***ni-sa-**; Kor. ***ní**.

PTung. ***nej(l)V-** small louse, nit (мелкая вошь, гнида): Evk. *nej-ke*; Ul. *ńile-kte*; Ork. *neli-ɣe*; Nan. *ńile-ke*.

◊ TMC 1, 616.

PMong. ***ni-sa-** to crumble (e. g. lice), to crush with the finger-nails (щелкать пальцами, придавить ногтями): WMong. *nise-le-* (L 586: *nisal-*, *nisla-*, *nisel-*, *nisači-*); Kh. *ńasla-*, *ńasči-*; Bur. *ńaha* 'finger flip', *ńahal-*; Kalm. *nisəl-*; Ord. *nisal-* 'to kill by pressing between fingernails'; Mongr. *nesələ-*.

◊ KW 277, MGCD 509.

PKor. ***ní** louse (вошь): MKor. *ní*; Mod. *i*.

◊ Nam 119, KED 1316.

‖ SKE 165, EAS 76, АПиПЯЯ 296. The Mong. form presupposes an earlier **ni-(su)* 'louse'.

✱**néji** even, equal: Tung. ***neje-**; Mong. ***nej**; Jpn. ***ní-**.

PTung. ***neje-** 1 even 2 similar (1 ровный 2 похожий): Evk. *ńe-rke* 2 (dial.); Ul. *neje(n)* 1; Nan. *nejẽ* 1; Orch. *neige*, *neiŋe* 1; Ud. *neige* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 616, 654 (but Manchu *nejgen* 'equal' is obviously < Mong., see Rozycki 161).

PMong. ***nej** 1 all together, in accord 2 to unite, join, connect 3 equal, alike (1 вместе, согласно 2 объединять(ся) 3 равный, похожий): WMong. *nei* 1, *neji-če-*, *neji-le-* 2, *neji-gen* 3 (L 569, 570); Kh. *nij* 1, *nijce-*, *nijle-* 2, *nijgen* 3; Bur. *nī-te* 1, *nī-le-* 2; Kalm. *nī* 1, *nīdə-* 2; Ord. *nī* 1, *nīči-* 2, *nīgün*, *nīte*, *nīgüŋ* 1.

◊ KW 277, 278.

PJpn. ***ní-** to resemble (быть похожим): OJpn. *ni-* ; MJpn. *ní-*; Tok. *nì-*; Kyo. *ní-*; Kag. *ní-*.

◊ JLTT 736.

‖ A good Mong.-TM-Jpn. parallel.

✱**nĕ̌ko** to leave, put aside: Tung. ***neku-**; Mong. ***nögü-ɣe**; Jpn. ***nə̀k-**; Kor. ***nòh-**.

PTung. ***neku-** 1 to bring 2 gift (1 нести, приносить, относить 2 подарок): Evn. *nēkъr* 2; Nan. *nuku-* 1; Ud. *nexu-*, *neu-γi-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 619, 667.

PMong. ***nögü-ɣe** other (другой): MMong. *noko'e* (SH); WMong. *nögüge* (L 592); Kh. *nögő*; Bur. *nügő*; Kalm. *nögē* (KPC); Ord. *nögő*; Bao. *noge* 'he' (Тод. Бн.).

◊ Mong. > Yak., Dolg. *nöŋüö* 'next' (see Kał. MEJ 35, Stachowski 186).

PJpn. ***nə̀k-** to leave, put aside (оставлять, откладывать): OJpn. *nok-*, *nokos-*; MJpn. *nòkos-*; Tok. *nokós-*; Kyo. *nókós-*; Kag. *nokós-*.

◊ JLTT 737. The Kagoshima accent is rather strange (influenced by Tokyo?), cf. the intransitive match *nòkòr-* 'to remain, be left' which is quite regular.

PKor. ***nòh-** to put, let go (класть, пускать): MKor. *nòh-*; Mod. *no-* [*noh-*].

◊ Nam 114, KED 353.

‖ Martin 239. Korean has the verbal low tone. The Mong. form is somewhat questionable: it can belong here if 'other' < 'the one left'; on the other hand, it may be a historical derivative < **nige-γü* where **nige-* = **nige-* 'one' (see **nḭŏŋe*).

✱**neku** lowland, water meadow: Tung. ***nekte**; Mong. ***nigu**.

PTung. ***nekte** 1 tilth, tillage 2 lowland 3 low (1 пашня 2 низина 3 низкий): Evk. *nekte* 1, 2, 3; Evn. *ńätkun* 3; Neg. *nekte* 2, 3; Ul. *nekte* 2; Ork. *nēktē-gi* 2, *nēkte* 3; Nan. *nekte* 2, 3; Orch. *nekte* 3; Ud. *nektele* 2; Sol. *nekte* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 616, 617.

PMong. ***nigu** water-meadow (заливной луг): WMong. *niγu* (L 579); Kh. *nug*; Bur. *nuga*; Kalm. *nuγə*.

◊ KW 280. Mong. > Kaz. *nuw* etc.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**nekʿu** to weave: Mong. ***neke-**; Jpn. ***nuki**.

PMong. ***neke-** to weave, knit (ткать, вязать): MMong. *neke-* (SH), *nik-* (IM); WMong. *neke-* (L 572); Kh. *nexe-*; Bur. *nexe-*; Kalm. *nekə-*; Ord. *neχe-*; Mog. *neka-* (Weiers); Dag. *nege-*; Dong. *nokie-*; S.-Yugh. *neke-*; Mongr. *niki-* (SM 276), *neke-*.

◊ KW 274, MGCD 507.

PJpn. ***nuki** weft thread (уточная нить, уточная пряжа): OJpn. *nuk(j)i*; Tok. *nuki-íto*.

◊ JLTT 502.

‖ A Mong.-Jpn. isogloss.

✱**nekʹV** friend, relative: Tung. ***neku-**; Mong. ***nökör**.

PTung. ***neku-** younger relative (sister / brother) (младший родственник (сестра / брат)): Evk. *nekū*; Neg. *nexu(n)*; Man. *neχu* 'slave girl'; Ul. *neku(n)*; Ork. *noko(nō)*; Nan. *neku*; Orch. *neku*; Ud. *nêä-diga*; Sol. *nexũ*.

◊ TMC 1, 617-618. The Manchu word could be derived from MMong. *nekun* 'servant' (see Rozycki 161), on which see **nìkʹe*, but may as well be derived from **neku*, with its meaning being a result of confusing the two roots. In Manchu we also have *neku* 'a woman's female friend', and in Jurch. - *nekur* 'friend', both of which can be borrowed < Mong. (see Rozycki 162). See also notes to **neŋu-* (sub **nḗŋu)*.

PMong. ***nökör** friend (друг): MMong. *nokor* (HY 31, SH), *nūkər* (IM); WMong. *nökör* (L 593: *nökür*); Kh. *nöxör*; Bur. *nüxer*; Kalm. *nökṛ*; Ord. *nöχör*; Dag. *nugur* (Тод. Даг. 158); Dong. *nokiə*; Bao. *noker* (Тод. Бн.); S.-Yugh. *nökör*; Mongr. *nokor* (SM 283), *nukor* (Huzu) 3.

◊ KW 279, MGCD 515. Despite Doerfer TMN 1, 521ff the attested MMong. *noko'e* (SH; = *nökö̆ye*) 'other, second' does not prove that the original meaning was 'other': cf. Russ. другой 'other', transparently derived < друг 'friend'). Mong. > Chuv. *kər-nüker* 'дружка' (see Róna-Tas 1973-1974).

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss. The root seems to be different from **nìkʹe* and **ńi̯ȍge*, although there may have been some natural confusion. It is interesting to note Jpn. *naka(ma)* 'friend' - perhaps a secondary contamination with *naka* 'middle'?

✱**nelkʹV** new-born; spring: Tung. ***nelki**; Mong. ***nilka**.

PTung. ***nelki** spring (весна): Evk. *nelki*; Evn. *nelkъ*; Neg. *nelkī*; Ork. *nelčiri*; Orch. *nekki*; Ud. *neki*; Sol. *nelxi*.

◊ TMC 1, 620.

PMong. ***nilka** new-born (новорожденный): MMong. *nilqa* (SH, MA 124); WMong. *nilqa* (L 584); Kh. *ńalx*; Bur. *ńalxa*, *nilxa*; Kalm. *nilxa*; Ord. *nilxa*; Dag. *ńalka* (Тод. Даг. 156), *ńaleke* (MD 199); Mongr. *narGə̄* (SM 258).

◊ KW 276. Cf. also *nilǯaraj* id.

‖ Владимирцов 369. A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**nèĺbù (~ -p-)** fringe: Tung. ***nelbi**; Jpn. ***nùsà**.

PTung. ***nelbi** fringe (бахрома): Evk. *nelbi*; Evn. *nebъlen*.

◊ TMC 1, 619.

PJpn. ***nùsà** paper offerings, paper pieces on a stick (бумажные приношения, бумажки на палочке или веточке): OJpn. *nusa*; MJpn. *nùsà*; Tok. *nusa*.

◊ JLTT 502.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss; cf. perhaps also Karakh. (MK) *jišɨɣ* 'thread, string, cord' (although the vocalism is not clear).

✱**nelmu** a k. of cloth, coat: Tung. ***nelme-**; Mong. ***nolom**; Turk. ***jAlma**.

PTung. ***nelme-** upper garment, coat (кафтан, верхняя одежда): Evk. *nelmekēn*.

◊ TMC 1, 620, 635. Isolated in Ewk., but having possible external parallels.

PMong. ***nolom** brocade (парча): WMong. *nolom* (L 590: *nolum*); Kh. *nolom*.

PTurk. ***jAlma** a thick quilted coat (толстая стеганая куртка): OTurk. *jalma* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *jalma* (MK).

◊ EDT 929, TMN 4, 190-192.

‖ Дыбо 15, TMC 1, 635. A Western isogloss. Note also MJpn. (late attested) *nume* 'a k. of silk' (if not < *numa-* 'to be slippery, smooth')?

✱**nema** to add, exceed: Mong. ***neme-**; Turk. ***jem-**; Kor. ***nəm-**.

PMong. ***neme-** to add (добавлять): MMong. *neme-* (HY 33, SH); WMong. *neme-* (L 573); Kh. *neme-*; Bur. *neme-*; Kalm. *nem-*; Ord. *neme-*; Dag. *neme-* (Тод. Даг. 157, MD 197); Dong. *nime-*; S.-Yugh. *nemē-*; Mongr. *nimē-* (SM 276), *nəmē-*.

◊ KW 274, MGCD 504.

PTurk. ***jem-** 1 moreover, and 2 addition (1 более того, к тому же 2 добавление): OTurk. *jeme* 1 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *jeme* 1 (MK); Yak. *semse* 2.

◊ EDT 934.

PKor. ***nəm-** to exceed, to overflow (превосходить, переходить, переливаться через край): MKor. *nəm-*; Mod. *nəm-*.

◊ Nam 105, KED 335.

‖ EAS 76, Владимирцов 369, SKE 163, Poppe 38, 68. Manchu forms (*nem-sele-* 'to add, increase' etc.) may be borrowed < Mong. (see TMC 1, 622, TMN 1, 519, Doerfer MT 103, Rozycki 162). MKor. has also a synonymous *nàm-*. Despite TMN 1, 520 borrowing in Kor. < Mong. is quite improbable.

✱**nḗmè** to patch: Tung. ***neme- / *nama-**; Mong. ***nem-**; Turk. ***jama-**; Jpn. ***nə́mì**.

PTung. ***neme- / *nama-** to patch (латать, штопать): Evk. *neme-*, *nama-*; Evn. *nemēt-*; Neg. *nemes-*; Man. *nemki-*; Ul. *namui* (n.); Ork. *nembesse-*, *nambotčị-*; Nan. *namu* (n.); Orch. *namasi-*; Ud. *neme-*.

◊ TMC 1, 622 (cf. also **nama-* 'to stick to, etc.', TMC 1, 581).

PMong. ***nem-** 1 to cover 2 to cover (by a horse-cloth) (1 покрывать 2 покрывать (попоной)): MMong. *nemur-* 1 (SH), *nembe-* 1 (HYt), *nəmilä*, *nimlä* 'horse-cloth' (MA 238, 239); WMong. *nemür-* 1, *nemne-* 2 (L 574); Kh. *nömr-* 1, *nemn-* 2; Bur. *nemeri-* 1,2 *nemne* 2; Kalm. *nemṛ-* 1,

nemnə- 2; Ord. *nemne-* 2, *nömör* 'protection contre le vent'; Dag. *nembu-* 1 (Тод. Даг. 157), *nemur* 'cover'; Bao. *nambəǯo-* 2; S.-Yugh. *nemle-* 2, *nemnēl* 'horse-cloth'; Mongr. *nembe-* (SM 270), *nəmba-* 1, *nemberge* (SM 270) *nemnoŋ* 'horse-cloth' 2.

◊ KW 275, MGCD 505, 515. Mong. > Evk. *neme-* 'to cover' etc. (TMC 1, 622), see Doerfer MT 51, Rozycki 162.

PTurk. ***jama-*** to patch (латать, штопать): Karakh. *jama-* (MK); Tur. *jama-*; Gag. *jama-*; Az. *jama-*; Turkm. *jama-*; Sal. *jama-*; MTurk. *jama-* (Ettuhf.); Uzb. *jama-*; Uygh. *jama-*; Krm. *jama-*; Tat. *jama-*; Bashk. *jama-*; Kirgh. *ǯama-*; Kaz. *žama-*; KBalk. *zama-*; KKalp. *žama-*; Kum. *jama-*; Nogh. *jama-*; SUygh. *jama-*; Khak. *nama-*; Shr. *naba-*; Oyr. *jama-*, *d́ama-*; Tv. *čama-*; Yak. *samā-*; Dolg. *hamā-*.

◊ VEWT 184, EDT 934-935, ЭСТЯ 4, 108, Stachowski 94. Turk. > WMong. *ǯama-*, Kalm. *zamə-* (KW 466).

PJpn. ***nə́mì*** cypress bark used for preventing boat leaking, boat caulking (кипарисовая кора, используемая для предотвращения течи в лодке): MJpn. *nómì*.

◊ JLTT 500 (also giving variants *noma*, *nome).*

‖ Poppe 68. Despite Doerfer's (TMN 4, 194) criticism the Turk.-Tung. match appears quite satisfactory.

✱**nḗŋu** female relative (sister or brother's wife): Tung. ***neŋu-***; Mong. ***nagaču***; Turk. ***jeŋe***; Kor. ***nù'ɨi***.

PTung. ***neŋu-*** 1 sweetheart 2 younger (brother, sister) (1 возлюбленная 2 младший (сестра, брат)): Evn. *neŋńe* 1; Neg. *neŋuj* (L.-Amg.) 2; Man. *non* 2; SMan. *nun* 'younger sister; husband's younger sister; younger woman' (904,914); Jurch. *nexun* (*nexun-un*) 'younger sister' (291); Orch. *neŋu* 2; Ud. *neŋu* 2.

◊ TMC 1 618, 622. The Jurch. word may reflect a contamination with PTM **neku-* 'younger relative' (v. sub **nek'o).*

PMong. ***nagaču*** maternal relative (родственник со стороны матери): MMong. *naxačü(i)* 'uncle (mother's brother)' (HY 28); WMong. *naγaču* (L 556); Kh. *nagac*; Bur. *nagsa*, *nagasxaj*; Kalm. *naγəc* (KPC); Ord. *naGa*, *naGan*, *naGā*, *naGači*; Dag. *naučō*, *nagču* (Тод. Даг. 155), *naučі*, *naučō* (MD 195); S.-Yugh. *naGačə*; Mongr. *naGə̄* (SM 254), *naGai*.

◊ MGCD 497. Mong. > Manchu *nakču* (see Rozycki 161).

PTurk. ***jeŋe*** elder brother's wife (жена старшего брата): OTurk. *jeŋge* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jeŋge* (MK); Tur. *jeŋge*; Az. *jeŋgä*; Turkm. *jeŋŋe*; Sal. *jeŋGo*, *jeŋko*, *jaŋgu*; Khal. *neŋe*; MTurk. *jeŋge* (Pav. C.), *jinge* (AH); Uygh. *jeŋge*; Tat. *ǯiŋgɛ*; Bashk. *jeŋge*; Kirgh. *ǯeŋe*; Kaz. *žeŋge*; KKalp. *žeŋge*; Nogh. *jeŋge*; SUygh. *jeŋge*, *jiŋge*, *iŋge*; Khak. *nige*; Shr. *neŋe*; Oyr. *jeŋe*, *d́eŋe*; Tv. *čeŋge*; Yak. *saŋas*; Dolg. *haŋas*.

◊ EDT 950, VEWT 197-8, ЭСТЯ 4, 189-190, Лексика 313, Stachowski 96.

PKor. ***nù'ɨi*** (boy's) sister (сестра (мальчика)): MKor. *nù'ɨi*; Mod. *nui*.

◊ Nam 115, KED 358.

‖ EAS 76; TMN 4, 207 ("kaum annehmbar...Lallwort").

✱**nĕpˊé** to spread, cover: Tung. ***nep-te-***; Mong. ***nebseji-***; Turk. ***jap-***; Jpn. ***nəmpú- (~-ua-)***; Kor. ***nìp-***.

PTung. ***nep-te-*** 1 to spread out, make even 2 even, flat (1 расстилать, разглаживать 2 ровный, гладкий): Evk. *nepte-* 1, *nepteme* 2; Neg. *nepte-nepte* 2; Ul. *nepte-nepte* 2; Ork. *nette-* 1; Nan. *nepte-nepte* 2; Orch. *nepteŋge* 2; Ud. *neptele* 2

◊ TMC 1, 623-624.

PMong. ***nebseji-*** to be broad and long (e.g. of cloth) (быть широким и длинным (напр., о ткани)): WMong. *nebseji-* (L 567); Kh. *nevsij-*; Bur. *nebšɨ-*.

PTurk. ***jap-*** to cover; to close, shut (the door) (покрывать; закрывать (дверь)): Karakh. *jap-* (MK); Az. *jap-* (dial.); Turkm. *jap-*; MTurk. *jap-* (AH, Ettuhf., Бор. Бад.); Uzb. *jɔp-*; Uygh. *jap-*; Krm. *jap-*; Tat. *jap-*; Bashk. *jap-*; Kirgh. *ǰap-*; Kaz. *žap-*; KBalk. *ǰap-*, *žap-*, *zap-*; KKalp. *žap-*; Kum. *jap-*; Nogh. *jap-*; Khak. *čap-*; Shr. *čap-*; Oyr. *jap-*, *ďap-*; Tv. *šɨp-*; Yak. *sap-*; Dolg. *hap-*.

◊ VEWT 187, EDT 870-871; ЭСТЯ 4, 127-128 (with a careful distinction of **jap-* 'create, make' and **jap-* 'cover'), Stachowski 96-97. Derivates mean 'cloth, covering' (see Лексика 545).

PJpn. ***nəmpú- (~-ua-)*** to spread (расстилать): OJpn. *n(w)obu-*; MJpn. *nòbu-*; Tok. *nobé-*; Kyo. *nòbè-*; Kag. *nòbè-*.

◊ JLTT 736.

PKor. ***nìp-*** to put on (clothes) (надевать (одежду)): MKor. *nìp-*; Mod. *ip-*.

◊ Nam 126, KED 1364.

‖ TMC 1, 624. Verbal low tone in Korean.

✱**nepˊV(ÍV)** a k. of insect, butterfly: Tung. ***nelbige (?)***; Mong. ***naɣalinkaj***; Turk. ***japɨĺgak***; Kor. ***nàpǎi***.

PTung. ***nelbige*** bat (летучая мышь): Evk. *nelbiɣē*.

◊ TMC 1, 619. Attested only in Evk., but having possible external parallels.

PMong. ***naɣalinkaj*** dung fly, gad-fly (навозная муха): WMong. *naɣalinqai* (L 557); Kh. *nālinxaj*; Ord. *nāliŋxā̆*.

PTurk. ***japɨĺgak*** 1 small louse 2 nit 3 a k. of gad-fly 4 leech (1 маленькая вошь 2 гнида 3 вид овода 4 пиявка): Gag. *japɨšqan* 4; Turkm. *japɨšaq* 1; Tat. *jabɨšqaq* 2, 3; Bashk. *jäbeškɛk* 1, 2; Oyr. *japšɨq*, *ďapšɨq* 3.

◊ ЭСТЯ 4, 134.

PKor. ***nàpǎi*** butterfly (бабочка): MKor. *nàpǎi*; Mod. *nabi*.

◊ Nam 88, KED 291.

‖ A common derivative **nepʿV-ÍV* is reflected in PT **japɨĺ-(gak)*, PM **naɣali-(nkaj)* and probably Evk. *nelbiɣe* < **nepli-ge*. The root must have denoted a small flying insect, with a further development > 'small biting insect' in Turkic. It may well be that the initial consonant was *l- (since the only TM reflex is the isolated Evk. dialectal form *nelbiɣe*); cf. perhaps also a wider spread Evk. name of the caterpillar - *lepurēgdi*, *lepčerēgdi* (TMC 518), although it is usually derived from PTM **lepu-* 'fluffy'.

✱**nèra** thin, flat: Tung. ***ner- / *nar-**; Mong. ***nari-n**; Turk. ***jAr-**; Jpn. ***nàràs-**; Kor. ***jərp- (< *njər-p- ?)**.

PTung. ***ner- / *nar-** 1 lean 2 thin 3 weak (1 худой 2 тонкий 3 слабый): Evk. *ńurkūn* 1, 2; Man. *ńere* 2, 3, *nar-χun* 2; SMan. *narəhun* 'fine, thin, exact'(2408); Jurch. *nar-gi* 'narrow' (670).

◊ TMC 1, 585-586, 649, 654-655. Doerfer TMN 1, 515, MT 138, Rozycki 161 regard Man. *narxun* as borrowed < Mong. (cf. Mong. *nari-qan* 'rather fine, thin, slender'), which is somewhat dubious, but not entirely excluded.

PMong. ***nari-n** thin (тонкий): MMong. *narin* (SH, MA), *narən* (IM) , *nārīn* (LH); WMong. *narin* (L 566); Kh. *narīn*; Bur. *narin*; Kalm. *närṇ*; Ord. *narīn*; Mog. *nōrin* (Ramstedt 1906); Dag. *narin* (Тод. Даг. 156), *narien* (MD 195); Dong. *narunni*; Bao. *naroŋ*; S.-Yugh. *narən*; Mongr. *narin* (SM 258), *narəŋ*.

◊ KW 273, MGCD 501, TMN 1, 513. Mong. > Chag. *narin* (see TMN 1, 515).

PTurk. ***jAr-** 1 thin, lean 2 poor 3 flat (1 тонкий, тощий 2 бедный 3 плоский): OTurk. *jarlɨɣ* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *jarlɨɣ* 2 (MK); Turkm. *jarlɨ* 2 (dial.); MTurk. *jarlɨɣ* 2 (R., Bud.); Krm. *jarlɨ* 2; Tat. *jarlɨ* 2; Bashk. *jarlɨ* 2; Kirgh. *ǯarō* 1, *ǯardɨ*, *ǯarlɨ*, *ǯarɨlɨ* 2; Kaz. *žara-* 1, *žar(ɨ)lɨ* 2; KBalk. *žarlɨ*, *zarlɨ* 2; KKalp. *žarlɨ* 2; Kum. *jarlɨ* 2; Nogh. *jarlɨ-* 2; Oyr. *jartɨčaq* 3; Tv. *čarɨɣ-da-* 1.

◊ EDT 967, VEWT 189, 190, ЭСТЯ 4, 143, Лексика 334-335. The most widely spread form, attested since Old Uyghur, is **jAr-lɨ(g)* 'poor'; the evidence of Oyr., Tuva, Kirgh. and Kaz., however, suggests the existence of a primary stem **jAr(ɨ)-* 'thin, lean'. Turk. > Hung. *gyarló* 'sinful' (< **jarlɨɣ*), see Gombocz 1912.

PJpn. ***nàràs-** to make even, flat (выравнивать, сглаживать): OJpn. *naras-*; MJpn. *nàràs-*; Tok. *narás-*; Kyo. *nàràs-*; Kag. *nàràs-*.

◊ JLTT 732. Kyoto points to **nàrás-*, but RJ and Kagoshima rather to **nàràs-*.

PKor. ***jərp-** thin (тонкий): MKor. *jərp-*; Mod. *jəlp-*, *jālp-*.

◊ Nam 376, KED 1182.

‖ If the Korean form is related here, it must be one of the irregular cases of *n- lost in front of -j-, -i- already in Middle Korean; however, since the -jə- diphthong is also not quite regular, the Korean match is rather questionable.

✱**nèra (~ -ŕ-)** a k. of big tree: Tung. ***ner- (~ ń-)**; Mong. ***nara-su**; Jpn. ***nàrà**.

PTung. ***ner- (~ ń-)** larch (лиственница): Evn. *ńermi*.

◊ TMC 1, 654. Attested only in Evn., with possible external parallels.

PMong. ***nara-su** pine tree (сосна): MMong. *narasun* (HY 6); WMong. *nara-su(n)* (L 565); Kh. *nars*; Bur. *narha(n)*; Kalm. *narsan* (СЯОС); Ord. *narasu*; Dag. *nars*, *narsu* (Тод. Даг. 156), *narese* 'cypress, cedar' (MD 195).

◊ MGCD 501. Mong. *nara-t* (pl.) > Chuv. *narat*, see Róna-Tas 1973-1974.

PJpn. ***nàrà** a k. of oak (вид дуба): OJpn. *nara*; MJpn. *nàrà*; Tok. *nára*; Kyo. *nárà*; Kag. *nára*.

◊ JLTT 493. Accent in Tokyo and Kagoshima is aberrant.

‖ The Mong.-Jpn. match appears certain; the Even parallel is isolated and less reliable.

✱**nḗre** name; announcement, order: Mong. ***nere**; Turk. ***jạr-**; Jpn. ***nə́r-**; Kor. ***(n)ìr(h)-**.

PMong. ***nere** name (имя): MMong. *nere* (SH, HYt), *nirin* (IM), *nirǎ* (MA); WMong. *nere* (L 575); Kh. *ner*; Bur. *nere*; Kalm. *nerə*; Ord. *nere*; Mog. *nerä*; *nirä* (15-3a); Dag. *ner* (Тод. Даг. 157), *nere* (MD 198); Dong. *niere*; Bao. *nere* (Тод. Бн.), *nare*; S.-Yugh. *nere*; Mongr. *nere* (SM 273).

◊ KW 275, MGCD 506.

PTurk. ***jạr-** 1 order 2 announcement, call 3 judge 4 law, justice (1 приказ 2 объявление, клич 3 судья 4 закон, правосудие): OTurk. *jar-lɨɣ* 1,2 (OUygh.), *jarɣan* 3; Karakh. *jar-lɨɣ* 1,2 (MK); Tur. *jar*, *ǯar* 2 (dial.); Az. *ǯar* 2 (dial.); Turkm. *jarlɨq* 1, dial. *ǯar* 2; MTurk. *jar* 2 (Abush.), *jar-lɨɣ* 1,2 (Abush., Pav. C.); Uzb. *jarɣu* 4, dial. *ǯar* 2; Uygh. *ǯar* 2; Tat. *jar* 2, *jarlɨq* 1; Kirgh. *ǯar* 2; Kaz. *žar* 2; KKalp. *žar* 2; Oyr. *ďar* 2; Tv. *čar* 2; Chuv. *śɨrlъx* 1.

◊ VEWT 188-9, EDT 966-7, ЭСТЯ 4, 18-20 (one can hardly agree with Clauson that *jarlɨɣ* is a loan from an unknown source). Mong. loans from Turk. are widely spread: Mong. *ǯar* 'announcement', *ǯarqu*, *ǯarɣu* 'judgement, court', *ǯarliq* 'order', *ǯarɣuči* 'judge' (see TMN 1, 278, 4, 58-66, 157, Щербак 1997, 123).

PJpn. ***nə́r-** to announce, order (возвещать, приказывать): OJpn. *nor-*; MJpn. *nór-*.

◊ JLTT 737.

PKor. ***(n)ìr(h)-** 1 name 2 say, tell (1 имя 2 сказать): MKor. *ìrhúm* 1, *nìrǎ-*, *nìr'ó-* 2; Mod. *irɨm* 1, *irɨ-* 2.

◊ Nam 406, 120, 124, KED 1326, 1327. The noun seems to be clearly *deverbal*, but is attested only without the initial *n-.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 37, 72, 294. Closed -ạ- in Turk. is not quite clear.

✱**néro** to fly; to rise: Tung. ***nere-**; Mong. ***narba-**; Turk. ***jAr-man-**; Jpn. ***nə́r-**; Kor. ***nǎr-**.

PTung. ***nere-** to flap (wings) (порхать, махать крыльями): Evk. *nere-nŋe-*; Evn. *nerъk-*.

◊ TMC 1, 625.

PMong. ***narba-** to flap, flutter, sway (махать, развеваться): Bur. *narba-*; Kalm. *narməlʒə-* (KPC).

PTurk. ***jAr-man-** to climb up (залезать): OTurk. *jarma-*, *jarman-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jarman-* (MK); Turkm. *jarmaš-*; Khal. *jarmalaq* 'seesaw for children'; MTurk. *jarman-* (Sangl.); Tat. *jarpa-* 'to put on airs'; Kirgh. *jarmaš-*; Kaz. *žarmas-* 'to cling to'; KKalp. *žarmas-* 'to cling to'; Khak. *čarban-*; Shr. *čarban-*; Oyr. *jarman-* (Верб.).

◊ VEWT 190, EDT 969.

PJpn. ***nə́r-** 1 to rise 2 to ride (1 подниматься 2 ехать верхом): OJpn. *nor-* 1, 2; MJpn. *nór-* 1, 2; Tok. *nòr-* 1; Kyo. *nór-* 1; Kag. *nór-* 1.

◊ JLTT 737.

PKor. ***nǎr-** to fly (лететь): MKor. *nǎr-*; Mod. *nal-*.

◊ Nam 96, KED 302.

‖ SKE 159, TMC 1,625 (Tung.-Kor.), Martin 240, АПиПЯЯ 296. In Kor. cf. also *nǎr-kái* 'wing' (with change of tone?), mod. *nari-da* 'to transport'. The Turk. and Jpn. forms can be alternatively compared with MKor. *nīr-* 'to stand up, rise'.

✱**nèse (~ -o)** flat, to flatten: Tung. ***nese-**; Jpn. ***nə̀s-**.

PTung. ***nese-** to straighten, make level, flat (выравнивать, выпрямлять): Evn. *nesēn-*, *nehēn-*; Neg. *neskī-*; Ul. *nese-*; Ork. *nese* 'ground surface'; Nan. *nesi-*.

◊ TMC 1, 625-626.

PJpn. ***nə̀s-** 1 a k. of small flat-iron 2 to stretch, flatten (1 вид маленького утюга 2 растягивать, разглаживать, утюжить): OJpn. *n(w)osi* 1; MJpn. *nòsì* 1; Tok. *nós-* 2, *noshí* 1; Kyo. *nós-* 2, *nóshì* 1; Kag. *nós-*, *nòs-* 2, *noshí* 1.

◊ JLTT 501, 737. Verbal accent (*nós-* in Kyoto and the variant *nós-* in Kagoshima) is not quite clear.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss; on a possible Turk. reflex see under **dasi.*

✱**nìbi (~ -e)** to smoke, to smell: Tung. ***nibu(p)-**; Mong. ***neɣü-**; Jpn. ***nìpə̀-p-**; Kor. ***nǎ́i**.

PTung. ***nibu(p)-** to smoke (дымить(ся), коптить(ся)): Evk. *nuw-*; Neg. *nūp-*; Ul. *ńiup-ti-*; Ork. *nū-či-*; Nan. *ńup-či-*; Orch. *ńu-či-*; Ud. *ńusesi-*.

◊ TMC 1, 607-608.

PMong. ***neɣü-** 1 to curl (of smoke) 2 charcoal (1 виться (о дыме) 2 уголь): MMong. *ne'uresun* 2 (HY 22), *nūrson* (IM); WMong. *negür-sü* 2

(L 569: *neγüresü(n)*); Kh. *nṻ-gelte-* 1, *nṻrs* 2; Bur. *nṻrhe(n)* 2; Kalm. *nṻrsen* 2 (KPC); Ord. *nṻresü*, *nṻres* 2; Dag. *neurese* 2 (MD 198).

◊ The Mong. word for 'coal' (MMong. *ne'üre-sün*) is compared by Poppe 38 with Man. *nemu* 'ore', *nemuri* 'coal mine' (TMC 1, 621) < **nebu-* (?).

PJpn. ***nìpə̀-p-*** to smell (пахнуть): OJpn. *nipop-*; MJpn. *nìfò̀f-*; Tok. *nió-*; Kyo. *nío-*; Kag. *nìò-*.

◊ JLTT 736.

PKor. ***nǎi*** smoke (дым): MKor. *nǎi*; Mod. *nä*.

◊ Nam 102, KED 315.

‖ EAS 77, SKE 158 (Tung.-Kor.), АПиПЯЯ 297. Kor. -ă- is most probably a result of vowel contraction after the loss of *-b-.

✱**nibĺa** clay, to smear: Tung. ***ńiblü-***; Turk. ***joĺa***; Jpn. ***nasur-***.

PTung. ***ńiblü-*** to paint, smear (красить, мазать): Neg. *ńija-*, *ńīlı̄-*; Man. *ju-*; Ul. *ńili-*; Ork. *ńilitči-*; Nan. *ńiule-*; Ud. *jeule-*.

◊ TMC 1, 638.

PTurk. ***joĺa*** red clay (красная глина): Tur. *joša* (SDD); MTurk. *juša* (MA); Kirgh. *ǯošo*; Oyr. *jožo*; Yak. *soho*.

◊ VEWT 128, ЭСТЯ 4, 31. Turk. > MMong. (MA) *ǯuša*, WMong. *ǯosa* 'red clay, red earth' (rather than vice versa, despite VEWT 128 - although forms with -s- like Kaz., KKalp. *žosa* are reborrowed from Mong.).

PJpn. ***nasur-*** to smear, rub (мазать, тереть): Tok. *nasúr-*; Kyo. *násúr-*; Kag. *nasúr-*.

◊ JLTT 733. PJ accent is unclear.

‖ The vowel *-o- in Turkic is probably due to the medial cluster (**joĺa* < **jıbĺa*).

✱**nı́bŕo** face, resemblance: Mong. ***niγur***; Turk. ***jṻŕ***; Jpn. ***nər-***.

PMong. ***niγur*** face (лицо): MMong. *ni'ur* (HY 45, SH), *nojur* (IM), *niur* (MA); WMong. *niγur* (L 580); Kh. *nṻr*; Bur. *ńūr*, *nṻr*; Kalm. *nṻr*; Ord. *nṻr*; Mog. *nṻr*; Dong. *niu* (MGCD nu); Bao. *nōr* (MGCD nor, *nur*); S.-Yugh. *nṻr*, *nȫr*; Mongr. *nṻr* (SM 280) (MGCD *niur*).

◊ KW 283, MGCD 520, 563.

PTurk. ***jṻŕ*** face (лицо): OTurk. *jüz* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *jüz* (MK); Tur. *jüz*; Gag. *jüz*, *üz*; Az. *üz*; Turkm. *jüz*; Sal. *jüz*, *jiz*; Khal. *jīz*; MTurk. *jüz* (MA, AH, Ettuhf.); Uygh. *jüz*; Krm. *jüz*, *juź*, *jiz*, iz; Tat. *jöz*; Bashk. *jöδ*; Kirgh. *ǯüz*; Kaz. *žüz*; KKalp. *žüz*; Kum. *jüz*; Nogh. *jüz*; SUygh. *jüz*; Khak. *čüs*; Oyr. *jüs*, *ḱüs*; Chuv. *śъ^{w}var* 'mouth'; Yak. *sṻs* 'forehead'; Dolg. *hṻs* 'forehead'.

◊ VEWT 213-4, ЭСТЯ 4, 259-260, Лексика 206, Мудрак Дисс. 154, Stachowski 117. Khalaj *jīz* = Yak. *sṻs* prove that Turkm. *jüz* is secondary. Turk. > MMong. (MA) *jüz* 'surface' (Щербак 1997, 196).

PJpn. ***nər-*** to resemble (быть похожим): OJpn. *n(w)or-*.

‖ VEWT 214. *-ṻ- in Turk. is due to contraction.

✱**nǐkV (~ -i̯ā-)** duck: Tung. ***nīKū̃**; Mong. ***nigu-sun**.

PTung. ***nīKū̃** 1 duck 2 bird (1 утка 2 птица): Evk. *nīkī*, -čēn 1; Evn. *ńieki*, *nīki*; Man. *ńexe* 1; SMan. *īxə* 1 (2201); Jurch. *mie-xe* (591) 1; Ork. *nēčē* / *ńēče* 2; Nan. *ńice(n)* 2; Ud. *ńuɣešiɣe* 'duckling'; Sol. *nīxī* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 590-591.

PMong. ***nigu-su** duck (утка): MMong. *noqosun* (HY 14), *noqosu* (SH), *nuɣasun* (MA 261b), *nūqāsūn* (LH), *nūqāsūn* (Lig.VMI); WMong. *niɣusu*, *niɣul* (L 595: *nuɣusu(n)*); Kh. *nugas*; Bur. *nugaha(n)*; Kalm. *nuɣəsn̥*; Ord. *nuGus*, *nuGusu*; Dag. *nogese*, *nause*, *nuagese* (MD 195, 200).

◊ KW 281.

‖ KW 281, Poppe 1974, 121, АПиПЯЯ 293. A Tung.-Mong. isogloss. The TM form can hardly be regarded as a mongolism, therefore (despite Poppe 1966, 31) this root should be carefully distinguished from TM **ńuŋńakī* 'goose' (= Karakh. *juɣaq* id.). Mong. has parallel forms *niɣusun* and *noɣusun* - possibly resulting from contamination.

✱**nìkʿé** to become sour, ripen: Tung. ***ńeK- ~ *niK-**; Mong. ***negsi-**; Jpn. ***nìnkà-**; Kor. ***nìk-**.

PTung. ***ńeK- ~ *niK-** to rot, become sour (of food) (прокисать (о пище), делаться противным на вкус): Man. *ńekde-*.

◊ TMC 1, 651. Attested only in Manchu, but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***negsi-** to rot, become sour (of food) (гнить, скисать (о пище)): WMong. *nigsi-* (MXTTT); Kh. *negše-*.

PJpn. ***nìnkà-** bitter, sour (горький, кислый): MJpn. *nìgà-*; Tok. *nigá-*; Kyo. *nígà-*; Kag. *nigá-*.

◊ JLTT 837.

PKor. ***nìk-** to be boiled, ripen (свариваться, созревать): MKor. *nìk-*; Mod. *ik-*.

◊ Nam 124, KED 1339.

‖ TMC 1, 651 (Mong.-Tung.). Verbal low tone in Kor.

✱**nǐkʿe (~ -i̯ā-)** servant: Tung. ***nīka-**; Mong. ***nek-**.

PTung. ***nīka-** 1 relative 2 servant, slave 3 Chinese 4 ordinary man, people (1 родственник 2 слуга, раб 3 китаец 4 мужик, деревенщина): Evk. *ńīkī* (Nerch.) 1; Neg. *nḭkan* 3, (arch.) 2; Man. *niqan* 3, 4; Ul. *ńiqa(n)* 2, 3 (arch.); Ork. *ńaqqa(n)* 2; Nan. *ńiq̃a* 3; Orch. *ńiŋka* 3, (arch.) 2; Ud. *niŋka* 3, (arch.) 2; Sol. *nixã* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 590, 637.

PMong. ***nek-** servant(s) (слуга, слуги): MMong. *nekun* (HY 31, SH).

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss. Cf. **ńi̯ȍge*, **nekʿV*.

✱**nǐkʿú** to grind, crunch; knead: Tung. ***ńi]Ki-**; Mong. ***niku-**; Turk. ***jɨk-**; Jpn. ***nǝ̀nkǝ̀-p- / *nùnkù-p-**; Kor. ***nìkì-**.

PTung. ***ńi]Ki-** 1 to gnaw, crunch 2 to swallow 3 to destroy, demolish (1 грызть, разгрызать 2 проглотить 3 разрушать(ся)): Evk. *ńeki-* 1; Man. *niqča-* 3; Nan. *ńikike-* 2 (Kur.-Urm.).

◊ TMC 1, 591, 637, 651.

PMong. ***niku-** to grind, rub, knead (размалывать, растирать, месить): MMong. *nuqu-* (MA 316); WMong. *niqu-*, *nuqu-* (L 586); Kh. *nuxa-*; Bur. *ńuxa-*; Kalm. *nuxǝ-*; Ord. *nuxu-*; Mog. *nuqu-*; ZM *noqu* (8-2a); Dag. *nogu-*; Bao. *noGǝ-*; Mongr. *nuGu-* (SM 288).

◊ KW 281, MGCD 519. Mong. > Man. *ńoxu-* etc., see Doerfer MT 80, Rozycki 163.

PTurk. ***jɨk-** to crush, grind; overthrow (разрушать, размалывать; свалить): OTurk. *jɨq-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jɨq-* (MK); Tur. *jɨk-*; Gag. *jɨq-*; Az. *jɨx-*; Turkm. *jɨq-*; Khal. *juq-*; MTurk. *jɨq-* (MA, Ettuhf.); Uzb. *jiq-*; Uygh. *jiq-*; Krm. *jɨq-*, *jɨx-*; Tat. *jɨq-*; Bashk. *jɨq-*; Kirgh. *ǯɨq-*; Kaz. *žɨq-*; KKalp. *žɨq-*; Kum. *jɨq-*, *jɨx-*; Nogh. *jɨq-*; Khak. *juq-*; Oyr. *jɨq-*, *ďɨq-*; Chuv. *śъx-* (dial.).

◊ VEWT 200, EDT 897, ЭСТЯ 4, 273-274.

PJpn. ***nǝ̀nkǝ̀-p- / *nùnkù-p-** to rub, wipe (off) (стирать, смахивать): OJpn. *nogop-*; MJpn. *nògòf-*; Tok. *nugú-*; Kyo. *núgú-*; Kag. *nùgù-*.

◊ JLTT 738.

PKor. ***nìkì-** to knead, mix (месить, смешивать): MKor. *nìkì-*; Mod. *igi-*.

◊ Nam 119, KED 1319.

‖ Poppe 39, Дыбо 1995b.

✱**nilko (~ -u)** old, grown-up: Turk. ***jɨlkɨ**; Kor. ***nɨrk-**.

PTurk. ***jɨlkɨ** age; aged (grown-up) animal (возраст; взрослое животное): OTurk. *jɨlqɨ* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *jɨlqɨ* (MK); Az. *ilxɨ*, *ɨlxɨ* (dial.); Turkm. *jɨlqɨ*; MTurk. *jɨlqɨ* (AH, Ettuhf.), *ɨlqɨ* (Бор. Бад., Abush.); Uzb. *jilqi*; Uygh. *ǯi(l)qa*, *žilqi*; Krm. *jɨlqɨ*; Tat. *jɨlqɨ*; Bashk. *jɨlqɨ*; Kirgh. *ǯɨlqɨ*; Kaz. *žɨlqɨ*; KBalk. *ǯɨlqɨ*, *zɨlqɨ*; KKalp. *žɨlqɨ*; Kum. *jɨlqɨ*, *jilqɨ*; Nogh. *jɨlqɨ*; Khak. *čɨlγɨ*; Shr. *čɨlγɨ*; Oyr. *ďɨlqɨ*; Tv. *čɨlγɨ*; Yak. *sɨlγɨ*.

◊ EDT 925-926, ЭСТЯ 4, 281-282, Лексика 444.

PKor. ***nɨrk-** old (старый): MKor. *nɨrk-*; Mod. *nɨk-* [*nɨrk*].

◊ Nam 118, KED 373.

‖ A Turk.-Kor. isogloss; cf. also Kor. *nɨ(l)ktari* 'old beast' (see SKE 171). The parallel is striking, but one should keep in mind that the stem may be actually derived from **nàjĺV* 'age', with additional influence of **jɨl* 'year' in Turkic.

✱**nĭmči(-kʿV)** fat in the intestines, fat food, roe: Tung. ***nim(u)kse**; Mong. ***nimʒi-ge, *nümʒi-ge**; Turk. ***(j)inčgek**.

PTung. ***nim(u)kse** 1 stomach (of animals) 2 intestine fat (1 желудок животного, содержимое желудка 2 кишечный жир, животное сало): Evk. *nimne* 1; Evn. *nimne* 2; Neg. *nimtumu* 'smell of fat'; Man. *nimeŋgi* 2; SMan. *nimənə* 'grease, fat; vegetable oil' (340); Ork. *numiśe* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 314, 594, 595.

PMong. ***nimʒi-ge, *nümʒi-ge** sheep fat (бараний жир): WMong. *nümʒige* (L 597); Kh. *nünʒig*, *nümʒig*; Bur. *nemžege(n)*, *ünžege(n)*.

PTurk. ***(j)inčgek** milt, roe (икра): Tat. *inči*, *jincɛ* (Sib.); Yak. *iskex*; Dolg. *istek*.

◊ VEWT 172, 203, Лексика 151, Stachowski 129.

‖ Лексика 151. A Western isogloss.

✱**nīme** top of head: Tung. ***nīme-kte**; Turk. ***jem-kek**; Jpn. ***mínái**; Kor. ***nìmáh**.

PTung. ***nīme-kte** skin on young horns (кожица на молодых рогах): Evk. *nīmekte*; Evn. *ńiemъt*; Neg. *mīmekte*; Ud. *ńimakta*.

◊ TMC 1, 596.

PTurk. ***jem-kek** 1 sinciput 2 fontanelle (1 темя 2 родничок): Karakh. *ümgük* 2 (MK); Tur. *imik* 1; Gag. *imik* 'brain'; Az. *ämgäk* 2; MTurk. (MKypch.) *jimük* (AH) 1; Tat. *jümök* (Bar.) 1; Kirgh. *emgek* 2; Kaz. *eŋbek* 2; KKalp. *eŋbek* 2; Khak. *ēmek* (dial.) 1; Shr. *näbäk* (R) 1; Oyr. *emgek* (R - Tel.), *jömök* (R - Oyr.) 2, (Tuba) *nömek* 1; Tv. *čövek* 1; Chuv. *śamga* 'forehead'.

◊ VEWT 42, 208, 171, 521, ЭСТЯ 1, 352, Егоров 202, Лексика 201-202. Chuv. > Bashk. *suŋqa* 'hump of the occipital bone'.

PJpn. ***mínái** mountain top (вершина горы): OJpn. *mjine*; MJpn. *míné*; Tok. *mìne*; Kyo. *míné*; Kag. *míne*.

◊ JLTT 480.

PKor. ***nìmáh** forehead (лоб): MKor. *nìmá* (*nìmáh-*); Mod. *ima*.

◊ Nam 121, KED 1328.

‖ Лексика 202, Дыбо 1995b. Tone in Kor.-Jpn. is irregular. In Jpn. one has to assume metathesis (**míná-* < **nímá-*), quite probable in a root with two nasals.

✱**nìŋi** burden, load: Tung. ***niŋu-**; Jpn. ***nì**; Kor. ***ni(ŋ)-**.

PTung. ***niŋu-** 1 to prop, support 2 support, prop (1 подпирать, опираться 2 опора): Evn. *nīnut-*, *nīnen-* 1, *nīnun* 2; Man. *neŋge-bu-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 597-598.

PJpn. ***nì** burden, load (ноша, груз): OJpn. *ni*; MJpn. *nì*; Tok. *ní*; Kyo. *nì*; Kag. *nì*.

◊ JLTT 496. A reconstruction **nə̀-i* is also not excluded - if the same root may be recovered in OJ *no-sakji* 'first crop of the year, sent as tribute to the court'; the derivation is, however, not entirely convincing.

PKor. ***ni-** to carry on the head (нести на голове): MKor. *ni-*; Mod. *i-*.

◊ Liu 169, KED 1321.

‖ Martin 227. An Eastern isogloss.

✱**nǐra** spine: Tung. ***niri-**; Mong. ***niruɣu**; Turk. ***jɨr-**; Jpn. ***nà(n)tùki**.

PTung. ***niri-** spine, spine vertebra (позвоночник, хребет, позвонки): Evk. *niri*; Evn. *ńịrị*; Neg. *nịjịkta*; Ul. *ńịrịqta*; Ork. *ńịrịkta*; Nan. *ńịrịqta*; Orch. *ńīkta*; Ud. *ńīkta*; Sol. *nērde*.

◊ TMC 1, 639-640.

PMong. ***niruɣu** spine, vertebra, marrow (позвоночник, позвонки, костный мозг): MMong. *niru'u(n)*, *niri'un* (SH), *nirisun* 'spine' (HY 47), *nīrɣon* (IM), *nīrɣūn* (Lig.VMI), *nirun* (MA); WMong. *niruɣu(n)* (L 585); Kh. *nurū*; Bur. *ńurga(n)*, *ńurū*; Kalm. *nurɣən*; Ord. *nurū* 'back, spine'; Dag. *nirō* (Тод. Даг. 158); Dong. *nurun*; S.-Yugh. *nurūn*; Mongr. *nuru* (SM 291), *nurə*.

◊ KW 281, MGCD 519, TMN 1, 530.

PTurk. ***jɨr-** left, North (левый, Север): OTurk. *jɨr-ɣaru* (Orkh.), *ir-*, *jir-* (OUygh.).

◊ VEWT 201, EDT 954, 959, 973. The comparison is possible if we suppose a usual development 'North' < 'back'.

PJpn. ***nà(n)tùki** brain, marrow (мозг, костный мозг): OJpn. *nadukji*; MJpn. *nàdùki*.

◊ JLTT 494.

‖ EAS 76-77, KW 281, Poppe 39, 116, Колесникова 1972a, 88-89, Дыбо 306. Despite Doerfer MT 114, evidently not a loan in TM from Mong.

✱**níre (~ -ŕ-, -o)** a k. of foliage tree, elm: Tung. ***nir-**; Jpn. ***nírai**; Kor. ***nɨrɨ́p**.

PTung. ***nir- (~ ń-)** 1 a k. of poplar 2 brushwood (1 тополь-черно-тал 2 хворост): Evn. *ńirāwi* 1, *ńịrgụqị* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 639. Attested only in Evn., with probable parallels in Kor. and Jpn.

PJpn. ***nírai** elm (вяз): OJpn. *nire*; MJpn. *níre*; Tok. *nìre*; Kyo. *nírè*; Kag. *nírè*.

◊ JLTT 498. All sources point to a high tone on the 1st syllable.

PKor. ***nɨrɨ́p** elm (вяз): MKor. *nɨrɨ́p*; Mod. *nɨrɨp*.

◊ Nam 118, KED 366.

‖ An Eastern isogloss.

✱**nìtʿá** weak, quiet: Tung. ***nita-**; Mong. ***nete-**; Turk. ***jit-**; Jpn. ***nàntà- / *nəntə́-**; Kor. ***njəth-**.

PTung. ***nita-** 1 weak, faded 2 to weaken, diminish (1 слабый, бледный 2 уменьшаться, ослабевать): Man. *nitan* 1, *nitara-* 2; Jurch. *ni-ta-ba* (463) 1.

◊ TMC 1, 601.

PMong. ***nete-** to become still worse, deteriorate (ухудшаться): WMong. *nete-re-* (MXTTT); Kh. *netre-*; Bur. *neter-* 'become thin, attenuate; to be in arrears of work'.

PTurk. ***jit-** to be lost (теряться, пропадать): OTurk. *jit-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *jit-* (MK); Tur. *jit-*; Az. *it-*; Turkm. *jit-*; MTurk. *jit-* (Pav. C., AH, Ettuhf.); Uzb. *jit-*; Uygh. *jit-*, *jüt-*; Krm. *jɨt-*; Kirgh. *ǯit-*; Kaz. *žit-*; KKalp. *žit-*; Khak. *čət-*; Tv. *čit-*; Chuv. *śət-*; Yak. *süt-*; Dolg. *hüt-*.

◊ EDT 885, VEWT 204, ЭСТЯ 4, 204-205, Stachowski 116.

PJpn. ***nàntà- / *nəntə́-** 1 to quieten, keep quiet 2 quiet, peaceful (1 успокаивать 2 тихий, спокойный): OJpn. *nadama-* 1, *nodo* 2; MJpn. *nàdàma-*, *nodoma-* 1, *nodoka* 2; Tok. *nadamé-* 1, *nadáraka*, *nódoka* 2; Kyo. *nádámé-* 1, *nádáráká*, *nòdókà* 2; Kag. *nàdàmè-* 1, *nadaraká*, *nodoká* 2.

◊ JLTT 730.

PKor. ***njəth-** shallow, superficial, light (мелкий, поверхностный, легкий): MKor. *njəth-*; Mod. *jət-* [*jəth-*], *jat-* [*jath-*].

◊ Nam 109, KED 1120, 1189.

‖ A common derivative **nìtʿá-rV-* is reflected in PM **nete-re-* = Man. *nita-ra-* = PJ **nàntà-ra-(ka)*.

✱**nìtʿà** sharp weapon, a k. of knife: Mong. ***nitula-**; Turk. ***jiti**; Jpn. ***nátá**; Kor. ***nát**.

PMong. ***nitula-** to slaughter (cattle) (резать (скот)): MMong. *nitul-* 'to cut off' (SH); WMong. *nitula-* (L 586); Kh. *ńadla-*, *ńatla-*; Ord. *nutul-*.

◊ Cf. also *nitu-* 'to perish' (L 586).

PTurk. ***jiti** sharp (острый): OTurk. *jiti* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jitig* (MK, KB); Tur. *iti-* (v.); Az. *iti*; Turkm. *jiti*; Khal. *jitti*; MTurk. *iti* (AH, Ettuhf.), *itik* (Pav. C.), *iti-* v. (Pav. C.); Uygh. *ištik*; Krm. *jiti*, *iti*; Tat. *ǯete*; Kaz. *žiti*; KBalk. *žütü*; Kum. *itti*; Khak. *čətəg*; Shr. *čidig*; Tv. *čidig*, *čidi-* (v.); Chuv. *śivǯə* (?); Yak. *sɨtī*; Dolg. *hɨtī*.

◊ EDT 889, ЭСТЯ 4, 205-206, Stachowski 121. Cf. also Tur. *jat* 'weapon', *jataɣan* 'a k. of sword' (VEWT 192, TMN 4, 52).

PJpn. ***nátá** hatchet (топорик): Tok. *nàta*, *natá*; Kyo. *nátá*; Kag. *nátà*.

◊ JLTT 494.

PKor. ***nát** sickle (серп): MKor. *nát*; Mod. *nat* [*nas*].

◊ Nam 94, KED 311.

‖ See SKE 162 (Kor-Jpn.). The Jpn. word is not attested in OJ and MJ texts and may well be borrowed from Korean - which would also explain the irregular high tone.

✸**ni̯ā̀** eye: Tung. ***ńia-sa**; Mong. ***nidü**; Turk. ***jāĺ 'tear'**; Jpn. ***mài(N), *mì-**; Kor. ***nún**.

PTung. ***ńia-sa** eye (глаз): Evk. *ê̂sa*; Evn. *ā̃sъ̣l*; Neg. *ê̂sa*; Man. *jasa*; SMan. *jasə* (10); Jurch. *ŋia-ĉi* (496); Ul. *ịsal(ị)*; Ork. *isal*; Nan. *nasal*, dial. *ńisal(a)*, *ịsal*, *ŋasar*; Orch. *isa*; Ud. *jehä*; Sol. *īsal*.

◊ TMC 1, 291-292. The Nan. and Jurch. forms unmistakeably point to an initial nasal, lost in other languages in the exceptional position before the diphthong *iā. Other traces of initial nasal can be seen in: Man. *ńońo* 'pupil of the eye', Neg. *ńuińaki* 'eyebrow', Evn. *ńō̃ŋeti* 'one-eyed' (pointing perhaps to a derivative **ńiā-ŋu-* with later assimilations > **ńūŋu- ~ *ńūńu-).*

PMong. ***nidü** eye (глаз): MMong. *nidun* (HY 45, SH), *neidun* (IM), *nidun* (MA); WMong. *nidü(n)* (L 578); Kh. *nüd*; Bur. *ńüde(n)*; Kalm. *nüdṇ*; Ord. *nüdü(n)*; Mog. *nüdün*; ZM *nodun* (2-3a); Dag. *nide* (MD 199, Тод. Даг. 157), *nid* (Тод. Даг. 157); Dong. *nuduŋ*, -n; Bao. *nedoŋ*; S.-Yugh. *nudun*; Mongr. *nudu* (SM 287).

◊ KW 282, MGCD 520.

PTurk. ***jāĺ** tear (слеза): OTurk. *jaš* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jaš* (MK); Tur. *jaš*; Az. *jaš*; Turkm. *jāš*; Sal. *jaš*; Khal. *jāš*; MTurk. *jaš* (АН, Бор. Бад.); Uzb. *jɔš*; Uygh. *jaš*; Krm. *jaš*; Tat. *jɛš*; Bashk. *jäš*; Kirgh. *ǯaš*; Kaz. *žas*; KKalp. *žas*; Kum. *jaš*; Nogh. *jas*; SUygh. *jas*; Khak. *čas*; Oyr. *ḋaš*; Tv. *čaš*; Chuv. *koś-śol*.

◊ VEWT 192, EDT 975-976, Ашм. VII, 32, ЭСТЯ 4, 161-163 (because of external evidence should be distinguished both from *jāl' 'age' and *jāl' 'fresh, green').

PJpn. ***mài(N), *mì-** 1 eye 2 to see (1 глаз 2 видеть): OJpn. me 1, *mji-* 2; MJpn. *mè* 1, *mì-* 2; Tok. *mé* 1, *mí-* 2; Kyo. *mèe* 1, *mì-* 2; Kag. *mé* 1, *mí-* 2.

◊ JLTT 474, 724. Nasal -N can be reconstructed on the basis of Hateruma (Ryukyu) *mìŃ* - although one cannot exclude that this is a later addition.

PKor. ***nún** eye (глаз): MKor. *nún*; Mod. *nun*.

◊ Nam 115, KED 359.

‖ EAS 77, Poppe 39, Menges 1984, 281, Street 1980, 300-301, АПиПЯЯ 30-31, 78, 87, 275. For the Turkic form cf. Mong. **ni-l-mu-sun* (KW 281; Владимирцов 146), TM **(i)ńa-mū-*, MKor. *nún-mɨ́r*, PJ **na-mi(n)tV* 'tear' < PAlt. **ńi̯ā(ĺ)-mi̯ūri* 'water of the eye'. PT irregularly preserves length here: it is probably due to the influence of other homophonic and synonymic roots. Jpn. *m- here deserves special comment. It is a usual reflex of **ń-* or **ŋi̯-*, but none can be safely reconstructed here (not **ń-* because of Mong. *ni-dün*, not **ŋi̯-* because of TM **ńia-sa*). One may note, however, that Jpn. has n- in **na-mi(n)tV* 'tear', and perhaps also in the old deverbative OJ *niram-* (also **nia-m-* > *nem-*) 'to glare at, keep an eye on' = Kor. *nori-* 'to have an eye upon' = TM **ńia-ru-* 'to stare' (TMC

1, 291) = Karakh. *jeze-* (EDT 985, TMN 4, 163) 'to patrol, keep an eye on' < PA **nia̯ā-ŕV*. One can also pay attention to the nasal suffix present in Kor. *nu-n* and Jpn. **mai(N);* it may suggest that we are actually dealing with reflexes of an archaic suffixed form **nia̯a-ŋ(V)*, the velar in which also can account for some unexpected TM forms: Jurch. *ŋia-ĉi* and Nan. dial. *ŋasar* (< **ŋia-sa* < **ńiaŋ-sa*). Japanese may have had a similar assimilation (**ma-iN* < **ŋia̯a-ŋ* < **nia̯a-ŋ*), while the suffixless form is preserved in a compound (**na-mi(n)ta* < **nia̯a*) and a derived verb (*niram-*). Cf. also KBalk. *ǯalamuq* 'tear' (probably < Bulg., reflecting a trace of the original compound in PTurk.). Traces of *-Í- in some forms (Turk. **jāĺ*, Mong. **nil-mu-sun*) may reflect a distinct root, preserved in Mong. **naliqa* 'wing-like membrane, corner of the eye', as well as *nilma* / *milma* 'pupil of the eye'.

✱**nià̯bo (~ -o-)** storm, natural disaster: Tung. ***ńō[be]-kte**; Mong. ***nöɣe-le-**; Turk. ***jubug (~ *jabug)**; Jpn. ***nàw(u)í**.

PTung. ***ńō[be]-kte** 1 storm cloud 2 heavy rain 3 spindrift cloud 4 hail (1 грозовая туча 2 ливень 3 перистое облако 4 град): Evk. *ńōkta* 1, 2, dial. *ńēkte*, *ńokta* 3; Evn. *ńonto* 2; Neg. *ńekte* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 643, 651.

PMong. ***nöɣe-le-** to come in gusts (дуть сильными порывами (о ветре)): WMong. *nöɣele-* (L 592); Kh. *nölö-*.

PTurk. ***jubug (~ *jabug)** boulders which a torrent carries down; boulders displaced and falling to the bottom of the valley (камни, несомые потоком; оползень): Karakh. *juvuɣ* (~ *javuɣ*) (MK).

◊ EDT 873.

PJpn. ***nàw(u)í** earthquake (землетрясение): OJpn. *nawi*; MJpn. *nàwí*.

◊ JLTT 491.

‖ The vocalism is not quite secure due to assimilations; nevertheless the root seems well reconstructable.

✱**nia̯čʿi** to forget, refuse: Tung. ***ńaču-**; Mong. ***niča-**; Kor. ***nìč-**.

PTung. ***ńaču-** 1 to faint 2 to go back the same way (1 потерять сознание, упасть в обморок 2 вернуться (по той же тропе)): Evn. *ńatlan-* 2; Neg. *ńačụla-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 636.

PMong. ***niča-** to refuse; turn back (отказываться, сдаваться, отходить назад): WMong. *niča-* (L 577: *niču-*); Kh. *ńaca-*; Bur. *nisa-*, *niza-*.

PKor. ***nìč-** to forget (забывать): MKor. *nìč-*; Mod. *it-* [*ič-*].

◊ Nam 127, KED 1370.

‖ PTM **ńaču-* is a secondary contraction < **nia̯aču*; PA *n- (not **ń-*) is indicated by Mong. *n-.

✸**ni̯ȁda (~ -i̯o-)** to suffer, pine, tarry: Tung. ***ńāda**; Mong. ***naǯa- (< *naǯi-)**; Turk. ***jAdna-**; Jpn. ***nàjàm-**.

PTung. ***ńāda** 1 late 2 to tarry (1 поздний 2 медлить): Evk. *ńāda* 1, *ńādụ-* 2; Man. *ńada* 1; Nan. *ńādoala-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 627.

PMong. ***naǯa- (< *naǯi-)** to be slow, hesitant, careless (медлить, сомневаться, быть неосторожным): WMong. *naǯaɣai* (adj.), *naǯaɣaida-* (L 567); Kh. *naʒgaj*, *naʒgajda-*; Bur. *nazgaj*, *nazgajr-*.

PTurk. ***jAdna- (~ -j-)** to long for (желать, стремиться): Turkm. *ja-jna-* dial. 'to suffer, worry'; Shr. *čajna-*; Oyr. *jajna-*, *ḋajna-* 'to pine'.

◊ VEWT 179, ЭСТЯ 4, 80. The stem seems to be distinct from the homonymous **jadna* (**jajna-*) 'to be spread; be wide open (eyes)' which may be derived from **jĀd-* 'spread' q. v. sub **ǯādV* (see ЭСТЯ 4, 79); let us note, however, that many of the reflexes of the latter may actually reflect our **jadna-* 'to long for, miss' (cf. especially Kirgh. *ǯajna-* 'to stare with envy and hope', Tur. *jajna-* 'to live in prosperity' etc.).

PJpn. ***nàjàm-** to suffer, be troubled (страдать, мучиться): OJpn. *na-jam-*; MJpn. *nàjàm-*; Tok. *nayám-*; Kyo. *náyám-*; Kag. *nàyàm-*.

◊ JLTT 733.

‖ One of common Altaic verbs of emotion. The original meaning was probably something like 'languish', which would explain all the individual semantic developments.

✸**ni̯ȁji** pus, snot: Tung. ***ńā-**; Mong. ***nij-**.

PTung. ***ńā-** 1 to rot 2 pus (1 гнить 2 гной): Evk. *ńa-* 1, *ńākse* 2; Evn. *ńāw-* 1, *ńās* 2; Neg. *ńā-* 1, *ńāksa* 2; Man. *ńa-* 1, *ńaki* 2; Ul. *ńā-* 1, *ńā̈qsa* 2; Ork. *ńā-* 1; Nan. *ńā-* 1, *ńāqsa* 2; Orch. *ńā-* 1, *ńāksa* 2; Ud. *ńā-* 1, *ńaŋä* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 628.

PMong. ***nij-** 1 snot 2 to blow nose (1 сопли 2 сморкаться): MMong. *nisun* 1 (HY 48), *nisūn* 1 (LH); WMong. *nisu* 1, *ni(g)i-* 2 (L 582, 586); Kh. *nus(an)* 1, *nij-* 2; Bur. *ńuha(n)* 1, *nī-* 2; Kalm. *nusṇ* 1, *nī-* 2; Ord. *nusu* 1, *nī-* 2; Dag. *nī-*, *ńō-* 2, *ńōse* 1 (MD 199) ; *nī-* 2, *nios* 1; Mongr. *nūsoŋ* (SM 291) 1.

◊ KW 281, MGCD 519. There is some confusion in Mong. between this root and MMong. (SH) *ni-sun* 'tear', Dong. *nigusun* id., which is most probably derived from **ni-* 'eye' (and TM **ńā-kse* 'pus', despite Doerfer MT 25, has of course nothing to do with the latter).

‖ Poppe 38. A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✸**ni̯ăke** neck, vertebra: Tung. ***nikimna**; Mong. ***nigur-su**; Turk. ***jaka**.

PTung. ***nikimna** 1 neck 2 nape of neck (1 шея 2 задняя часть шеи): Evk. *nikimna* 1; Evn. *ńịqṭn* 2; Neg. *nịxma* 1, 2; Ul. *ńịqị(n)* 1, 2; Ork. *nịqịmńa* 'neck of deer'; Sol. *nixama*, *nixima* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 591. Cf. also Dag. (Тод. Даг. 158) *ńokol* 'nape of neck', probably < TM.

PMong. ***nigur-su** spinal marrow, vertebral gristles (спинной мозг, позвоночные хрящи): WMong. *niɣursu(n)*, *nuɣu(r)su(n)* (L 580); Kh.

nuga(r)s; Bur. *nugarha(n)*; Kalm. *nuγərsn̥*; Ord. *nuGusu*; Dag. *nokč*; S.-Yugh. *nurγusən*.

◊ KW 281.

PTurk. ***jaka** collar; edge (воротник; край): OTurk. *jaqa* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jaqa* (MK); Tur. *jaka*; Az. *jaxa*; Turkm. *jaqa*; Sal. *jaxa*; Khal. *jaqa*; MTurk. *jaqa* (Pav. C., Ettuhf.); Uzb. *jɔqa*; Uygh. *jaqa*; Tat. *jaqa*; Bashk. *jaγa*; Kirgh. *ǯaqa*; KBalk. *ǯaγa*, *žaγa*; Kum. *jaγa*; Nogh. *jaγa*; Khak. *čaγa*; Shr. *čaγa*; Oyr. *ďaqa*; Tof. *čaγa* (Рас. ФиЛ); Chuv. *śoγa*; Yak. *saγa*.

◊ VEWT 180, 82-83, EDT 898, ЭСТЯ 4, 82-84, Федотов 2, 146-147. Turk. > WMong. *ǯaqa*, *ǯiqa*, Kalm. *zaxə* (KW 463-464; TMN 4, 103-104, Щербак 1997, 122), whence Evk. *ǯaka* (Doerfer MT 125).

‖ A Western isogloss. See VEWT 180 (Turk.-Tung.; but Kor. *mjək* 'neck' cannot belong here), ОСНЯ 2, 92, АПиПЯЯ 293. Doerfer (TMN 4, 104) tries (in vain) to destroy the Turk.-Tung. *paralle* l ("aus lautlichen ... als auch semantischen Gründen inkorrekt" - ?). The comparison of the Mong. form with Man. *ikursun* in KW 281, Rozycki 115 should be regarded as erroneous (Man. *ikursun* < TM **xīkerī* q.v.). For further Nostratic parallels see ОССНЯ 2, 92.

✱**nia̯ák'ì** mild, soft: Tung. ***ńaKa**; Jpn. ***níkuá- / *níkí-**; Kor. ***nàk**.

PTung. ***ńaKa** 1 well, feeling well 2 peace, quietude (1 хорошо, полегчать (о больном) 2 мир, спокойствие): Evk. *ńaka* 1; Evn. *ńaq* 1; Man. *neku(la)*- 'to be glad'; *niqton* 'peace, quietude'; Orch. *ńaka* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 591, 617, 628.

PJpn. ***níkuá- / *níkí-** mild, soft (in part. of heart, soul) (мягкий, добрый (в частн. о сердце, душе)): OJpn. *nikwo-*, *nikji-* (*nikji-tama*); MJpn. *níkó-*, *níkí-*.

◊ JLTT 497.

PKor. ***nàk** soul (душа): MKor. *nàk*; Mod. *nək* [*nəks*].

◊ Nam 104, KED 332.

‖ An Eastern isogloss. The original meaning must have been 'mild', particularly (but not necessarily) applied to feelings, whence the more general meaning 'soul' in Kor. Turk. **jakĺɨ* 'good' (see ЭСТЯ 4, 63-64) may be a merger of this root with **jakɨĺ*- 'to approach' (q.v.).

✱**nia̯ála** shallow, shallow place: Tung. ***niala-**; Mong. ***naliγur**; Turk. ***jAl-kɨ-,-pak**; Kor. ***nǎrǎ̆**.

PTung. ***niala-** 1 overflowed place 2 shallow (1 место, затопляемое в половодье 2 мелкий): Evn. *ńalakụ* 2; Nan. *nịala* / *ńala* 1.

◊ See TMC 1, 629.

PMong. ***naliγur** declivity; pool; overflowed plain (пологий, покатый, отлогий; лужа; наводненная плоскость): WMong. *naluγu* (L 562), *nalaγar*; Kh. *nalū*; Bur. *naĺūr*, *nalūr*, *nalagar*; Kalm. *nalū* (СЯОС).

◊ The verb *nalu-* 'to bend; lean' may present a secondary semantic development < 'to form a declivity'.

PTurk. ***jAl-kɨ-** 1 shallow 2 wave (1 мелкий 2 волна): Turkm. *jalpaq* 1; Tv. *čalɣɨɣ* 1, *čalɣɨjaq* 2.

◊ (?) Cf. also Chag. *jalɣin* 'Salzsteppe' etc. (< 'shallow place'?), see VEWT 183.

PKor. ***nằrằ** ford; ferry point (брод; паромная переправа): MKor. *nằrằ*; Mod. *naru*.

◊ Nam 232, KED 288.

‖ TMC 1, 629 (Tung.-Mong.).

✸**ni̯ȁlo** blade, sharp: Tung. ***ńūl(u)-**; Mong. ***nüjile-**; Jpn. ***na**; Kor. ***nắrh**.

PTung. ***ńūl(ü)-** to shave (skin) (скоблить (шкуру, мездру)): Evk. *ńūl-*, *ńūli-*; Evn. *ńūl-*; Neg. *ńul-*; Orch. *ńulu-*.

◊ TMC 1, 645.

PMong. ***nüjile-** to sharpen, whet (точить): WMong. *nüile-* (L 597), *nüilü-* DO 505; Kh. *nijle-*; Kalm. *nīl-* (KPC); Ord. *nǖl-*, *nīl-*.

PJpn. ***na** blade (лезвие): OJpn. *na*.

◊ JLTT 490.

PKor. ***nắrh** blade (лезвие): MKor. *nắr* (*nắrh-*); Mod. *nal*.

◊ Nam 95, KED 302.

‖ Jpn. **na* goes back to a suffixed form **ni̯āl(o)-gV* (= Kor. **nắrh*); Mong. reflects a regular dissimilation **nüjile-* < **nüli-le* (< **nilü-le* or **nelü-le*).

✸**ni̯ȁlpá** tin, lead: Tung. ***ńālban**; Jpn. ***nàmári**.

PTung. ***ńālban** tin (жесть): Evk. *ńālbān*; Evn. *ńālbān*; Neg. *ńalban*.

◊ TMC 1, 629.

PJpn. ***nàmári** lead, tin (свинец, жесть): OJpn. *namari*; MJpn. *nàmári*; Tok. *nàmari*; Kyo. *nàmárì*; Kag. *namarí*.

◊ JLTT 492. Except for Tokyo, all accent reflexes point to **nàmárì*.

‖ An interesting TM-Jpn. isogloss; cf. also Old Koguryo **naimul* (see Miller 1979, 8). Jpn. **nàmá-ri* < **nàpan-(r)i*, with usual regressive nasalization.

✸**ni̯ā́lí** raw, fresh: Tung. ***ń(i)ali-**; Mong. ***nilaɣu**; Turk. ***jāĺ**; Kor. ***năr**.

PTung. ***ń(i)ali-** 1 raw 2 meat (1 сырой 2 мясо): Evk. *ńalikin* 1; Evn. *ńalъqča* 1; Neg. *ńalị-xịn* 1; Man. *jali* 2; SMan. *jali* 2 (302); Jurch. *ja-li* (511) 2; Ul. *ńālụ(n)* 1; Ork. *nālụ/ńālụ* 1; Nan. *ńalkị̄* 1; Ud. *ńaliɣi* 1; Sol. *jali* (< Man.).

◊ TMC 1,340,630. Length in Ul. and Orok may be secondary (due to the loss of -k-).

PMong. ***nilaɣu** raw (сырой; приторный): WMong. *nilaɣun* (L 584: *niluɣun*); Kh. *ńalūn*; Bur. *ńalū(n)*; Kalm. *nilūn* 'widrig; übelriechend (wie Fisch)'; Ord. *nulūn*; Dag. *nilčun*.

◊ KW 276, MGCD 509.

PTurk. ***jāĺ** fresh, raw (свежий, сырой): OTurk. *jaš* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jaš* (MK); Tur. *jaš*; Gag. *jaš*; Az. *jaš*; Turkm. *jāš*; MTurk. *jaš* (AH, Ettuhf.); Krm. *jaš*; Bashk. *jäš*; Kirgh. *ǯaš*; Kaz. *žas*; KBalk. *ǯaš*, *žaš*, *zaš*; Nogh. *jas*; Khak. *čas*; Oyr. *jaš*, *ďaš*; Tv. *čaš*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 4, 161-163, EDT 975-976, VEWT 192 (one of several **jāĺ* roots). Within Turkic interacts actively (in fact almost completely merges with **jāĺ* 'green' and **jāĺ* 'young' - but all three roots, and, additionally, **jāĺ* 'tear' and **jāĺ* 'age' - seem to have different Altaic origins.

PKor. ***năr** smth. raw, fresh (нечто сырое, свежее): MKor. *năr*; Mod. *nal*.

◊ Nam 96, KED 302.

‖ EAS 110, Poppe 39, SKE 159, АПиПЯЯ 280-281, Дыбо 12, Doerfer MT 114. Preservation of n- in Mong. suggests a reconstruction **ni̯āĺi*, with PTM **ńali-* secondarily < **niali-*.

✱**ni̯áme** a k. of vessel: Tung. ***nim(b)a**; Mong. ***namaɣa**; Turk. ***jAm**; Kor. ***nìmǎr**.

PTung. ***nim(b)a** 1 light boat 2 board for tanning skins (1 легкий челн 2 доска для обработки шкур 3 ящичек): Evn. *nịmba* 2; Man. *nimašaqu* 1; Sol. *nêmo* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 587, 594.

PMong. ***namaɣa** vessel, trough (сосуд, корыто): WMong. *namaγa* (L 562); Kh. *namā*; Kalm. *namā*.

◊ KW 271.

PTurk. ***jAm** large earthenware vessel (большой глиняный сосуд): MTurk. *jam* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *jɔm*; Kirgh. *ǯam*.

◊ VEWT 183. Räsänen compares also Küär. *jam-iγ* 'zubereitetes Leder' (R 3, 308) - which is possible if the original meaning was "a large vessel for tanning skins". One can also mention Yak. *sima* 'large leather bag' (Пек. 2, 2455 suggests borrowing < Russ. сума, but in that case **simā* would be expected).

PKor. ***nìmǎr** prow, stern (нос, перед (лодки); корма): MKor. *nìmǎr*; Mod. *imul*.

◊ Nam 122, HMCH 271, KED 1320.

‖ There are some indications in Turkic and TM that the root in question denoted a big vessel for tanning skins; in the Eastern area, however, it is also used for a boat or part of a boat (with a natural transition 'vessel' > 'boat').

✱**ni̯amńa** to ride, mount: Tung. ***ńamńa-**; Mong. ***namna-**.

PTung. ***ńamńa-** to ride (ехать верхом): Evk. *ńamńa-*; Evn. *ńamńị-*; Neg. *ńamńa-*; Man. *ńamńa-*; Ul. *ńamńa-*; Ork. *ńamńa-*; Nan. *ńamńa-*; Sol. *nanna-*.

◊ TMC 1, 632.

PMong. ***namna-** to follow; to shoot from a horse (преследовать; стрелять с коня): WMong. *namna-* (L 563); Kh. *namna-*; Bur. *namna-*; Kalm. *namnə-* (KPC); Ord. *namna-*.

‖ A Tung.-Mong. isogloss. See TMC 1, 632, Doerfer MT 56 (suggesting TM > Mo, with doubt).

✸**ni̯ańa** to arrange, steer: Tung. ***ńiani-**; Turk. ***jań-**; Jpn. ***nama-**.

PTung. ***ńiani-** to make straight; to steer (a boat) (выпрямлять; править (лодкой)): Evk. *ê̄ni-*; Evn. *ā̄n-*; Neg. *ê̄nị-*; Ul. *ńewča-*; Ork. *ê̄qụta-*; Nan. *ị̄ŋqoča-*; Orch. *iŋkiča-*.

◊ TMC 1, 290-291.

PTurk. ***jań-** 1 to rout 2 to lead smth. aside 3 to take smb. along (1 выгонять, обращать в бегство 2 отводить в сторону 3 брать кого-л. с собой): OTurk. *jaj-* (Ongin) 1, *jań-*; Tv. *čaj-* 2; Yak. *sãjɨs-* 3.

◊ EDT 942. Cf. also **jaj-ra-* 'to fall apart' (VEWT 179, ЭСТЯ 4, 80); the root is somewhat hard to distinguish from **jāj-* 'to shake' - but seems to be distinct.

PJpn. ***nam-** to arrange (be arranged) in a row (расставлять(ся) в ряд, упорядочивать(ся)): OJpn. *nam-* (intr.), *nama-* (trans.).

◊ JLTT 731, 732.

‖ The original meaning is well reconstructable as 'to arrange, take or lead (smb. or smth.) in a row'.

✸**ni̯áŋa** calm, quiet: Tung. ***ńaŋa**; Jpn. ***nánkì**.

PTung. ***ńaŋa** quiet, slow, easy (тихий, неторопливый, спокойный): Evn. *ńāŋa*; Neg. *ńāŋakkān*; Ul. *ńan-ǯa*; Ork. *nandị*; Sol. *nandaxānǯ*.

◊ TMC 1, 583. TM > Dag. *nandākan* 'quietly' (Тод. Даг. 156).

PJpn. ***nánkì** calm water, windless weather (штиль, безветренная погода): OJpn. *nagji*; Tok. *nagí*; Kyo. *nágì*; Kag. *nági*.

◊ JLTT 491.

‖ A Tung-Jpn. isogloss; on a possible Turkic reflex see under **zìŋke.*

✸**ni̯ā́ŋe** to curse, swear: Tung. ***niŋī-**; Mong. ***niɣül-, -g-**; Turk. ***jAŋɨl**; Jpn. ***nə́nə́sír-**.

PTung. ***niŋī-** to curse, damn (проклинать): Evk. *niŋī-*; Evn. *ńiŋi-*; Neg. *niŋi-*; Ork. *niŋiči-*; Sol. *niŋīl* (n.).

◊ TMC 1, 598.

PMong. ***niɣül-, -g-** 1 sin, evil 2 to be compassionate (1 грех 2 сострадать): MMong. *niwol* (IM) 1; WMong. *nigül* 1, *nigüles-* 2 (L 582); Kh. *nügel* 1, *nigṻl-se-* 2; Bur. *nügel* 1; Kalm. *nṻl* 1; Ord. *nṻl*, *nigṻl* 1; Dag. *nugul* (Тод. Даг. 158) 1.

◊ KW 283.

PTurk. ***jAŋɨl** 1 mistake, fault 2 to err, make a mistake (1 ошибка, вина 2 ошибаться): OTurk. *jaŋɨl-* 2, *jaŋluq 1(Orkh.*, OUygh.); Karakh. *jaŋɨl-* 2, *jaŋluq* 1(MK); Tur. *janlɨš* 1, *janɨl-* 2; Gag. *jannɨš* 1; Az. *janlɨš* 1; Turkm. *jalŋɨš* 1, *jalŋɨš-* 2; MTurk. *jaɣɨl-* (Бор. Бад., Ettuhf., Pav. C.) 2;

Uzb. *jaŋliš-* 2; Uygh. *jeŋil-*, *jaŋliš-* 2; Krm. *jaŋɨl-*, *jaŋɣɨl-* 2; Tat. *jalɣɨš-* 2; Bashk. *jaŋɨlɨš-* 2; Kirgh. *ǯaŋɨl-* 2; Kaz. *žaŋɨl-* 2; Kum. *jaŋɨl-*, *jaŋlɨš-* 2; SUygh. *jaŋɨl* 1; Shr. *nāl-* 2; Oyr. *jaŋɨl-*, *d́aŋɨl-* 2.

◊ VEWT 186, EDT 950, 951, ЭСТЯ 4, 120-121. Suffixless **jaŋ* is poorly attested and probably does not exist.

PJpn. ***nə́nə́sír-** to curse, swear (ругать, порицать): MJpn. *nónósír-*; Tok. *nonoshír-*; Kyo. *nónóshír-*; Kag. *nonoshír-*.

◊ JLTT 737. The Tokyo accent is aberrant; otherwise all forms point to high tone.

‖ A common derivative **ni̯ā́ŋe-lV* is reflected in PT **jaŋɨ-l* = PM **nigü-l* = Sol. *niŋī-l*.

✸**ni̯àŋu / *ŋi̯àŋu** field, grazing place, hunting place: Tung. ***ŋuŋi / *ŋoŋi(-ka)** ; Mong. ***nuntug / *nintug**; Turk. ***(i)aŋɨŕ**; Jpn. ***nùa**; Kor. ***nón**.

PTung. ***ŋuŋi / *ŋoŋi(-ka)** 1 place of hunting wild deer 2 place of good fishing or hunting (1 место охоты (на дикого оленя) 2 место удачного лова, добычи (рыбы, пушнины)): Evk. *ŋuŋi* 1; Nan. *wāŋqo* 2 (On.)

◊ TMC 1, 666.

PMong. ***nuntug / *nintug** grazing place, native place (пастбище; территория, страна, родина): MMong. *nuntux* (SH, HYt), *nutux* (SH); WMong. *nutuɣ* (L 596), *nituɣ*; Kh. *nutag*; Bur. *ńutag*; Kalm. *nutəɣ*; Ord. *nutuG*; Mog. *nuntuq*; Dag. *notog* (Тод. Даг. 158), *noteke* (MD 200); S.-Yugh. *nutuG*; Mongr. *nontoG* (SM 283).

◊ KW 281. MGCD 519.

PTurk. ***(i)aŋɨŕ** stubble-field (жнивье, сжатое поле): Karakh. *aŋɨz* (MK); MTurk. *aŋɨz* (San.).

◊ EDT 191-192.

PJpn. ***nùa** field (поле): OJpn. *nwo*; MJpn. no; Tok. *nó*; Kyo. *nȍ*; Kag. *nò*.

◊ JLTT 499.

PKor. ***nón** rice field (рисовое поле): MKor. *nón*; Mod. *non*.

◊ Liu 157, KED 346.

‖ Martin 247-248. A good common Altaic root, but demonstrating some assimilative effects. Jpn. **nùa* reflects a suffixed form **ni̯àŋ(u)-gV*.

✸**ni̯ā́ŕ[à]** young; spring, summer: Tung. ***ńar-gu-**; Mong. ***nirai**; Turk. ***jāŕ**; Jpn. ***nátù**; Kor. ***njə̀rɨ́-m**.

PTung. ***ńar-gu-** 1 new, fresh 2 young willow (1 новый, свежий 2 молодая ива): Man. *ńarxu-n* 1; Nan. *ńargị* 2; Orch. *ńargi* 2.

◊ See TMC 635, 639.

PMong. ***nirai** new-born (новорожденный): WMong. *nirai* (L 585); Kh. *ńaraj*; Bur. *naraj-nilsagaj*; Kalm. *nirā*, *nirā̈*; Ord. *nirā*.

◊ KW 277. Mong. > Yak., Dolg. *ńɨraj*, see Kał. MEJ 22, Stachowski 187.

PTurk. ***jāź** 1 spring 2 summer (1 весна 2 лето): OTurk. *jaz* 2 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *jaz* 2 (MK); Tur. *jaz* 2; Gag. *jāz* 2; Az. *jaz* 1; Turkm. *jāz* 1; Sal. *jaz* 1; Khal. *jāz* 2; MTurk. *jaz* (AH 1, Ettuhf. 2); Uzb. *jɔz* 2; Uygh. *jaz* 2; Krm. *jaz* 1; Tat. *jaz* 1; Bashk. *jaδ* 1; Kirgh. *ǯaz* 1; Kaz. *žaz* 2; KBalk. *zaz* 2; KKalp. *žaz* 2; Kum. *jaz* 1; Nogh. *jaz* 2; SUygh. *jaz* 1; Khak. *čas* 1; Oyr. *jas*, *ďas* 1; Tv. *čas* 1; Chuv. *śor* 1; Yak. *sās* 1; Dolg. *hās* 1.

◊ VEWT 193, ЭСТЯ 4, 71, EDT 982, Лексика 73, Stachowski 100, Федотов 2, 138-139.

PJpn. ***nátù** summer (лето): OJpn. *natu*; MJpn. *natu*; Tok. *natsú*; Kyo. *nátsù*; Kag. *nátsu*.

◊ JLTT 494.

PKor. ***njərɨ́-m** summer (лето): MKor. *njərɨ́m*; Mod. *jərɨm*.

◊ Nam 107, KED 1163.

‖ EAS 111, KW 277, Владимирцов 145-146, Poppe 38, 81, Martin 243, ОСНЯ 2, 84, АПиПЯЯ 74, Лексика 73-74. The Mong. form certainly cannot have a Turkic origin (despite Щербак 1997, 123). Doerfer (TMN 4, 67) attacks the etymology desperately ("Kor. njərɨm... ist lautlich ausgeschlossen"; "mo. nirai 'frisch' ist semantisch unklar"; "bei ma. ńarxun fragt es sich, ob es nicht ein Lw. < Mo. ist" (but isn't Mo. "semantisch unklar"?), etc. The root has indeed some problems: Mong. and Kor. reflect rather an assimilative variant **nio̯āŕi* than **nio̯āŕa*; but the comparison still remains quite reliable.

✱**nio̯mbu** thin: Tung. ***nem(i)- / *niambu-**; Mong. ***nimgen**.

PTung. ***nem(i)-** thin (тонкий): Evk. *nemkūn*; Evn. *nemkun*; Neg. *nemkūn*; Man. *nekel'en*; SMan. *niŋkən*, *niŋkin* (2414); Jurch. *nen-ke-xun* (623); Ul. *nemi*; Ork. *nemdūke*; Nan. *nemi*; Orch. *nemi*, *nemne*; Ud. *nemnese'* (Корм. 268); Sol. *nemekũ*, *nennekũ*.

◊ TMC 1, 621. The original root must have been **niambu-* (**ńiambu-*), and it has left numerous traces: cf. Evk. *jembu*, *jume-kin*, *ńumē-kūn* 'thin, lean', Evn. *ńubuke*, *ńebuke*, *ńõmeŋi* id., Nan. *jembuk* 'loose'. However, the root was heavily influenced by **ńem-* 'soft' (v. sub **nio̯ùmà*) and perhaps also by Mong. *nimgen* 'thin' (although direct borrowing of the words meaning 'thin' from Mongolian is hardly probable), which gave rise to the variant **nem(i)-* 'thin'.

PMong. ***nimgen** thin (тонкий): MMong. *ningen* (HY 53), *nɛmgɛn* (IM), *nimkän* (MA); WMong. *nimgen*, *nimegen* (L 584); Kh. *nimgen*; Bur. *nimgen*; Kalm. *nimgn̥*; Ord. *nemgen*, *nimgen*, *nemgün*; Dag. *ningen* (Тод. Даг. 158, MD 199); Dong. *ninkien* (MGCD *ninkian*); Bao. *niŋgaŋ*; S.-Yugh. *nemgen* (MGCD *neŋgen*); Mongr. *neŋgen* (SM 271), (MGCD *nemgen*).

◊ KW 276, MGCD 508. Cf. also *nimna-gan* 'thin, lean'.

‖ Poppe 38, АПиПЯЯ 51, 286, KW 276. A Mong.-Tung. isogloss. A probable reflex in Jpn. is OJ *num(j)er-* 'be slippery' - with the meaning influenced by **nàmià* 'slippery' (see **nio̯uma*). The roots **nio̯mbu* and **nio̯uma* generally tend to influence each other.

✸**ni̯ŏŋe** one, single: Tung. ***noŋ- ~ *non-**; Mong. ***nige(n)**; Turk. ***jaŋɨŕ**; Jpn. ***nəmi**; Kor. ***njə̀nɨ̀(k)**.

PTung. ***noŋ- ~ *non-** 1 to begin 2 to be the first 3 at first (1 начинать 2 быть первым, опережать 3 сперва, сначала): Evk. *nono-* 1; Evn. *non-* 2; Neg. *nonon* 3; Man. *nene-* 2; Orch. *noŋon* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 605.

PMong. ***nige** one (один): MMong. *nikan* (HY 42, SH), *nigɛn* (IM), *nigän* (MA); WMong. *nige(n)* (L 580); Kh. *neg*; Bur. *nege(n)*; Kalm. *negṇ*; Ord. *nege*; Mog. *nikän*; *nikä* (25-1a); Dag. *neg*, nek (Тод. Даг. 157), *neke* (MD 196); Dong. *nie(kie)*; Bao. *nege*; S.-Yugh. *niɣe*; Mongr. *nige*, *nigen-* (SM 274).

◊ KW 274, MGCD 503.

PTurk. ***jaŋɨŕ** lonely, single (одинокий, единственный): OTurk. *jaŋus* (Yen.); Turkm. *jaŋɣɨz* (dial.); Bashk. *jaŋɣɨz*; Kirgh. *ǯaŋɣɨz*; KBalk. *ǯaŋɣɨz*; SUygh. *jaŋɣɨs*; Khak. *čaɣɨs*, *naɣɨs*; Oyr. *d'aŋɨs*; Tv. *čaŋɨs*; *jaŋɣɨs* (Todzh.); Tof. *ńū~s*; Yak. *soɣotox*.

◊ VEWT 187, ДТС 235, ЭСТЯ 4, 98. Usually regarded as a contraction < *jalaŋɣuz*, which is probably wrong in the face of external evidence.

PJpn. ***nəmi** only (только): OJpn. *nomji*; MJpn. *nomi*; Tok. *nomi*.

PKor. ***njə̀nɨ̀(k)** other, different (другой): MKor. *njə̀nɨ̀* (*njə̀nk-*); Mod. *jənɨ*.

◊ Nam 106, KED 1161.

‖ A good common Altaic root.

✸**ni̯ȍri** to heat: Tung. ***ńūre-**; Mong. ***nurma**; Jpn. ***nìrà(n)k-**.

PTung. ***ńūre-** to become hot (of metal) (накаляться (о металле)): Evk. *ńūre-*; Evn. *ńȫr-*; Neg. *ńuje-*.

◊ TMC 1, 649.

PMong. ***nurma** hot ashes, coals, bonfire (горячие уголья, костер): WMong. *nurma* (L 596); Kh. *nurma*; Bur. *nurma*; Kalm. *nurṃ* (KPC).

PJpn. ***nìrà(n)k-** to put heated metal into water (закалять металл): MJpn. *nìràg-*.

◊ JLTT 736.

‖ EAS 77. Mong. **nurma* is probably a contraction < **niru-ma*.

✸**ni̯òru (~ -ŕ-)** to untie, unwrap: Tung. ***ner- (?*niar-)**; Jpn. ***nura-**; Kor. ***nắrí-**.

PTung. ***ner- (?*niar-)** to unwrap, untie (разворачивать, распускать): Man. *nerki-*.

◊ TMC 1, 625. Attested only in Manchu, with possible cognates in Kor. and Jpn.

PJpn. ***nura-** to untie (развязывать(ся)): OJpn. *nura-*.

◊ JLTT 738.

PKor. ***nắrí-** to tie round (обвязывать): MKor. *nắrí-*; Mod. *nɨri-*.

◊ Nam 92.

‖ An Eastern isogloss. It would be tempting to add also PT *jõr- 'to untie' (see under *dòru) and perhaps also *jõrge- 'to wrap, twist' (see ЭСТЯ 4, 234-237), but vocalism raises problems.

✱**nio̯so (~ *nio̯usi)** heavy, clumsy: Tung. ***nis-**; Mong. ***nüser**.

PTung. ***nis-** 1 heavy, dense 2 clumsy, unwieldy (1 тяжелый, плотный 2 неуклюжий): Evn. *nụsqa*, *nụsụŋa* 2; Man. *niša* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 601, 613.

PMong. ***nüser** clumsy, unwieldy (громоздкий, тяжелый): WMong. *nüser* (L 597); Kh. *nüser*.

‖ TMC 1, 613. A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**nio̯údi** to burn, boil: Mong. ***nidu-**; Jpn. ***ní-**; Kor. ***nùd-**.

PMong. ***nidu-** nitre, salt-petre (селитра): WMong. *nidu-qan* (L 578).

PJpn. ***ní-** to boil (варить): OJpn. *ni-*; MJpn. *ní-*; Tok. *nì-*; Kyo. *ní-*; Kag. *ní-*.

◊ JLTT 736.

PKor. ***nùd-** to burn, singe (жечь, палить): MKor. *nùt-* (*nùr-*); Mod. *nūt-* (*nūr-*).

◊ Liu 165, KED 364.

‖ Martin 240 (Kor.-Jpn.).

✱**nio̯údurgi** fist: Tung. ***nurga**; Mong. ***nidurga**; Turk. ***jɨdruk / *judruk**; Jpn. ***nínkír-**.

PTung. ***nurga** fist (кулак): Evk. dial. *nụrka*; Neg. *nojga*, *nelga*; Man. *nuʒan*; SMan. *nuʒan* (79); Ul. *ńụGʒa*; Orch. *nugga*; Sol. *noryа*, *nuruga*.

◊ TMC 1, 590.

PMong. ***nidurga** fist (кулак): MMong. *nudurxa* (HY 46), *nudurqa* (SH), *nūdor-* 'to hit with the fist' (LH), *nudurqa* (MA); WMong. *nidurga*; Kh. *nudargan*; Bur. *ńudarga*; Kalm. *nudryə*; Ord. *nudurGa*; Bao. *nədərGa*; S.-Yugh. *nudurGa*; Mongr. *nudurGa* (SM 288), *nudərGa*.

◊ KW 280, MGCD 517.

PTurk. ***jɨdruk / *judruk** fist (кулак): OTurk. *jɨdruq* (OUygh.); Karakh. *juδruq* (MK); Turkm. *judruq* (dial.); Krm. *juduruq*, *judurux*; Tat. *jodrɨq*; Bashk. *joδroq*; Kirgh. *ʒuduruq*; Kaz. *žudɨrɨq*; KKalp. *žudɨrɨq*; SUygh. *uzruq*; Khak. *nuzurux*; Shr. *nuzruq*; Oyr. *ďudruq*; Tv. *čuduruq*; Yak. *suturuq*.

◊ EDT 892, Дыбо 182-183, ЭСТЯ 4, 248-249, Лексика 253. Turk. > Kalm. *ʒudr-xə* 'mit der Faust die Haut abziehen, die Haut und das Fleisch zwängen und so abhäuten' (KW 115). Many modern languages reflect (such as Turkm. *jumruq* etc.) reflect secondary forms *jumruk or *jumduruk - an obvious result of contamination with *jum- 'round'.

PJpn. ***nínkír-** to hold in the hand (хватать, держать в руке): OJpn. *nigjir-*; MJpn. *nígír-*; Tok. *nìgir-*; Kyo. *nígír-*; Kag. *nìgìr-*.

◊ JLTT 735.

‖ EAS 77, KW 280, Владимирцов 187, 369, Poppe 39, Дыбо 317, Лексика 253. Despite Щербак 1997, 125 and Doerfer MT 77, Rozycki 164 borrowing in Mong. from Turk. and TM from Mong. is excluded. TM has a regular loss of *-d- before -r-, with subsequent vowel contraction; Jpn. also reflects a contraction: **nu̯údurgi* > **nuj(u)ki-* > **ni(n)ki-*. It is interesting to note that all subgroups reflex the form with *-rgi; this means that Mong. *nidur(a)-*, *nidu-či-* 'to strike with the fist' may be analogical back-formations (or else the most archaic forms reflecting suffixless **nu̯údu*).

✱**nu̯ugu (~ l-)** to put in: Mong. ***nöɣe-***; Turk. ***jɨg-***; Kor. ***njəh-***.

PMong. ***nöɣe-*** to keep, preserve (сохранять, откладывать): WMong. *nöɣe-* (L 592); Kh. *nȫ-*; Bur. *nȫ-*; Kalm. *nȫ-* (KPC); Ord. *nȫ-*.

PTurk. ***jɨg-*** to collect (собирать): OTurk. *jɨɣ-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *jɨɣ-* (MK); Tur. *jɨɣ-*; Gag. *jɨv-*; Az. *jɨɣ-*; Turkm. *jɨɣ-*; Sal. *jɨɣ-*; MTurk. *jɨɣ-* (Pav. C., MA, AH); Uzb. *jɨɣ-*; Uygh. *jɨɣ-*; Krm. *ǯɨj-*; Tat. *ǯɨj-*; Bashk. *jɨj-*; Kirgh. *ǯɨj-*; Kaz. *žɨj-*; KBalk. *žɨj-*; KKalp. *žɨj-*; Kum. *ǯɨj-*; Nogh. *jɨj-*; SUygh. *jɨɣ-*, *jɨɣ-*, *jɨq-*; Khak. *čɨɣ-*; Shr. *čɨɣ-*; Oyr. *jū-*, *ḑu-*; Tv. *čɨɣ-*.

◊ EDT 897, VEWT 200, ЭСТЯ 4, 271-272, 272-273, TMN 4, 183.

PKor. ***njəh-*** to put in (класть, вкладывать): MKor. *njəh-*; Mod. *jə-* [*jəh-*] (dial.), *nə-* [*nəh-*].

◊ Nam 108, 109, KED 336, 1189.

‖ A perfect phonetic match would be PTM **lugu-* 'to put out, take out' (TMC 1, 506-507), but the semantics is baffling.

✱**nu̯ùmà** warm; soft, mild: Tung. ***ńume-/ *ńama / *ńem-***; Mong. ***nomu-/*neme- / *nima-***; Turk. ***jɨm-Ĺčak***; Jpn. ***nàmià***.

PTung. ***ńume-/ *ńama /*ńem-*** 1 warm 2 soft 3 quiet 4 weak, loose (1 теплый 2 мягкий 3 спокойный 4 слабый, расслабленный): Evk. *ńama*, -pču 1, *ńemu-me* 2, *ńumu-* 3; Evn. *ńam* 1, *ńumъn* 3; Neg. *nam*, *ńamagdi̯* 1, *ńamu*, *nemu* 2; Man. *neme-ri* 2; Ul. *ńama* 1; Ork. *namauli* 1; Nan. *ńā̃ma*, *ńama* 1, *nemu* 2, *nimeku* 'weakness'; Orch. *ńama* 1; Ud. *ńamahi* 1; Sol. *namagdi* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 630-631, 652-653.

PMong. ***nomu- /*neme- / *nima-*** gentle, meek, quiet, mild (спокойный, кроткий, мягкий, нежный): MMong. *nomuqan* (HYt), *nomuɣan* (MA); WMong. *nomuqan*, *nomuj* (L 591), *nemegün* (L 574), *nimaɣun*; Kh. *nomxon*; Bur. *nomoj*, *nomxon*; Kalm. *nomɣən*, *nemȫn*; Ord. *nomoxon*; Dag. *nomūkuŋ*, -n (Тод. Даг. 158: *nomxon*, *nomukan*); *nomehon* (MD 200); S.-Yugh. *nomxon*, *nomukan* (MGCD *nomoGon*); Mongr. *nomu*.

◊ KW 275-277, 279, MGCD 513. The deriving stem is WMong. *nom*, Kalm. *nom* 'mildness, friendliness' (KW 279). Mong. > Evk. *nomokōn*, Man. *nomoxon* etc., see Doerfer MT 57, Rozycki 164.

PTurk. ***jɨm-Ĺča-k** soft, mild (мягкий): OTurk. *jɨmšaq* (Orkh.), *jumšaq* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jumšaq* (MK); Tur. *jumšak*; Gag. *jɨmɨšaq*; Az. *jumšaG*; Turkm. *jumšaq*; MTurk. *jumšaq* (AH, Ettuhf., Бор. Бад.); Uzb. *jumšɔq*; Uygh. *jumšaq*; Krm. *jɨmšaq*, *jɨmšax*; Tat. *jomšaq*; Bashk. *jomšaq*; Kirgh. *ǯumšaq*; Kaz. *žumsaq*; KBalk. *ǯumšaq*, *žumušaq*; Kum. *jɨmɨšaq*; SUygh. *jumsaq*; Khak. *čɨmǯax*, *nɨmzax*; Shr. *čɨmža-*; Oyr. *jɨmžaq*, *ḱɨmžaq*; Tv. *čɨmčaq*; Chuv. *śemźe*; Yak. *sɨmna-γas*; Dolg. *hɨmna-gas*.

◊ EDT 938, VEWT 201, ЭСТЯ 4, 252-253, Stachowski 118. The deriving stem **jɨm-Ĺča-* 'to be soft' is also present in most of the above languages.

PJpn. ***nàmià** slippery, smooth (скользкий, гладкий): OJpn. *namje*; MJpn. *nàmè*; Tok. *naméraka*; Kyo. *námérákà*; Kag. *nameraká*.

◊ JLTT 492.

‖ EAS 76, KW 275, Martin 232 (Jpn.-Kor.), ОСНЯ 2, 86-87, АПиПЯЯ 69, 292, Дыбо 12, Мудрак Дисс. 91. The original meaning must have been 'soft, tender' (generally, or particularly - of weather, fruits etc.). An expressive root with phonetic variation, tending to contaminate with **ni̯ombu* 'thin' q.v. (hence vocalic variation in Mongolian and Tungus; but despite Doerfer MT 69 it is hardly appropriate to regard the TM forms as mongolisms). In Mong. cf. also *nalmi-gar* (< **namli-gar*?) 'excessively soft, weak'.

✸**ni̯ǜra(-kʿV) (~ -ŕ-)** hair: Tung. ***ńūrikte**; Mong. ***norakai**; Kor. ***narot**.

PTung. ***ńūri-kte** hair (волос): Evk. *ńūrikte*; Evn. *ńūrit*; Neg. *ńijukte*; Ul. *nukte*; Ork. *nūrikte*, *ńīrukte*; Nan. *nukte*; Orch. *ńūkte*; Ud. *ńūkte*; Sol. *nūrikte*, *nūrte*.

◊ TMC 1, 648.

PMong. ***norakai** short (of hair) (короткий (о волосах)): WMong. *noraqai* (L 591); Kh. *norxoi*.

PKor. ***narot** whiskers, beard (бакенбарды, борода): MKor. *narot*, *naros*; Mod. *narut* [*narus*].

◊ Liu 132, KED 288.

‖ SKE 162.

✸**ni̯uru** song and dance: Tung. ***ńur(g)a-**; Mong. ***nürgi-**; Turk. ***jɨr**; Kor. ***nòr-**.

PTung. ***ńur(g)a-** 1 cheerful, vigorous 2 to dance (and sing) (1 бодрый, удалой (в песнях) 2 плясать (с пением)): Evk. *ńurarīkān* 1; Evn. *nörgъ-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 606-607, 648.

PMong. ***nürgi-** noisy discussion (шум, оживленное обсуждение): WMong. *nürgegen* (MXTTT); Kh. *nürgēn*; Bur. *nürxir-*, *nerxir-*.

PTurk. ***jɨr** song (песня): Karakh. *jɨr* (MK); Tur. *jɨr*; Az. *jɨr* (dial.); Turkm. *jɨr* (dial.); Sal. *jür*; MTurk. *jɨr* (R.); Uzb. *ǯir*; Krm. *jɨr*, ir; Tat. *ǯɨr*;

Bashk. *jɨr*; Kirgh. *ʒɨr*; Kaz. *žɨr*; KBalk. *zɨr*, *ʒɨr*, *žɨr*; KKalp. *žɨr*; Kum. *jɨr*; Nogh. *jɨr*; SUygh. *jɨr*, *jer*.

◊ EDT 192, VEWT 201, ЭСТЯ 4, 285, TMN 4, 233. The root should be distinguished from **ɨr* (v. sub **íru*), although actively contaminating.

PKor. ***nòr-** 1 song 2 to take leisure, amuse oneself (1 песня 2 развлекаться, отдыхать): MKor. *nòr'ái* 1, *nōr-* 2; Mod. *norä* 1, *nōl-* 2.

◊ Nam 113, KED 340, 347.

‖ A derivative **nu̯uru-gV* is reflected in PM **nür-gi-*, Evn. *nör-gъ-*, MKor. *nòr'ái*.

✱**nu̯úŕe** to become wet, soak: Tung. ***ń[ü]r-**; Mong. ***nor-**; Turk. ***jüŕ-**; Jpn. ***núrá-**.

PTung. ***ń[ü]r-** 1 to swim (of animals) 2 shallow place (1 плавать (о животных) 2 мель): Evn. *ńi̯rgi̯* 2; Man. *ńere-* 1; Ud. *ńu-xana-* (< **ńur-*) 1.

◊ TMC 1, 639, 645, 655.

PMong. ***nor-** to soak, be wet (мокнуть, быть мокрым): MMong. *nur-* (IM); WMong. *nor-* (L 591); Kh. *nor-*; Bur. *noro-*; Kalm. *nor-*; Ord. *nor-*; Dag. *noir-*, (Тод. Даг. 158) *noirgā-*; Dong. *noro-*; Mongr. *nōri-* (SM 284).

◊ KW 279, MGCD 513.

PTurk. ***jüŕ-** to swim, float (плавать): OTurk. *jüz-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *jüz-* (MK); Tur. *jüz-*; Gag. *jüz-*; Az. *üz-*; Turkm. *jüz-*; MTurk. *jüz-* (AH, Ettuhf.), *üz-* (Бор. Бад., Abush., Pav. C.); Uzb. *juz-*; Uygh. *üz-*; Krm. *jüz-*, *üz-*; Tat. *jöz-*; Bashk. *jöδ-*; Kirgh. *ʒüz-*; Kaz. *žuz-*; KBalk. *ʒüz-*, *žüz-*; KKalp. *žüz-*; Kum. *juz-*; Nogh. *jüz-*; Khak. *čüs-*; Shr. *čüs-*; Oyr. *jüs-*, *ďüs-*; Yak. *sötüö* 'bathing', *sötüölē-* 'to bathe'; Dolg. *hötüölē-*, *hütöl-* 'to bathe'.

◊ VEWT 214, EDT 984, ЭСТЯ 4, 261.

PJpn. ***núrá-** to get wet (мокнуть): OJpn. *nura-*; MJpn. *núra-*; Tok. *nùre-*; Kyo. *núré-*; Kag. *nuré-*.

◊ JLTT 738. Cf. also **núr-* 'to paint, smear'.

‖ The vocalism in TM is not quite certain, but initial **ń-* (corresponding to Mong. n- and Jpn. *n-) points to PA *n- followed by a diphthong.

✱**nu̯utu (~ -a)** to pound, pestle: Tung. ***nutiku**; Mong. ***nidü-**.

PTung. ***nutiku** pestle (пест): Ul. *nutiku*; Nan. *nūčiku*, *nutku*.

◊ TMC 1, 613.

PMong. ***nidü-** 1 to pound, crush 2 pestle (1 молотить, толочь, размельчать 2 пест): WMong. *nidü-* 1, *nidügür* 2 (L 578); Kh. *nüde-* 1, *nüdū̄r* 2; Bur. *ńüde-* 1; Kalm. *nüd-* 1, *nüdū̄r* 2 (KPC); Ord. *nüdü-* 1, *nüdū̄r* 2; Dag. *nide-* 1 (MD 199, Тод. Даг. 158: nude-, *nide-*), *nidunku* 2; Dong. *nudu-* 1, *nudn* 2; Bao. *nədə-*; S.-Yugh. *nudu-*; Mongr. *nidi-* (SM 271), *nudə-*, *nədə-* (Huzu) 1, *nidir* (SM 272), *nədər* 2.

◊ MGCD 521.

‖ TMC 1, 613, АПиПЯЯ 16. A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**nòču** to seize, steal: Mong. ***noču-**; Jpn. ***nùsùm-**.

PMong. ***noču-** to seize; attack (хватать; набрасываться, атаковать): WMong. *noču-* (L 587); Kh. *noco-*; Bur. *noso-*; Ord. *nočo-*.

PJpn. ***nùsùm-** to steal (красть): OJpn. *nusum-*; MJpn. *nùsùm-*; Tok. *nusúm-*; Kyo. *núsúm-*; Kag. *nùsùm-*.

◊ JLTT 739.

‖ A Mong.-Jpn. isogloss.

✱**nȍdà (~ -ū-)** lovely: Tung. ***nōdi**; Jpn. ***nàtùkà-**.

PTung. ***nōdi** beautiful, handsome (красивый): Evk. *nōdi*; Evn. *nod*; Neg. *noditi*; Ul. *ńōdụ-*; Ork. *nōdị*.

◊ TMC 1, 603.

PJpn. ***nàtùkà-** lovely, dear (милый, дорогой): OJpn. *natuka-si*; MJpn. *nàtùkà-si*; Tok. *natsukashí-*; Kyo. *natsukáshi-*; Kag. *natsukáshi-*.

◊ JLTT 836. Accent in Kagoshima is irregular (probably under lit. influence).

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss.

✱**nóle** to burn, flame: Tung. ***nul-**; Mong. ***nöl-**; Turk. ***jula**; Jpn. ***nə́rə́-sí**; Kor. ***nuri-**.

PTung. ***nul-** to kindle (зажигать): Evk. *nul-*; Evn. *nụlụ-*; Neg. *nụl-*; Ul. *ńulčuku* 'poker'; Nan. *ńulku-* 'to stir coals'.

◊ TMC 1, 609. Initial *ń-* in Ul. and Nan. is not quite clear.

PMong. ***nöl-** flame (пламя): WMong. *nöle* (L 593), *nölüγe*, *nüle*; Kh. *nöl*; Kalm. *nülə*; Dag. *nulē* 'spark' (MD 200); Mongr. *nolī* (SM 283).

◊ KW 282. Cf. also Kalm. *nȫləg* (KW 280) 'bonfire' < **nöγe-leg*, perhaps < **nöle-leg*.

PTurk. ***jula** light, torch (свет, факел): OTurk. *jula* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jula* (MK, KB, IM); KBalk. *ǰula* 'дренажный фитиль'; Kum. *jula* 'gun barrel; wick'; Khak. *čula* (R); Oyr. *jula* (R); Tv. *čula* 'lamp' (Tuva, if not < Mo).

◊ VEWT 210, EDT 919. Turk. > Mong. *ǰula* (KW 479, Щербак 1997, 125), whence Evk. *ǰula* (Doerfer MT 125).

PJpn. ***nə́rə́-sí** bonfire, flame (костер, пламя): MJpn. *norosi*; Tok. *nòroshi*; Kyo. *nóróshí*; Kag. *noróshi*.

PKor. ***nùrí-** to have a burnt, rank smell (пахнуть горелым): MKor. *nùrí-*; Mod. *nuri-*, *nori-*.

◊ Liu 162, KED 342, 357 ('to be rank, foul-smelling').

‖ PKE 132, Poppe 38, АПиПЯЯ 72. Turkic *-u- is not quite regular here (but on the basis of the attested forms a reconstruction **jola* is also not excluded). The Korean form may belong here only if the meaning "burnt smell" (not "rank" or "foul smell") is original.

✱**nǔkʿé** to pass: Tung. ***nuK-**; Mong. ***nögči-**; Jpn. ***nuànkà-**.

PTung. ***nuK-** 1 to loose way (of deer) 2 a lonely deer 3 to move to another location 4 to lead the way 5 to stumble, make a wrong move (1 заблудиться (об олене) 2 олень, который пасется один 3 переходить на другое место 4 идти впереди (ведя за собой остальных) 5 оступиться, ошибиться в шаге): Evk. *nuken* 2, *nukiw-* 4, 5; Evn. *nök-* 1; Nan. *nukte-* 3 (Он.).

◊ TMC 1, 609.

PMong. ***nögči-** to pass (проходить, миновать): MMong. *nokči-* (SH, HY 38); WMong. *nögči-* (L 592); Kh. *nögči-*, *nöxcö-*; Bur. *nügše-* 'to pass away'; Kalm. *nökcē-*; Ord. *nögči-*; Dag. *nurši-* (Тод. Даг. 159); Mongr. *noGsʒi-* (SM 282).

◊ KW 280, MGCD 514.

PJpn. ***nuànkà-** 1 to pass 2 to escape (1 проходить мимо 2 убегать): OJpn. *nwoga-nap-* / *nuga-nap-* 1, *n(w)ogara-* 2; MJpn. *nogara-* 2; Tok. *nogaré-* 2; Kyo. *nógáré-* 2; Kag. *nògàrè-* 2.

◊ JLTT 736.

‖ One of the many common Altaic verbs of motion.

✱**nuli** to rob, oppress: Mong. ***nölüɣe**; Turk. ***juli-**; Kor. ***nùrí-**.

PMong. ***nölüɣe** influence (влияние): MMong. *nüles-kui* 'humanity' (HY 49); WMong. *nölüge* (L 594); Kh. *nölõ*; Bur. *nülõ(n)*; Kalm. *nölõn* (СЯОС); Dag. *nulē* (MD 200).

PTurk. ***juli-** 1 to pillage, attack 2 thief, scoundrel (1 грабить, нападать 2 вор, бродяга, голодранец): OTurk. *juli-* (Orkh., OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *juli-* (MK) 1; Tat. *jolqiš* 2; Bashk. *jolqoš* 2; Kirgh. *ʒulu-š-* 'to fight (of women)'; Khak. *čulɣus* (Sag.), *čulɣas* (Koib., Kach.) 2; Shr. *čulɣuš* 2; Tv. *čul-* 1.

◊ EDT 919. Should be separated from **jol-* 'pick out' (v. sub **ńǒlo).*

PKor. ***nùrí-** to press, repress (давить, подавлять): MKor. *nùrí-*; Mod. *nūri-*.

◊ Liu 162, KED 357.

‖ SKE 173.

✱**numu (~ l-, -i)** task, important affair: Tung. ***nume**; Turk. ***jumuĺ**; Jpn. ***numa**.

PTung. ***nume** habit (привычка): Evn. *nume*.

◊ TMC 1, 610. Attested only in Evn., but having interesting external parallels.

PTurk. ***jumuĺ** work, service, necessity (работа, служба, необходимость): OTurk. *jumuš* (OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *jumuš* (MK) 1; Tur. *jumuš*; Turkm. *jumuš*; Uzb. *jumuš* 1; Krm. *jumuš*; Tat. *jomiš*; Bashk. *jomiš*; Kirgh. *ʒumuš*; Kaz. *žumis*; KBalk. *zumuš*; KKalp. *žumis*; Khak. *nimis*; Oyr. *jumuš*, *ńumuš*; Tv. *čimiš*; Chuv. *śъʷmъʷl*.

◊ VEWT 211, ЭСТЯ 4, 251, EDT 938 (with a highly dubious derivation from *jum- 'round').

PJpn. ***numa** important place, thing, affair (важное место, дело): OJpn. *numa*, *num(j)i*.

‖ It is interesting to note WMong. *nom* (with a variant *lom*) '(religious) law, religious book'. It is, of course, a borrowing < OT *nom* < Sogd. *nwm* < Gr. *nomos*, but the variant *lom* could indicate that there had been an original **lom* that merged with the borrowed *nom*. In that case a reconstruction of *l- for PA would be justified.

✱**n[u]ńa** a k. of grass: Tung. ***ńuńV**; Mong. ***nimniɣa**; Turk. ***jon-ırčka**; Jpn. ***nàntúna**; Kor. ***nàńí**.

PTung. ***ńuńV** a k. of plant (вид растения): Evk. *ńuńaldiwūn* 'назв. растения ("льняное волокно")'; Man. *nono* "ситник, водяной лук".

◊ TMC 1, 605, 646.

PMong. ***nimniɣa** dandelion (одуванчик): Bur. *ńamńā*; Kalm. *nemnē ceceg* (PKC).

PTurk. ***jon-ırčka** clover (клевер): OTurk. *jorunčɣa* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jorınčɣa* (MK); Tur. *jonǯa*; Gag. *jonǯa*; Az. *jonǯa*; Turkm. *jorunǯa*; Khal. *jovunǯä*; MTurk. *jonǯa* (AH), *jönča* (Houts.), *joŋıčqa*, *jorunčqa* (R.); Uzb. *ǯumrušqa*; Tat. *jonča*; Bashk. *jonsa*; Kirgh. *ǯoŋɣučqa*; Kaz. *žoŋı(rı)šqa*; KKalp. *joŋıšqa*; Kum. *jonɣurčqa*.

◊ VEWT 207, TMN 4, 228-229, EDT 971, ЭСТЯ 4, 227-228, Лексика 126-127.

PJpn. ***nàntúna** shepherd's purse (пастушья сумка): MJpn. *nàdúna*; Tok. *nàzuna*; Kyo. *názúná*; Kag. *nazuná*.

◊ JLTT 494. The Kyoto accent is irregular.

PKor. ***nàńí** shepherd's purse (пастушья сумка): MKor. *nàńí*; Mod. *näŋi*.

◊ Nam 89, KED 328.

‖ Martin 240, Дыбо 10, Robbeets 2000, 104. The root denotes some sort of wild-growing flower (clover, dandelion, shepherd's purse), but - as most plant names - raises some problems. Mong. *nimniɣa* must represent a transformation of **nin-miɣa*, with not quite clear suffixation. The tone correspondence between Kor. and Jpn. is irregular. If the original Turk. form is **jor-ınčka* (cf. (QB) *jor* "porridge" - a semantic derivation like Russ. кашка 'clover'?), it does not belong here. On the other hand, cf. PT **jandak* 'name of a thorny plant, camel-thorn, thistle' (EDT 947, VEWT 185). It appears semantically distant from the other forms, but may represent a secondary development due to association with *jan-* 'burn' ('burning plant'). The reconstruction in this case would have to be changed to **nı̯uńa* - better explaining consonant reflexes and Mong. vocalism, but also suggesting a secondary restructuring in Turkic (**jın-dak* > **jan-dak*).

✱**nŭŋu** wool, down: Tung. ***nuŋari***; Mong. ***nowur-***; Turk. ***juŋ***; Jpn. ***núnuá***.

PTung. ***nuŋari*** wool, down (шерсть, пух): Man. *nuŋGari*; SMan. *nuŋan* (144, 2283).

◊ TMC 1, 611 (cf. also Man. *nuŋGasun* 'thin woollen cloth' - possibly < Mong.).

PMong. ***nowur-*** 1 wool 2 down (1 шерсть 2 пух): MMong. *nuŋqasu* (SH) 1, *unqasun* 1 (MA); WMong. *noγasu*, *noŋγasu*, *nousu* 1 (L 589: *noγusu(n)*); *noγulur* 2 (L 588: *noγulur*, *noulur*, *noluur*); Kh. *nōs* 1; *nōrs*, *nōlūr* 2; Bur. *nōho(n)* 1; *nōlūr* 2; Kalm. *nōsṇ* 1; *nōl̈ūr* 2; Ord. *nōs* 1, *nōlūr*, *nūlūr* 2; Dong. *noGosun* 1; Bao. *noGosuŋ*, *noχsoŋ* 1; S.-Yugh. *ŋGuasən*, *Guasən* 1; Mongr. *nGuasə* 1.

◊ KW 279, 280, MGCD 509. Mong. *noγulur* > Evk. *lolur* (see TMC 1, 503).

PTurk. ***juŋ*** 1 wool 2 small feathers, down 3 feather 4 faded fur (1 шерсть 2 пух 3 перо 4 линька): OTurk. *juŋ* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *juŋ* 1 (KB), 2, 3 (MK); Tur. *jün* 1; Gag. *jün* 1; Az. *jun* 1; Turkm. *jüŋ* 1; Sal. *juŋ* 1; Khal. *juŋ* 1; MTurk. *juŋ* 1 (Бор. Бад.), *jüŋ* 1 (Pav. C., MA); Uzb. *juŋ* 1; Uygh. *juŋ*, *ʒuŋ* 1; Krm. *jün*, *jun* 1; Tat. *jon* 3; Bashk. *jön* 3; Kirgh. *ʒün* 1,2,3; Kaz. *žün* 1; KKalp. *žün* 1; Kum. *jün* 1; Nogh. *jün* 1; SUygh. *juŋ*, *jüŋ*, *jun* 3; Khak. *nüŋ* 2; Shr. *čum* 2; Oyr. *jüŋ*, *jum*, *jɨm*, *d́uŋ* 1; Tv. *čüŋ* 1; Chuv. *śъʷm* 1; Yak. *suŋ* 4.

◊ VEWT 211, EDT 941, ЭСТЯ 4, 267-268, Лексика 146. This root should not be confused with **jüg* 'feather' (v. sub **d[é]gi).*

PJpn. ***núnuá*** fabric, cloth (ткань, полотно): OJpn. *nun(w)o*, (East. dial.) *ninwo*; MJpn. *núnó*; Tok. *nùno*; Kyo. *nùnó*; Kag. *núno*.

◊ JLTT 502. The Kyoto accent is irregular.

‖ EAS 119-120, KW 279, Poppe 73, TMC 1, 611, АПиПЯЯ 285, Дыбо 9, Лексика 146. Borrowing in Mong. from Turk. is impossible, despite Щербак 1997, 125. The Turk.-Mong. match is quite regular, despite TMN 4, 228.

✱**nuŋu** chief, master: Tung. ***nuŋ-***; Turk. ***jɨŋak***; Jpn. ***nùsí (?)***.

PTung. ***nuŋ-*** 1 main part, stem, stalk 2 main riverbed (1 главная часть, ствол, стебель 2 главное русло реки): Evk. *nuŋīn*, *nuŋnī* 1, 2; Evn. *nṵ̄n* 2; Ud. *nuŋni* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 611.

PTurk. ***jɨŋak*** side, direction (сторона, направление): OTurk. *jɨŋaq* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jɨŋaq* (MK).

◊ VEWT 201, EDT 949. As suggested by Clauson, merged with *jaŋak* in later Turkic.

PJpn. ***nùsí*** master (хозяин): OJpn. *nusi*; MJpn. *nusi*; Tok. *núshi*; Kyo. *nùshí*; Kag. *nùshí*.

◊ JLTT 502.

‖ A problematic case. The original meaning may be reconstructed as "main direction" (whence "direction, point of the compass" in Old

Turkic and "main riverbed, stem" in TM), with a development > "chief, master" in Jpn. However, Jpn. *nusi* may belong here only if -si is an original attributive suffix (**nu-si* < **nuŋ-si*). There is also a very similar root **ńi̯unŋe* meaning 'direction, sign', with ample opportunity for contaminations - which in fact almost certainly occurred in TM.

✱**núra** to pile, stack: Tung. ***nora-**; Mong. ***norum**; Jpn. ***nárá(m)p-**; Kor. ***nar- (~ -ă-)**.

PTung. ***nora-** to pile, stack (складывать (в кучу, в костер, в копну)): Man. *nora-*; Nan. *norxon* 'соединительные поперечные валики, расположенные на концах нарт' (Он.).

◊ TMC 1, 606.

PMong. ***norum** stack, pile (штабель, стог): WMong. *norum* (L 591); Kh. *norom*.

PJpn. ***nárá(m)p-** to be placed in a row (выстраиваться в ряд): OJpn. *narab-*; MJpn. *náráb-*; Tok. *nàrab-*; Kyo. *náráb-*; Kag. *naráb-*.

◊ JLTT 732.

PKor. ***nar- (~ -ă-)** be in a row, side by side (быть друг рядом с другом): Mod. *naran-ha-*.

◊ KED 287.

‖ TMC 1, 606 (TM-Mong.). Cf. also MKor. *núrí* 'paddy pile', *núrí-* 'pile up paddies or grasses' (see Lee 1958, 116) - because of quite exceptional tone and vocalism probably borrowed from Manchu. The Manchu form, despite Rozycki 163, can be hardly explained as borrowed < Mong. In Turkic cf. perhaps Khak. (Верб.) *jurlas* 'crosswise supports for the firewood (for better burning)'.

✱**nure (~ -ŕ-)** slow: Tung. ***nur-**; Mong. ***nör-**; Jpn. ***nərə- (~-ua-)**; Kor. ***nàrhó-**.

PTung. ***nur-** to do smth. ceaselessly, constantly (не прерывать, делать что-л. постоянно): Evk. *nur-nur* 'slightly'; Man. *nur-χu-*.

◊ TMC 1, 613.

PMong. ***nöri** lengthy, lingering (длительный, продолжительный): MMong. *norus-* 'to doze, be dormant' (HY 34); WMong. *nöri(n)* (L 594); Kh. *nör*; *nörö-* 'to be annoying, boring'.

PJpn. ***nərə- (~-ua-)** slow (медленный): MJpn. *noro-*; Tok. *noró-*; Kyo. *nórò-*; Kag. *nóro-*.

◊ JLTT 837. Accent unclear: Kagoshima A points to **nuáruá-*, but Tokyo *norói* - to **nuàruà-*.

PKor. ***nàrhó-** slow, late (медленный, поздний): MKor. *nàrhó-*, *nɨrɨi-*; Mod. *nɨri-*.

◊ Nam 95, Liu 166, KED 366.

‖ Martin 241.

✸**nū́ru (~ -o)** dwelling place: Tung. ***nora-**; Mong. ***niruɣu**; Turk. ***jūrt**; Kor. ***nùrí**.

PTung. ***nora-** dwelling place (местопребывание, убежище, гнездо): Man. *noro(-n)*.

◊ TMC 1, 606. Attested only in Manchu, but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***niruɣu** 1 general state 2 foundation, surface (1 общее состояние чего-л. 2 основа, поверхность): WMong. *niruɣu(n)* (L 585) 1; Kh. *nurū(n)* 1, 2; Bur. *ńurū* 2; Kalm. *nurɣən* 2; Mog. *nira-* 'placer', *nere-* 'remplir une vase'; Mongr. *nire-* 'ajuster, adapter' (SM 278).

◊ KW 281. The word has coincided phonetically with *niruɣu* 'back, spine' - with which it originally has nothing in common. Cf. also MMong. (HY 16) *niri'un* 'house-top' (differing from *niri-sun* 'spine') and perhaps reflecting the archaic meaning.

PTurk. ***jūrt** dwelling place, camping-site (жилище, стоянка): OTurk. *jurt* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *jurt* (MK); Tur. *jurt* (dial.); Az. *jurt*; Turkm. *jūrt*; Khal. *jūrt*; MTurk. *jurt* (Pav. C., Houts., AH); Uzb. *jurt*; Uygh. *ju(r)t*; Krm. *jurt*; Tat. *jort*; Bashk. *jort*; Kirgh. *ǯurt*; Kaz. *žurt*; KBalk. *žurt*; KKalp. *žurt*; Kum. *jurt*; Nogh. *jurt*; SUygh. *jurt*; Khak. *čurt*; Shr. *čurt*; Oyr. *jurt*, *ḋurt*; Tv. *čuʿrt*; Chuv. *śort*; Yak. *surt*; Dolg. *hurt*.

◊ EDT 958, VEWT 211, TMN 4, 212-213, ЭСТЯ 4, 254-255, Лексика 490-491, 494, Федотов 2, 144-145, Stachowski 113.

PKor. ***nùrí** world, living place (мир, обиталище): MKor. *nùrí*; Mod. *nuri* (arch.).

◊ Nam 114, KED 357.

‖ Mong. **niruɣu* probably < **nuriɣu* (under the influence of **niruɣu* 'back, spine'?). It would be also possible to regard the Manchu form as borrowed < Mong. (but preserving the earlier meaning), in which case the PA reconstruction would be **ni̯ṓru*.

✸**núŕi (~ -e)** a k. of berry, grape: Tung. ***nure**; Mong. ***nüre**; Turk. ***jüŕüm**; Kor. ***nùrúk**.

PTung. ***nure** wine (вино): Man. *nure*; Jurch. *niu-re* (520); Sol. *nurē*.

◊ TMC 1, 625. Other forms: Evk. *nere-*, Nan. *niru*, Man. *ńara-n* 'wine' are probably borrowed < Mong. *nere-* 'to distil wine'.

PMong. ***nüre** bilberry (черника): WMong. *nüre*; Kh. *nür*, *ners*; Bur. *nerhe(n)*; Kalm. *nersn*.

◊ KW 275. Cf. also Mong. *nere-* 'to press, ferment (wine)'.

PTurk. ***jüŕüm** grape (виноград): OTurk. *üzüm* (OUygh. - med.); Karakh. *üzüm* (MK), *jüzüm* (IM); Tur. *üzüm*; Gag. *jüzüm*; Az. *üzüm*; Turkm. *üzüm*; MTurk. *üzüm* (Pav. C.), *jüzüm* (Houts.); Uzb. *uzum*; Uygh. *üzüm*; Krm. *izim*, *jüzüm*; Tat. *jözem*; Bashk. *jöδöm*; Kirgh. *ǯüzim*; Kaz. *žüzüm*; KBalk. *ǯüzüm*; KKalp. *žüzim*; Kum. *jüzüm*; Nogh. *jüzim*; SUygh. *üčüm* (< Mong.?); Chuv. *iźəm*.

◊ EDT 288, VEWT 214, ЭСТЯ 1, 625, Федотов 1, 173. Turk. > Mong. *üǯüm* 'grapes', see TMN 2, 54, Clark 1980, 40.

PKor. ***nùrúk** yeast (закваска, дрожжи): MKor. *nùrúk*, *nùrɨ́k*; Mod. *nuruk*.

◊ Nam 114, KED 357.

‖ Lee 1958, 116 (Kor.-TM), Дыбо 10. The distinction between **nüre* and **nere-* in Mong. is somewhat peculiar and may suggest the existence of two original roots.

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✸**ńabĺu(-ʒV)** young, child: Tung. ***ńab[l]ʒa-**; Mong. ***ʒulʒa-gan**; Jpn. ***mus-**.

PTung. ***ńab[l]ʒa-** young, boy, child (молодой, мальчик, ребенок): Ul. *ńawʒa(n)*; Ork. *naoʒoqqa(n)*; Nan. *naonʒoã*; Ud. *ńa'ula* (Корм. 269).

◊ TMC 1, 636.

PMong. ***ʒulʒa-gan** young of plants, animals (молодое растение или животное): MMong. *ʒolʒiqan* (LH), *ʒulʒaγan* (MA); WMong. *ʒulʒaγa(n)* (L 1079); Kh. *ʒulʒgan*, *ʒulʒaga*; Bur. *zulzaga*; Kalm. *zulʒiγən*; Ord. *ʒulʒaGa*; Dag. *ʒilʒig*, (Тод. Даг. 143) *ʒilʒag*; Dong. *ʒunʒuγa*; Bao. *ʒinʒiGə*; S.-Yugh. *ʒilʒaGan*; Mongr. *ʒiʒiGa* 'petits de certains animaux, bourgeon' (SM 86).

◊ KW 479, MGCD 462.

PJpn. ***mus-** 1 to be born 2 girl 3 boy (1 рождаться 2 девочка 3 мальчик): OJpn. *mus-* 1, *musu-me* 2; MJpn. *mus-* 1, *mùsú-mè* 2; Tok. *musumé* 2, *mùsuko* 3; Kyo. *músùmè* 2, *músúkó* 3; Kag. *musúme* 2, *musúko* 3.

◊ JLTT 489, 729. Accent in *musuko* and *musume* is surprisingly different: **músú-kua*, but **mùsù-mia* (or **mùsú-mia).*

‖ The etymology seems probable, although the medial cluster demonstrates a complicated behaviour. It is not quite clear whether -ʒa- in Mong. and Tung. should be treated as a suffix or as a part of the root here.

✸**ńǎjla (~ -o)** shoot, sprout; teeth, gills: Tung. ***ńal-**; Mong. ***ʒal-magaj**; Jpn. ***mài**; Kor. ***ní**.

PTung. ***ńal-** 1 groove on upper lip 2 gums of teeth (1 желобок на верхней губе 2 десны): Man. *ńalma* 1, *ńa-si*, *ńa-ša* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 630, 636. With the original meaning 'sprout' one could also compare Evk. *ńalba-kta* 'young grass', and perhaps Ud. *ńalasa* 'white strip of fur close to animals' neck' (TMC 1, 629).

PMong. ***ʒal-magaj** gills (жабры): WMong. *ʒalmaγai* (L 1032), *ʒaŋγalai*; Kh. *ʒalmagaj*; Bur. *žaŋgār*.

PJpn. ***mài** shoot, sprout (росток, побег): OJpn. *me*; MJpn. me; Tok. *mé*; Kyo. *mè*; Kag. *mé*.

◊ JLTT 474.

PKor. ***ní** tooth (зуб): MKor. *ní*; Mod. *i*.

◊ Nam 119, KED 1316.

‖ Дыбо 1995b (Mong.-Tung.). The semantic interchange between 'teeth' and 'sprouts' is quite common, so in this respect the etymology seems plausible. In Jpn. one has to suppose a suffixed form **ma(i)* < **ńǎjl(a)-gV*; medial *-j- is reconstructed to account for the loss of resonant in Kor. The root seems to be unattested in Turkic, but cf. Tur. dial. *jalama* 'white spot on horse's head from forehead down to the lower lip' (ЭСТЯ 4, 91) - cf. the semantic development in TM.

✱**ńā́lba** young: Tung. ***ńalba-**; Mong. ***ʒalaɣu**; Turk. ***jāĺ**; Jpn. ***masa-**.

PTung. ***ńalba-** 1 young grass 2 meat of a young animal 3 spawning 4 young of birds (1 молодая травка 2 мясо молодого животного 3 нерест 4 птенец): Evk. *ńalbakta* 1, *nilben* 2; Evn. *ńalaq* 3; Neg. *ńalamŋi* 4.

◊ TMC 1, 592, 629, 630.

PMong. ***ʒalaɣu** young (молодой): MMong. *ʒalaw*, *ʒalu* (IM), *ʒălăwă*, *ʒălu* (MA), *ʒala'ui* (SH); WMong. *ʒalaɣu* (L 1029); Kh. *ʒalū*; Bur. *zalū*; Kalm. *zalū*; Ord. *ʒalū*; Mog. *ʒalau* (Weiers); ZM *ʒalāwu* (10-3a); Dag. *ʒalō* (Тод. Даг. 142, MD 175); Dong. *ʒalau*, *ʒalao*; S.-Yugh. *ʒalū*; Mongr. *ʒalụ̄* (SM 79), (MGCD *ʒalau*).

◊ KW 465, MGCD 427. Mong. > Evk. *ʒalaw*, see Doerfer MT 127.

PTurk. ***jāĺ** young (молодой): Tur. *jaš*; Turkm. *jāš*; Sal. *jaš*; MTurk. *jaš* (Ettuhf.); Uzb. *jɔš*; Uygh. *jaš*; Krm. *jaš*, *ješ*; Tat. *jɛš*; Kirgh. *ʒaš*; Kaz. *žas*; KBalk. *ʒaš*, *žaš*, *zaš*; KKalp. *žas*; Kum. *jaš*; Nogh. *jas*; SUygh. *jas*; Khak. *čas*; Oyr. *jaš*, *d́aš*; Tv. *čaš*; Tof. *češ*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 4, 162, VEWT 192 (one of several **jāĺ* roots; within Turkic hardly distinguishable from **jāĺ* 'green vegetables; green', but historically different).

PJpn. ***masa-** to be prematurely developed (быть преждевременно развитым): Tok. *masé-*; Kyo. *màsè-*; Kag. *masé-*.

◊ Accent is not quite clear: Kagoshima points to **másá-*, but Kyoto and Tokyo rather to **màsá-*.

‖ KW 465, Street 1980, 298.

✱**ńàme** goat, deer: Tung. ***ńamī-**; Turk. ***jɨmga**; Kor. ***jə́m-sjó**.

PTung. ***ńamī-** female deer (важенка, самка оленя): Evk. *ńamī*; Evn. *ńamị*; Neg. *ńamị̄*; Ork. *namị*.

◊ TMC 1, 631.

PTurk. ***jɨmga** wild mountain she-goat (дикая горная коза): OTurk. *ɨmɣa* (OUygh.); Karakh. *ɨmɣa*, *jɨmɣa* (KB), *ɨmɣa* (IM); Tur. Old Osm. *ime*, *ɨma* 'goat', dial. 'deer with straight horns'; Turkm. *umGa*; MTurk. *ɨmɣa* (Sangl.); Oyr. *d́umɣa*; Tv. *čuŋma*.

◊ VEWT 165, EDT 158, Лексика 154-155. Yak. *ɨmaga* (because of medial -g-) is most probably < Evk.

PKor. ***jə́m-sjó*** goat (коза): MKor. *jə́m-sjó*; Mod. *jəmso*.

◊ Nam 377, KED 1183.

‖ EAS 78, 116, KW 214, Poppe 32, АПиПЯЯ 20. Loss of *n- in Kor. is not quite clear: perhaps **jə́m-* < **njə́m-* through dissimilation. Mong. *jimaɣan* 'goat' (MGCD 734) may be borrowed from Turk. (see Щербак 1997, 124; but cf. the WMong. variant *nimaɣan* and Bur. *ńamā* (Владимирцов) which may be genuine); Mong. > Tung. (TMC 1, 312), see Poppe 1966, 190, Doerfer MT 37.

✱**ńam(ń)ektʿV** a k. of tree: Tung. ***ńamńikta***; Mong. ***ʒimuɣu-su***; Turk. ***jɨmurt***; Jpn. ***mə̀mìti***; Kor. ***nàmòk***.

PTung. ***ńamńi-kta*** 1 a k. of willow 2 mulberry tree (1 тальник, верба, краснотал 2 тутовое дерево): Evk. *ńamńīkta* 1; Evn. *imukeɣ*, *imŋekēw*, *inmēkte* 1; Neg. *ńamnịkta* 1; Man. *nimadan* 'a k. of tree'; *nimala(n)* 2; SMan. *nimalən* 2 (2163); Jurch. *hin-ma-lar* (108) 2; Ud. *ńauta* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 314, 632, 593.

PMong. ***ʒimuɣu-su*** buckthorn, bird-cherry (крушина, черемуха): WMong. *ʒimuɣu-su*; Kalm. *ʒimūsn*.

◊ KW 111.

PTurk. ***jɨmurt*** bird-cherry (черемуха): Karakh. *jumušɣa* 'medlar' (MK); Tur. *jumurt* (dial.); Az. *ʒumurt* 'крушина'; Uzb. *šumurt*; Khak. *nɨmɨrt*; Shr. *nɨbɨrt*; Oyr. *jɨmɨrt*, *d́ɨmɨrɨt*; Chuv. *śəʷməʷrt*.

◊ EDT 881, VEWT 211, ЭСТЯ 4, 283, Егоров 211, Лексика 136. Not quite clear is the relation of OT *jemšen* 'a k. of wild fruit, berry' (EDT 939).

PJpn. ***mə̀mìtì*** maple (клен): OJpn. *m(w)omjiti*; MJpn. *mòmìdì*; Tok. *mómiji*; Kyo. *mómìjì*; Kag. *momijí*.

◊ JLTT 484. The Tokyo accent points to a variant **mə̀mìtí*.

PKor. ***nàmòk*** tree (дерево): MKor. *nàmò* (*nàmk-*); Mod. *namu*.

◊ Nam 87, KED 288.

‖ KW 111, АПиПЯЯ 297, Дыбо 10. Correspondences are regular except for the tonal discrepancy between Kor. and Jpn.

✱**ńa̋mò** hundred: Tung. ***ńamā***; Mong. ***ʒaɣu-n***; Turk. ***jom-***; Jpn. ***muàmuà***.

PTung. ***ńamā*** hundred (сто): Evk. *ńamā*; Evn. *ńama*; Neg. *ńama*; Sol. *namāʒi*.

◊ TMC 1, 631.

PMong. ***ʒaɣu-n*** hundred (сто): MMong. *ʒa'un* (HY 43), *ʒa'u(n)* (SH), *ʒa'ūn* (IM); WMong. *ʒaɣu(n)* (L 1024); Kh. *ʒūn*; Bur. *zū(n)*; Kalm. *zūn*; Ord. *ʒū(n)*; Dag. *ʒau(n)* (Тод. Даг. 143, MD 176); Bao. *ʒoŋ* (Тод. Бн.); Mongr. *ʒoŋ* (SM 90).

◊ KW 482.

PTurk. ***jom-*** 1 big number, quantity, all 2 to come together, assemble (1 большое число, количество, все 2 собирать(ся)): OTurk. *jomɣɨ*

(OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *jomɣɨ* (MK) 1, *jomɨt-* (MK) 2; Tur. *jumuš-* 2 (dial.); MTurk. *jomut-* 2 (Houts.); Krm. *jom-*, *jomul-*, *jumul-* 2; SUygh. *jumɨt-*, *jumut-* 2.

◊ EDT 935, ЭСТЯ 4, 219-220.

PJpn. ***muàmuà** hundred (сто): OJpn. *mwomwo*; MJpn. *mòmò*.

◊ JLTT 485.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 78. Mong. **ʒaɣu-* < **ńaŋu-* < **ńamŋu-* (or -ɣ- as a result of contamination with **či̯obe* 'ten' q.v.). In Jpn. **muàmuà* < **mə̀muà* as a result of late vowel assimilation.

✱**ńamo** turf, moss: Tung. ***ńamulsa**; Mong. ***ʒim**; Turk. ***jom (?/*joŋ)**.

PTung. ***ńamulsa** swamp moss (болотный мох): Evk. *ńamulla*; Evn. *ńamɤ̣lrɤ̣*; Neg. *ńamula*; Man. *ńamala*; Ul. *ńamu̯lta*; Ork. *namu̯ĺta*; Nan. *ńamolta*.

◊ TMC 1, 632-633.

PMong. ***ʒim** turf (торф): WMong. *ʒim* (L 1056); Kh. *ʒim*.

PTurk. ***jom (?/*joŋ)** 1 turf 2 weed (1 торф 2 сорняк): Oyr. *joŋ* 1; Chuv. *śom* 2.

◊ VEWT 206, Федотов 2, 135. Cf. also **jom-suk*, **jom-sul* 'weed, moss' (ЭСТЯ 4, 231, with a variety of dialectal reflexes: Tur. *josun*, *jomsuk*, Chag. *josun*, Kum. *jansaw* etc.). Turk. > Hung. *gyom* 'weed', see MNyTESz 1, 1132.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**ńàna** to turn back; again: Tung. ***ńān**; Turk. ***jAn-**; Jpn. ***mani-ma**.

PTung. ***ńān** again, once more (снова, еще раз): Evk. *ńān*; Evn. *ńān*; Neg. *ńān*; Nan. *ńā*; Orch. *ńa*; Ud. *ńa*; Sol. *nã̄*.

◊ TMC 1, 633.

PTurk. ***jAn-** 1 to turn back 2 again (1 поворачивать назад 2 снова): OTurk. *jan-* 1 (Orkh., OUygh.), *jana* 2 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *jan-* 1 (MK), *jana* 2 (MK); Tur. *jine*, *jene* 2; Az. *jenä* 2; Turkm. *jene* 2; MTurk. *jan-* 1, *jana* 2 (Бор. Бад., Abush.); Uzb. *jɔn-* 1, *jana* 2; Uygh. *jan-* 1, *jana* 2; Krm. *jana*, *janɨ*, jane 2; Tat. *jan-* 1, *jɛnɛ* 2; Bashk. *jänä* 2; Kirgh. *ʒan-* 1, *ʒana* 2; Kaz. *žäne* 2; KKalp. *žäne* 2; Nogh. *jana* 2; SUygh. *jan-* 1; Khak. *nan-* 1; Shr. *nan-* 1; Oyr. *jan-*, *d́an-* 1; Tv. *čan-* 1.

◊ EDT 941-942, 943, ЭСТЯ 4, 111-112, 114-115.

PJpn. ***mani-ma** in the same state (в прежнем, том же самом состоянии): OJpn. *manima*; MJpn. *mámá*; Tok. *mamá*; Kyo. *mámá*; Kag. *máma*.

◊ JLTT 471 (not mentioning OJ *mani-ma*). Original accent is not quite clear due to a secondary contraction in all modern dialects.

‖ The Turkic root is verbal, but it is worth noting adverbial usage of the root in all branches where it is attested.

✱**ńanŋa** a k. of small bird: Tung. ***ńa(n)ŋa-**; Mong. ***ʒana**; Jpn. ***mami-**.

PTung. ***ńa(n)ŋa-** bullfinch (снегирь): Evn. *ńaŋarki*.

◊ TMC 1, 633. Attested only in Evn., but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***ʒana** bullfinch (снегирь): WMong. *ʒana* (MXTTT); Kh. *ʒana*; Bur. *zana*.

PJpn. ***mami-** a k. of blackbird (вид дрозда): Tok. *mami-jiro*, *mami-chajinai*.

‖ TMC 1, 633, Дыбо 1995b.

✱**ńáŋa** dirt, to smear: Tung. ***ńaŋ-**; Jpn. ***mámíra-**.

PTung. ***ńaŋ-** dirt, be smeared with dirt (грязь, пачкаться грязью): Evk. *ńaŋńa*; Evn. *ńaŋsъ*; Neg. *ńaksalkān*, *ńaŋsalkān*; Man. *nantuχun*; SMan. *nantuhun* 'foul-minded, evil-smelling' (2552); Ul. *jaŋsa*; Ork. *naŋisa*; Nan. *jaŋsa*, *ńaŋsa*; Orch. *ńaŋsa*.

◊ TMC 1, 633-634.

PJpn. ***mámíra-** to be smeared (быть вымазанным): MJpn. *mámíra-*; Tok. *mamiré-*; Kyo. *mámíre-*; Kag. *mamiré-*.

◊ JLTT 720. The Tokyo accent is irregular.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss.

✱**ńaŋo** nut: Tung. ***ńaŋu-**; Mong. ***ʒiɣag**; Turk. ***jAŋgak**; Jpn. ***mamai**.

PTung. ***ńaŋu-** cone, nut, fruit stone (шишка, орех, косточка плода): Evk. *ńaŋta*; Evn. *ńaŋtъ*; Man. *ńańun* 'palm nut'; Ork. *naŋu̇-* 'to crack nuts'; Orch. *ńańikta*; Ud. *ńaŋta*.

◊ TMC 1, 634-635.

PMong. ***ʒiɣag** walnut (грецкий орех): MMong. *ʒi'ax* (HY 7); Ord. *ʒaG*; Mongr. *ʒaG* (SM 77), *ʒaŋgiraG* (SM 81).

◊ Bao. *ʒanGəg*, Kalm. *ʒaŋɣəg* < Turk.

PTurk. ***jAŋgak** walnut (грецкий орех): OTurk. *jaɣaq* (Orkh.); Karakh. *jaɣaq* (MK); Turkm. *jaŋaq*, *jaŋɣaq* (dial.); Khal. *jaɣāq*; MTurk. *jaŋɣaq* (Pav. C., Бор. Бад.); Uzb. *jɔŋɣɔq*; Uygh. *jaŋaq*, *jaŋɣaq*; Tat. *jaŋaq*, *ʒaŋɣaq* (dial.); Kirgh. *ʒaŋaq*, *ʒaŋɣaq*; Kaz. *žaŋɣaq*; KKalp. *žaŋɣaq*.

◊ VEWT 186, ЭСТЯ 4, 59-60, Лексика 112. Turkic > Hung. *dió* (see MNyTESz 1, 641).

PJpn. ***mamai** bean (боб): OJpn. *mame*; MJpn. *màmè*, *màmé*; Tok. *mamé*; Kyo. *màmê*; Kag. *mamé*.

◊ JLTT 471. The root reveals a variation of accent reflexes between **màmài* and **màmâi*.

‖ EAS 75, АПиПЯЯ 78, Дыбо 10.

✱**ńargu** a young male deer (elk): Tung. ***ńargu-**; Mong. ***ʒorgul**; Turk. ***jargun**.

PTung. ***ńargu-** young elk (молодой лось): Evk. *ńargučān*; Evn. *ńarčān*; Neg. *ńatčān*; Man. *ńarχuča*; Orch. *naguča*.

◊ TMC 1, 635.

PMong. ***ʒorgul** young elk or deer (молодой олень или лось): WMong. *ʒorɣul* (L 1071); Kh. *ʒorgol*; Bur. *zorgol* 'годовалый изюбр'.

PTurk. ***jargun** some kind of wild quadruped (вид дикого четвероногого): OTurk. *jarγun* (Orkh., OUygh.-YB); Kirgh. *jarγɨn* 'a mongrel of a yak and cow'; Khak. *čarγɨn* '2-year-old bear-cub' (Борг.); Tv. *čarɨ* 'a producent reindeer'.

◊ EDT 963.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**ńéč´ù** to be annoyed: Tung. ***ńečU-**; Turk. ***jačan-**; Jpn. ***mútúkár-**.

PTung. ***ńečU-** 1 to tease, annoy 2 to hit (1 дразнить, раздражать 2 бить): Evk. *ńečU-* 2; Man. *nečI-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 655.

PTurk. ***jačan-** be ashamed, embarrassed (стыдиться, смущаться): Karakh. *jačan-* (MK); Tur. (Osm.) *jačan-*; MTurk. *jačan-* (CCum.); Chuv. *śüźen-* 'to be shocked'.

◊ EDT 882, VEWT 176, (incorrectly) Федотов 2, 151.

PJpn. ***mútúkár-** to be annoyed, cranky (раздражаться): OJpn. *mutukar-*; MJpn. *mutukar-*; Tok. *mùtsukar-*; Kyo. *múzúkár-*.

◊ JLTT 729.

‖ One of the many common Altaic verbs of emotion.

✱**ńěka (~ -o, -u)** place on the back of an animal: Tung. ***ńegde**; Mong. ***ǯagal**; Turk. ***jAgɨr**.

PTung. ***ńegde** 1 breast vertebra 2 curve on horse's back in the region of the neck and shoulder blades (1 грудные или междулопаточные позвонки 2 выгиб в спине лошади (у оконечности гривы и передних лопаток)): Evk. *ńegde*, *ńagda* 1; Evn. *ńit*, *ńet* 1; Neg. *ńagda* 1; Man. *nikde* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 650, 591.

PMong. ***ǯagal** dark spots on neck and shoulders (темные пятна на шее и плечах): WMong. *ǯaγal* (L 1022); Kh. *ʒagal* 'grey'; Bur. *ʒagal*; Kalm. *zaγəl*; Ord. *ǯaGal*.

◊ KW 463. Mong. > Kaz. *žaγal*, Turkm. *jaqal* etc. (see ЭСТЯ 4, 10-11); > Manchu *ǯaxala* (see Rozycki 118).

PTurk. ***jAgɨr** 1 chap, saddle-gall on back of an animal 2 wound, chafe on human body (1 ссадина на спине животного 2 рана, ссадина на человеческом теле): Karakh. *jaγɨr* 1 (MK); Tur. *jaγɨr* 1; Az. *jaγɨr* 1; Turkm. *jaγɨr* 1; MTurk. *jaγɨr* 1 (Pav. C.); Uzb. *jaγir* 2; Uygh. *jeγi(r)* 1; Kirgh. *ǯōr* 1; Kaz. *žawɨr* 1; KKalp. *žawɨr* 1; Nogh. *jawɨr* 1; Oyr. *ďūr* 1.

◊ ЭСТЯ 4, 65, TMN 4, 183. External evidence suggests that this root should be kept distinct from **jagɨr*, **jagrɨn* 'back, shoulderblade' (v. sub **dagV*).

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**ńéŋńi** East or South (wind), warm season: Tung. ***ńeŋńe**; Mong. ***ʒeɣü-n**; Jpn. ***mínámí**.

PTung. ***ńeŋńe** spring (весна): Evk. *ńeŋńe*; Evn. *neɣńi*; Neg. *ńeŋńe*; Man. *ńeŋńeri*; SMan. *ńaŋəńari* (2726); Jurch. *nie(ŋ)nen* (73); Ul. *ńeŋńe*; Ork. *ńeŋńē / neŋne*; Nan. *ńeŋńe*; Orch. *ńeŋńe*.

◊ TMC 1, 653-4.

PMong. ***ʒeɣün** East; left (восток; левый): MMong. *ʒe'un* (HY 50), *ʒeu'un* (SH) 'left wing troups'; *ʒō'ēn* 'left' (MA), *ʒūn* 'left' (IM); WMong. *ʒegün* (L 1044); Kh. *ʒǖn*; Bur. *zǖ(n)*; Kalm. *zǖn*; Ord. *ʒǖn* 'North, left'; Dag. *ʒun* (Тод. Даг. 145); S.-Yugh. *ʒǖn*.

◊ KW 485, MGCD 465. Mong. > Evk. *ʒeɣin* etc., see Poppe 1966, 190, Doerfer MT 23, Rozycki 127.

PJpn. ***mínámí** South; South wind (юг; южный ветер): OJpn. *mji-namji*; MJpn. *mínámí*; Tok. *mìnami*; Kyo. *mínàmì*; Kag. *minámi*.

◊ JLTT 479. The Kyoto accent is quite irregular; but RJ and other dialects point unanimously to high tone.

‖ Дыбо 1995b. In Jpn. cf. perhaps also **minki* 'right' (< *'East' as opposed to **pìntárí* 'left' < 'West', see **p'ìòrí*).

✱**ńĕra** earth, floor: Tung. ***ńerke**; Mong. ***ʒir-**; Turk. ***jẹr**.

PTung. ***ńerke** 1 earth 2 hearth (1 земля 2 очаг): Evk. *jerke*, dial. *ńerke* 1; Evn. *ńerke* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 355.

PMong. ***ʒir-** 1 litter of grass or leaves spread under an animal being flayed 2 doormat (1 подстилка из травы 2 циновка): WMong. *ʒirig* 1 (L 1060), *ʒirum* 2; Kh. *ʒuram* 2.

PTurk. ***jẹr** earth, land (земля): OTurk. *jer* (Orkh., Yen., OUygh.); Karakh. *jẹr* (MK), *jer* (KB); Tur. *jer*; Gag. *jeŕ*; Az. *jer*; Turkm. *jer*; Sal. *jer*; Khal. *jer*; MTurk. *jẹr* (MA); Uzb. *jer*; Uygh. *jär*; Krm. *jer*; Tat. *ʒir*; Bashk. *jer*; Kirgh. *ʒer*; Kaz. *žer*; KBalk. *žer*; KKalp. *žer*; Kum. *jer*; Nogh. *jer*; SUygh. *jer*; Khak. *čir*; Shr. *čer* (R.); Oyr. *ďer*; Tv. *čer*; Tof. *čer*; Chuv. *śər*; Yak. *sir*; Dolg. *hir*.

◊ VEWT 198, EDT 954, ЭСТЯ 4, 191-192, Лексика 53, Stachowski 104-105. Bulg. > Hung. *szer* 'place' (in toponyms), see Sinor 1990.

‖ TMC 1, 355. A Western isogloss.

✱**ńésa** luck, fortune: Tung. ***ńes-**; Jpn. ***mású-rá-**.

PTung. ***ńes-** 1 luck 2 lucky (shooter) (1 счастье 2 удачливый (стрелок)): Evn. *ńes* 1; Man. *nosiki* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 655.

PJpn. ***mású-rá-** brave man (храбрец, герой): OJpn. *masura-(wo)*; MJpn. *másúrá-wò*; Tok. *màsurao*, *masuráo*; Kyo. *másúráó*; Kag. *masuráo*.

◊ JLTT 473.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss.

✱**ńíkrV** a k. of thorny tree: Tung. ***ńikri-kta**; Mong. ***ʒeɣergene**; Jpn. ***míkúri**.

PTung. ***ńikri-kta** 1 thicket 2 a k. of larch (1 заросли 2 вид лиственницы): Evk. *nikrikāɣ* 1; Evn. *naqrịt* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 591.

PMong. ***ʒeɣergene** a k. of plant (Ephedra vulgaris) (эфедра): WMong. *ʒeɣergene* (L 1043); Kh. *ʒērgene*; Bur. *zērgene*; Kalm. *zērgənə* 'ежевика; малина (лесная)' (KPC); Ord. *ʒērgenek*, *ʒērgünek*; S.-Yugh. *ʒǖregene*.

◊ MGCD 139.

PJpn. ***míkúri** bur reed (колючий тростник): MJpn. *míkúri*.

◊ JLTT 478.

‖ For the phonetic development in Mong. cf. **bŭkrV*, **č'ik'o* (**č'ik'rV*).

✱**ńiĺu (~ -o)** to polish, scrape: Tung. ***nili-**; Mong. ***ʒilgü-**; Turk. ***jɨĺ-**; Kor. ***(n)īr-**.

PTung. ***nili-** to scrape off, polish (соскребать, полировать): Evk. *nili-*; Man. *nila- / nile-*; Ul. *ńīli-*; Nan. *ńīla-*; Ud. *nila-* (Корм. 266).

◊ TMC 1, 592.

PMong. ***ʒilgü-** to shave, scrape, wipe (брить, соскребать, стирать): WMong. *ʒülgü-*, *ʒilgü-* (L 1085); Kh. *ʒülge-*; Bur. *zülge-*; Kalm. *zülgə-*; Ord. *ʒülgü-*.

◊ KW 483.

PTurk. ***jɨĺ-** to rub, polish (тереть, полировать): Tat. *jɨš-* (Sib.); Khak. *čɨs-*; Oyr. *jɨš-*.

◊ VEWT 202, ЭСТЯ 1, 667.

PKor. ***(n)īr-** to clear out, rinse (вычищать, промывать): MKor. *īr-*; Mod. *īl-* (NKor. *nil-)*.

◊ Nam 405, KED 1351.

‖ SKE 69, Дыбо 15.

✱**ńĭ̆mi (~-e)** host, guest: Tung. ***ńime-**; Jpn. ***mìmà-p-**; Kor. ***nīm**.

PTung. ***ńime-** to visit, be a guest (посещать, приходить в гости): Evk. *ńime-*; Evn. *ńimeɣ-*; Neg. *ńimej-*; Ul. *ńime-ri-*; Ork. *ńimē-ri-*; Nan. *nime-ri-*; Orch. *ńime-ri-*; Ud. *ńime-li-*; Sol. *nimau-*.

◊ TMC 1, 595-596.

PJpn. ***mìmà-p-** to visit (a sick person etc.) (посещать, навещать (больного и т.п.)): MJpn. *mima-f-*; Tok. *mìma-*, *mimá-*; Kyo. *mímá-*; Kag. *mìmà-*.

PKor. ***nīm** host (хозяин): MKor. *nīm*; Mod. *im-gɨm*.

◊ Nam 125, KED 1361.

‖ An Eastern isogloss.

✱**ńĭŋči** thin, narrow; short: Tung. ***nisi-**; Mong. ***ʒiʒig**; Turk. ***jiŋč-ge**; Jpn. ***mìnsìkà-**.

PTung. ***nisi-** small (маленький): Evk. *nisimkūn*; Evn. *ṇisa* 'small beads'; Neg. *ṇisṇimkṇ̄n*; Man. *nisiχa* 'small fish'.

◊ TMC 1, 600.

PMong. ***ʒiʒig** small (маленький): WMong. *ʒiʒig* (L 1065); Kh. *ʒiʒig*; Bur. *žežeg*; Kalm. *ʒiʒəg*.

◊ KW 109.

PTurk. ***jiŋč-ge** thin (тонкий): OTurk. *jinčge* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jinčke* (MK); Tur. *inʒe*; Gag. *inʒä*; Az. *inʒä*; Turkm. *īnče* (< *jinče*); Sal. *läšgi*; MTurk. *ičke* (Pav. C.), *inčge* (Бор. Бад.); Uzb. *ingička*; Uygh. *inčikä*; Krm. *inʒä*; Tat. *nečkɛ*; Kirgh. *ičke*; KBalk. *inčge*; KKalp. *žiŋiške*; Nogh. *jiŋiške*; SUygh. *šige*; Khak. *niske*; Tv. *čiŋge*; Tof. *ńiŋge*; Chuv. *śinźe*; Yak. *sińniges*; Dolg. *hinńiges*.

◊ VEWT 203, EDT 944-5, ЭСТЯ 1, 364-365, Stachowski 104.

PJpn. ***mìnsìkà-** short (короткий): OJpn. *mjizika-*; MJpn. *mìzìkà-*; Tok. *mijiká-*; Kyo. *míjíká-*; Kag. *mijiká-* [= *mišiké*].

◊ JLTT 835.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 110, 278, Дыбо 12, Дыбо 1995b.

✱**ńipV** a k. of weed, bush: Tung. ***nibēkte**; Mong. ***ʒiba**.

PTung. ***ńibē-kte** 1 bush growing near the water 2 dwarf birch tree 3 horse-tail 4 fern (1 заросли кустарника, мелкий тальник 2 карликовая береза 3 хвощ 4 папоротник): Evk. *niwēkte* 1, 2, dial. *niwekte* 3; Evn. *ńīwekēw* 2; Neg. *ńīwekte* 2; Ork. *ńīwekte* 2; Ud. *niekte* 4.

◊ TMC 1, 589, 601.

PMong. ***ʒiba** sulphurweed, a k. of plant growing near the water (Peucedanum L.) (горичник байкальский): WMong. *ʒau* (МХТТ), *ʒab* (БАМРС); Kh. *ʒav*.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**ńiro (~ -ŕ-)** a k. of big fish: Tung. ***ńiru- / *ńeri-**; Mong. ***ʒirga**; Jpn. ***mərəkə (~ -ua)**.

PTung. ***ńiru- / *ńeri-** grayling (fish) (хариус): Evk. *niru*, *neriɣē*; Evn. *nêrgat*, *nöriɣe*; Neg. *ńeju*; Orch. *ńū-ča*; Ud. *ńuu-sa*.

◊ TMC 1, 640, 654.

PMong. ***ʒirga** a k. of salmon (вид лосося): WMong. *ʒirɣa* (L 1059); Kh. *ʒarga*; Kalm. *ʒirɣə*.

◊ KW 112. Mong. > Yak. *ʒarɣā*, Kum. *čarɣa* 'grayling' etc. (VEWT 100).

PJpn. ***mərəkə (~ -ua)** gudgeon (пескарь): Tok. *moroko*.

‖ TMC 1, 640. Cf. Chuv. *śarlan* 'herring'. Cf. also Kalm. *jarɣə* 'salmon' < unattested Turk.??

✸**ńi̯ama** low, level; side of the mountain: Tung. ***niama**; Mong. ***nam**; Turk. ***jAmač**; Jpn. ***mama**.

PTung. ***niama** 1 lowland 2 low 3 overfall 4 shallow place, isthmus (1 равнина 2 низкий 3 быстрина 4 отмель, перешеек): Evk. *namŋa* 1, *nemkēn* 2, *ńami* 3; Man. *ńamašan* 4.

◊ TMC 1, 582, 621, 631.

PMong. ***nam** low, level (низкий, ровный): WMong. *nam*, *namaɣu* (L 562); Kh. *nam*, *namū*; Bur. *nam*; Kalm. *nam*.

◊ KW 270.

PTurk. ***jAmač** side of a mountain (склон горы): Tur. *jamač*; Gag. *jamač*; Az. *jamaǯ*; Turkm. *jamač* (dial.); MTurk. *jamač*, *jamaǯ* (R, Pav. C.).

◊ VEWT 184, ЭСТЯ 4, 111.

PJpn. ***mama** precipice (обрыв): OJpn. *mama*.

‖ Phonetics in the Mong.-Tung. area presents some problems, probably because of an early dissimilation **ńi̯ama* > **ni̯ama* in part of the dialects, and some dialectal mixture afterwards (cf. several different reflexes in Evk.).

✸**ńi̯áme** to curse, harm: Tung. ***ńim- / *ńum-**; Mong. ***ǯime**; Turk. ***jem-ür-**; Jpn. ***mə́má-**; Kor. ***namɨra-**.

PTung. ***ńim- / *ńum-** 1 shame 2 shameless 3 awkward 4 weakness, sickness 5 to weaken, be exhausted, sick 6 to be sorry, sad (1 стыд 2 бесстыжий 3 неловко, неудобно 4 слабость, болезнь 5 ослабевать, истощаться 6 печалиться, грустить): Evk. *ńumu* 4; Evn. *ńu̯mъ̣r* 1, *ńu̯m-* 5; Neg. *ńomu̯-* 5; Man. *nime-* 5; SMan. *nimə-* 5 (713); Ul. *ńimeremdi*, *ńumeremǯi* 2, *ńumursi-* 6; Nan. *ńi̯moriǯi̯*, *ńomori̯* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 596, 645, 646.

PMong. ***ǯime** 1 guilt 2 defect, defective (1 вина 2 изъян, недостаток): MMong. *ǯemdeg* 2 (SH); WMong. *ǯime* 1 (L 1056), *ǯemdeg* 2 (L 1045); Kh. *ʒem* 1, *ʒemdeg* 2; Bur. *zeme* 1; Kalm. *zem* 1 (KPC); Ord. *ǯime*; Dag. *d́emden* 2; S.-Yugh. *ǯemteg* 2.

◊ MGCD 440.

PTurk. ***jem-ür-** 1 to crush, destroy 2 to curse, reproach (1 ломать, разрушать 2 порицать, упрекать): OTurk. *jemir-* (OUygh.) 1, 2; Karakh. *jemür-* (MK) 1; Az. *jümür-* 1; Turkm. *jemir-* 1; MTurk. *jimir-*, *jümür-* (R., Буд.) 1; Uygh. *jimir-* 1; Krm. *jemir-* 1; Tat. *ǯimer-* 1; Bashk. *jemer-* 1; Kirgh. *ǯemir-* 2, 1; KKalp. *žemir-* 1; Kum. *jemir-* 1; Nogh. *jemir-* 1; Shr. *nebir-* 1; Oyr. *jemir-*, *d́emir-* 1; Tv. *čemir-* 1; Chuv. *śəʷməʷr-* 2, 1.

◊ EDT 937, VEWT 197, ЭСТЯ 4, 183-184, Егоров 210. The meaning 'crush, destroy, widespread in modern languages, must be a secondary development from the original more abstract 'harm' (whence also 'curse, reproach').

PJpn. ***mə́má-** to argue, conflict (ссориться, спорить): Tok. *mòme-*; Kyo. *móme-*; Kag. *momé-*.

PKor. ***namɨra-** to curse, swear (ругать): MKor. *namɨra-*; Mod. *namura-*.

◊ Nam 88, KED 289.

‖ Turkic forms like Kirgh. *ʒeme*, Tuva *čeme*, Oyr. *ḱeme*, Yak. *seme-* are most probably < Mong.; Chuv. *śamlan-* 'to perish' is not quite clear.

✱**ńi̯àmi** trace: Tung. ***ńiam-**; Mong. ***ʒim**; Turk. ***jam**.

PTung. ***ńiam-** 1 old trace 2 to trace (an animal) (1 след (старый) 2 распутывать следы (зверя)): Evk. *ńêmirī* 1; Ud. *ńāma-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 631, 637.

PMong. ***ʒim** path, trace (тропинка, след): WMong. *ʒim* (L 1056); Kh. *ʒim*; Bur. *žem*; Kalm. *ʒim* (KPC); Ord. *ʒim*.

PTurk. ***jam** post station (почтовая станция): OTurk. *jam* (late OUygh.); Tur. *jam* (Red.); MTurk. *jam* (Abush., Sangl.); Tat. *jam* (possibly from Russian).

◊ VEWT 183, EDT 933. Turk. > MMong. *ʒam* 'post station', WMong. *ʒam* 'way, street, road' (hardly vice versa; see the discussion in Щербак 1997, 195). Mong. > Man. *ǵamun*, Nan. *jamõ*, Ul. *jamụ(n)*, see Doerfer MT 142 (with a strange initial reflex, suggesting rather an unattested Mong. variant **jam;* Chinese origin suggested by Doerfer TMN 4, 110-118 is improbable - for purely phonetical reasons: the actual Middle Chinese form was not "*ǵam oder ähnlich", as suggested ibid., but 站 *ṭém*; even the later fricativized shape *čam* (Zhongyuan yinyun) can hardly have yielded Mong. *ʒam*, to say nothing of the TM variants with j-).

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**ńi̯ä̀rke** to pinch (hair): Tung. ***nirku-**; Mong. ***ʒirge-**; Turk. ***jarkak**; Jpn. ***mə̀(n)k-**.

PTung. ***nirku-** short hair (of deer) (короткая, редкая шерсть (оленя)): Evk. *nirku*; Man. *nirGa*, *nirχan*.

◊ TMC 1, 600.

PMong. ***ʒirge-** to pinch (hair, etc.) (щипать (волосы и т.п.)): Kh. *ʒirge-*; Bur. *žarxi-*.

◊ The meaning 'pinch (hair)' is hardly related to the other meaning of *ʒirge-*, 'cut, split' (on which see under **ʒíre*); it is most probably an accidental homonymy.

PTurk. ***jarkak** skin (tanned, without hair) (шкура (дубленая, без волос)): Turkm. *jarɣaq*; MTurk. *jarɣaq* (Pav. C., Abush.); Uzb. *ʒɔrɣaq* (dial.); Uygh. *ja(r)ɣaq*; Tat. *jarɣaq*; Bashk. *jarɣaq*; Kirgh. *ʒarɣaq*; Kaz. *žarɣaq*; KKalp. *žarɣaq*; Kum. *jarɣaq* (dial.); Nogh. *jarɣaq*; Oyr. *jarɣaq*, *ḱarɣaq*; Tv. *čarɣaš* 'hairless (skin); placenta'; Chuv. *śorɣax* 'film, membrane'.

◊ VEWT 190, ЭСТЯ 4, 141-142, Лексика 385, Ашм. XII, 277-278, Федотов 2, 145-146. Turk. > WMong. *ʒarɣaɣ*, Kalm. *zarɣəg* (KW 467).

PJpn. ***mə̀(n)k-** to pinch (hair, feathers, etc.) (выщипывать (волосы, перья и т.п.)): MJpn. *mòg-*; Tok. *móg-*; Kyo. *móg-*; Kag. *móg-*.

◊ JLTT 726. Accent in Kyoto and Kagoshima is irregular (under Tokyo influence?).

‖ Дыбо 1995b. The root is quite reliable both phonetically and semantically.

✱**ńi̯ăŕe (?*Ĺ-)** to draw: Tung. ***ńiru-**; Mong. ***ǯiru-**; Turk. ***jạŕ-**; Kor. ***nìrk-**.

PTung. ***ńiru-** to draw, write (рисовать, писать): Neg. *niju-*; Man. *niru-*; SMan. *juru-* (1391); Ul. *ńuru-*; Ork. *ńiru-*; Nan. *ńiru-*; Orch. *ńiru-*; Sol. *niruɣan* 'drawing'.

◊ TMC 1, 600. TM > Dag. *niru-*, *nuru-* (Тод. Даг. 158).

PMong. ***ǯiru-** 1 scratch, draw, write 2 line, row (1 царапать, рисовать, писать 2 линия, ряд): MMong. *ǯiru-* (MA); WMong. *ǯiru-* 1 (L 1060), *ǯirum* 2 (L 1061); Kh. *ʒura-* 1, *ǯuram* 2; Bur. *zura-*; Kalm. *zur-*; Ord. *ǯuru-* 1, *ǯurā* 2; Dag. *ǯurī-* (Тод. Даг. 145), *ǯori-* 'point to; draw (a picture)' (MD 180); Mongr. *ʒūri-* (SM 95).

◊ KW 481, MGCD 464. Cf. Mongr. *ʒarGə* 'ligne de démarcation entre deux champs' (83) and WMong. *ǯiruqai*. Mong. > Yak. *suruj*, Dolg. *huruj-* 'write' (see Kał. MEJ 23, Stachowski 113). Mong. *ǯiru-ɣa* 'line' > Man. *ǯurgan* id. (see Rozycki 128).

PTurk. ***jạŕ-** to write (писать): Karakh. *jaz-* (MK Oghuz.); Tur. *jaz-*; Gag. *jaz-*; Az. *jaz-*; Turkm. *jaz-*; Khal. *jaz-*; MTurk. *jaz-* (Pav. C., Ettuhf.); Uzb. *jɔz-*; Uygh. *jaz-*; Krm. *jaz-*; Tat. *jaz-*; Bashk. *jaδ-*; Kirgh. *ǯaz-*; Kaz. *žaz-*; KBalk. *ǯaz-*, *zaz-*; KKalp. *žaz-*; Kum. *jaz-*; Nogh. *jaz-*; Chuv. *śɨr-*.

◊ VEWT 193, ЭСТЯ 4, 70-71, EDT 984. Turk. > Hung. *ír-* (MNyTESz 2, 227-228).

PKor. ***nìrk-** to read (читать): MKor. *nìrk-*; Mod. *ik-* [ilk-].

◊ Nam 125, KED 361.

‖ Владимирцов 188, Poppe 28, Дыбо 14. Initial *l- is possible if we relate here Jurch. *lar-ru-* 'to write' (809) - the PTM form in this case must be reconstructed as **liru-*. Despite Doerfer's criticism (TMN 4, 69-70), the etymology seems quite plausible (and the TM forms can certainly not be explained as borrowed < Mong.).

✱**ńi̯àŕì** man, young man: Tung. ***ń(i)ari**; Mong. ***ǯer-me-**; Turk. ***jeŕne**; Jpn. ***mì(n)tù**; Kor. ***nǎr-ná-**.

PTung. ***ń(i)ari** 1 man 2 person 3 young man (1 мужчина 2 человек 3 юноша): Evk. *nirawī* 3; Evn. *ńarị* 1, 3; Neg. *ńêjawị̄* 3; Man. *ńalma* 1, 2; SMan. *nanə* 'person, human being' (827); Jurch. *neRma* (295) 1, 2; Ul. *ńī* 1; Ork. *nari* 1; Nan. *naị* 1, 2, dial. *nịŕa* 1; Orch. *ńā̄*, *ńī* 1; Ud. *nī* 1; Sol. *nirō* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 598-599.

PMong. ***ǯer-me-** young man (юноша): Kh. (Bayat) *ǯermegei*; Bur. *žerbeger* 'shapely, handsome (of a man)'.

PTurk. ***jeŕne** son-in-law, sister's husband (зять, муж сестры): Karakh. *jezne* (MK); Az. *jeznä*; Turkm. *jezne* (dial.); MTurk. *jeznä* (Houts.); Uzb. *ǯeznä*, *ǯezdä*; Tat. *ǯiznɛ*, *ǯizni*; Kirgh. *ǯezde*; Kaz. *žezde*; KKalp. *žezde*; Nogh. *jezde*; SUygh. *jezde*; Khak. *čiste*; Shr. *česte*; Oyr. *jeste*, *ďeste*; Tv. *česte*.

◊ EDT 988, VEWT 199, TMN 4, 165, ЭСТЯ 4, 169-170, Лексика 298. Cf. also Chuv. *śarmъk* 'young, young man' (> Hung. *gyermek).*

PJpn. ***mì(n)tù-** young, healthy and fresh-looking (молодой, пышущий здоровьем): OJpn. *mjidu*, *mjitu-mjitu-*; Tok. *mizumizushí-*; Kyo. *mízúmízúshì-*; Kag. *mizumizúshi-*.

◊ JLTT 483.

PKor. ***nǎr-ná-** brave, nimble (храбрый, проворный): MKor. *nǎr-ná-*; Mod. *nallä-*.

◊ Nam 96, KED 303.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 291.

✱**ń[i̯ō]ba** to walk, to go out: Tung. ***ńē(b)- ~ *ńū(b)-**; Jpn. ***màwə- (~ -u)**; Kor. ***ní-**.

PTung. ***ńē(b)- ~ *ńū(b)-** to go out (выходить): Evk. *jū-*; Evn. *ńȍ̄-*; Neg. *jū-* / *ńū-*; Ul. *ńie-* / *ńē-*; Ork. *nē-*; Nan. *ńie-* / *ńē-*; Orch. *ńū-*; Ud. *ńū-*; Sol. *jū-*.

◊ TMC 1, 348-349.

PJpn. ***màwə- (~ -u)** to walk, come (идти, ходить, приходить): OJpn. *mawi-r-*, *mawu-*; MJpn. *màwí-r-*; Tok. *máir-*; Kyo. *màìr-*; Kag. *màìr-*.

◊ JLTT 719. Tok. *máir-* < *maír-* with an accent shift in a diphthong.

PKor. ***ní-** to go (идти): MKor. *ní-* (*njə̀-*).

◊ Nam 119. Cf. also *nìrǎ-*, *nìrì-* 'to reach'.

‖ EAS 77. An Eastern isogloss. The vocalic structure of the TM forms is not quite clear (because of contractions), thus the PA reconstruction is not secure. Cf. perhaps Mong. *ʒow* 'пошла вон! (о собаке)'. See SKE 165.

✱**ńi̯ȍgè** son-in-law, nephew: Tung. ***ńōg-**; Mong. ***ʒeɣe**; Turk. ***jEgin**; Jpn. ***mùkuâ**.

PTung. ***ńōg-** relative, sister's son (родственник, ребенок младшей сестры): Evn. *ńȍ̄ɣe*.

◊ TMC 1, 644. Attested only in Evn., but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***ʒeɣe** grandson, nephew (внук, племянник): MMong. *ʒeje* (HY 28); WMong. *ʒege* (L 1051: *ʒige*); Kh. *ʒē*; Bur. *zē*; Kalm. *zē*; Ord. *ʒē*; Dag. *ʒē* (Тод. Даг. 143); Dong. *ʒə*; S.-Yugh. *ʒī*; Mongr. *ʒē* (SM 86).

◊ KW 474, MGCD 438. ? Mong. > TM *ʒā.*

PTurk. ***jEgin** nephew (племянник): OTurk. *jegen*, *jegin* (OUygh.); Tur. *jēn*, *jegen*, *jejen*; Turkm. *jegen*; MTurk. *jeken*, *jegen* (R.); Uzb. *ʒijän*; Tat. *ʒijɛn*; Bashk. *jejän*; Kirgh. *ʒēn*; Kaz. *žijen*; KKalp. *žijen*; Nogh. *jijen*; SUygh. *jegen*; Khak. *čēn*; Shr. *čēn*; Oyr. *jēn*, *ďēn*; Tv. *čēn*; Yak. *sien*.

◊ EDT 912-913, VEWT 194, ЭСТЯ 4, 166-167, Лексика 293.

PJpn. ***mùkuâ** son-in-law, bridegroom (зять, жених): OJpn. *muk(w)o*; MJpn. *mùkó*; Tok. *múko*; Kyo. *mùkô*; Kag. *mukó*.

◊ JLTT 487.

‖ Владимирцов 198. The Jpn. word is to be analysed as **mu-* (< **ńi̯ōge*) + **kua* 'son, child'.

✱**ńi̯ṓĺe (~ -i)** green, vegetable: Tung. ***ńoli-**; Mong. ***ǯöl(ü)ge**; Turk. ***jāĺ-ɨl**.

PTung. ***ńoli-** 1 green moss, green mould 2 bluish 3 bruise 4 greenish (1 зеленый мох, зеленая плесень 2 синеватый 3 синяк 4 зеленоватый): Man. *ńolmon* 1; Ul. *ńolǯokto* 3; Ork. *nōlto* / *ńōlto* 3; Nan. *ńolā* 2; Orch. *noligi* 4; Ud. *ńoliɣi*, *ńolo* 2, 4.

◊ TMC 1, 601-603 (to be distinguished from **ńog-!).*

PMong. ***ǯöl(ü)ge** green meadow (зеленый луг): MMong. *ǯolge* (SH, see TMN 1, 295); WMong. *ǯölge* (L 1085: *ǯülge*); Kh. *ʒüleg*; Bur. *zülge*; Kalm. *zölgə*; Mongr. *čorgō* 'vallée avec une rivière au milieu' (SM 440).

◊ KW 477. Mong. > Kirgh. *ǯülgö* etc., see ЭСТЯ 4, 37-38, TMN 1, 295.

PTurk. ***jāĺ-ɨl** 1 green 2 yellow (1 зеленый 2 желтый): OTurk. *jašɨl* (Orkh., OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *jašɨl* (MK, KB) 1; Tur. *ješil* 1; Gag. *ješil* 1; Az. *jašɨl* 1; Turkm. *jāšɨl* 1; Sal. *jäšil* 1; Khal. *ja:šɨl* 1; MTurk. *jašɨl* (MA) 1; Uzb. *jašil* 1; Uygh. *ješil* 1; Krm. *ješli* 1; Tat. *jɛšel* 1; Bashk. *jäšel* 1; Kirgh. *ǯašɨl* 1; Kaz. *žasɨl* 1; KBalk. *žašil* 1; KKalp. *žasɨl* 1; Kum. *jašɨl* 1; Nogh. *jasɨl* 1; SUygh. *jahsɨl* 1; Khak. *čazɨl* 1; Shr. *čažɨl* (R.) 1; Oyr. *ḋažɨl* 1; Chuv. *śulźa*, *śulǯa*, *śъvъlś* 'leaf' (= Bashk. *jäšelsä* 'greens, vegetables'); Yak. *saha-r-* 2; Dolg. *haha-r-* 2.

◊ Derived from PT **jāĺ* 'young, green vegetables' (OUygh. *jaš*, MK *jaš*, Turkm. *jāš*, see ЭСТЯ 4, 162, EDT 975, 976, Федотов 2, 134, Stachowski 93). This root is often mixed with homophonous **jāĺ* 'tear' and **jāĺ* 'age, year', see ЭСТЯ 4, 161-164 (all three roots have different Altaic etymologies). Turk. > Mong. *jasil* 'buckthorn' (Clark 1980, 41).

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**ńi̯oŋe** cold: Tung. ***ńeŋde- / *ńuŋde-**; Mong. ***ǯiŋ-de-**; Turk. ***jEŋ**.

PTung. ***ńeŋde- / *ńuŋde-** 1 cold 2 clear, frosty (weather) (1 холодный 2 ясный, морозный): Evk. *ńeŋdelē* 2; Ul. *nụŋdụlị* 1; Ork. *nuŋduli* 1; Nan. *noŋǯị-sị* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 653.

PMong. ***ǯiŋ-de-** to suffer from cold (страдать от холода): WMong. *ǯiŋ-de-* 3 (L 1057: *ǯiŋgine-*); Kh. *ǯindi-*, *ǯiŋgene-* 3; Kalm. *ǯiŋdə-* (KPC); Ord. *ǯiŋ* 'frost'; S.-Yugh. *ǯiŋgene-*.

◊ MGCD 445.

PTurk. ***jEŋ** frazil (шуга, наледь): Khak. *neŋ*; Oyr. *ńeŋ* (dial.); Tv. *čeŋ*.

◊ VEWT 197 (if not < unattested South.-Sam.?)

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**ńi̯ȍpo** front, in front, front side: Tung. ***ńōb- (/ *ńāb-)**; Mong. ***ǯöb**; Jpn. ***màpiâ**; Kor. ***njə̀p**.

PTung. ***ńōb- (/ *ńāb-)** 1 before, in front 2 to go forward 3 the one in front, leading (1 вперед, впереди 2 идти вперед, опережать 3 пере-

довой, ведущий): Evk. *ńō-* 2, *ńōγū*, *ńōw* 3, *ńāw-de* 1; Evn. *ńōγ*, *ńōw* 3; Neg. *ńōγū*, *ńōwū* 3; Ul. *jo-ro-*, *ńo-ro-* 2; Ork. *nawra-* 2, *ńowụ* 3; Nan. *mịo-rịa-* 2; Orch. *ńau-kä* 1, *ńō-ki* 3; Ud. *ńōγi-* 2, *ńau-xe*, *ńou-xe* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 627, 641-642.

PMong. ***ʒöb** straight, right (прямой, правый): MMong. *ʒиер* (HY 51), *ʒob* (SH); WMong. *ʒöb* (L 1072); Kh. *ʒöv*; Bur. *züb*; Kalm. *zöb*, *zöwḷ-* 'make straight'; Ord. *ʒöb*; Dag. *ʒugi-*, *ʒewul* (Тод. Даг. 143, 145); *ʒuhi* 'correct' (MD 180), *ʒubšē-* 'to approve' (= Khalkha *ʒövšō̄-*); Dong. *ʒo*; Mongr. *ʒo*, *ʒwo* 'vrai, véritable' (SM 74), *ʒuw* 'délibération' (SM 95), *ʒob*.

◊ KW 477, 478, MGCD 456, 457. Mong. > Man. *ʒebe-le*, Jurch. *ʒe-wen* 'right'.

PJpn. ***màpiâ** front, before (перед, впереди): OJpn. *mapje*; MJpn. *màfè*; Tok. *máe*; Kyo. *màê*; Kag. *maé*.

◊ JLTT 469.

PKor. ***njàp** side (сторона): MKor. *njàp*; Mod. *jəp(h)*.

◊ Nam 109, KED 1189.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 297. TM reflects a form with early dissimilation: **ńi̯ȍpo* > **ńōbo*; other forms point to a diphthong in PA.

✱**ńi̯oru** strap, rag: Tung. ***ń(i)ara-, *ńiarma-**; Mong. ***ʒur-**; Turk. ***jur-**.

PTung. ***ń(i)ara-, *ńiarma-** 1 skin (not smoked) 2 a k. of cloth 3 upper layer of meat (1 шкура (непродымленная) 2 вид одежды 3 верхний тонкий слой мяса (над ребрами медведя)): Evk. *ńarahin* 1, *ńarmakān* 2; Neg. *ńanmakan* 3; Ork. *nalma(n)* 2; Nan. *nịarma*, *ńarma* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 635.

PMong. ***ʒur-** strip, strap, torn piece (полоса, оторванный кусок): WMong. *ʒurma*, *ʒurim*, *ʒurbus* (L 1080); Kh. *ʒurvas*; Ord. *ʒurwus* 'qui a la forme d´une ligne', *ʒurus*.

PTurk. ***jur-** patch of cloth, rag (лоскуты, лохмотья): OTurk. *jurun* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jurun* (MK); MTurk. *jurun* (Abush., Sangl.); Krm. *jurq-* 'to pinch (hair)'; Tat. *joron* (dial.); Bashk. *jorqaq*, *joron*; Kaz. *žurɨn* (dial.); KBalk. *ʒurun*; KKalp. *žurɨndɨ*; Khak. *čurux*; Oyr. *d'urun*; Tv. *čuruq*; Tof. *čuruq*; Chuv. *śorъm* 'bundle of flax or hemp'.

◊ VEWT 211, EDT 970, ЭСТЯ 4, 255-256, Ашм. XII, 270.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**ńi̯ŭmi** to close (eyes, mouth): Tung. ***ńim-**; Mong. ***ʒimüji-**; Turk. ***jüm-** / ***jum-**.

PTung. ***ńim-** to close (eyes) (закрывать (глаза)): Evk. *nimŋi-*; Evn. *ńimru-*; Neg. *ńimni-*; Ul. *ńịmarGụ-*; Ork. *ńimmi-*; Orch. *ńimsi-*.

◊ TMC 1, 594-595.

PMong. ***ʒimüji-** to close (eyes, mouth) (закрывать (глаза, рот)): WMong. *ʒimüi-* (L 1056: *ʒimiji-*); Kh. *ʒimij-*; Bur. *žemɨ-*; Kalm. *ʒimī-*; Ord. *ʒimī-*; Mongr. *ʒimu-* (SM 88).

◊ KW 111.

PTurk. ***jüm- / *jum-** to close (eyes, mouth) (закрывать (глаза, рот)): Karakh. *jüm-* (MK); Tur. *jum-*; Gag. *jum-*; Az. *jum-*; Turkm. *jum-*; Sal. *jum-*; Khal. *jim-*; MTurk. *jum-* (Pav. C., MA, AH); Uzb. *jum-*; Uygh. *jum-*, *žum-*; Krm. *jum-*; Tat. *jom-*; Bashk. *jom-*; Kirgh. *ǯum-*; Kaz. *žum-*; KBalk. *ǯum-*, *žum-*; KKalp. *žum-*; Kum. *jum-*; Nogh. *jum-*; SUygh. *jum-*; Oyr. *ďum-*; Yak. *sim-*.

◊ EDT 934, VEWT 210, ЭСТЯ 4, 245-246.

‖ KW 111, EAS 65, Дыбо 13. A Western isogloss. Mong. is hardly borrowed from Turk., despite Щербак 1997, 125.

✱**ńi̯ūno** to adze, scrape off: Tung. ***ńüŋ-**; Mong. ***ǯoma-gul**; Turk. ***jōn-**.

PTung. ***ńüŋ-** 1 to make notches 2 to scrape off, adze (with an axe) (1 делать зарубки 2 соскребать, стесывать (топором)): Evn. *ńiŋ-* 1; Man. *ńoŋGaǯa-*, *ńoŋGala-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 638, 644.

PMong. ***ǯoma-gul** wooden chips, shavings (щепка, стружка): WMong. *ǯomuγul* (L 1070); Kh. *ʒomgol*; Bur. *zomgōl*, *zomgōhon*; Kalm. *zomγəl*.

◊ KW 476.

PTurk. ***jōn-** to adze, plane (обтесывать, строгать): OTurk. *jon-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jon-* (MK); Tur. *jon-*; Gag. *jon-*; Az. *jon-*; Turkm. *jōn-*; MTurk. *jon-* (AH, Ettuhf., Бор. Бад.), *jön-* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *jo̦n-*; Uygh. *jonu-*; Krm. *jon-*; Tat. *jun-*; Bashk. *jun-*; Kirgh. *ǯon-*; Kaz. *žon-*; KBalk. *ǯon-*; KKalp. *žon-*; Kum. *jon-*; Nogh. *jon-*; Shr. *non-*; Oyr. *jon-*, *ďon-*; Tv. *čon-*; Chuv. *śon-*; Yak. *suor-*; Dolg. *huor-*.

◊ EDT 942; VEWT 206, ЭСТЯ 4, 221-222, Федотов 2, 136, Stachowski 112. Final -r- in Yak. is somewhat strange - perhaps an early contamination with **jüŕ-* q.v. sub **ǯi̯uŕi* (?)

‖ KW 476. A Western isogloss. Medial -m- in Mong. is probably secondary (assimilatory here). Note that all languages reflect a derivative **ńi̯ūno-gV* (in Turk. cf. **jōn-ga* 'chips, wooden shavings' = Mong. **ǯomu-gu-l* = TM **ńüŋ(g)-*).

✱**ńi̯ūŋne** direction, sign: Tung. ***ńuŋ-**; Mong. ***ǯöŋ**; Turk. ***jõn**; Jpn. ***muna-i**.

PTung. ***ńuŋ-** 1 to direct, give directions 2 direction, instruction 3 instructor, director, master 4 council, advice (1 указывать, направлять 2 указание, направление 3 начальник, хозяин 4 совет): Evk. *nuŋnī-*, *ńuŋnī-* 1, *nuŋnīγē*, *ńuŋnīγē* 2, *ńuŋe* 3; Evn. *ńūn-* 1, *ńūnъn* 2, *ńuŋun* 3, *ńuŋse-γъn* 4; Neg. *nuŋni-* 1, *ńuŋu* 4; Ork. *nuŋe*, *ńuŋe* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 612. Depalatalized *n- in some of the forms may be due to contamination with PTM **nuŋ-* < PA **nuŋu* q.v.

PMong. ***ǯöŋ** omen, sign; natural course of things (знамение, знак; естественный ход вещей): WMong. *ǯöŋ* (L 1075); Kh. *ʒön*; Kalm. *zöŋ*; Ord. *ǯöŋ* 'manière d´être propre; manière d´être constante'.

◊ KW 478.

PTurk. ***jȫn** 1 side, direction 2 to be directed towards, head towards 3 reason, method, cause 4 regular, easy 5 cheap 6 origin (1 сторона, направление 2 направляться, поворачиваться 3 причина, способ, отношение 4 простой, правильный 5 дешевый 6 происхождение): OTurk. *jon* 3 (OUygh.); Tur. *jön* 1, 3, *jünel-* 2; Az. *jön* 1; Turkm. *jȫnel-* 2; MTurk. *jön* 1 (Бор. Бад.); Uzb. *jǫnal-* 2, *ǯǫn* 4 (< Kypch. or Mong.); Uygh. *jönɛl-* 2; Krm. *jöne-* 2; Tat. *jün* 3, 5, *jünäl-* 2; Bashk. *jün* 3, 4, *jünɛlɛ-* 2; Kirgh. *ǯön* 1, 4, 6, *ǯönö-* 2; Kaz. *žön* 1; KBalk. *ǯöne-* 2; KKalp. *žön* 1; Nogh. *jöne-* 2.

◊ VEWT 208, EDT 941, ЭСТЯ 4, 232-234. Tat. > Chuv. *jünə* 'cheap' (Федотов 1, 204-205).

PJpn. ***muna-i** centre, essence (сущность, суть): OJpn. *mune*; MJpn. *múné*, *mùnè*; Tok. *muné*; Kyo. *múnè*; Kag. *múne*.

◊ JLTT 488. The oblique stem is *muna-* (e.g. in *muna-ti*, *muna-wake* etc.) Original accent is not quite clear: modern dialects reflect **múnà-i* (homophonous with **múnà-i* "breast"), but MJ fixes a variation between múné and mùnè.

‖ An interesting common Altaic root, with quite plausible phonetic and semantic correspondences; however, some contaminations with **nuŋu* 'chief, master' were possible.

✱**ńi̯ùŋńù** liquid faeces: Tung. ***ńōŋńa**; Mong. ***ǯuŋgag**; Turk. ***jin (/*jɨn)**; Jpn. ***ùmì**; Kor. ***nú(ŋ)-**.

PTung. ***ńōŋńa** 1 faeces, contents of intestines 2 liquid glue (1 помет, содержимое кишок 2 жидкий клей): Evk. *ńōńa* 1; Evn. *ńōńa*, *ńōŋńa* 1; Ud. *ńoŋo* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 643-644.

PMong. ***ǯuŋgag** faeces of young animals, dirt, mucus (помет молодых животных, жидкая грязь): MMong. *ǯunda'ul* (SH); WMong. *ǯuŋγaγ* (L 1079); Kh. *ʒungag*; Bur. *zungag*; Kalm. *zunγəG*; Ord. *ǯuŋGaG*; S.-Yugh. *duŋGag*.

◊ KW 480, MGCD 463.

PTurk. ***jin (/*jɨn)** faecal masses (content of intestines) (фекальные массы (содержимое кишок)): OTurk. *jin* (*jiŋ*) (OUygh.); Karakh. *jin* (MK); Tat. *ǯen* dial.; Bashk. *jen*; Kirgh. *ǯin*; Kaz. *žɨn*; KKalp. *žin*; SUygh. *jin*, *jiŋ*; Khak. *nən*; Oyr. *jin*, *ďin*; Tv. *čin*.

◊ EDT 941, VEWT 203, ЭСТЯ 4, 27-28, Лексика 148-149.

PJpn. ***ùmì** pus (гной): OJpn. *umji*; MJpn. *ùmì*; Tok. *umí*; Kyo. *úmì*; Kag. *umí*.

◊ JLTT 562.

PKor. ***nú(ŋ)-** to defecate, urinate (испражняться, мочиться): MKor. *nú-*; Mod. *nu-*.

◊ Liu 161, KED 356.

‖ SKE 172, Дыбо 10, Лексика 149. In Jpn. one has to suppose either a secondary dissimilation (*ùmì < *mùmì), or a preliminary assimilation *ńi̯ù̯ŋńu > *ŋi̯ù̯ŋńu (> *ùmì).

✱**ńi̯uŕge** a k. of weed: Tung. ***nirge- (~ -ü-)**; Mong. ***ʒürgij**; Turk. ***jiŕ**; Jpn. ***mərəkəsi**.

PTung. ***nirge- (~ -ü-)** 1 buckwheat 2 selfheal 3 young grass 4 a k. of swamp plant 5 burdock (1 гречиха 2 черноголовка 3 молодая трава 4 вид болотного растения 5 лопух): Evk. *nirgēkte* 2, 3; Evn. *ńiergēt* 4; Neg. *nidgēkte* 5; Sol. *nirgē* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 599-600. TM > Dag. *nirgēs* 'grain' (Тод. Даг. 158).

PMong. ***ʒürgij** knotweed, climbing buckwheat (Polygonum L.) (ломонос сибирский, хмель белый): WMong. *ʒürgij*, (L 1085: *ʒürgüj* 'Atragene sibirica'); Kh. *ʒürgij*.

PTurk. ***jiŕ** Artemisia abrotonon (вид полыни): OTurk. *jiz* (~ -e-) (OUygh.); Karakh. *jiz* (~ -e-) (MK).

◊ EDT 982, VEWT 204.

PJpn. ***mərəkəsi** sorghum (сорго): Tok. *mòrokoshi*; Kyo. *mórókóshí*; Kag. *morokoshí*.

◊ The word is not attested in OJ and MJ; it is not quite clear whether it can be equated with OJ *morokosi* 'China'.

‖ Phonetically a good match, but botanical details remain to be clarified.

✱**ńo̍lo (~ -u-)** to pluck, pick out: Tung. ***ń[u]l-**; Mong. ***ʒul-**; Turk. ***jol-**; Jpn. ***mər-**.

PTung. ***ń[u]l-** 1 to exuviate, fade 2 naked (1 линять, вылезать (о шерсти, перьях) 2 голый): Evk. *nil-* / *ńil-*, *ńīlarga-* 1; Evn. *nīl-* 1; Neg. *ńolaxīn*, *ńelakin* 2; Man. *niltu-* 1, *ńolmoŋge* 2; Ul. *ńuli-* 1, *ńelao* 2; Ork. *nūllī-* 1, *nīlawū* 2; Nan. *ńīlaqõ* 2; Orch. *ńulaki* 2; Ud. *ńuli-*, *ńulu-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 592, 643.

PMong. ***ʒul-** 1 to pick, pluck 2 to lose hair, be plucked (1 срывать, вырывать 2 терять волосы, быть выщипанным): WMong. *ʒulga-* 1, *ʒulbu-* 2 (L 1078), *ʒulmu-* 1, 2 (L 1079); Kh. *ʒulga-* 1, *ʒulba-*, *ʒulma-* 1, 2; Bur. *zulgā-* 1, *zulbagar*, *zulmar* (adj.) 2; Kalm. *ʒulγə-*; Ord. *ʒulGā-* 1, *ʒulb^{w}ī-* 'avoir peu ou point de poils (peau d'animal né avant terme'; *ʒulbura-* 2; S.-Yugh. *ʒulGu-* 1.

◊ KW 115, MGCD 462. Mong. > Evk. *ʒulgā-*, see Doerfer MT 127.

PTurk. ***jol-** to tear out, pick out, pluck (срывать, вырывать, выщипывать): OTurk. *jol-* ~ *jul-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jol-* ~ *jul-* (MK); Tur. *jol-*, *juli-*; Gag. *jol-*; Az. *jol-*; Turkm. *jol-*; Khal. *jilu-*; MTurk. *jul-* (R.), *juli-* (Houts.); Uzb. *jul-*; Uygh. *jul-*, *žul-*; Krm. *jul-*, *julu-*; Bashk. *jolo-*; Kirgh. *ʒul-*; Kaz. *žul-*; KBalk. *žul-*; KKalp. *žul-*; SUygh. *jul-*; Khak. *čul-*; Shr. *čul-*; Oyr. *jul-*, *ḋul-*; Tv. *čul-*; Chuv. *śъ^{w}l-*; Yak. *suluj-*.

◊ EDT 918, ЭСТЯ 4, 216; often confused with **jül-* 'shave' (v. sub **zŭli*). Turk. forms like **julk-* (VEWT 210) may be borrowed from Mong.

PJpn. ***mòr-** to pluck, tear off (вырывать, срывать, выщипывать): OJpn. *m(w)or-*; MJpn. *mor-*.

◊ JLTT 727. Low tone is indicated by attested Ryukyu forms.

‖ ОСНЯ 2, 91-92.

✱ńóro (~ -u-, -e) arrow, harpoon: Tung. ***ńuru (~-i)**; Mong. ***ǯoruɣa**; Jpn. ***mórí (~-ua-)**.

PTung. ***ńuru (~-i)** arrow (стрела): Evk. *ńur*; Evn. *ńụr*; Neg. *ńoj*; Man. *niru*; SMan. *ńurə*, *jurə* (820); Jurch. *niru* (237); Sol. *niru*, *nụr(ụ)*.

◊ TMC 1, 648. Manchu *jōro* 'arrow with bone tip' may be a variant of the same root (hardly a loan from Mong. *ǯoruɣa*, because *ǯ-* > j- is not possible).

PMong. ***ǯoruɣa** arrow with bone head (стрела с костяным наконечником): WMong. *ǯoruɣa* (L 1072); Bur. *žorxo* 'bone arrow (for dice play)'.

◊ Mong. > Man. *ǯoro* id.

PJpn. ***mórí (~-ua-)** fish-fork, harpoon (гарпун, острога): Tok. *mòri*, *mori*; Kyo. *mori*; Kag. *mori*.

◊ JLTT 485.

‖ A good match denoting a hunting weapon.

✱ńu- six: Tung. ***ńu-ŋu-**; Mong. ***ǯirgu-ɣa-**; Jpn. ***mu-**.

PTung. ***ńu-ŋu-n** six (шесть): Evk. *ńuŋun*; Evn. *ńuŋъn*; Neg. *ńuŋun*; Man. *niŋgun*; SMan. *niŋun*, *ńuŋun* (2740); Jurch. *niuŋ-ǯu* (641); Ul. *ńuŋgu(n)*; Ork. *nuŋgu(n)*; Nan. *ńuŋgũ*; Orch. *ńuŋu(n)*; Ud. *ńuŋu(n)*; Sol. *ńuŋũ*.

◊ TMC 1, 647-648.

PMong. ***ǯirgu-ɣa-** 1 six 2 sixty (1 шесть 2 шестьдесят): MMong. *ǯir'ua'an* (HY 43), *ǯirqo'an* (SH) 1, *ǯiran* (HY 43) 2, *ǯ[i]rɣān* 1, *ǯɛirān* 2 (IM); WMong. *ǯirguɣan* 1 (L 1059), *ǯira(n)* (L 1058); Kh. *ʒurgān* 1, *ǯar* 2; Bur. *zurgā(n)* 1, *žaran* 2; Kalm. *zurɣān*; Ord. *ǯurGā(n)* 1, *ǯira* 2; Dag. *dirgō(n)*, *ǯirgō(n)* 1 (Тод. Даг. 137, 144), *ǯar* 2 (Тод. Даг. 142 *ǯara(n)*), *ǯireuō* 1 (MD 179); S.-Yugh. *ǯiran* 2; Mongr. *ʒirGōn* (SM 93), *ʒiran* (SM 92), *ǯiran* 2.

◊ KW 481, MGCD 432.

PJpn. ***mu-** six (шесть): OJpn. *mu-*; MJpn. *mú-*; Tok. *mù-*; Kyo. *mú-*; Kag. *mù-*.

◊ JLTT 489. As with other numerals, the accent reconstruction is not clear.

‖ Poppe 28, АПиПЯЯ 78.

✱ńùbV entertainment: Tung. ***ńōba**; Mong. ***ǯuɣa**; Turk. ***juba-**.

PTung. ***ńōba** 1 joke, entertainment 2 to joke (1 шутка, забава 2 подшучивать): Man. *jōbo* 1, *ńobo-*, *ńobu-* 2; SMan. *jovə* 'joke, jest' (1299).

◊ TMC 1, 345.

PMong. ***ǯuɣa** amusement, entertainment (забава, развлечение): WMong. *ǯuɣa*, *ǯuɣaɣa* (L 1077); Kh. *ʒugā*; Bur. *zugā*; Kalm. *zuɣāca-* 'to walk' (СЯОС).

PTurk. ***juba-** 1 to be comforted, consoled, entertained 2 to comfort, entertain (1 утешаться, забавляться 2 утешать, развлекать): Tur. *juwat-* (dial.) 2; MTurk. *ǯuwat-* 2 (R); Uzb. *juwan-* (dial.) 1; Krm. *juwan-*, *juwun-* 1, *juwut-* 2; Tat. *juwan-* 1; Bashk. *jɨwan-* 1.

◊ ЭСТЯ 4, 240. Some forms, like Kum. *jiban-*, Uzb. *jupan-* reflect rather **jupa-*; the variation of *-b- and *-p- is not quite clear in this root.

‖ Владимирцов 210. A Western isogloss.

✱**ńugńa** water bird, goose: Tung. ***ńuŋńakī**; Turk. ***jugak**; Kor. ***nə̄ńí**.

PTung. ***ńuŋńakī** goose (гусь): Evk. *ńuŋńakī*; Evn. *nū̄ŋqi* 'баклан', *nēŋen*; Neg. *ńoŋnixīn*, *ńoŋńaxī*; Man. *ńoŋńaχa*; SMan. *ńuŋəńahə* (2248); Jurch. *niuŋ-nia-xa* (646); Ul. *ńuŋńa*; Ork. *nuŋna*; Nan. *ńoŋńa*; Orch. *ńuŋńa*; Ud. *ńuŋńaʿi*; Sol. *nuŋnaxi*.

◊ TMC 1, 611, 623, 646-7.

PTurk. ***jugak** a k. of water bird (diver, goose) (вид водной птицы (гагара, гусь)): Karakh. *juɣaq* (MK,KB).

◊ VEWT 243, EDT 901, Лексика 171.

PKor. ***nə̄ńí** bustard (дрофа): MKor. *nə̄ńí*; Mod. *nəsä*.

◊ Nam 104.

‖ Дыбо 9, Лексика 171.

✱**ńūje** warm, to burn: Tung. ***ńē-**; Mong. ***ǯöɣe-**; Jpn. ***muája-**.

PTung. ***ńē-** 1 to sweat 2 sweat (1 потеть 2 пот): Evk. *ńē-* 1, *ńēkse* 2; Evn. *ńēs* 2; Neg. *ńēseŋ* 2; Man. *nej* 2; Ul. *jeseŋgi* 2; Ork. *nēseŋgi* 2; Nan. *ńeseŋgi* 2; Orch. *ńeseŋi* 2; Ud. *niheŋe-* 1, *ńēŋi* 2; Sol. *nēšī* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 650.

PMong. ***ǯöɣe-** warm, warmish, cooled (теплый, тепловатый, прохладный): MMong. *ǯu'en* (SH), *ǯue'en* (HY 6) 'cool'; WMong. *ǯögen*, *ǯögeg* (L 1074); Kh. *ʒȫn*, *ʒȫg*; Kalm. *zȫg*.

◊ KW 479. The meaning 'cool' may be secondarily induced by **ǯiŋ-de-* (q. v. sub **ńi̯oŋe)*.

PJpn. ***muája-** to burn (гореть): OJpn. *mwoja-*; MJpn. *mója-*; Tok. *mòe-*; Kyo. *móé-*; Kag. *moé-*.

◊ JLTT 726.

‖ A rare case of preservation of *-ua- after a labial in PJ; in fact we may be dealing here with a contraction of a more complex underlying form like **majU-ja-* (with an original passive suffix).

✱**ńukʿV (~ -k-)** gum, juice: Tung. ***ńuK-**; Turk. ***juk / *jok**.

PTung. ***ńuK-** 1 birch juice 2 larch gum (1 березовый сок 2 смола лиственницы): Evk. *ńuksen* 1, *ńukse* 2; Ud. *ńuktu-* 'to wet, soak'.

◊ TMC 1, 645.

PTurk. ***juk / *jok** 1 resin, gum 2 residues of food on dishes, sticky substance 3 to stick to (1 смола 2 остатки пищи на посуде; то, что прилипло 3 прилипать): Karakh. *juq* 2 (MK); Tur. *jok* 2 (dial.); Turkm. *joq* 2, *joq-* 3; MTurk. *juq-* 3 (R.); Uzb. *juq* 2, *juq-* 3; Uygh. *juq-* 3; Krm. *juq-*, *jux-* 3; Tat. *joq-* 3; Bashk. *joq-* 3; Kirgh. *ǯuq* 2, *ǯuq-* 3; Kaz. *žuq-* 3; KKalp. *žuq* 2, *žŭq-* 3; Kum. *juq* 2, *juq-* 3; Nogh. *juq-* 3; Khak. *čux* 1, *čux-* 3; Oyr. *juq-*, *ḱuq-* 3; Tv. *čuq* 1; Tof. *čuq* 1; Chuv. *śъʷɣъʷr* 'liquid mire, sludge' (dial.)

◊ EDT 895, VEWT 119, ЭСТЯ 4, 211, Лексика 117, Ашм. XIII, 52.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss. Related may be some plant names (as 'juicy'?): cf. Yak. *sugun* 'blue-berry'; Evk. *ńukekte* 'mayflower'; OJ *mukagwo*, *nukagwo* 'bulb sprout' (for the latter cf., however, alternatively: WMong. *nakija* 'shoot of grass, leaf bud'; Man. *ńaχara*, *ńaχari* id., see TMC 1, 628).

✱**ńuŋe** thigh: Tung. ***ńuŋī**; Mong. ***ǯoɣa**; Jpn. ***muàmuâ**.

PTung. ***ńuŋī** 1 thigh 2 muscles (of arms and legs), calf (of leg) (1 голень, бедро 2 мышцы (рук и ног), икра (ноги)): Evk. *ńuŋī* 1; Orch. *ńuŋńa* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 646.

PMong. ***ǯoɣa** waist part of the back (поясничная часть спины): WMong. *ǯo* (MXTTT); Kh. *ǯō*; Bur. *zō*; Kalm. *zō, zōn*.

◊ KW 477.

PJpn. ***muàmuâ** thigh, hip (бедро): OJpn. *mwomwo*; MJpn. *mòmó*; Tok. *móma*, *momó*; Kyo. *mòmô*; Kag. *móma*.

◊ JLTT 485. Accent in Kagoshima and the Tok. variant *momó* are not quite clear.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 78.

✱**ńùtʿV̀** plant glue: Tung. ***ńūte**; Mong. ***ǯutaŋ**; Jpn. ***mòti (~ -ua-)**.

PTung. ***ńūte** resin, pitch, gum (смола, сера (древесная)): Evk. *ńūte*; Evn. *ńūt*; Neg. *nūte*; Ul. *nūte*; Ork. *ńūte*; Nan. *nūte*; Orch. *ńute*; Ud. *ńute*.

◊ TMC 1, 649.

PMong. ***ǯutaŋ** gruel, broth (каша, кашица): WMong. *ǯutaŋ* (L 1081); Kh. *ʒutaŋ*; Bur. *zutan*; Kalm. *zutŋ* (KPC); Ord. *ǯutaŋ*; S.-Yugh. *čətaŋ*.

◊ MGCD 464.

PJpn. ***mòti (~ -ua-)** birdlime made from holly bark (клей для ловли птиц): OJpn. *m(w)oti*; MJpn. *mótí*; Tok. *móchi*; Kyo. *móchí*; Kag. *mochí*.

◊ JLTT 486. The accent in Tokyo must be original, because it differentiates the word from *mòchi* 'rice cake' (< **mótí*); elsewhere the two accent patterns have merged.

‖ The root must have denoted some kind of sticky plant substance.

✱**ńV́jVrV (~ -g-, -ŕ-)** gland: Tung. ***ńeru / *ńiru**; Mong. ***nojir**; Jpn. ***múrá-ťua**.

PTung. ***ńeru / *ńiru** 1 gland 2 spleen (1 железа 2 селезенка): Evk. *ńerun* (dial. *ńaru*, *ńiru*) 1, 2; Evn. *ńiruń* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 654.

PMong. ***nojir** pancreas (поджелудочная железа): WMong. *nojir* (L 589: "fat adhering to the intestines"); Kh. *nojr*; Bur. *nojr*; Kalm. *nör* (KPC).

PJpn. ***múrá-túa** kidney (почка): OJpn. *muratwo*; MJpn. *múrádó*.

◊ JLTT 488.

‖ TMC 1, 654. Mong. reflects a dissimilation **ńV́jVrV* > **nVjrV*. The vocalism is not quite certain because of the variation in TM reflexes.

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✸**ŋa** 1st person pronoun (oblique stem?): Mong. ***na-m-**; Jpn. ***a-**; Kor. ***nà**.

PMong. ***na-m-** 1st Sg. ps. pronoun (obl. cases) (мест. 1-го лица (в косв. пад.)): MMong. *nad-*, *namaj* (IM), *nid-*, *nad-*, *namaj* (MA); WMong. *nad-*, *namaji* (Poppe, 1955); Kh. *nad-*, *namaj(g)*; Bur. *nam-*, *namā(ji)*; Kalm. *nan-*, *namā̄(g)*; Ord. *nada*, *namā̄*; Mog. *nan-*, *namɛi* (Acc.).; Dag. *nam-* (MD 194); Dong. (*na)ma-*, *nami*; Bao. *nād-*; Mongr. *nd-*.

PJpn. ***a-** 1st p. pron. (местоим. 1 лица): OJpn. *a-*.

◊ This pronoun (as shown, e.g. in Itabashi 1998) could have been used parallelly with *wa-*, but differed in that it could participate in compounds (like *a-se* 'my spouse', *a-duma* 'my wife' etc.), which was impossible for wa. This may indicate that the original function of *a was 'oblique stem of the 1st p. pr.'.

PKor. ***nà** I (я): MKor. *nà*; Mod. *na*.

◊ Nam 85, KED 284.

‖ SKE 156, АПиПЯЯ 296. The root serves as oblique stem in Mong., which may have been its original function; traces of it may be also discovered in OJ, see above.

✸**ŋàli** hand: Tung. ***ŋāla**; Turk. ***el, -ig**.

PTung. ***ŋāla** hand (рука): Evk. *ŋāle*; Evn. *ŋāl*; Neg. *ŋāla*, *ŋala*; Man. *gala*; SMan. Galə (68); Jurch. *ŋa-la* (504); Ul. *ŋāla*; Ork. *ŋāla*; Nan. *ŋāla*, *ŋala*, *nala*; Orch. *ŋāla*, *ŋala*; Ud. *ŋala*; Sol. *nāla*, *nāli*.

◊ TMC 1, 656-657.

PTurk. ***el, -ig** hand (рука): OTurk. *elig* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *elig* (MK); Tur. *el*; Gag. *jeĺ*; Az. *äl*; Turkm. *el*; Sal. *el*; Khal. *äl*; MTurk. *el, elig* (Abush., MA, Бор. Бад., Sangl.); Uzb. *ilik* (arch.); Uygh. *ilik* (dial.); SUygh. *ilɨɣ*; Shr. *ilik* (Верб.), *ilgilik* 'mitten'; Tof. *eldik* 'mitten'; Chuv. *alъ*; Yak. *ilī*, *elī*; Dolg. *ilī*.

◊ VEWT 39, EDT 140-1, ЭСТЯ 1, 260-261, Лексика 251, Егоров 24, Stachowski 125-126.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 17, 47, 282; Дыбо 316, Лексика 251-252. A Turk.-Tung. isogloss.

✸**ŋalma** a biting insect: Tung. ***ŋalma-**; Jpn. ***àmû**.

PTung. ***ŋalma-** mosquito (комар): Evk. *ŋanmakta*; Neg. *ŋanmakta*; Man. *Galman*; SMan. *Galəmən* (2259); Ul. *Galmaqta, Garmaqta*; Ork. *nal-*

maqta, *ŋalmaqta*; Nan. *Garmaqta*; Orch. *gamakta*; Ud. *ŋamakta*; Sol. *namakta*.

◊ TMC 1, 657.

PJpn. ***àmû** gad-fly (овод, слепень): OJpn. *amu*; MJpn. *àbú*; Tok. *ábu*; Kyo. *àbû*; Kag. *abú*.

◊ JLTT 376.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 81. A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss.

✱**ŋ̀ansa** debt: Tung. ***nāŋsa**; Turk. ***asɨg**; Jpn. ***nàs-**.

PTung. ***nāŋsa** debt (долг): Evn. *nān*; Neg. *nāŋna*; Man. *nasχun* 'favourable occasion'; SMan. *nasəhun* 'opportunity, chance' (2652); Ul. *naŋda*; Ork. *naŋda*; Nan. *naŋda*; Orch. *naŋna*; Ud. *naŋda*.

◊ TMC 1, 582-583, 586. Man. > Dag. *nasgun* (Тод. Даг. 156).

PTurk. ***asɨg** profit (прибыль, выгода): OTurk. *asɨɣ* (OUygh.); Karakh. *asɨɣ* (MK, KB); Tur. *asɨ*; MTurk. *asɨ* (IM), *assɨɣ* (Houts.); Uzb. dial. *as gör-* 'to help'; Uygh. dial. *assɨ*; Chuv. *ozъ*; Yak. *as*.

◊ VEWT 29, ЭСТЯ 1, 196-197, Егоров 277, Федотов 2, 290-291, Лексика 344. Turk. > Mong. *asiɣ* > Man. *ajsi* (TMN 2, 58-59, Щербак 1997, 102).

PJpn. ***nàs-** to pay back a debt (возвращать долг): MJpn. *nas-*; Tok. *nás-*; Kyo. *nàs-*; Kag. *nàs-*.

‖ The TM and Jpn. forms underwent a metathesis (frequent for roots with two nasals): **nāŋsa* < **ŋānsa*.

✱**ŋ̆ńa** clear sky: Tung. ***ńaŋńa**; Turk. ***ańaŕ**; Jpn. ***àmâi**.

PTung. ***ńaŋńa** clear sky (ясное небо): Evk. *ńaŋńa*; Evn. *ńaniŋ*; Neg. *ńaŋńa*; Man. *ńaŋńa*; Ork. *nāŋna*; Orch. *ńaŋńa*; Ud. *ńaŋńa*.

◊ TMC 1, 634. Cf. also *ńaŋ-ma- (> *ńamŋa-) 'to become clear (of sky); to appear (of hoar-frost)' (TMC 1, 632, 633).

PTurk. ***ańaŕ** clear sky; frost (ясное небо; мороз): OTurk. *ajaz* (OUygh.); Karakh. *ajas* (MK); Tur. *ajaz*; Gag. *ajaz*; Az. *ajaz*; Turkm. *ajaz*; Khal. *hajāz*; MTurk. *ajaz* (Sangl.), *ajaz*, *ajas* (CCum.); Uzb. *ajɔz*; Uygh. *ajaz*; Krm. *ajaz/s*; Tat. *ajaz*; Bashk. *ajaδ*; Kirgh. *ajaz*; Kaz. *ajaz*; KBalk. *ajaz*; Kum. *ajaz*; Nogh. *ajaz*; SUygh. *ajas*; Khak. *ajas*; Shr. *ajas*; Oyr. *ajas*; *ajɨz* (dial.); Tv. *ajas*; Chuv. *ojar*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 1, 102-3, VEWT 11, TMN 2, 170, Лексика 13, Федотов 2, 298. A different suffixation is seen in Tur. (dial.) *ajam*, Kaz., Kirgh. *ajɨq* 'clear (weather')'. A derivative **ań-giŕ-* (pointing to original *-ń-) is found in Kaz. *aŋɨzaq*, Turkm. *aŋzaq* 'cold with dry wind' (see ЭСТЯ ibid.).

PJpn. ***àmâi** sky; rain (небо; дождь): OJpn. *ame*; MJpn. *àmè*; Tok. *áme*; Kyo. *àmê*; Kag. *amé*.

◊ JLTT 381.

‖ Дыбо 11. In TM one has to suppose a metathesis (typical for roots with two nasals): **ńaŋńa* < **ŋań-ŋa*.

✱**ŋȁńì** to take smb. with (oneself): Tung. ***ŋāni-**; Mong. ***naji-**; Jpn. ***ìmuà**; Kor. ***nīń-**.

PTung. ***ŋāni-** to fetch, go to take smth. or smb. (пойти, чтобы принести что-л.): Ul. *ŋan-ǯu-*; Nan. *ŋāni-*.

◊ TMC 1, 657.

PMong. ***naji-** 1 friendship 2 accord; feast 3 to be combined, unite (1 дружба 2 согласие; праздник, пир 3 объединяться): MMong. *naira-qui* 'debt, justice, right' (HY 49); WMong. *nai* 1 (L 558), *najir* 2, *najira-* 3 (L 559); Kh. *naj* 1, *najr* 2, *najra-* 3; Bur. *najr* 2, *najral* 'harmony'; Kalm. *nǟ* 1, *nǟr* 2, *nǟr-* 3; Ord. nǟ 'marque d'amitié', *nǟr* 2, *nǟra-* 'be friends'; Dag. *ńara-* 'to love, be attached' (Тод. Даг. 156).

◊ KW 273, 274. Mong. > Man. *nara-* 'to be attached'.

PJpn. ***ìmuà** beloved, friend (любимая, подруга): OJpn. *imwo*; MJpn. *ìmò*; Tok. *imōtó* "younger sister", *imo-se* "consorts"; Kyo. *ímŏtó*; Kag. *imōtó*.

◊ JLTT 423.

PKor. ***nīń-** to combine, continue (соединять, продолжать): MKor. *nīń-*; Mod. *īt- [is-]*.

◊ Nam 127, KED 1369.

‖ See also Robbeets 2000, 110.

✱**ŋèlu** fright, be afraid: Tung. ***ŋēle-**; Turk. ***jAl-**; Jpn. ***ùrà-m-**; Kor. ***nōr-ra-**.

PTung. ***ŋēle-** to be scared, frightened (бояться, пугаться): Evk. *ŋēle-*; Evn. *ŋēl-*; Neg. *ŋēle-*; Man. *gele-*; SMan. *gelə-* (1886); Ul. *ŋele-*; Ork. *ŋēle-*; Nan. *ŋele-*; Orch. *ŋēle-*; Ud. *ŋele-*; Sol. *nēle-*.

◊ TMC 1, 667-669.

PTurk. ***jAl-** 1 to be afraid 2 to suspect, slander 3 slander (1 бояться 2 подозревать, клеветать 3 клевета): OTurk. *jala* 3 (OUygh.); Karakh. *jala-* 2, *jala* 3 (MK); Tur. *jıl-* 1, Osm. *jal-*; MTurk. *jala* 3 (MKypch. - CCum.); Tat. *jala* 3; Bashk. *jala* 3; Kirgh. *ǯala* 3, *ǯala-* 2; Kaz. *žala* 3; KKalp. *žala* 3; Nogh. *jala* 3; Oyr. *d'ala* 'fine, charge'; Yak. *jula* 3.

◊ VEWT 200, EDT 918-919, ЭСТЯ 4, 87, Федотов 2, 483.

PJpn. ***ùrà-m-** to resent, regret (обижаться, сожалеть): OJpn. *uramu-*; MJpn. *ùràm-*; Tok. *urám-*; Kyo. *úrám-*; Kag. *ùràm-*.

◊ JLTT 779. Cf. also **ùriàp-*, OJ *urep-* 'to grieve'.

PKor. ***nōr-ra-** be startled, frightened, terrified (пугаться): MKor. *nōrrá-*; Mod. *nolla-*.

◊ Liu 158, KED 348.

‖ Menges 1984, 279-280 (Kor.-TM). Despite Doerfer MT 21, TM cannot be borrowed from Mong. *gelme-* (which, despite Poppe 25 and АПиПЯЯ 18, is probably unrelated at all).

✸**ŋḗni** to go (down, away): Tung. ***ŋene-**; Mong. ***neɣü-**; Turk. ***ēn-**; Jpn. ***ín-**; Kor. ***nàń(ǻ-)**.

PTung. ***ŋene-** to go, walk (идти, ходить): Evk. *ŋene-*; Evn. *ŋen-*; Neg. *ŋene-* / gene-; Man. *genu-* 'to go together'; SMan. *genə-* (1171); Jurch. *ŋe-ne-xie* (713); Ul. *ŋene-*; Ork. *ŋene-*; Nan. *ene-*; Orch. *ŋene-*; Ud. *ŋene-*; Sol. *nene-*.

◊ TMC 1, 669-671.

PMong. ***neɣü-** to roam, migrate, nomadize (странствовать, кочевать): MMong. *ne'utke* 'to change a place' (HY 40), *ne'u-*, *nou'u-* (SH), *nū-* (IM); WMong. *negü-* (L 569); Kh. *nǖ-*; Bur. *nǖ-*; Kalm. *nǖ-*; Ord. *nǖ-*; Mog. *nɔu-* (Weiers); Dag. *neu-* (Тод. Даг. 157, MD 198); S.-Yugh. *nǖ-*.

◊ KW 282, MGCD 520. Mong. *neɣü-* > Man. *neo-*, see Poppe 1966, 192, Rozycki 162; Mong. *neɣü-lge* 'migration' > Evk. *nulgī* etc. (see TMC 1, 609-610).

PTurk. ***ēn-** to go down (спускаться, идти вниз): OTurk. *en-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *en-* (MK); Tur. *in-*, dial. *en-*; Gag. *jin-*; Az. *en-*; Turkm. *īn-*; Khal. *ệ̄n-*; MTurk. *en-* (MA, IM, Pav. C.); Krm. *en-*; Tat. *in-*, *iŋ-*; Bashk. *in-*; Kaz. *en-*, dial. *eŋ-*; KKalp. *en-*; Kum. *in-*; Nogh. *en-*; Khak. *in-*; Shr. *en-*; Oyr. *en-*; Chuv. *an-*; Yak. *enie*.

◊ VEWT 43, ЭСТЯ 1, 353-354, Егоров 26.

PJpn. ***ín-** to go, leave (уходить): OJpn. *in-*; MJpn. *ín-*.

◊ JLTT 697.

PKor. ***nàń(ǻ)-** to go, move forward (идти, двигаться вперед): MKor. *nās-* (*nań-*), *nań-*, *nàńǻ-*; Mod. *nāt-* [*nas-*], *naa-ka-*.

◊ Nam 89, 99, 101, KED 292, 311.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 18, 72, 292, Дыбо 13. Mong. **neɣü-* < **ŋeŋü-* < **ŋenü-*.

✸**ŋḗnu** to attack, tease: Tung. ***ŋen-**; Mong. ***naŋ-si-**; Turk. ***jān(u)-**; Jpn. ***una-kas-**.

PTung. ***ŋen-** to attack, fight (нападать, драться, убивать): Evk. *ŋen-či-*, *ńeŋ-*; Evn. *ńen-*; Man. *ne-či-*; Ud. *ŋeneusi-*.

◊ TMC 1, 653, 671.

PMong. ***naŋ-si-** to grumble; to act imprudently, foolishly (ворчать, жаловаться; действовать глупо, опрометчиво): WMong. *naŋsi-* (L 564); Kh. *nanši-*; Kalm. *naŋši-* 'to talk nonsense, twaddle'; Ord. *naŋši-* 'gronder'.

◊ KW 272.

PTurk. ***jān(u)-** to threaten (угрожать): OTurk. *jan-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jan-* (MK); Gag. *jān-*; Az. *janɨ-* (dial.); Turkm. *jān-ǯa-* 'to reproach'; Uzb. *jan-*; Uygh. *ǯonu-*; Tat. *jana-*, dial. *janu-*; Bashk. *jana-*; KBalk. *žan-*, *žaŋ-*, *ǯanɨ-*, *zanɨ-*; Yak. *sān-*.

◊ VEWT 184, EDT 942, ЭСТЯ 4, 114, Лексика 564. Turk. > WMong. *ǯanu-*, Kalm. *zan-* (KW 466). The Turkm. form is related to **jenč-* 'crush' in ЭСТЯ 185; the latter has also a variant **janč-*, and the Turkm. form may in fact reflect a contamination of these two roots.

PJpn. ***una-kas-** to urge, force (заставлять, принуждать): MJpn. *ùnàgás-*, *únákas-*; Tok. *unagás-*, *ùnagas-*; Kyo. *únágás-*; Kag. *ùnàgàs-*.

◊ JLTT 779 (Martin gives also the meaning 'bend the neck', obviously deriving the form from *unag-* 'hang around the neck' - but, as far as we know, this meaning is not attested anywhere, and the relationship is not evident at all). Accent reconstruction is not clear (both high and low tone variants are attested).

‖ АПиПЯЯ 18, 81 (with a different Jpn. form, see under **ánta*), Дыбо 15.

✱**ŋ̀ erá** day, sun, light: Tung. ***ŋ̄ er(i)-**; Mong. ***naran**; Turk. ***jạr-ɨn**; Jpn. ***àrí-**; Kor. ***nár**.

PTung. ***ŋ̄ er(i)-** light (свет): Evk. *ŋ̄ erī*; Evn. *ŋ̄ eri*; Neg. *ŋ̄ ejin*; Man. *gexun*; SMan. *gūxun* 'bright' (2050); Jurch. *ŋe-xun* (736); Ul. *ŋegǯe(n)*; Ork. *ŋegde-*; Nan. *ŋegǯē*; Orch. *ŋegǯe*; Ud. *ŋegǯe*, *ŋei*.

◊ TMC 1, 671-672.

PMong. ***naran** sun (солнце): MMong. *naran* (HY 1, SH), *narăn* (IM), *naran* (MA); WMong. *nara(n)* (L 565); Kh. *nar(an)*; Bur. *nara(n)*; Kalm. *narṇ*; Ord. *nara(n)*; Mog. *naran*; ZM *nārān* (19-5a); Dag. *nar* (Тод. Даг. 156), *nare* (MD 194); Dong. *naran*; Bao. *naraŋ*; S.-Yugh. *naran*; Mongr. *nara* (SM 257).

◊ KW 272, MGCD 500.

PTurk. ***jạr-ɨn** 1 morning 2 tomorrow 3 next year (1 утро 2 завтра 3 следующий год): OTurk. *jarɨn* 1 (Orkh.); Karakh. *jarɨn* 2 (MK); Tur. *jarɨn* 2; Gag. *jārɨn* 1, 2; MTurk. *jarɨn* 1, 2 (Ettuhf.); Uzb. *jarɨn* 3 (dial.); Bashk. *jarɨn* 3 (dial.); KKalp. *žarɨn* 3; SUygh. *jarɨn* 3; Chuv. *ɨran* 2; Yak. *sarsɨn* 1; Dolg. *harsɨn* 1.

◊ EDT 970, VEWT 190, ЭСТЯ 4, 147-148, Егоров 343, Лексика 80, Stachowski 97. Räsänen derives the stem from *jar- 'to shine, glitter', but this is dubious both for phonetic reasons (OT has *jaru-* 'to shine', but *jarɨn* 'morning') and because of external evidence.

PJpn. ***àrí-** dawn (рассвет, заря): OJpn. *ari-ake*; MJpn. *àrí-ake*; Tok. *àriake*; Kyo. *áríáké*; Kag. *ariaké*.

◊ JLTT 384. Kyoto accent is irregular, but all other dialects seem to point to **àrí-*.

PKor. ***nár** sun, day, weather (солнце, день, погода): MKor. *nár*; Mod. *nal*.

◊ Nam 95, KED 302.

‖ ОСНЯ 2, 86, АПиПЯЯ 295. See SKE 159, EAS 75 (Mong.-Kor.); one frequently links Turk. **jā̆ŕ* 'spring' (see SKE ibid., KW 272, VEWT 193), but the latter should be separated (see **ni̯ā̆ŕ[a]*); instead it seems plausible to compare Turk. **jarɨ-n* 'tomorrow, morning' - see Лексика 80-81. TM **ŋ̄ er(i)-* 'light' is a perfect phonetic and semantic match and should be separated from Mong. *gere-l* 'light' (especially because the rule **ŋ-* > Mong. g- is most probably false) - despite KW 134, Poppe 25, ОСНЯ 1, 228-229, АПиПЯЯ 18, Дыбо 11; on the etymology of the latter

see under *gari (despite Poppe 1972, 101, Doerfer MT 21, the TM form of course cannot be borrowed from Mong. *gerel*).

✸**ŋȉndó** dog: Tung. ***ŋinda-**; Turk. ***ɨt / *it**; Jpn. ***ìnú**.

PTung. ***ŋinda-** dog (собака): Evk. *ŋinakin*, *ginakin*; Evn. *ŋịn*; Neg. *ŋinaxin/ninaxin*; Man. *indaxun*; SMan. *jonəhuŋ*, *inəhuŋ* (2177); Jurch. *ŋinda-xiun* (147); Ul. *ịŋda*; Ork. *ŋinda*; Nan. *ịnda*; Orch. *inaki*; Ud. *inaʿi* (Корм. 238); Sol. *ninaxĩ*.

◊ TMC 1, 661-662.

PTurk. ***ɨt / *it** dog (собака): OTurk. *ɨt* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *ɨt* (MK, KB); Tur. *it* (arch.); Az. *it*; Turkm. *it*; Sal. *išt*; Khal. *it* ; MTurk. *ɨt* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *it*; Uygh. *it*; Tat. *et*; Bashk. et; Kirgh. *it*; Kaz. *i̱t*; KBalk. *it*; KKalp. *ijt*; Nogh. *ijt*; SUygh. *ɨšt*; Tv. *ɨ't*; Tof. *ɨ't*; Chuv. *jɨdъ*; Yak. *ɨt*; Dolg. *ɨt*.

◊ VEWT 174, TMN 2, 173-4, EDT 34, ЭСТЯ 1, 385, Егоров 83, Лексика 188, Stachowski 262.

PJpn. ***ìnù** dog (собака): OJpn. *inu*; MJpn. *ìnù*; Tok. *inú*; Kyo. *ínù*; Kag. *ínu* (= *íŃ*).

◊ JLTT 425.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 18, 49, 72, 101, 274, Дыбо 9, Лексика 189.

✸**ŋi̯àbi** deceased, funeral: Tung. ***ŋiabi**; Turk. ***jẹbe-**; Jpn. ***mə̀ (~ *muà)**.

PTung. ***ŋiabi** 1 deceased person 2 invisible person 3 to bury (1 покойник 2 невидимка (о шамане) 3 хоронить): Evk. *ŋê̂wi* 1; Evn. *ŋebi* 2; Ul. *ńewu-* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 658.

PTurk. ***jẹbe-** 1 cemetery, grave 2 soul of the deceased 3 ghost 4 funeral (1 кладбище, могила 2 душа умершего 3 дух, привидение 4 похороны): SUygh. *ever* 2; Khak. *nebeg* 1, *ibərəg* 4; Tv. *čeveg* 1; Chuv. *śъʷva* 1; Yak. *sibien* 3.

◊ VEWT 197.

PJpn. ***mə̀ (~ *muà)** funeral, mourning (похороны, траур): OJpn. *m(w)o*; MJpn. *mò*; Tok. *mò*; Kyo. *mó*; Kag. *mó*.

◊ JLTT 484. Modern dialects point rather to **mə́*.

‖ Дыбо 15.

✸**ŋi̯aji (~-e)** lower side: Tung. ***ŋia-**; Turk. ***ej-**; Kor. ***nằrí-**.

PTung. ***ŋia-** lower, closer to the shore (нижний, близкий к берегу): Evk. *ŋê̂-γū*; Evn. *ŋê̂-la*; Neg. *nê̂wụ* / *ŋê̂wụ*; Man. *wa-la*; Ul. *wajị*; Ork. *ŋoị*; Nan. *waj-la*, *ŋoj-la*; Orch. *ŋā̃a-la*; Ud. *ŋeä-la*; Sol. *nēx* 'shore'.

◊ TMC 1, 658-660. Man. > Dag. *wala* (Тод. Даг. 129).

PTurk. ***ej-** lower side (нижняя сторона): Chuv. *aj*.

◊ A Chuvash isolate (see VEWT 38, Федотов 1, 28), but having probable external parallels.

PKor. ***nằrí-** to go down (опускаться): MKor. *nằrí-*; Mod. *näri-*.

◊ Nam 92, KED 320.

‖ See SKE 161 (Kor. *nǎrí-* = TM **ŋia-la-*). Vocalism is not quite certain because of contractions.

✱**ŋi̯àkča** nose, part of nose: Tung. ***ŋiaksa, *ŋiaksi-n**; Mong. ***nagčar-kaji**; Kor. ***nǎčh**.

PTung. ***ŋiaksa, *ŋiaksi-n** nose (нос): Evn. *ńẽs*, *ŋẽs*; Neg. *ńasin* 'bear's nose'; Ul. *waqsa*; Ork. *naqsa*; Nan. *ŋoqso* (dial.); Orch. *ŋikso*; Ud. *ŋühö*; Sol. *nẽnča*.

◊ TMC 1, 587, 636. Cf. also Evn. *ńiqʔlčan*, Neg. *ńexilče* 'nose bridge'. TMC 1, 637.

PMong. ***nagčar-kai** back of nose (спинка носа): WMong. *naγčarqai*; Kh. *nagčirxaj*; Bur. *nagsagar* 'flat-nosed'; Kalm. *nakcṛxā̄*.

◊ KW 270.

PKor. ***nǎčh** face (лицо): MKor. *nǎčh*, *nǎs*; Mod. *nat* [*nač*h].

◊ Nam 100, 101, KED 313.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 18, 293.

✱**ŋi̯ǎk'u** dog, wolf: Tung. ***ŋōKe**; Mong. ***nokaj**; Turk. ***eker**; Kor. ***nəkori**.

PTung. ***ŋōKe** 1 sable 2 male (of dog, wolf, fox) 3 wolf 4 racoon (1 соболь 2 самец (собаки, волка, лисы) 3 волк 4 енот): Evk. *ńēkē* 1; Evn. *ŋȭke* 2; Man. *ńoxe* 3, *nuxere* 'puppy'; SMan. *juxə*, *juxu* 3 (2204); Nan. *naoto* 4 (< **ŋoke-tu*); Orch. *ŋöksjö* 3; Ud. *nautu* 4.

◊ TMC 1, 587, 651, 665, 606.

PMong. ***nokaj** dog (собака): MMong. *noxai* (HY 11), *noqai* (SH), *noγaj* (IM), *nuqaj* (MA); WMong. *noqai* (L 592); Kh. *noxoj*; Bur. *noxoj*; Kalm. *noxā̄*, *noxā*; Ord. *noxȭ*; Mog. *noqɛi*; ZM *noqei* (21-5); Dag. *nogo*, *nogu*, nog (Тод. Даг. 158) *nohe* (MD 200); Dong. *noGi*, *noγəi*; Bao. *noGui*; S.-Yugh. *noxGui*; Mongr. *noxwə* (SM 282), *noxui* (Huzu).

◊ KW 278, MGCD 513, TMN 1, 520.

PTurk. ***eker** hunting dog (охотничья собака): Khal. *eger*; MTurk. *iger* (Буд.); Tat. *igɛr* (Sib.); Bashk. *igɛr* 'a bastard of a wolf and a dog'; Nogh. *eger* (Kum.); Shr. *eger*; Oyr. *eger*; Chuv. *agar jɨtti* (> Hung. *agár*, see Gombocz 1912).

◊ VEWT 38, 23.

PKor. ***nəkori** badger (барсук): MKor. *nəkori*; Mod. *nəguri*.

◊ Nam 103, KED 329.

‖ Lee 1958, 115, АПиПЯЯ 18; a different analysis see in ОСНЯ 2,35.

✱**ŋi̯àŋe** fir-tree: Tung. ***ŋiāŋ-ta**; Jpn. ***mə̀mì (~-ua-)**.

PTung. ***ŋiāŋ-ta** fir-tree (пихта): Evk. *ŋāŋte*; Evn. *ŋāŋtə̣*; Neg. *ŋāŋta*; Man. *wantaχa*; Ul. *waŋta*; Ork. *waŋta* / *waŋi̯ta*; Nan. *waŋta*, dial. *ŋaŋta*; Ud. *ŋaŋta*.

◊ TMC 1, 657-658. Southern languages show here a *w-reflex*, typical for **ŋ-* before diphthongs and back vowels, so -ā- in the Northern subgroup must be secondary (a trace

of it is perhaps preserved in the Tompon dialect of Even, where the recorded form is *ńaŋta).*

PJpn. ***mòmì (~-ua-)** fir-tree (пихта): MJpn. *mòmì*; Tok. *mómi*; Kyo. *mómí*; Kag. *momí*.

◊ JLTT 484. The accent reconstruction is not quite certain: Kyoto and Kagoshima point aberrantly to a high tone, and both accents (*mòmì* and *mómì* are attested in RJ).

‖ АПиПЯЯ 81. A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss.

✱**ŋi̯ŏbu** to pour: Tung. ***ńiabe-**; Mong. ***jeɣü-le-**; Turk. ***ju(b)-**; Kor. ***nūb-**.

PTung. ***ńiabe-** to strew, pour (рассыпать): Evn. *ńū-*; Ul. *jeweri-*; Ork. *jeweri-*; Nan. *jeweri-*.

◊ TMC 1, 352, 644.

PMong. ***jeɣü-** to pour over, strew over (наливать, переливать): WMong. *jegüle-* (L 431); Kh. *jṻle-*; Bur. *jṻle-*; Kalm. *jṻ-*, *jṻl-*; Ord. *jṻ-*.

◊ KW 221.

PTurk. ***ju(b)-** to wash; to bathe, to swim (мыть; купаться, плавать): Karakh. *ju-* (MK); Tur. *ju-*; Az. *ju(w)-*; Turkm. *juw-*; Sal. *ju-*; Khal. *jū-*; MTurk. *ju-* (Pav. C., AH, Ettuhf.); Uzb. *juw-*; Uygh. *juw-*, *juj-*; Krm. *juw-*; Tat. *ju-*; Bashk. *jɨw-*; Kirgh. *ʒū-*; Kaz. *žuw-*; KBalk. *ʒuw-*, *žuw-*, *zuw-*; *žūn-*; KKalp. *žuw-*; Kum. *ʒuw-*; Nogh. *juw-*; SUygh. *juw-*, *ju-*; Khak. *čuɣ-*; Tv. *čū-*; Tof. *ču-*; Chuv. *śu-*; Yak. *sū-j-*; Dolg. *hū-j-*.

◊ EDT 870, VEWT 209, ЭСТЯ 4, 238, Stachowski 114.

PKor. ***nūb-** to wash in limewater, bleach (мыть в известковой воде): Mod. *nūp-* (*nuw-*).

◊ KED 365.

‖ TMC 1, 352. It is tempting to compare also Evk. *ńewte*, Evn. *ńewte* 'spring, well' (*'washing or pouring place') and perhaps also OJ *mjiwo* 'water-way, seaway' (if *mji-* is to be analysed as 'water', the -wo part stays completely obscure).

✱**ŋi̯ȍkʿè (~ -k-)** to rise, elevation: Tung. ***ŋōKe ~ *ŋēKu**; Turk. ***jok-**; Jpn. ***ȍkȍ-**.

PTung. ***ŋōKe ~ *ŋēKu** hill, high shore (гора, высокий берег): Evk. *ŋēke*, *ŋōke*, *ŋēku*.

◊ TMC 1, 667. Isolated in Evk., but having probable external parallels.

PTurk. ***jok-** 1 up, above 2 hill, elevation (1 вверх, наверх 2 возвышенность, подъем): OTurk. *joqaru* 1 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *joqaru* 1, *joq* 2 (MK); Tur. *jukarɨ* 1, *jokuš* 2; Gag. *juqar(ɨ)* 1; Az. *juxarɨ*, dial. *uxarɨ* 1, *joxuš* 2; Turkm. *joqarɨ* 1; Khal. *juqqar* 1; MTurk. *joqaru* (AH), *juqar* (Pav. C.) 1, *joquš* (AH, Ettuhf.); Uzb. *juqɔri* 1; Uygh. *juqari* 1; Krm. *joɣarɨ* 1, *joquš*, *joqɨš* 2; Tat. *juɣarɨ* 1; Bashk. *juɣarɨ* 1; Kirgh. *ʒoɣor(u)* 1; Kaz. *žoɣarɨ* 1; KBalk. *oɣarɨ* 1; KKalp. *žoqarɨ* 1; Khak. *čoɣar* 1; Yak. *soɣoru*, *soɣurū* 'South; centre'; Dolg. *sogurū* 'South'.

◊ EDT 896, 906, ЭСТЯ 4, 213-214, 215, Stachowski 211.

PJpn. ***ȁkȁ-** to rise (подниматься): OJpn. *oku-*; MJpn. *ȍkù-*; Tok. *okí-*; Kyo. *ȍkì-*; Kag. *ȍkì-*.

◊ JLTT 740. Modern dialects point rather to **ȁkȁ-*; *-ə- is reconstructed on the basis of the caus. OJ *oko-s-*.

‖ The reconstruction of the diphthong in this root is based on PT *j-: one should suppose an early development **ŋi̯ō-* > **jo-* in Turkic (which explains the vocalic reflex). Cf. **i̯úgu* 'up, above' (which could also influence the Turkic form due to mutual influence of synonymous **jüg-* and **jok-*).

✱**ŋi̯ōle** red, pink; yellow: Tung. ***ŋule-**; Mong. ***öle**; Turk. ***Āl**; Jpn. ***mùrà-sákì**; Kor. ***nùrí-**.

PTung. ***ŋule-** red, reddish, pink (алый, румяный, розовый): Evn. *ŋule-ńe*.

◊ TMC 1, 666. Attested only in Evn., but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***öle** having grey spots, variegated (пестрый, с серыми пятнами): MMong. *ole* (SH); WMong. *öle*, *öle-gčin*; Kh. *öl*; Bur. *üle* 'сивый, сизый'; Kalm. *ölə*, *öləkčn*; Ord. *ölö* 'grey'.

◊ KW 294, 295, TMN 1, 174-175. Mong. > Oyr. *ölö* 'variegated' etc. (KW ibid., VEWT 371), Man. *ulu.*

PTurk. ***Āl** red, scarlet (красный, алый): OTurk. *al* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *al* (MK, KB); Tur. *al*; Gag. *al*; Az. *al*; Turkm. *āl*; MTurk. *al* (Pav. C., Houts.), *al* 'bright red' (CCum.); Uygh. *al*; Krm. *al*; Tat. *al*; Bashk. *al*; Kum. *al*; Nogh. *al*.

◊ EDT 120-121, TMN 2, 94-95, ЭСТЯ 1, 125-126. A loanword in Russ. *алый.*

PJpn. ***mùrà-sákì** purple; gromwell, purple flower (фиолетовый; Lithospermum erythrorhizon, фиолетовый цветок): OJpn. *murasakji*; MJpn. *mùràsákì*; Tok. *murásaki*; Kyo. *mùràsákì*; Kag. *murasakí*.

◊ JLTT 488. A compound of **mura* '*purple' + *saki* 'blooming'.

PKor. ***nùrí-** yellow (желтый): MKor. *nùrí-*; Mod. *nuri-*, *nori-*.

◊ Nam 114, KED 357.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 297. Turk. > Mong. *al* (KW 6, Щербак 1997, 97). The Jpn. parallel is quite convincing, despite a mismatch in tone (probably distorted in a long compound).

✱**ŋ[i̯u]** three, thirty: Mong. ***gu-**; Turk. ***otuŕ**; Jpn. ***mi-**.

PMong. ***gu-** 1 three 2 thirty (1 три 2 тридцать): MMong. *xurban* (HY 42), *qurban* (SH), *qorbān* (IM), *γŭrban* (MA) 1, *qučin* (HY 43), *qučin* (IM), *γučin* (MA) 2; WMong. *γurban* 1, *γuči(n)* 2 (L 364, 369); Kh. *gurav*, *gurvan* 1, *guč(in)* 2; Bur. *gurba(n)* 1, *guša(n)* 2; Kalm. *γurwṇ* 1, *γučṇ* 2; Ord. *Gurwa* 1, *Guči* 2; Mog. *γurbōn* 1; ZM *γorbōn* (25-1a) 1; Dag. *guarba(n)* (Тод. Даг. 133), *guarəb* 1, *goči* (Тод. Даг. 132, MD 151) 2, *guarebe* (MD 152) 1; Dong. *Guron*, *Guran* 1; Bao. *Goraŋ* 1, *Gob-araŋ* 2;

S.-Yugh. *Gurwan* 1, *quǯin* 2; Mongr. *Gurān* (SM 126) 1, *xoʒin* (SM 169), *xuǯin* 2.

◊ KW 156, MGCD 305. Mong. *γučin* > Evk. *gutin*, *gučin* etc. (TMC 1, 175, Doerfer MT 79).

PTurk. ***otuŕ** thirty (тридцать): OTurk. *otuz* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *ottuz* (MK); Tur. *otuz*; Gag. *otuz*; Az. *otuz*; Turkm. *otuz*; Khal. *hǫttuz*, *hottuz*; MTurk. *otuz* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *ǫttiz*; Uygh. *ottuz*; Krm. *otuz*; Tat. *utɨz*; Bashk. *utɨδ*; Kirgh. *otuz*; Kaz. *otɨz*; KBalk. *otuz*; KKalp. *otɨz*; Nogh. *otɨz*; SUygh. *otus*; Khak. *otɨs*; Oyr. *oduz*, *odus*; Yak. *otut*; Dolg. *otut*.

◊ EDT 74, ЭСТЯ 1, 489, Stachowski 197.

PJpn. ***mi-** three (три): OJpn. *mji-*; MJpn. mi-; Tok. *mí-*; Kyo. *mí-*; Kag. *mì-*.

◊ JLTT 482. As usual in numerals, the accent reconstruction is insecure.

‖ ? Cf. also Turk. **üč* (**öč*) 'three' (ЭСТЯ 1, 641-642, Stachowski 254). The match is somewhat problematic, basically because of the absence of the TM cognate, shortness of the root and unclear suffixation. The basic phonological correspondence pointing to PA **ŋ-* is, however, observed, and the parallel seems to be worth noting.

✱**ŋi̯ūja** smell: Tung. ***ŋō-**; Turk. ***jɨd (?)**; Kor. ***nái**.

PTung. ***ŋō-** 1 to smell 2 smell (1 пахнуть 2 запах): Evk. *ŋō-* 1, *ŋō* 2; Evn. *ŋō-* 1, *ŋō* 2; Neg. *ŋō-* 1; Man. *wa* 2; SMan. *wā* 'smell, odor, scent'(2456); Ul. *wāqolị* 'ferret'; Ork. *ŋōkkị-* 1; Nan. *waŋqolị* 'ferret'; Orch. *ŋōkki-* 1, *ŋōkulā̄* 'ferret'; Ud. *ŋoisi-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 663-664.

PTurk. ***jɨd** smell (запах): OTurk. *jɨd* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jɨδ* (MK); Tur. *ij*; Az. *ij*; Krm. *ij*; Khak. *jɨs*; Tv. *čɨt*; Yak. *sɨt*; Dolg. *hɨt*.

◊ EDT 883, ЭСТЯ 1, 380-382 (confused with **ɨjs*), Stachowski 120.

PKor. ***nái** smell (запах): MKor. *nái*; Mod. nä.

◊ Nam 101, KED 315.

‖ The Turkic form may belong here if *-d is a result of dissimilation (**jɨd* < **jɨj*) or a suffix.

✱**ŋi̯ǔŋtʿè** root: Tung. ***ŋū̄ŋte**; Mong. ***ündü-sü**; Jpn. ***mə̀tə̀**.

PTung. ***ŋū̄ŋte** root (корень): Evk. *ŋīŋte*, *nīŋte*; Evn. *ŋêŋtъ*; Neg. *ŋiŋte*; Ul. *ŋuiqte*; Ork. *muikte*; Nan. *muikte*; Orch. *ŋiŋte*; Ud. *ŋiŋte*.

◊ TMC 1, 662. PTM also has **ŋū̄ŋti* 'heel' (see ibid.), which may be a historical derivative.

PMong. ***ündü-sü** root (корень): MMong. *undus* ('original') (HY 53), *həndusun* (MA); WMong. *ündüsü(n)* (L 1007); Kh. *ündes*; Bur. *ündehe(n)*; Kalm. *ündəsn̥*; Ord. *öndös*, *ündüsü*; Dag. *undus* (Тод. Даг. 171), *unduse* (MD 232); Dong. *undusun*.

◊ KW 458, MGCD 693. Mong. > Evk. *undehun*, see Doerfer MT 128.

PJpn. ***mətə̀** root, foundation (корень, основание): OJpn. *moto*; MJpn. *mòtò*; Tok. *motó*; Kyo. *mótò*; Kag. *motó*.

◊ JLTT 486.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 18, 39, 92, 291.

✱**ŋ[i̯V]** what, who (interrog. pronoun): Tung. ***ŋǖ**; Mong. ***jaɣu-n-, *jaɣuma***; Turk. ***nē**; Jpn. ***nÈV**; Kor. ***nú-**.

PTung. ***ŋǖ** who (кто): Evk. *ŋī, nī*; Evn. *ńī, ŋī*; Neg. *nī, ŋī*; Man. *we*; SMan. *wē* (2895); Ul. *ŋui, ui*; Ork. *ŋui*; Nan. *ui*; Orch. *ńī*; Ud. *nī*; Sol. *nīxē*.

◊ TMC 1, 660-661.

PMong. ***jaɣu-n-, *jaɣuma** 1 what 2 thing (1 что 2 вещь): MMong. *ja'un* (HY 803), *ja'u(n)* (SH), *jān* (IM) 1, *jan* 1, *jamă* 2 (MA); WMong. *jaɣu* 1, *jaɣuma* 2 (L 424, 425); Kh. *jū* 1, *jŭm* 2; Bur. *jū, jūn-* 1, *jū̆men* 2; Kalm. *jun, jūn-* 1, *jŭmṇ* 2; Ord. *jū* 1, *jumu* 2; Mog. *jem(ä)* 1; ZM *ītmä* (16-3a) 2; Dag. *jō* 1, *jŭm* 2 (Тод. Даг. 147, MD 172); Dong. *jan* 1; Bao. *jaŋ* 1; S.-Yugh. *ima* 2, *jān* 1; Mongr. *jān* 1, *jama* 2, *(j)amar* 'comment' (SM 5, 487).

◊ KW 221, MGCD 742.

PTurk. ***nē-** what (что): OTurk. *ne* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *ne* (MK, KB); Tur. *ne, neme*; Gag. *ne*; Az. *nä*; Turkm. *nǟ, nǟmä*; Sal. *ne*; Khal. *ne*; MTurk. *ne* (Abush., Sangl.); Uzb. *ne*; Uygh. *nä*; Krm. *ne*; Tat. *ni, nɛrsɛ*; Bashk. *ni, nämä*; Kirgh. *ne, neme*; Kaz. *ne*; KBalk. *ne*; KKalp. *ne, neme*; Kum. *ne, neme*; Nogh. *ne*; SUygh. *ni*; Khak. *nime, ni; nō* ˋwhich' (**ne-gu*); Shr. *nebe* ˋthing', *nō* ˋwhat' (**ne-gu*); Oyr. *ne, neme*; Tv. *čǖ* (**če-gü*), *čüve* (**čegü-me*); Tof. *čǖ, čüme*; Chuv. *mə^{w}n* (metathesis < **ne-me*); Yak. *tuox* (**suox* < **če-gu+ok*?); Dolg. *tuok*.

◊ The earliest PT form must have contained a unique initial nasal (generally nasals were not allowed word-initially), having yielded specific reflexes in modern languages. See VEWT 352, EDT 774-5, Stachowski 230-231, ЭСТЯ 7, Федотов 1, 356.

PJpn. ***nÈV** what (что): OJpn. *nani*; MJpn. *nàní*; Tok. *náni*; Kyo. *nàni*; Kag. *nái*.

◊ JLTT 493.

PKor. ***nú-** who (кто): MKor. *nú-*; Mod. *nu-gu*.

◊ Nam 114, KED 356.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 18, 55, 81, 104, 278 (with literature). Initial *n- in Jpn. is probably due to assimilation to the following nasal (the most usual form is **na-ni*); there also exists an interrogative *i- (in **i-ka* 'how', **i-n-ture* 'which' etc., reflecting nasalless **ŋi-*. Vocalism in this archaic monosyllabic pronoun is not quite clear, evidently because of different suffixation.

✸**ŋṓjču** thin, small: Tung. ***ŋüši- (*ŋujši-)**; Mong. ***öčü-**; Turk. ***ōču-**; Jpn. ***úsú-**; Kor. ***nǎč-**.

PTung. ***ŋüši- (*ŋujši-)** small (маленький): Evk. *nitkūn* (dial.); Neg. *ńitkūn*; Man. *isuxun* 'tiny'; Jurch. *osu-wan* (669); Ul. *ńūči*; Ork. *nūči*; Nan. *nūči*; Orch. *ŋīči*; Ud. *ŋičʿa*; Sol. *nisxũ*, *nisūxũ̄*.

◊ TMC 1, 589-590.

PMong. ***öčü-** small, little (маленький): MMong. *uču(e)gan* (HY 52), *učugan*, *učuge(n)* (SH), *učkēn*, *očkeon* (IM), *učun*, *učukan*, *hučuken* (MA); WMong. *öčüken*, *üčüken* (L 629); Kh. *öčū̃xen*, *öcū̃xen*; Bur. *üsō̃(n)* 'few'; Kalm. *ücū̃(kṇ)*; Ord. *ečū̃ken*, *öčō̃χön*; Dag. *učēk(en)*, *učīken* (Тод. Даг. 171) *učēke(n)*, *učiken*, *ušiken* (MD 230, 233); Bao. *ǯigaŋ*; Mongr. *ćōgön*.

◊ KW 432, 460, MGCD 154.

PTurk. ***ōču-** 1 thin, light, easy, worthless 2 youngest 3 to diminish (1 тонкий, легкий, простой, дешевый 2 младший 3 уменьшаться): OTurk. *učuz* 1 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *učuz* 1 (MK); Tur. *uǯuz* 1; Gag. *uǯüs* 1; Az. *uǯuz* 1; Turkm. *uǯīz* 1; MTurk. *uǯuz* 1 (Pav. C.); Krm. *uǯɨz*, *uǯuz* 1; Tat. *ŭčɨz* 1 (dial.); KBalk. *učuz* 1; Kum. *učuz* 1; Khak. *očɨ* (dial.) 2; Shr. *očɨ* (Верб.) 2; Yak. *uohun-* 3.

◊ EDT 32, VEWT 509, 356, ЭСТЯ 1, 567-568, Лексика 339-340. Some Kypch. forms (Tat. *ŭčsɨz*, Bashk. *ŭshŭδ* 'cheap') are probably a result of reinterpreting *učuz* as *uč-sɨz* "edgeless" - as a result of late folk etymology.

PJpn. ***úsú-** thin (тонкий): OJpn. *usu-*; MJpn. *úsú-*; Tok. *ùsu-*; Kyo. *úsu-*; Kag. *úsu-* [= *úši-*].

◊ JLTT 843.

PKor. ***nǎč-** low, inferior (низкий, худший): MKor. *nǎs-kāp-*, *nǎč-*; Mod. *nat-* [*nač-*].

◊ Nam 100, 101, KED 312.

‖ EAS 148, АПиПЯЯ 18, 43, 292; SKE 162-163. Medial *-j- has to be reconstructed to account for the peculiar vowel behaviour in Mong. and TM.

✸**ŋȍla** long; extend: Tung. ***ŋōli-**; Mong. ***nolig**; Turk. ***ula-**; Jpn. ***nàn-kà-**; Kor. ***nǎr-**.

PTung. ***ŋōli-** long (длинный): Evk. *ŋōnim*, *ŋōnigdi*; Evn. *ŋonъ̣m*; Neg. *ŋonom*; Man. *golmin*; SMan. Goləmin (2409, 2602, 2844); Jurch. *ŋolmi-gi* (690); Ul. *walmị*; Ork. *ŋonimi*; Nan. *ŋonịmị*, *wonịmị*, *onịmị*; Orch. *ŋońimi*, *ŋońmi*; Ud. *wanimi*, *wańimi*; Sol. *ninomi*, *gonóm*.

◊ TMC 1, 664-665.

PMong. ***nolig** long, boring (долгий, скучный): WMong. *noliɣ* (MXTTT); Kh. *nolig*.

PTurk. ***ula-** 1 to extend, prolong 2 to attach, join (ends) (1 удлинять, надставлять, продлевать 2 присоединять): OTurk. *ula-* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *ula-* 2 (MK); Tur. *ula-* 2; Turkm. *ula-* 1, 2; MTurk. *ula-*

(Pav. C.) 2; Uzb. *ulä-* 1, 2; Uygh. *uli-* 2; Tat. *ŭla-* (dial.); Kirgh. *ula-* 2; Khak. *ula-* 1; Shr. *ula-* 1; Oyr. *ula-* 1, 2; Tv. *ula-* 1, 2.

◊ EDT 126-127, ЭСТЯ 1, 587-588. The original meaning was certainly 'to extend, prolong' - as seen also from the derivatives **ula-m* 'still more, continuously' (ЭСТЯ 1, 591) (whence Mong. **ulam* id., see TMN 2, 107), **ula-ju* 'still more, as much as', **ulag* 'order, relay, relay station' (ЭСТЯ 1, 588-590) (whence Mong. **ulaγa* id., see TMN 2, 106, Щербак 1997, 161; with the meaning 'relay horse' penetrated into some Ugric languages, despite Sinor 1965, 312-315 who proposed an opposite direction of borrowing);

PJpn. ***nànkà-** long (длинный): OJpn. *naga-*; MJpn. *nàgà-*; Tok. *nagá-*; Kyo. *nága-*; Kag. *náge*.

◊ JLTT 836. The Kagoshima tone is irregular.

PKor. ***nǎr-** be extended, extend (растягивать(ся), увеличиваться): MKor. *nǎrí-*; Mod. *nɨl-*.

◊ Nam 92, KED 372.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 109, 276. The PTM form should be reconstructed with *-l- (despite АПиПЯЯ); therefore it belongs here rather than to PT **ōn-*, Mong. **ön-*.

✱**ŋònŋi** straight: Tung. ***ŋunŋe**; Mong. ***üne-**; Turk. ***öŋ-ed-**; Jpn. ***ùmà-**.

PTung. ***ŋunŋe** straight (прямой): Evk. *ŋuŋne*; Evn. *ŋūn*; Neg. *ŋuńŋe*; Jurch. *ŋun-du* (661).

◊ TMC 1, 666-667.

PMong. ***üne-** right, correct (правильный, верный): MMong. *unen* (SH, HYt); WMong. *ünen* (L 1009); Kh. *ünen*; Bur. *ünen*; Kalm. *ünŋ*; Ord. *ünen*; Dag. *unen* (Тод. Даг. 171, MD 232); Mongr. *nem* 'prix, valeur, bon prix' (SM 269).

◊ KW 458, MGCD 695. Mong. > Evk. *unērē* etc., see Doerfer MT 104, Rozycki 218.

PTurk. ***öŋ-ed-** 1 to tune (an instrument) 2 to recuperate 3 to remedy (1 настраивать (инструмент) 2 выздоравливать 3 лечить): OTurk. *öŋed-* 2, *öŋedtür-* (caus.) 3 (OUygh.); Kirgh. *öŋde-* 2; Kaz. *öŋde-* 2; KKalp. *öŋde-* 2; Chuv. (Anatri) *əner-* 1.

◊ EDT 179, 182, Егоров 64, Мудрак 135. Федотов 1, 153 compares the Chuv. form with OT *oŋar-* 'to correct', which is phonetically worse.

PJpn. ***ùmà-** proficient, worthy; delicious (достойный, удачный; вкусный): OJpn. *uma-*; MJpn. *ùmà-*; Tok. *umá-*; Kyo. *úmà-*; Kag. *umá-*.

◊ JLTT 843.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 18, Дыбо 12.

✱**ŋȍŕa** to surpass, win, contest: Tung. ***ŋōr-ča-**; Turk. ***oŕ-**; Jpn. ***àràsuap-**.

PTung. ***ŋōr-ča-** to contest, to wrestle (соревноваться, бороться): Evk. *ŋōrča-*; Neg. *mōjčan-*; Ul. *wāča-*; Ork. *wōto-* / *ŋōto-*; *ŋu(r)-* 'to overcome'; Nan. *wāča-*.

◊ TMC 1, 665.

PTurk. ***oŕ-** to surpass, win (превосходить, побеждать): OTurk. *oz-*; Karakh. *oz-* (MK); Tur. dial. *oz-*; Turkm. *oz-*; MTurk. *oz-* (Pav. C., Houts.,

AH, IM; Uzb. *ụz-*; Uygh. *oz-*; Krm. *oz-*; Tat. *uz-*; Bashk. *uδ-*; Kirgh. *oz-*; Kaz. *oz-*; KBalk. *oz-*; KKalp. *oz-*; Kum. *oz-*; Nogh. *oz-*; SUygh. *joz-*; Khak. *os-*.

◊ See VEWT 367, ЭСТЯ 1, 425.

PJpn. ***àràsuap-*** to contest (состязаться, сражаться): OJpn. *araswop-*; MJpn. *àràsof-*; Tok. *arasó-*; Kyo. *árásó-*; Kag. *arasó-*.

◊ JLTT 676. Kagoshima has irregular tone (*àràsò-* would be expected).

‖ Дыбо 15. Ozawa 170 compares the Jpn. form with Mong. *arča-* 'to quarrel, fight', but the latter is rather a reflex of **ēŕa* q.v. We should note that the Jpn. form may also belong to a different root, PA **erV* 'seek, contest' (a possible Mong.-Turk. isogloss, on which see under **īre* 'reach').

✱**ŋūja** to be able: Tung. ***ŋū-***; Turk. ***u(j)-***; Jpn. ***a-***.

PTung. ***ŋū-*** 1 to win, overcome 2 to be able (1 победить, перегнать 2 уметь): Ork. *ŋū-* 1; Ud. *ńoni-* 2 (?).

◊ TMC 1, 563, 643, 665.

PTurk. ***u(j)-*** to be able, capable (мочь): OTurk. *u-* (OUygh., Orkh.); Karakh. *u-* (MK); Chuv. *-i-/-j-*; Yak. *uj-*.

◊ VEWT 510, EDT 5.

PJpn. ***a-*** to be able, capable (мочь): OJpn. *a-*; MJpn. *a-*; Tok. *e-*.

‖ Cf. also potential forms in Mongolian languages: Ord. *-ūn* 'if it is possible to', Bur. *-ūtaj* 'going to'.

✱**ŋȕje** long hair: Tung. ***ŋūjelse***; Mong. ***öjekeji***; Turk. ***öjek***; Jpn. ***bə̀ (*buà)***.

PTung. ***ŋūjelse*** 1 hair under the neck 2 tie, scarf (1 волосы под шеей 2 шарф, шейный платок): Evk. *mujālle*, *mūjēlle* 1; Evn. *ŋöjelrъ ~ möjelrъ* 1, *ŋõjeke* 2; Ork. *ŋīwelte* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 551, 665.

PMong. ***öjekej*** lower part of animal's belly (нижняя часть живота животного): WMong. *öjekei*, (L 633 *öjüke*); Kh. *öjöxij*.

PTurk. ***öjek*** part of animal's skin under the neck or between legs (подгрудок): Tur. *öjek* (dial.); Turkm. *öjek* (dial.); MTurk. *öjek* (Pav. C.); Tat. *üjäk* (R); Bashk. *üjsek*; Kirgh. *õk*; Khak. *õk*; Oyr. *öjök*; Tv. *öjek*; Chuv. *vaja*, *vaǯa*.

◊ VEWT 369-370, ЭСТЯ 1, 515, Лексика 146, 423.

PJpn. ***bə̀ (*buà)*** tail (хвост): OJpn. wo; MJpn. *wò*; Tok. *ó*; Kyo. *ȍ*; Kag. *ó*.

◊ JLTT 503.

‖ Дыбо 10, Лексика 146, 423. In Jpn. **ua* would be expected - which would yield OJ *wo* (therefore undistinguishable from **bua* or **bə).*

✸**ŋū́ju** to sleep: Tung. ***ŋu(j)a**; Mong. ***nojir**; Turk. ***ū-dɨ-, *ū-dɨ-k-la-**; Jpn. ***úi-**.

PTung. ***ŋu(j)a-** to sleep (спать): Evk. *ńa-sō-*, *nińa-*; Man. *nu-nǯi-bu-* 'to make sleepy'; Orch. *ŋua-*; Ud. *ŋuha-*.

◊ TMC 1, 597, 611, 636, 666 (for phonology see АПиПЯЯ 50).

PMong. ***nojir** sleep (сон): MMong. *nuir* (MA), *nojir* (SH); WMong. *nojir* (L 589); Kh. *nojr*; Bur. *nojr*; Kalm. *nȫr*; Ord. *noö̯r*; Mog. *noir*, *nɛir*; ZM *nāʔir* (6-5a); Dag. *noir* (Тод. Даг. 158), *noire* (MD 200); Dong. no; Bao. nor; S.-Yugh. *nūr*; Mongr. *nōr* (SM 284).

◊ KW 280, MGCD 511.

PTurk. ***ū-dɨ-, *ū-dɨ-k-la-** to sleep (спать): OTurk. *udɨ-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *uδɨ-* (MK); Tur. *uju-*; Gag. *uju-*; Turkm. *ūqla-*; Sal. *uχla-*; Khal. *ū̯*, *ụ̄* 'sleep' (n.); MTurk. *uju-* (Abush., Pav. C.); Uzb. *uxla-*; Uygh. *uxla-*; Krm. *juxla-*; Tat. *joqla-*; Bashk. *joqla-*; Kirgh. *uqta-*; *ujqu* (n.); Kaz. *ujɨqta-*; KBalk. *ǯuqla-*; KKalp. *ujqɨla-*; Kum. *uju-* 'to stiffen'; Nogh. *ujkla-*; SUygh. *uzu-*; Khak. *uzu-*; Tv. *udu-*; Tof. *udu-*; Chuv. *ɨjɣъ* 'sleep' (n.); Yak. *utuj-*; Dolg. *utuj-*.

◊ The form **ūdɨkla-* is derived from **ūdɨk* 'sleepy', derived from **ūdɨ-* 'to sleep', which in its turn is derived from **ū* 'sleep' (preserved in Yak., Dolg. *ū*, Khal. *ū*). See VEWT 508, EDT 2, 42-3, 46-7, 49, ЭСТЯ 1, 579-581, 586-587, Егоров 342, Stachowski 247.

PJpn. ***úi-** sleep, to sleep (сон, спать): OJpn. *wi-na-* 'to sleep', *i* 'sleep, dream';; MJpn. *i-na-* 'to sleep', *wí-nébúri* 'sleep'; Tok. (**i-)ne-*; *inebúri*, *ineburí* 'drowsiness'; Kyo. *ìnébúrì* 'drowsiness'; Kag. *ineburí* 'drowsiness'.

◊ JLTT 697 (ignoring the variant *wi-*). OJ i and *wi-* obviously reflect variants of development of PJ **úi*.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 18, 50, 101, 280, Мудрак Дисс. 102.

✸**ŋúpu (~ -o-)** a k. of clamp: Tung. ***ŋubi**; Mong. ***gub-**; Jpn. ***úpái**.

PTung. ***ŋubi** 1 saddlegirth 2 rowlock (as a two-pronged fork) (1 подпруга 2 уключина (в виде двурогой вилки)): Evk. *ŋuwi* 1; Ork. *ŋojo* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 664, 666.

PMong. ***gub-** 1 wooden clamp put on the nose of a young camel; stick attached to the neck of a dog 2 to put a saddlecloth on the back of an animal 3 to catch fish with a net (1 деревянный зажим на носу молодого верблюда; палка, прикрепленная к шее собаки 2 класть попону на спину животного 3 ловить рыбу сетью): MMong. *xubuči'ur* 'big net' (HY 21); WMong. *ɣubaǯi* 1, *ɣubči-* 2, 3 (L 363); Kh. *guvǯ* 1, *guvči-* 2, 3; Bur. *gubša-* 3, *gubšūr* ʿnet'; Kalm. *ɣuvǯə* 1 (KPC).

◊ Mong. > Evk. *gupči-* (Poppe 1972, 97, TMC 1, 153).

PJpn. ***úpái** fish-trap (ловушка для рыбы): OJpn. *upe*; MJpn. *úfé*; Tok. *ue*.

◊ JLTT 560.

‖ An interesting common Altaic cultural term: as seen from the reflexes, it could denote a device that could snap around some object (a fish-trap, a clamp, a two-pronged rowlock etc.).

✱**ŋurV** young male: Tung. ***ŋur**; Mong. ***gura**; Turk. ***urɨ**.

PTung. ***ŋur** male (of small carnivores) (самец (мелких хищников)): Evk. *ŋur*; Nan. *mur*.

◊ TMC 1, 667.

PMong. ***gura** roebuck (самец косули): MMong. *quraltuq* 'Damhirsch' (SH); WMong. *γura* (L 368); Kh. *gur*; Bur. *guran*; Kalm. *γurə*.

◊ KW 155. Mong. > Oyr. *quran* etc. (ЭСТЯ 6, 159-160), Evk. *guran* etc., see Doerfer MT 79, Rozycki 95.

PTurk. ***urɨ** male child, son (мальчик, сын): OTurk. *urɨ* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *urɨ* (MK, KB); Kirgh. *urum* 'descendants (us. male)'; Yak. *urtūs* 'boy' (Пек.).

◊ EDT 197, Лексика 315.

‖ SKE 177, EAS 107. A Western isogloss. See also **gúri*.

✱**ŋŭsí (~ -o-)** heel: Tung. ***ŋusē-**; Mong. ***ösügeji**; Jpn. ***ùsírə**.

PTung. ***ŋusē-** ski straps (ремни, завязки (у лыж)): Evk. *ŋusāmne*; Evn. *ŋusemne*; Neg. *musemne*; Ork. *wēsêpse*; Nan. *muesemse*; Orch. *ŋusemse*.

◊ TMC 1, 667.

PMong. ***ösügej** heel (пятка): MMong. *osogo* (HY 47), *osügei* (SH), *usegei* (MA); WMong. *ösügei*; Kh. *ösgij*; Bur. *hüjei*; Kalm. *öskē*; Ord. *ösögī*.

◊ KW 301. Clark 1980, 58 proposes (with doubt) borrowing < Turk. *ökče* (see s.v. **p'ŏk'i*), which is hardly acceptable.

PJpn. ***ùsírə** after, behind (задняя сторона, после, позади): OJpn. *usiro*; MJpn. *usiro*; Tok. *ùshiro*; Kyo. *ùshírò*; Kag. *ushiró*.

◊ JLTT 564. Kyoto and Kagoshima point to **ùsírò*, Tokyo - rather to **ùsíró*.

‖ The original meaning is probably preserved in Mongolian, with a specialization ('heel' > 'heel strap, ski strap') in TM, and a generalization ('heel' > 'back') in Japanese.

O

✱**ó** this, that (deictic particle): Tung. ***u-**; Mong. ***on-**; Turk. ***o(-l)**; Jpn. ***ə́-**.

PTung. ***u-** 1 this 2 that (1 этот 2 тот): Man. *u-ba* 1; SMan. *evā* (2620, 2884) 1; Ud. *u-ti* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 293-294.

PMong. ***on-** other, different (другой): WMong. *ondu*, *ončuγui* (L 612, 613); Kh. *ondō*; Bur. *ondō*; Ord. *ondōn*; Dag. *enčū* (Тод. Даг. 140) 'other', *ondolō-* 'to change' (Тод. Даг. 159); Dong. *doniə*; S.-Yugh. *ondōn*.

◊ MGCD 529.

PTurk. ***o(-l)** that (тот): OTurk. *o-l* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *o-l* (MK); Tur. *o*; Gag. *o*; Az. *o*; Turkm. *ol*; Sal. *u*; Khal. *ǭ*, *o̯*, *u̯ǭ-ra*; MTurk. *o-l* (AH); Uzb. *u̯*; Uygh. *u*; Krm. *o*; Tat. *u-l*; Bashk. *o-šo*, *u*; Kirgh. *o-šo*; Kaz. *o-l*; KBalk. *o-l*; KKalp. *o-l*, *u-sɨ* 'this'; Kum. *o-l*; Nogh. *o-l*; SUygh. *o-l*, *o*; Khak. *ol*; Oyr. *o-l*; Tv. *ol*; Tof. *ol*; Chuv. *vъʷ-l*; Yak. *ol*; Dolg. *ol*.

◊ VEWT 360, ЭСТЯ 1, 444-445, 456, 492-494, TMN 2, 93, EDT 123-4, Stachowski 191. The form *o* is attested later than *ol*, but it certainly does not mean that it was absent in PT (despite Clauson).

PJpn. ***ə́-** a deictic root (this) (дейктическая основа (этот)):

◊ A Ryukyu root: Nase *ú-N*, Shuri *ú-nù*, Hateruma *ù-nù*, Yonaguni *ù-nú* etc. The form *o-re* is attested in OJ as 'thou' with a pejorative meaning, whence some modern dialectal forms (Kagoshima *wáí*, Shuri *ú-nǯú*, *ʔjā*, Nase *ʔjá*, Hateruma *Dà*, Yonakuni *ùdà*). It is not quite clear whether it is the same root as Ryukyu **o-* 'this'.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 280. A Korean match (dubious) see in SKE 176.

✱**obri (~ -e)** dawn: Tung. ***(x)oru-**; Mong. ***öwr**; Turk. ***ürüŋ (*örüŋ)**.

PTung. ***(x)oru-** to flame up (вспыхнуть): Evk. *orumna-*.

◊ TMC 2, 25. Attested only in Evk., with possible parallels in Turk. and Mong.

PMong. ***öwr** dawn (рассвет): MMong. *ur* (MA 382); WMong. *ör* (L 1010: *ür*, 1014: *üür*); Kh. *ṻr*; Bur. *ṻr*; Kalm. *ör*; Ord. *örö*, *ör*; Dag. *ur*; Bao. *or*; S.-Yugh. *ojir*; Mongr. *ōr* (SM 298).

◊ KW 298, MGCD 686.

PTurk. ***ürüŋ (*örüŋ)** 1 white 2 dawn (1 белый 2 рассвет): OTurk. *ürüŋ* 1 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *ürüŋ* 1 (MK, KB); Tur. *ürün* 'milk, yoghurt'; Khal. *hirin*, *hürün* 1; MTurk. *ürüŋ* (Sangl.) 1; Kirgh. *ürüŋ baraŋ* 2; Yak. *ürüŋ* 1, *örüös*, *ürüös* 'белая кайма на морде'; Dolg. *ürüŋ* 1.

◊ EDT 233-4, Лексика 601, Stachowski 253.

‖ KW 298, VEWT 375, АПиПЯЯ 288. A Western isogloss.

✱**óče** late, evening: Mong. ***öčüge**; Jpn. ***əsə́-**; Kor. ***ə̀čə́i**.

PMong. ***öčüge** yesterday (вчера): MMong. *ɛčgen* (IM), *učugǎ* (MA), *očigan*, *očigen* 'recent, shortly' (SH), *očigen* 'recent' (HYt), *hečegen* (LH), *hūčken odur* (Lig.VMI); WMong. *öčigen*, *öčüg-edür* (L 629); Kh. *öčigdör*, *öcögdör*; Bur. *üsegder*; Kalm. *öcgḷdṛ*, *ücgḷdṛ*; Ord. *üčügüdür*, *čügüdür*, *čüg-dür*; Mog. *čikaudur*, *uškudur* (Weiers), *üčkōn* (Ramstedt 1906); ZM *očkädur* (19-10b); Dong. *učuGudu* (MGCD *fučuɣudu*); S.-Yugh. *čugdur*; Mongr. *ćigu* (SM 449).

◊ MGCD 551, KW 302, 460. Some (late) MMong. forms, as well as one of Dong. variants reflect *h- which must be secondary (influence of **hečü-s* 'end'?).

PJpn. ***əsə́-** late (поздний): OJpn. *oso-*; MJpn. *ósó-*; Tok. *òso-*; Kyo. *ósò-*; Kag. *óso-*.

◊ JLTT 839.

PKor. ***ə̀čə́i** yesterday (вчера): MKor. *ə̀čə́i*; Mod. *əʒe*.

◊ Nam 365, KED 1135.

‖ Martin 234-235. Cf. TM: Nan. *wasoana* 'not long ago' (see TMC 2, 295). Kor. *ə-* is probably a result of secondary assimilation (< **ɨ̀čə́i* or **ù̀čə́i*).

✱**ȍčʹé** bad, anger: Tung. ***(x)uč- (~ -š-)**; Mong. ***öče-**; Turk. ***ȍ̄č**; Jpn. ***ə́ntə́-**.

PTung. ***(x)uč- (~ -š-)** 1 to take revenge 2 to miss, yearn (1 мстить 2 скучать, тосковать): Evk. *učin-* 2; Evn. *u̯čaŋkat-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 296, 297.

PMong. ***öče-** to take revenge, be inimical (мстить, быть враждебным): MMong. *öčeldü-* (MA).

◊ MMong. *öčeldü-* = Turk. **ȍ̄čel(č)-* (OT *öčeš-*), but can hardly be a loan, despite Щербак 1997, 197.

PTurk. ***ȍ̄č** revenge, anger (месть, гнев): OTurk. *öč* (OUygh.); Karakh. *öč* (MK); Tur. *öč*; Az. *öʒ*; Turkm. *ȍ̄č*; Khal. *hę̂ʒäš-*; MTurk. *öč* (AH), *öʒ* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *o̯č*; Uygh. *öč*; Krm. *öč*; Tat. *üč*; Bashk. *üs*; Kirgh. *öč*; Kaz. *öš*; KBalk. *öč*; KKalp. *öš*; Kum. *öč*; Nogh. *öš*; Khak. *üs*; Oyr. *öč*; Tv. *öš*; Chuv. *vəʷʒəʷ*; Yak. *ös*; Dolg. *östȍ̄k* 'enemy'.

◊ EDT 18, ЭСТЯ 1, 558-559, Мудрак 54, EDT 18, TMN 2, 134, Stachowski 201. Turk. > MMong. (MA) *öč* (see Clark 1980, 52; but not > *ös*, see s.v. **ŏse!*).

PJpn. ***ə́ntə́-** 1 to fear 2 to intimidate (1 бояться 2 запугивать): OJpn. *odu-* 1; MJpn. *ódú-* 1, *ódó-s-* 2; Tok. *oji-* 1, *odos-* 2.

◊ JLTT 740, 744.

‖ Mong., Turk. and Jpn. reflect a common reciprocal derivative **ȍčʹé-ĺV-* 'to be inimical (towards each other)', on which see above.

✱**odi (~ -e)** day, time: Mong. ***üd-**; Turk. ***öd**.

PMong. ***üd-** 1 afternoon 2 day 3 evening (1 полдень 2 день 3 вечер): MMong. *ude* 1 (HY 5), *udur* (SH, HY 5) 2, *udeši* (HY 5) 3, *ädär*, od, *ädor* (IM), *udēši* 'night', *uder* 2 (LH), *hudeši* (MA); WMong. *üde* 1 (L 995), *edür* (L 295) 2; Kh. *üd* 1, *ödör* 2, *üdeš* 3; Bur. *üde* 1, *üder* 2, *üdeše* 3; Kalm. *üdə* 1, *ödṛ* 2 (KPC); Ord. *üde* 1, *üdür* 2, *üdeši* 3; Mog. *ɔdur*, *udur* 2 (Weiers); Dag. *udur* 1, 2 (Тод. Даг. 170), *üdeši* 'yesterday', *udure* 2; Dong. *dur* 1, *udu* 2; Bao. *udu* 1, *udər* 2; S.-Yugh. *ude* 1, *udur* 2; Mongr. *udur*, *dur* (SM 464) 1, 2.

◊ MGCD 540, 687. Mong. > Manchu *uden* 'rest at midday' (see Rozycki 215).

PTurk. ***öd** time (время): OTurk. *öd* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *öδ(leg)* (MK), *öδleg* (KB); Tur. *öjle* 'midday'; Az. *öjlä* 'midday'; Turkm. *öjle* 'midday'; MTurk. *öj* (IM), *öjle* 'midday'; Krm. *üjlɛ* 'midday'; Tat. *öjlɛ* 'midday'; Nogh. *üjlɛ* 'midday'; Oyr. *öj*; Chuv. *vara* 'later'.

◊ EDT 35-36, 56, ЭСТЯ 1, 516-517, VEWT 368, Лексика 68-69. Turk. > Hung. *idő* (< **öd-eg*), see Gombocz 1912, MNyTESz 1, 189.

‖ KW 455, Владимирцов 153, Лексика 68-69. A Turk.-Mong. isogloss. Cf. also Mong. *udaγa*, Mongor *udā* 'time' (MGCD 666). Nan. *udur* 'heat' may be borrowed < Mong.

✱**odi (~ -e)** sexual passion: Tung. ***uda-**; Mong. ***(h)uʒid**; Turk. ***öd-**.

PTung. ***uda-** 1 pregnant 2 to bear calves 3 first-born child 4 birth pains 5 placenta (1 беременная 2 телиться 3 первенец 4 родовые муки 5 плацента, послед): Evk. *udaja* 4, *udačān* 5; Evn. *odandrä-* 2; Neg. *odịn* 1; Ork. *ụdịma* 3; Orch. *udama* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 6, 248.

PMong. ***(h)uʒid** sexual passion, lust (сексуальное влечение, вожделение): WMong. *uʒid* (L 893); Kh. *uʒid*.

PTurk. ***öd-** 1 lust, sexual passion 2 to feel lust 3 passion 4 oestrum (1 половое влечение 2 чувствовать влечение 3 страсть, тоска 4 течка): OTurk. *ödlen-* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *öδig* (MK, KB) 1, *öδlen-* 2 (MK); Turkm. *öjer-* 'to espouse' (caus.); MTurk. *öδüg* (Qutb) 1, *öjge* (Pav. C.) 4; Kirgh. (*ʒürögün*) *öjü-* 'to be worried, frustrated'; Khak. *özeləs* 3; Chuv. *vəʷrge* 3.

◊ EDT 50, 58, VEWT 518.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**ŏge** lonely, orphan: Tung. ***ugī**; Mong. ***ügej**; Turk. ***ög-**; Kor. ***ói**.

PTung. ***ugī** few (мало): Evk. *uγī-kun*; Neg. *oγī*; Ul. *oị*; Ork. *oji*; Nan. *oị*; Orch. *uji*.

◊ TMC 2, 246.

PMong. ***ügej** not, without (не, без, не имеющий чего-л.): MMong. *ugai* (HY 51, SH), *uge'u* 'to be destitute, suffer' (HY 37), *ugej* (IM), *ugäj* (MA); WMong. *ügei* (L 997); Kh. *ügij*, *ügüj*, -güj; Bur. *ügɨ*, dial. *übej*;

Kalm. *ugā*, *ugɛ̄*; Ord. *üg^{w}ī*, *ug^{w}ī*, *üg^{w}ē*, *ug^{w}ē*; Mog. *ügɛi*; ZM *gei* (27-5a); Dag. *uwei* (Тод. Даг. 170), *uej* (MD 231); Dong. ui; Bao. *gi*; S.-Yugh. *uɣui*; Mongr. *ugwī*, *gwī* (SM 468).

◊ KW 446, MGCD 689. Mong. > Evk. *ugei*, see Doerfer MT 128. The same root (but with different suffixation) is probably reflected in **öɣe-* (MMong. *o'er, o'e-sun* 'self', *o'ere* 'other, different' (SH), WMong. *öber, öbesü-ben, öbere, ögere*, Khalkha *ȫr, ȫsȫ, ȫr*, Mongr. *gōro* (175)).

PTurk. ***ög-** 1 unrelated; step-relative 2 other, different (1 неродной; приемный родственник (пасынок, мачеха) 2 другой, отличный): OTurk. *ögej* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *ögej* 1 (MK), *ögün* 2 (KB); Tur. *üvej* 1; Gag. *jüvä* 1; Az. *ögäj* 1; Turkm. *ögej*, *övej* 1; MTurk. *ögej* 1 (Pav. C.), *ögün* 2 (Abush.); Uzb. *o̦gej* 1; Krm. *ögej* 1; Tat. *ügi* 1; Bashk. *ügäj* 1; Kirgh. *ögej* 1; Kaz. *ögej* 1; KBalk. *ögej* 1; KKalp. *ögej* 1; Kum. *ögej* 1; Nogh. *ögej* 1; Khak. *ȫj* 1; Shr. *ȫj* 1; Oyr. *öj* 1; Yak. *egian* 2; Dolg. *egin-egin* 2.

◊ EDT 109, 119, VEWT 369, 306, ЭСТЯ 1, 495-496, TMN 2, 159, Stachowski 43 (with some confusion of the Yakut variants *egin*, *egian* and *eŋin*; on the latter see **eŋ)*. In Az. one would rather expect **öjäj*; -g- is probably preserved due to dissimilation.

PKor. ***ói** lonely, orphan (одинокий, сирота): MKor. *ói*, *ói-rǎp-* (-w-); Mod. *we*, *werop-* (-w-).

◊ Liu 586, KED 1220, 1222.

‖ Рясянен 1955, 106, TMN 2, 159-160.

✱**òje** to swim: Tung. ***ujV-**; Mong. ***üji- / *oji-mu-**; Jpn. ***ə̀jə̀nk- (*ə̀juànk-)**.

PTung. ***ujV** to swim (of birds) (плавать (в осн. о птице)): Evk. *uju-,uju-kta-*; Neg. *oji̦-jan-*; Ork. *oppō-*; Nan. *ońoan-*, *ojana-*; Ud. *wujan-*, *ujan-*.

◊ TMC 2, 252.

PMong. ***üji- / *oji-mu-** 1 to sink, to put in in a pot for boiling 2 to swim (1 погружаться, класть в котел для варки 2 плавать): MMong. *ojna-* 2 (IM); WMong. *üi-*, *üjü-* 1 (L 999), *ojimu-*, *ojima-* 2 (L 604); Kh. *üj-* 1, *ojmo-* 2; Bur. *üj-* 1; Kalm. *ȫm-* 2 (KPC); Ord. *oö̰mo-* 'to pass the ford'; Mongr. *(w)ī-* (SM 484) 1.

◊ Mong. *ojimu-* > Yak., Dolg. *ojmō-*, see Kał. MEJ 36, Stachowski 190.

PJpn. ***ə̀jə̀nk- (*ə̀juànk-)** to swim (плавать, плыть): MJpn. *ə̀jə̀g-*; Tok. *oyóg-*; Kyo. *ójóg-*; Kag. *ə̀jə̀g-*.

◊ JLTT 744.

‖ EAS 98, АПиПЯЯ 79, 99, 277.

✱**ǒje** life, age: Tung. ***uju-**; Mong. ***üje**; Turk. ***öj (?)**; Jpn. ***ə̀jə̀-**.

PTung. ***uju-** alive (живой): Man. *wei-xun*; SMan. *veixun* (695); Ul. *uju(n)*; Ork. *uju(n)*; Nan. *ujũ*.

◊ TMC 2, 252.

PMong. ***üje** generation, age (поколение, возраст): MMong. *uje* (SH, HYt); WMong. *üje* (L 1001); Kh. *üje*; Bur. *üje*; Kalm. *üj* (KPC); Ord. *üje*; Dag. *uje* (Тод. Даг. 170, MD 231); Mongr. *uje* (SM 479).

◊ MGCD 691. Mong. > Yak., Dolg. *üje* (Stachowski 249). The connection with *üje* 'joint' should be regarded as folk-etymological.

PTurk. ***öj (?)** time, age (время, возраст): Tv. *öj*; Yak. *öjū̃n* (dial.).

◊ ОСНЯ 1, 242. The form is poorly attested and rather dubious (the Tuva form may be < Oyr. *öj* < PT **öd* q. v. sub **odi).*

PJpn. ***ə̀jə̀-** to grow old (стареть): OJpn. *oju-*; MJpn. *ò̀jù-*; Tok. *oí-*; Kyo. *ò̀i-*; Kag. *oí-*.

◊ JLTT 740. Accent in Kagoshima is irregular. Final *-ə can be observed in OJ *ojo-si* 'old'.

‖ ОСНЯ 1, 242, Ozawa 65-66 (Mong.-Jpn.).

✱**ójle (~ -i)** small fruit: Tung. ***ulīn-kta**; Mong. ***ölir**; Kor. ***òijə́s**.

PTung. ***ulīn-(kta)** wild apple (дикое яблоко): Evk. *ulīkta* 'wild apple', *ulukta* 'bird-cherry'; Man. *uli* 'pear; rowan'; Ul. *unikte*; Nan. *uńikte*; Ud. *uliŋkie*; Sol. *ulītte*.

◊ TMC 2, 261, 264.

PMong. ***ölir** wild apple (дикое яблоко): MMong. *olirsun* (SH) 'wild pear'; WMong. *ölir* 'small apples' (L 633); Kh. *ülir* (БАМРС); Bur. *ülir*.

◊ KW 300. Cf. **üril* (with occasional mixture).

PKor. ***òijə́s** plum (слива): MKor. *òi'jə́s*, *oi'jač*, *oi'jas*; Mod. *ojat* [*ojas*].

◊ Nam 387, KED 1202.

‖ Дыбо 10. Cf. Turkm. *ülže* 'cherry'; Kum., KBalk. *ülkü* 'bush, shrub', Bashk. *ölköm* id.? Despite Doerfer MT 81, Rozycki 217, TM cannot be < Mong. or vice versa. Cf. also **èri*, **ùjrV*.

✱**ő́jV** to sew, pierce: Tung. ***uji-**; Mong. ***oja-**; Turk. ***ōj-**.

PTung. ***uji-** to bind, knot together (привязывать, связывать): Evk. *uj-*; Evn. *uj-*; Neg. *uj-*; Ul. *ui-*; Ork. *uj-*; Nan. *ui-*; Orch. *uji-*, *uju-*; Ud. *uji-pti* 'a k. of rope'; Sol. *uji-*.

◊ TMC 2, 250-251.

PMong. ***oja-** to sew, stitch (шить): MMong. *oja-* (MA, LH); WMong. *oja-* (L 606 *oju-*); Kh. *ojo-*; Bur. *ojo-*; Kalm. *ujə-*; Ord. *ojo-*; Mog. *wɔja-* (Weiers), *oī-* (Ramstedt 1906); Dag. *oji-*, *ojo-* (Тод. Даг. 159), *oj-* (MD 201); Mongr. *jō-* (SM 493).

◊ KW 447, MGCD 526.

PTurk. ***ōj-** 1 to pick, peck 2 embroidery 3 thimble (долбить, делать дыру, ковырять): OTurk. *oj-* (OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *oj-* (MK) 1; Tur. *oj-* 1, *oja* 2; Gag. *oj-* 1; Az. *oj-* 1; Turkm. *ōj-* 1, *ōjmaq* 3; MTurk. *oj-* (Sangl.) 1, *ojmaq* 3; Uzb. *o̦j-* 1; Uygh. *oj-* 1; Krm. *oj-* 1; Tat. *uj-* 1; Bashk. *uj-* 1; Kirgh. *oj-* 1, *ojmoq* 3; Kaz. *oj-* 1; KBalk. *oj-* 1; KKalp. *oj-* 1; Kum. *oj-* 1; Nogh. *oj-*

1; SUygh. *oj-* 1; Khak. *oj-* 1; Shr. *oj-* 1; Oyr. *oj-* 1; Tv. *oj-* 1; Chuv. *ъjъ*, *ijə* (NW) 'chisel'; Yak. *ojuo-t-* ; *ojun-* 'to be split off'; *ojū* 'picture'; Dolg. *ojū* 'picture'.

◊ VEWT 358, 359, EDT 265, 266, ЭСТЯ 1, 425-428, 434, Лексика 98, Stachowski 190; also a noun: **ōj* 'pit, lowland' (Tof. (Рассадин 1995) *oj* 'brook bed' etc.; **ōj-ik* 'wound; pit'.

‖ EAS 143, KW 447. A Western isogloss. The Turkic and Mongolian forms clearly point to the original meaning 'pierce, sew', so the attribution of the TM form ("to tie, bind") is not quite reliable. One has to deal with a possibility that the TM forms, despite their wide distribution, are actually borrowed from Mong. *uja-* 'to tie, bind' (which cannot be genetically related to Mong., since the latter goes back to PM **huja-* - so far without Altaic etymology -, with h- well preserved in Southern Mongolian languages).

✱**oki** to sing, recite: Tung. ***(x)og- ~ *(x)ok-**; Mong. ***üge**; Turk. ***oki-**; Jpn. ***uka-ip-**; Kor. ***o'ăi-**.

PTung. ***(x)og- ~ *(x)ok-** to sing (петь): Evn. *oγṭ-*.

◊ TMC 2, 5. Attested only in Evn. (Evk. *uγun* 'tale' is probably < Mong.), but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***üge** word (слово): MMong. *uge* (HY 34, SH), *ugule-* 'say, speak' (SH, HYt), *eule-* (Lig.VMI); WMong. *üge(n)* (L 996); Kh. *üg*; Bur. *üge*; Kalm. *ügə* (KPC); Ord. *üge*; Mongr. *uge* (SM 467), *ugo* (Huzu), *gule-* 'parler' (SM 141).

◊ MGCD 689.

PTurk. ***oki-** to call, read, recite (звать, читать, декламировать): OTurk. *oqi-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *oqi-* (MK); Tur. *oku-*; Gag. *oqu-*; Az. *oxu-*; Turkm. *oqa-*; Khal. *ḥoqu-*; MTurk. *oqi-* (AH), *oqu-* (Abush., Pav. C.); Uzb. *ọqi-*; Uygh. *oqu-*; Krm. *oxi-*, *oqu-*, *oxu-*; Tat. *uqi-*; Bashk. *uqi-*; Kirgh. *oqu-*; Kaz. *oqi-*; KBalk. *oqu-*; KKalp. *oqi-*; Kum. *oxu-*; Nogh. *oqi-*; Yak. *oguj-*, *uguj-*.

◊ EDT 79, VEWT 359, ЭСТЯ 1, 439-441.

PJpn. ***uka-ip-** to pray to gods (молиться богам): OJpn. *ukep-*; MJpn. *ukef-*.

◊ JLTT 778.

PKor. ***o'ăi-** to recite (декламировать): MKor. *o'ăi-* 'sailors' song'; Mod. *wē-*, *weu-*.

◊ Liu 577, KED 1221, 1223.

‖ Despite poor representation in TM, the root is well preserved elsewhere and appears to be well reconstructable for PA.

✱**ǿki (~ -e)** to belch, nauseate: Tung. ***oKor-**; Mong. ***ogi-, *ogsi-**; Turk. ***ȫk-**.

PTung. ***oKor-** to nauseate (тошнить): Man. *oχorša-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 10. Attested only in Manchu, but with probable external parallels.

PMong. ***ogi-, *ogsi-** 1 to nauseate 2 to belch (1 чувствовать тошноту 2 рыгать): WMong. *ogi-* 1 (L 603), *oγsi-* 2 (L 601); Kh. *ogi-*, *ogši-* 'to vomit'; Bur. *oxi-* 2; Kalm. *ogl-* 1; Ord. *ogši-* 'faire les efforts et produire les bruits qui précèdent le vomissement'; S.-Yugh. *ogiši-*.

◊ MGCD 523. Mong. > Tel., Chag. *oqi-*; Uzb. *oqči-*, Tat. *ukši-* etc.

PTurk. ***ȍk-** 1 to belch 2 to nauseate (1 рыгать 2 чувствовать тошноту): Tur. *öjür-* 1,2; Turkm. *ȍge-* 2; MTurk. *öki-* (AH) 2; Uzb. *öjĭ-* (dial.); Yak. *ögüj-* 1.

◊ ЭСТЯ 1, 503.

‖ ЭСТЯ 1, 503. An expressive Western isogloss.

✱**ȍkʹà** sharp point, notch: Tung. ***ok-**; Mong. ***oki**; Turk. ***ok**; Jpn. ***àkuàjaì**.

PTung. ***ok-** 1 arrow with wooden head 2 fish fin 3 fishing hook (1 стрела с деревянной головкой 2 плавник (рыбы) 3 рыболовный крючок): Evk. *oki-kta* 2; Man. *oki jōro* 1; Ork. *ōqo* 3; Ud. *oʹ* 'fish gear' (Корм. 273).

◊ TMC 2, 9, 10.

PMong. ***oki** top, tip, edge (верхушка, кончик): WMong. *oki* (L 607); Kh. *oǵ*.

PTurk. ***ok** arrow (стрела): OTurk. *oq* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *oq* (MK, KB); Tur. *ok*; Gag. *oq*; Az. *oχ*; Turkm. *oq*; MTurk. *oq*; Uzb. *u̧q*; Uygh. *oq*; Krm. *oq*; Tat. *uq*; Bashk. *uq*; Kirgh. *oq*; Kaz. *oq*; KBalk. *oq*; KKalp. *oq*; Kum. *oq*; Nogh. *oq*; SUygh. *oq*; Khak. *ux*; Shr. *oq*; Oyr. *oq*; Tv. *oʹq*; Chuv. *oγъ*; Yak. *ox*.

◊ VEWT 389, ЭСТЯ 1, 437-438, TMN 2, 153, Лексика 577, Федотов 2, 296. Cf. also Turk. **oklagu* 'rolling pin' (ЭСТЯ 1, 441-442), Khal. *ḥoqlaγo̧* (derived from *ok-la-* 'to roll' (R 1 1000, Chag.), a denominative from *ok* 'wheel axle' in the Oghuz and Qarluq groups).

PJpn. ***àkuàjaì** pheasant's spur (шпора фазана): OJpn. *akwoje*; MJpn. *àkòjè*.

◊ JLTT 377.

‖ Poppe 98, 134, KW 284. The morphological structure of Jpn. is not quite clear (perhaps some old compound is reflected); this, together with rather scarce representation in TM, makes the reconstruction not quite reliable. Note that the Jpn. form may also continue PA **ȁgV* q.v.

✱**òkʹè** to grieve, be angry: Tung. ***(x)ukt-**; Mong. ***uki-la-**; Turk. ***ökün-**; Jpn. ***ȍkȁ-r-**.

PTung. ***(x)ukt-** 1 weeping, grief 2 angry 3 to insult (1 рыдание, горе 2 сердитый 3 оскорблять): Man. *uqtu* 1, *uqtun* 2; Orch. *ukta-* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 254.

PMong. ***uki-la-** to weep, sob (плакать, рыдать): MMong. *ukila-* (MA); WMong. *ukila-* (L 868); Kh. *uxila-*.

PTurk. ***ökün-** to repent, regret (раскаиваться, сожалеть): OTurk. *ökün-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *ökün-* (MK); Tur. *ökün-*; Turkm. *ökün-*; MTurk. *ökün-* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *ọkin-*; Krm. *ökün-*; Tat. *ükĭn-*; Bashk. *ükĭn-*; Kirgh. *ökün-*; Kaz. *ökĭn-*; KKalp. *ökin-*; Nogh. *ökin-*.

◊ EDT 111, VEWT 370, ЭСТЯ 1, 523-524, TMN 2, 154 (with a quite artificial inner etymology: medium in -n from **ök-* 'think'? - which in fact is a noun **ȍg*, derived from **ȍ(j)-)*.

PJpn. ***ȁkȁ-r-** to be angry (сердиться): MJpn. *ȁkȁr-*; Tok. *okór-*; Kyo. *ókór-*; Kag. *okór-*.

◊ JLTT 740. The word may belong here if it is not a secondary development < **əkər-* 'to rise'.

‖ Cf. **ukʹe* (with possible contaminations).

✱**ò[kʹ]è** wife, female: Tung. ***uKu-**; Mong. ***oki-n / *öki-n**; Turk. ***ög (*ök)**; Jpn. ***ȁku**.

PTung. ***uKu-** 1 female 2 daughter-in-law (1 самка 2 невестка): Evk. *uku-čēn* 1; Evn. *uki* 1; Neg. *uxi* 1; Man. *uki* 1, *uxen* 2; Ul. *we-če(n)* 1; Ork. *uwe-če(n)* 1; Nan. *we-če* 1; Orch. *wēčke* 1; Ud. *guasaʹ* 1 (Корм. 223).

◊ TMC 2, 256, 257.

PMong. ***oki-n / *öki-n** girl, daughter (девушка, дочь): MMong. *okin* (HY 29), *oki(n)* (SH), *ugen* (IM), *ūkin/ukin* (LH); WMong. *okin*, *ökin* (L 633); Kh. *oxin*; Bur. *üxin*; Kalm. *okṇ* (KPC); Ord. *oχin*; Mog. *ukin* (Weiers); Dag. *ugin*, *ujin* (Тод. Даг. 170), *ujn* (MD 231); Dong. *očin* (Тод. Дн.); Bao. *oken* (Тод. Бн.); Mongr. *fuʒun*, *śʒun* (SM 103).

◊ TMN 1, 167.

PTurk. ***ög (*ök)** 1 mother 2 sister (1 мать 2 сестра): OTurk. *ög* (Orkh., OUygh.) 1; Tur. *öke*, *öge* (dial.) 2; MTurk. *öke* (R.) 2; Uygh. *uka*, *hükä* 2.

◊ EDT 99, ЭСТЯ 1, 519-520, Лексика 300.

PJpn. ***ȁku** wife, spouse (жена, супруга): MJpn. *oku*; Tok. *óku-sama*, *óku-san*; Kyo. *ókù-sàmà*; Kag. *oku-samá*.

‖ Цинциус 1972a, 31-32, Дыбо 7. Voiced -g in OT is not quite clear; otherwise correspondences are regular.

✱**ȍkʹè** to put, heap; to give: Tung. ***oK-**; Mong. ***ök-, *ög-**; Turk. ***ȍk-**; Jpn. ***ə́k-**; Kor. ***ukɨr**.

PTung. ***oK-** 1 to heap up (firewood) 2 to economize, spare (1 складывать (дрова) 2 сохранять, экономить): Ork. *okpoṵtčị-* 1; Nan. *okči-* 2 (Он.).

◊ TMC 2, 10.

PMong. ***ök-, *ög-** to give (давать): MMong. *ok-* (HY 39, SH), *ok-su* (IM), *ug(i)-* (MA); WMong. *ög-* (L 630); Kh. *ög-*; Bur. *üge-*; Kalm. *ög-*; Ord. *ög-*; Mog. *ögü-*; ZM *ug-* (40-12); Dag. *ug-*, *uk-*, (Тод. Даг. 170), *uke*

(MD 232), *uke-*, *uku-*; Dong. *ogi-*; Bao. *oke-*; S.-Yugh. *og-*; Mongr. *uGo-* (SM 466).

◊ KW 294, MGCD 541.

PTurk. ***ō̄k-** 1 to heap up 2 many (**ō̄küĺ*) (1 накладывать, нагромождать 2 много (**ō̄küĺ*)): OTurk. *ük-* 1, *üküš* 2 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *ük-* 1, *üküš* 2 (MK); Tur. *ögüš* 2; MTurk. *ök-* 1 (Бор. Бад., Pav. C.); Uzb. *uj-* 1; Tat. *ŭj-* 1; Bashk. *ŭj-* 1; Kirgh. *üj-* 1; Kaz. *üj-* 1; KKalp. *üj-* 1; Nogh. *üj-* 1; Khak. *üg-* 1; Shr. *uɣa* 'heap'; Oyr. *ū̄-* 1; Yak. *ügüs* 2; Dolg. *ügüs* 2.

◊ EDT 100, 118, ЭСТЯ 1, 620-621, Stachowski 249. Modern forms point rather to *-g-; reasons for this voicing are not quite clear.

PJpn. ***ə́k-** to put (класть): OJpn. *ok-*; MJpn. *ók-*; Tok. *òk-*; Kyo. *ók-*; Kag. *ók-*.

◊ JLTT 741.

PKor. ***ukɨr** to congregate, be numerous (собираться толпой, кишеть, быть в большом количестве): Mod. *ugɨl-ugɨl ha-*, *ugɨl kəri-*, *ogɨl kəri-*.

◊ KED 1236.

‖ SKE 285 (Turk. : Kor.), АПиПЯЯ 288.

✸**ōkʿe (~ -k-)** deep place, place far from the shore: Tung. ***(x)uK-**; Turk. ***ō̄kü**; Jpn. ***əki**.

PTung. ***(x)uK-** 1 ice-hole, glade 2 river rift 3 river (1 полынья 2 порог на реке 3 река): Evk. *uktel* 1, *uksi* 2; Evn. *oqāt* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 9, 253, 254.

PTurk. ***ō̄kü** hole in ice (полынья): Tur. *öɣü*; Turkm. *öjü*; MTurk. *ökü*; Kaz. *üki*; KKalp. *üki*; Chuv. *vagъ*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 1, 517, VEWT 370.

PJpn. ***əki** open sea (открытое море): OJpn. *okji*; Tok. *òki*; Kyo. *ókí*; Kag. *okí*.

◊ JLTT 505. Original accent not clear.

‖ The parallel seems plausible; the common meaning here may be formulated as "a place (in the sea or river) distant from the shore".

✸**okʿV** coire: Tung. ***oxa-**; Mong. ***(h)ok-**.

PTung. ***oxa-** 1 coire 2 testicles 3 women's genitals (1 coire 2 testiculi 3 половые органы (женские)): Evk. *oko-* 1; Man. *uχala* 2; SMan. *uhalə* 2 (117); Nan. *uxara* (dial.) 2; Ud. ua 3.

◊ TMC 2, 10, 242, 253. Cf. also Ud. *ʿoso* penis (which can, however, be a borrowing < Mong. *oǯoɣai).*

PMong. ***(h)ok-** coire (coire): MMong. *uqa-* (MA, IM), *həka-* (Leid.); Kh. *oxo-* (БАМРС).

◊ Initial h- in the Leiden manuscript must be secondary.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**ŏli (~ -e)** to die; to be hungry, exhausted: Tung. ***(x)olbu-**; Mong. ***öl-**; Turk. ***öl-**.

PTung. ***(x)olbu-** soul of the dead; shadow (душа умершего; тень): Evk. *elbu*, *olbu-n*.

◊ TMC 2, 445. Attested only in Evk., with probable parallels in Turkic and Mongolian.

PMong. ***öl-** 1 to be hungry 2 hungry (1 быть голодным 2 голодный): MMong. *oles-* (HY 25, SH), *əleso-* (IM), *uläs-* (MA) 1, *uləs-* (LH), *ulūs-* (Lig.VMI); WMong. *ölüs-* 1, *ölüŋ* 2 (L 634); Kh. *öls-* 1, *ölön* 2; Bur. *üld-* 1, *ülen* 2; Kalm. *öls-* 1; Ord. *ölödö-* 1, *öl* 'hunger'; Mog. *ülǎsu-*; ZM *olaṣ* (6-2a); Dag. (*x*)*unsu-* (Тод. Даг. 171 *unsu-*, 180 *xunsu-*), *ulese-* 1 (MD 232), *ulsu-* 1; Dong. *oliesu-* 1; Bao. *olos-*, *oləs-* 1; S.-Yugh. *öl* 'hunger'; Mongr. *losə-* (SM 226) 1.

◊ KW 295, MGCD 541, 542.

PTurk. ***öl-** 1 to die 2 (**öl-tür-*) to kill (1 умирать 2 (**öl-tür-*) убивать): OTurk. *öl-* 1 (Yen., OUygh.), *ölür-* 2 (Orkh., Yen., OUygh.); Karakh. *öl-* 1 (MK, KB), *öldür-* 2 (MK, KB); Tur. *öl-* 1, *öldür-* 2; Gag. *jöl-* 1, *öldür-* 2; Az. *öl-* 1, *öldür-* 2; Turkm. *öl-* 1, *öldür-* 2; Sal. *ül-* 1, *üldyr-* 2; Khal. *hil-/he.l-*, *öl-* 'to die (of animals)' (< Az.); MTurk. *öl-* 1 (Sangl.), *ölür-* 2 (Abush.), *öltür-* 2 (Abush.); Uzb. *ụl-*, *ụldir-* 2; Uygh. *öl-* 1, *öltür-* 2; Krm. *oĺ-* 1, *oĺder-* 2; Tat. *ül-* 1, *üter-* 2; Bashk. *ül-* 1, *ülter-* 2; Kirgh. *öl-* 1, *öltür-* 2; Kaz. *öl-* 1, *öltṯir-* 2; KBalk. *öl-* 1, *öltür-* 2; KKalp. *öl-* 1, *öltir-* 2; Kum. *öl-* 1, *öltür-* 2; Nogh. *öl-* 1, *öltir-* 2; SUygh. *jül-* 1, *jülɨr-* 2; Khak. *öl-* 1, *öder-* 2; Shr. *öl-* 1, *ödür-* 2; Oyr. *öl-* 1, *öltür-* 2; Tv. *öl-* 1, *ölür-* 2; Tof. *öl-* 1, *ölür-* 2; Chuv. *vil-* 1, *vəʷler-* 2; Yak. *öl-* 1, *ölör-* 2; Dolg. *öl-* 1, *ölör-* 2.

◊ VEWT 371; ЭСТЯ 1, 525-527, TMN 2, 112, 162-3; EDT 125-126, 133-134, 151, Stachowski 199.

‖ A Western isogloss. See EAS 146, KW 295, Poppe 108 (but the Evk. form that he lists is probably < Mong.), TMN 2, 112, АПиПЯЯ 281, Дыбо 13; see further Nostratic parallels (Ural. **welV* et al.) in МССНЯ, 367.

✱**óligV (~ u-)** female (of animals), pig: Tung. ***uligan**; Mong. ***ölögčin**; Turk. ***Vlagŕɨn**.

PTung. ***uligan** pig (свинья): Neg. *olgịn*; Man. *ulǵan*; SMan. *vələ́gan* (2195); Jurch. *ulhian* (162); Ul. *orgị(n)*; Ork. *orgị(n)*; Nan. *olgịã*; Ud. wagê; Sol. *ulgẽ*.

◊ TMC 2, 259.

PMong. ***ölögčin** female (of animals), bitch (самка (животных), сука): WMong. *ölögčin* (L 634: *ölügčin*); Kh. *ölögčin*; Bur. *ülegšen*; Kalm. *öləgčṇ* (KPC); Ord. *ölögčin*; S.-Yugh. *lögčin*.

◊ MGCD 543.

PTurk. ***Vlagŕɨn** pig, swine (свинья): OTurk. (*ɨ*)*layzɨn* (Orkh. - a cyclical sign), *layzɨn* (OUygh.).

◊ EDT 764.

‖ A Western isogloss. Somewhat dubious because of the possibly borrowed nature of the OT word.

✱**olu** to be startled, annoyed: Tung. ***ola-**; Mong. ***(h)ul-, *(h)ül-**; Turk. ***ol-**; Jpn. ***uru-sa-**.

PTung. ***ola-** to be afraid, startled (бояться, пугаться): Evk. *olo-*; *ol-bon-* 'to be bored'; Evn. *ol-*; *olbān-* 'to be bored'; Neg. *olo-ldo-*; Man. *oli-χa-*; Jurch. *ol-γu-hun* (673) 'weak'; Ul. *olo-*; Ork. *olo-*; Nan. *olo-*, *olγamsaq* 'fainted'; Orch. *olo-*; Sol. *olo-*.

◊ TMC 2, 12, 15.

PMong. ***(h)ul-, *(h)ül-** to be weak, dizzy (слабеть, теряться, терять сознание): WMong. *ulbuji-*, *ulbaji-* (L 872), *ülbüi-*, *ülbeji-* (L 1004); Kh. *ulbaj-*, *ülbij-*; Bur. *ulū*; Kalm. *ulwi-*.

◊ KW 449.

PTurk. ***ol-** 1 skilless, talentless, careless 2 simple (1 неумелый, небрежный 2 простой): Karakh. *ulɨn-* 'to be bewildered' (MK); Az. *olmaja* 'an expression of warning, bewilderment'; Kirgh. *oldoqson* 1, *oloq*, *oloγoj* 'one-eyed'; Kaz. *olaq* 1; Khak. *olaŋaj* 2; Tv. *olutpaj* 'lazy'; Chuv. *vъ^{w}li-žali* 1; Yak. *oloj-* 'to make a stupid face'.

◊ VEWT 360, ДТС 609 (EDT 149 only quotes OT *ulɨn-* 'to be twisted' which is probably a different root).

PJpn. ***uru-sa-** boring, annoying (скучный): MJpn. *urusa-*; Tok. *urusá-*; Kyo. *úrúsà-*; Kag. *urúsa-*.

◊ JLTT 843. Accent is not clear: Tokyo points to low tone, Kagoshima - to high.

‖ A common derivative **olu-bV* is reflected in Mong. **ul-ba-ji-* and TM **ol-ba-n-*.

✱**ȍlu** to be, become; to come: Tung. ***ō-**; Mong. ***ol-**; Turk. ***ol-ur-, *ol(u)-tur-**; Kor. ***ó-**.

PTung. ***ō-** 1 to make; become 2 new (1 делать; стать 2 новый): Evk. *ōmakta* 2, *ō-* 1; Evn. *ō-* 1; Neg. *ō-* 1; Man. *o-* 1; SMan. *o-* 1 (3018); Jurch. *o-fia* (829) 1; Ul. *o-* 1; Ork. *o-* 1; Nan. *o-* 1; Ud. *o-*, *ō-* 1; Sol. *ō-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 3-4.

PMong. ***ol-** to find, obtain (находить, получать): MMong. *ol-* (SH, HYt), *ula-* (IM), *ul-* (MA); WMong. *ol-* (L 607); Kh. *ol-*; Bur. *olo-*; Kalm. *ol-*; Ord. *ol-*; Mog. *wɔl-*, *ɔl-*, *ul-* (Weiers); ZM *āl* (24-9a); Dag. *wal-*, *ol-*, *olo-* (Тод. Даг. 159), *ole-* (MD 201); Dong. *olu-*; Bao. *ol-*, *olə-*; S.-Yugh. *ōl-*; Mongr. *ōli-* (SM 296), (MGCD *ulə-*).

◊ KW 284, MGCD 526, 527.

PTurk. ***ol-ur-, *ol(u)-tur-** to sit (сидеть): OTurk. *oltur-* (OUygh.), *olur-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *oltur-* (MK), *ol-* 'to be' (At., IM), 'to become ripe' (MK, IM, Bulgat); Tur. *otur-*; Gag. *otur-*; Az. *otur-*; Turkm. *otur-*; Sal. *oht(ɨr)-*; MTurk. *oltur-* (Бор. Бад., Abush., Pav. C.), (?) *ol-* 'to

be' (Pav. C.); Uzb. *ụtir-*; Uygh. *oltur-*; Krm. *otur-*; Tat. *utɨr-*; Bashk. *ultɨr-*; Kirgh. *otur-*; Kaz. *otɨr-*; KBalk. *oltur-*; KKalp. *otɨr-*; Nogh. *oltɨr-*; Khak. *odɨr-*; Oyr. *otur-*; Tv. *olur-*; Tof. *olur-*; Chuv. *lar-*; Yak. *olor-*; Dolg. *olor-*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 1, 489-492. EDT 125, 331-332, VEWT 79, TMN 2, 358, Stachowski 192. See also the comments on **bōl-* ' to be, become'. From the forms phonetically looking like *ol-* 'to be, become' the only actual reflexes of PT **ol-* may be Middle Uygh. (At., Tefs., IM - opposed to bar, *bir-*) and Middle Kypchak (Bulgat, Ettuhf.), cf. ЭСТЯ 2, 186; Chag. *ol-* may as well be < Oghuz.

PKor. ***ó-** to come (приходить): MKor. *ó-*; Mod. *o-*.

◊ Nam 379, KED 1196.

‖ SKE 174, Menges 1984, 281-282, АПиПЯЯ 284. Note the loss of *-l- in Kor. and some Turkic forms, which may indicate the original monosyllabic nature of the verb (**ȍl*).

✱**oĺa** a k. of grass: Mong. ***(h)ulalǯi**; Turk. ***oĺ-**; Jpn. ***asi**.

PMong. ***(h)ulalǯi** sedge (осока): WMong. *ulalǯi* (L 871); Kh. *ulalǯ*; Bur. *ulalž*.

PTurk. ***oĺ-** a k. of plant (вид растения): Khak. *ozɨj* 'волчье лыко'; Shr. *ozɨj* 'волчье лыко' (Kond.), *ɨzɨ* 'чернотал' (Mras.); Chuv. *vəʷldəʷren* 'nettle'.

PJpn. ***asi** reed, rush (тростник): OJpn. *asi*; MJpn. *ásí*; Tok. *áshi*; Kyo. *àshí*; Kag. *ashí*.

◊ JLTT 385. Original accent is not quite clear: modern dialects point to **àsí*, but RJ has *ásí*.

‖ A possible comparison, but the Turkic reflexes are rather sparse and somewhat dubious.

✱**óĺa (~ u-, i̯-)** ford, shallow place: Tung. ***ola-**; Mong. ***(h)olam**; Jpn. ***ásá-**.

PTung. ***ola-** to ford, wade (переходить вброд): Evk. *olo-*; Evn. *olā-*; Neg. *olō-*; Man. *olo-*; Ul. *oni̯-*; Ork. *onno-*; Nan. *ono-*; Orch. *olo-*; Ud. *olo-*.

◊ TMC 2, 15-16. Forms like Evk. *olom* may be < Mong. (see Poppe 1966, 196).

PMong. ***(h)olam** ford (брод): WMong. *olam* (L 609: *olum*, *oluŋ*); Kh. *olom*; Bur. *olom*; Kalm. *olm*.

◊ KW 285. Mong. > Turk., see ЭСТЯ 1, 452).

PJpn. ***ásá-** shallow (мелкий): OJpn. *asa-*; MJpn. *ásá-*; Tok. *àsa-*; Kyo. *ásà-*; Kag. *ása-*.

◊ JLTT 826.

‖ Poppe 98. TMN 1, 178, Doerfer MT 25, Rozycki 167 consider Mo < TM, which is dubious.

✱**oĺi (~ -e)** chest bone, collar bone: Tung. ***(x)uli-n**; Turk. ***öĺün**.

PTung. ***(x)uli-n** chest, chest bone, collar bone (грудь, грудная кость, ключица): Evk. *ulin*; Evn. *ölken*; Man. *ulxun*, *ulku*.

◊ TMC 2, 261.

PTurk. ***öĺün** 1 shoulder joint 2 shoulder bone 3 chest 4 collar bone 5 shoulder (1 плечевой сгиб 2 плечевая кость 3 грудь 4 ключица 5 плечо): OTurk. *öšün* (OUygh.) 'some body part (shoulder joint?)'; Karakh. *öšün* (MK) 1; Uygh. (dial.) *öšni*, *öšne* 5; Tat. (dial.) *üžün* 2; KBalk. *öšün* 3; Shr. *öštü* 5; Oyr. *özün* 4; Tv. *özün* 'upper arm'; Tof. *ö'x́ün* 5.

◊ EDT 263, Дыбо 160, Лексика 241-242. Stachowski 201 compares also Yak., Dolg. *öttük* 'hip' (< **öĺün-ik).*

‖ Лексика 241-242. A Turk.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**ŏ̈mu** hip; back part, buttocks: Tung. ***omga**; Mong. ***(h)omu-**; Turk. ***omV-**; Kor. ***òmìnòi**.

PTung. ***omga** upper part of hip; behind (бедро, ляжка; круп): Ul. *ombo* / *oŋbo*; Ork. *omGo*; Nan. *oŋbo*; Orch. *ombo.*

◊ TMC 2, 5. Cf. also Evk. *omoŋ* 'сало'.

PMong. ***omu-** 1 large intestines 2 North, back side (1 толстые кишки 2 север, задняя сторона): MMong. *umere* (HY 50), *umer-* (SH) 2, *umken* 'stomach' (MA 276); WMong. *umusu* 1, *umara* (L 874) 2; Kh. *ums* 1, *umar* 2; Bur. *omho(n)* 1; *umara* 2; Kalm. *umsn*, *omsn* 1.

◊ KW 286, 449.

PTurk. ***omV-** 1 bone head 2 head of hip bone 3 hip bone, thigh bone 4 clavicle (1 головка кости 2 головка бедренной кости 3 бедренная кость 4 ключица): Tur. *omaǯa*, *umača*, *uma* 1; Az. *omba* 2; Turkm. *omača* 3; MTurk. *oma*, *omaǯa* (Pav. C.), (MKypch.) 2, *omaǯa kemiγi* (At-Tuhf.) 4; Khak. *omix* 'knee-cap' (dial.).

◊ TMN 2, 132, ЭСТЯ 1, 453.

PKor. ***òmìnòi** buttocks, behind (ягодицы, задница): MKor. *òmìnòi.*

◊ Nam 380.

‖ PTM and PT probably reflect a common derivative **ŏ̈mu-kV*. The meaning 'buttocks' in Mong. gave rise to two widely separated semantic reflexes: a) > 'large intestine'; b) > 'back' > 'North'.

✱**omuŕV** shoulder, collar bone: Mong. ***omur-**; Turk. ***omuŕ**.

PMong. ***omur-** collar bone, clavicle (ключица): MMong. *omori'ut* (SH); WMong. *omuruγu(n)*, *omuruu* (L 611); Kh. *omrū*; Bur. *omoŕū(n)* 'грудина (лошади)'; Kalm. *omrūn* (KPC); Ord. *omorū*, *umurū*; Mongr. *muršdaG* 'pomme d'Adam' (SM 251).

◊ Mong. > Kaz. *omiraw*, Khak. *omirіγ* etc., see ЭСТЯ 1, 453.

PTurk. ***omuŕ** shoulder (плечо): Tur. *omuz*; Turkm. *omuz*; MTurk. *omuz* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *o̧miz*; Krm. *omuz*; KBalk. *omuz*; Kum. *omuz*; Chuv. *ъ^{w}mъ^{w}r*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 1, 453-455, Лексика 240.

‖ Poppe 68, Колесникова 1972a, 93-94, Дыбо 308; Лексика 241. A Turk.-Mong. isogloss, but, despite Щербак 1997, 129, not a loanword in Mong. < Turk.

✱**ǿni** high: Mong. ***öndü-**; Turk. ***ȫn-**; Jpn. ***untu**; Kor. ***un-tu**.

PMong. ***öndü-** 1 high 2 to rise (1 высокий 2 подниматься): MMong. *undur* (HY 52, SH) *undus* 'to stay vertically' (HY 53), *undur* (MA); WMong. *öndür* 1 (L 637), *öndeji-* 2 (L 636: *öndüji-*, *öndeji-*); Kh. *öndör* 1, *öndij-* 2; Bur. *ünder* 1, *ündɨ-* 2; Kalm. *öndṛ* 1, *öndē-* 2; Ord. *ündür* 1, *öndī-*; Dag. *xundur* 1 (Тод. Даг. 179), *undī-* 2 (Тод. Даг. 171), *hundere* 1 (MD 166); Dong. *undu* 1; Bao. *onder*, under 1; S.-Yugh. *uŋdur*, *oŋdur* 1, *oŋdö-* 2; Mongr. *ndur*, *undur* (SM 264, 472) 1.

◊ KW 296, MGCD 545, TMN 1, 178-179. Initial x- in Dagur is quite enigmatic. Cf. also *önör* 'numerous, populous' (Poppe 69; L 639: *önür*). Also *ondui-*, *onduγar* (KW 286, L 613); *öŋgei-*, *öŋgüi-* 'to overhang, jut or project over' (L 637) (> Man. *eŋgele-* id., see Rozycki 70?). Mong. > Man. *enduri* 'God' etc., see Doerfer MT 81.

PTurk. ***ȫn-** to grow, rise (расти, подниматься): OTurk. *ön-* (*ün-*) (OUygh.); Karakh. *ön-* (*ün-*) (MK); Turkm. *ȫn-*; Khal. *hin-*; MTurk. *ön-* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *un-*; Uygh. *ün-*; Kirgh. *ön-*; Kaz. *ön-*; KKalp. *ön-*; SUygh. *ün-*; Tv. *ün-*; Chuv. *ə^{w}n-*; Yak. *ȫn-*; Dolg. *ȫn-*.

◊ EDT 169, VEWT 372, ЭСТЯ 1, 530-532, Мудрак Дисс. 77, 137, Егоров 40-41, Clark 1977, 161, Stachowski 255.

PJpn. ***untu** high and respected, precious (высокий, уважаемый, драгоценный): OJpn. *udu*.

◊ JLTT 566.

PKor. ***un-tu** height (of the side of shoes or bowls) (высота): Mod. *undu*.

◊ KED 1244.

‖ Владимирцов 164; Ozawa 57-59; АПиПЯЯ 18, 290. Comparison with Tung. (see АПиПЯЯ) should be abandoned. Ramstedt (SKE 55) compares Kor. *ənč-* (MKor. *jə̀nč-*) 'to put on the top, place above' (?), considering Kor. *undu* to be a mongolism.

✱**ȍni (~ -e)** angle: Tung. ***ōn-**; Mong. ***önčüg**.

PTung. ***ōn-** 1 angle, corner 2 to bend 3 bay 4 cross-roads (1 угол 2 гнуть 3 залив 4 развилок, распутье): Evk. *ōnŋān* 1; Evn. *onịt-* 2; Neg. *onŋị-* 2; Man. *oŋGolo* 4; Ul. *onǯo* 3; Ork. *onị* 1, *ondo* 3; Nan. *ondo* 3; Orch. *ōŋo* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 19, 21-22.

PMong. ***önčüg** 1 angle 2 back (of axe) (1 угол 2 обух (топора)): WMong. *önčüg* 1 (L 636); Kh. *öncög* 1; Bur. *ünseg* 2; Kalm. *öncəg* 1; Ord. *önčök* 1; Dag. *nōčoko* 1.

◊ KW 296, MGCD 546.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**ȍnV (~ ū-)** to fall, lie: Tung. ***ōn-**; Mong. ***una-**.

PTung. ***ōn-** (to fall) on one's back (падать навзничь, на спину): Evk. *ōŋkān-*; Evn. *ōŋqi*; Neg. *ōŋka-pkī*; Man. *ončoχon*; SMan. *ončəhən*, *on-čuhun* (525); Ul. *ōndi*; Ork. *ōndon*; Nan. *ōnǯi*.

◊ TMC 2, 21.

PMong. ***una-** to fall (падать): MMong. *una-* (MA, SH, LH), on- (IM); WMong. *una-* (L 875); Kh. *una-*; Bur. *una-*; Kalm. *un-*; Ord. *una-*; Mog. *unō-*; Dag. *wana-* (Тод. Даг. 129), *uane-* (MD 229), *uanə-*; Dong. *una-*; Bao. *nā-*, *na-*; S.-Yugh. *nā-* 'to lie'; Mongr. *unā-* (SM 471).

◊ KW 450, MGCD 674.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss. Some of the TM forms could have been influenced by reflexes of **i̯ȍmke* 'to crawl, move' (q.v.). In Mong. cf. also (with a velar suffix) WMong. *oŋqu*, Kalm. *oŋxə* 'head over heels' (KW 287), Khalkha *onxoldo-* 'to fall head over heels'.

✱**ȍńè (~ *ū-, -o)** shaman, spirit: Tung. ***ūńi-**; Mong. ***oŋgo-n**; Jpn. ***ònì**.

PTung. ***ūńi-** to shamanize (шаманить): Neg. *ūńi-*; Ork. *ūnǯin-*; Nan. *un-*; Orch. *uńi-*.

◊ TMC 2, 277.

PMong. ***oŋgo-n** spirit, ancestor spirit (дух, дух предков): MMong. *oŋɣun* (HY 31); WMong. *oŋɣon* (L 614: *oŋɣun*); Kh. *oŋgon*; Bur. *oŋgo(n)*; Kalm. *oŋɣən*; Ord. *oŋGon*, *uŋGun*; Dag. *oŋgore* (MD 202); S.-Yugh. *oŋgo*.

◊ KW 287, MGCD 528, TMN 1, 179-181.

PJpn. ***ònì** devil (черт): OJpn. *oni*; MJpn. *ònì*; Tok. *oní*; Kyo. *ónì*; Kag. *oní*.

◊ JLTT 506.

‖ ? Cf. OT *oŋužin* 'a k. of devil'; TM **ogiaŋä* 'evil spirit' (+ Orok *oŋdo* id.; < Mong.?).

✱**óŋdu** a k. of small wild animal: Tung. ***oŋda**; Turk. ***utɨŕ**; Jpn. ***uni**; Kor. ***òńǎrí**.

PTung. ***oŋda** 1 wolverine 2 seal (1 росомаха 2 нерпа): Man. *oŋniqa* 1; Ul. *oŋdo* 1; Ork. *onnori* 2; Nan. *oŋdo* 1; Ud. *oŋdo* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 20, 21.

PTurk. ***utɨŕ** otter (выдра): Chuv. *ъ^{w}dъ^{w}r*; Yak. *ɨtɨɨ*.

◊ Мудрак Дисс. 145. See under **Kạma* a discussion of other possible traces of this root.

PJpn. ***uni** sea urchin (морской еж): Tok. *úni*; Kyo. *únì*; Kag. *uní*.

◊ JLTT 563 (original accent unclear).

PKor. ***òńǎrí** badger (барсук): MKor. *òńǎrí*; Mod. *osori*.

◊ Nam 381, KED 1201.

‖ An alternative match for PT could be Evk. *hatala* 'beaver' (TMC 1, 384).

✱**òŋè** exterior, front: Mong. ***öŋge**; Turk. ***öŋ / *oŋ**; Jpn. ***àmà**.

PMong. ***öŋge** exterior, colour (внешняя сторона, цвет): MMong. *uaŋgo* (= *oŋgo*) (HY 42), *əngin* (IM), *unke* (MA); WMong. *öŋge(n)* (L 637); Kh. *öŋgö*; Bur. *üŋge*; Kalm. *öŋgə*; Ord. *öngö*; Dag. *ungu* (Тод. Даг. 171); Dong. *ungie*; S.-Yugh. *öŋgö*; Mongr. *ngo* (SM 293).

◊ KW 297, MGCD 469, 545.

PTurk. ***öŋ / *oŋ** 1 front, East 2 exterior, color, face (1 перед, восток 2 внешняя сторона, цвет, лицо): OTurk. *öŋ* 1, 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *öŋ* 1, 2 (MK); Tur. *öŋ* 1; Gag. *jön* 1; Az. *öŋ* 1; Turkm. *öŋ* 1; Khal. *ej*; MTurk. *öŋ* (Abush.) 1, (Pav. C.) 2; Uzb. *ọŋ* 1; Uygh. *öŋ* 1, 2; Krm. *öŋ* 1; Tat. *uŋ* 1; Bashk. *uŋ* 1; Kirgh. *öŋ* 2; Kaz. *oŋ* 1, *öŋ* 2; KKalp. *öŋ* 1, 2; Kum. *oŋ* 1; Nogh. *öŋ* 1; Khak. *öŋ* 1, 2; Oyr. *öŋ* 1, 2; Tv. *oŋ* 'shape', *öŋ* 2; Chuv. *um* 'breast' (if different from *om* 'front', q.v. sub **āl*); Yak. *öŋ* 'inside of clothes', 2.

◊ EDT 167-168, VEWT 362, 372, ЭСТЯ 1, 532-535, Stachowski 199-200, Ашм. III, 232. The words for 'front' and 'colour, face' are usually treated as different roots (e.g. in EDT, ЭСТЯ), but it is hardly possible to separate them phonetically (the variants **oŋ* and **öŋ* do not seem to be semantically distributed); the semantic shifts (*'front' > 'face' > 'colour') are quite natural.

PJpn. ***àmà** exterior, surface, face (внешняя сторона, поверхность, лицо): OJpn. *om(w)o*; MJpn. *òmò-tè*; Tok. *omoté*; Kyo. *ómòtè*; Kag. *omoté*.

◊ JLTT 506.

‖ EAS 154, Poppe 107 (Turk.-Mong.). Щербак 1997, 131 treats the Mong. word as borrowed from Turk., which is hardly the case. In the Turk.-Mong. area the root could have interacted with **ãŋo* ˈright' (sometimes also acquiring the meaning 'front') q.v.; note also the common Mong. derivative *eŋge-sge* ˈrouge, red paint' (< ˈface skin').

✱**òŋi(čV)** windpipe, part of neck: Tung. ***uŋ-se, *uŋnu-**; Mong. ***öŋgül-**; Turk. ***öŋüč**; Jpn. ***ùnà(-nsi)**.

PTung. ***uŋ-se, *uŋnu-** 1 palate 2 sinew in deer's neck 3 aorta, breast bone 4 Adam's apple, craw 5 region under the shoulderblade (1 небо 2 жила в шее оленя 3 аорта, выемка у грудной кости 4 кадык, зоб 5 место под лопаткой): Evk. *uŋrēn* 2, *unŋun* 1; Evn. *öppъlъk*, *uŋne* 3; Neg. *ūŋele* 4; Ork. *uŋele* 5.

◊ TMC 2, 275, 30, 279, 280, Дыбо 138-139.

PMong. ***(h)öŋgül-** hollow under Adam's apple (ямка под кадыком): WMong. *öŋgölegür* (L 638: *öŋgelegür*); Kh. *öŋgölū̄r*, *öŋgölʒū̄r*; Kalm. *öŋgəlū̄r*, *öŋgllū̄r*, *üŋgəlū̄r*.

◊ KW 297.

PTurk. ***öŋüč** larynx, windpipe (гортань, дыхательное горло): OTurk. *öŋüč* (OUygh.); MTurk. *öŋü-lük* 'нагрудное украшение' (R); Uzb. *ɔŋgač*; Uygh. *öŋgäč*; Tat. *üŋäč*; Bashk. *üŋäs*; Kirgh. *öŋöč*; Kaz. *öŋeš*;

KKalp. *öŋeš*; Khak. *ögös*; Shr. *ȫs* 'грудная клетка'; Oyr. *öč*, *diL*. *ȫč* (Leb.); Tv. *ȫš*; Yak. *öŋüs*, *üŋüs*.

◊ VEWT 373, EDT 172, ЭСТЯ 1, 536, Лексика 233.

PJpn. ***ùnà(-nsi)*** back of head, nape (затылок, задняя часть головы): OJpn. *una*, *unazi*; MJpn. *ùnàzì*; Tok. *ùnaji*; Kyo. *únájí*; Kag. *unají*.

◊ JLTT 563.

‖ KW 297, Лексика 233.

✱**ŏŋke** (abundant) food, pasture: Tung. ***oŋka***; Mong. ***(h)öŋ***; Jpn. ***ə́nkə́-r-***.

PTung. ***oŋka*** pasture, grass food (пастбище, подножный корм): Evk. *oŋko*; Evn. *oŋqъ*; Neg. *oŋko*; Man. *oŋqo*; Ul. *oŋqo*; Ork. *oqqo*; Nan. *oŋqo-*; Orch. *oŋko-* 'to graze'; Ud. *oŋkosi-* 'to graze'.

◊ TMC 2, 21. Evk. > Dolg. *oŋko* (see Stachowski 194).

PMong. ***(h)öŋ*** abundant, plentiful (season, place) (обильный, богатый (сезон, место)): WMong. *öŋ* (L 637); Kh. *ön(g)*; Kalm. *öŋ*.

◊ KW 297. Yak. *öŋ*, Kirgh. *üŋgü*, Kaz. *öŋköj* are rather borrowed < Mong. than related, despite VEWT 373.

PJpn. ***ə́nkə́-r-*** to live abundantly (жить в роскоши, изобилии): OJpn. *ogor-*; MJpn. *ógór-*; Tok. *ògor-*; Kyo. *ógór-*; Kag. *ogór-*.

◊ JLTT 740.

‖ Jpn. *ógór-* 'be arrogant' = Mong. *oŋgira-* (a variant of the same root?).

✱**oŋne** same, self; lonely: Mong. ***önü-***; Turk. ***öŋ***; Jpn. ***ənə***.

PMong. ***önü-*** 1 that (very), the same 2 orphan (1 тот самый 2 сирота): MMong. *onočit*, *onečit* 'Waisen(kinder)' (SH 124, 125), *önečin* 2 (MA 215); WMong. *önüki* 1, *önüčin* 2 (L 639); Kh. *önȫx* 1, *önčin* 2; Bur. *ünȫxi* 1, *ünšen* 2; Kalm. *önčn̥* 2 (KPC); Ord. *önöčin* 2; Dag. *unčun* 2 (Тод. Даг. 171 *unčin*); Dong. *onieč*ɨ*n* 2 (Тод. Дн.); S.-Yugh. *önčin* 2; Mongr. *noćin* (SM 284), *unčin* (Huzu) 2.

◊ MGCD 546. Mong. > Man. *unučun*, see Doerfer MT 138, Rozycki 219.

PTurk. ***öŋ*** desolate, uninhabited (пустынный, необитаемый): OTurk. *öŋ* (Orkh., OUygh.); Uygh. *oŋčε* 'одинокий, уединенный'.

◊ EDT 168.

PJpn. ***ənə*** 1 self 2 the same (1 сам 2 одинаковый, такой же): OJpn. *ono*, *ono-re* 1, *onazi* 2; MJpn. *ónó-rè* 1, *ònàzí* 2; Tok. *ònore* 1, *ònaji* 2; Kyo. *ónóré* 1, *ònàjí* 2; Kag. *onoré* 1, *onají* 2.

◊ JLTT 506, 507. The original accentuation is not quite clear; it may point to a confusion of different original roots (cf. OJ *ojazi* 'the same', for which the accent is unfortunately not attested).

‖ Ozawa 62-63. The original meaning should be probably reconstructed as "self", with a further development > "lonely" (Mong. "or-

phan"), typologically a frequent case (cf. Polish sam - samotny etc.), whence Old Turkic "desolate, deserted".

✱**ŏpˊà** to drink, inhale: Mong. ***uw(u)-**; Turk. ***ōp-**; Jpn. ***apa-ik-**.

PMong. ***uw(u)-** to drink (пить): MMong. *u-* (IM, MA), *ū-*, *u'u-* (SH), *au-* (LH); WMong. *u-*, *uu-* (L 864: *uu-*, *aγu-*, *uuγu-*); Kh. *ū-*; Bur. *ū-*; Kalm. *ū-*; Ord. *ū-* 'to drink, to smoke'; Dag. *ō-* (Тод. Даг. 159, MD 201); Dong. *o-*; Bao. *ū-*, *ō-*, *u-*; S.-Yugh. *ū-*; Mongr. *ṻ-* (SM 462), *u-*, *ōći-* 'boire, prendre (repas du midi)' (SM 299).

◊ KW 454, MGCD 664, 665.

PTurk. ***ōp-** to suck, swallow (сосать, глотать): OTurk. *op-* (Orkh.); Karakh. *op-* (MK); Krm. *op-*; Tat. *up-*; Bashk. *up-*; Kaz. *op-*; Nogh. *op-*; Oyr. *op-*; Yak. *uop-*; Dolg. *uobu* 'Bissen, Happen'.

◊ EDT 4, VEWT 363, ЭСТЯ 1, 464-465, Stachowski 243.

PJpn. ***apa-ik-** to breathe heavily, gasp, pant (тяжело дышать, задыхаться): OJpn. *apek-*; MJpn. *áfék-*; Tok. *aég-*; Kyo. *áég-*; Kag. *àèg-*.

◊ JLTT 674. A compound with *-*ik-* 'breathe'. Accent is difficult to reconstruct: RJ has high tone, but modern dialects point rather to low.

‖ EAS 78, Владимирцов 211. An expressive root. Cf. also Turk. **öp-* 'to kiss' (ЭСТЯ 1, 539); Mong. **aγa-ki-la-* (L 25 *akila-*, Khalkha *āxila-*) 'to gasp for breath, pant'; Evn. *ābu-* 'to kiss' (TMC 1, 6).

✱**opˊá(rV)** to wear out, be wasted, have a bad appearance: Tung. ***(x)upara-**; Mong. ***(h)obur**; Turk. ***op-ra-**; Jpn. ***ampu-**.

PTung. ***(x)upara-** to neglect, mistake (ошибаться, упускать из виду): Man. *ufara-*; SMan. *ufarə-* (1761).

◊ TMC 2, 295. Attested only in Manchu, with possible external parallels.

PMong. ***(h)obur** (bad) appearance, arrogance ((плохой) внешний вид): WMong. *obur*; *oburda-* 'to be arrogant' (L 599); Kh. *ovor* 'appearance', *ovorži-* 'to look as an old man'; Bur. *obor* 'bad, uncomely'; Kalm. *owr* 'appearance'; Ord. *owor*.

◊ KW 292.

PTurk. ***op-ra-** to wear out (intr.), decay (изнашиваться, стареть): OTurk. *apra-* 1 (OUygh. ?); Karakh. *opra-* 1 (MK, KB); MTurk. *opra-/opran-*, *ofra-/ofran* 1 (Sangl.).

◊ VEWT 515, EDT 14.

PJpn. ***ampu-** 1 to waste, discard, throw away 2 to suffer a loss, roam in a wasted state (1 выкидывать, выбрасывать 2 терпеть неудачу, потерянно бродить): OJpn. *abu-s-* 1; MJpn. *abura-* 2; Tok. *aburé-* 2; Kyo. *ábúré-* 2; Kag. *aburé-* 2.

◊ The accent is difficult to reconstruct. The attestations of *abu-ra-* in OJ and MJ (RJ *ábúra-*) appear to mean 'to overflow' and probably represent a different root.

‖ Cf. **apo*, **ebi*.

✱**ŏpˊìkV** lung(s): Tung. ***upVkte**; Mong. ***owuski ~ *awuski**; Turk. ***öpke**; Jpn. ***pùkùpùkùsi**; Kor. ***púhóa**.

PTung. ***upVkte** 1 lung(s) 2 down, light feather(s) 3 spleen (1 легкие 2 пух, легкие перья 3 селезенка): Evn. *öbdъ* 3; Man. *ufuxu* 1; SMan. *ufuxu* 1 (85); Ul. *upte* 2; Ork. *upukte* 2; Nan. *upulte* 2, *upke* 3 (Kur-Urm.); Orch. *upukte* 2; Ud. *ofokto* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 29, 281.

PMong. ***owuski ~ *awuski** lungs (легкие): MMong. *a'ušigi* (SH); WMong. *ouski*, *aγuski* (L 18: *aγušgi(n)*); Kh. *ūšgi(n)*, *ūšig*; Kalm. *ōškə*; Dag. *aurḱ*; Bao. *ośgi*; S.-Yugh. *ūšigən*; Mongr. *ōsgu*.

◊ KW 292, MGCD 664.

PTurk. ***öpke** lung; anger (легкое; гнев): OTurk. *öpke* (OUygh.); Karakh. *öpke* (MK, IM), *öfke* (KB); Tur. *öfke* 'anger', *öjken* 'lung' (*inter-dial.*? Türki?); Gag. *üfke*; Az. *öxbä* (dial. Nuxa); Turkm. *öjken*; Sal. *öhhen* (ССЯ); Khal. *hikkä*; MTurk. *öpke*, *öfke* (Sangl.); Uzb. *ọpka*; Uygh. *öpkä*; Krm. *öpke*; Tat. *üpkä*; Bashk. *üpkä*; Kirgh. *öpkö*; Kaz. *ökpä*; KBalk. *öpke*; KKalp. *ökpä*; Kum. *öpke*; Nogh. *öpke*; SUygh. *ökpe*; Khak. *ökpe*; Shr. *ökpe*; Oyr. *ökpö*; Tv. *ökpe* (*ö'kpe* - Бичелдей 2001); Tof. *ö'kpe*; Chuv. *öpke* (NW), *üpke*.

◊ VEWT 373, EDT 9, ЭСТЯ 1, 540-541, Лексика 276-277.

PJpn. ***pùkùpùkùsi** lung(s) (легкие): OJpn. *pukupukusi*; MJpn. *fùkùfùkùsi*.

PKor. ***púhóa** lung (легкое): MKor. *púhóa*; Mod. *pua*.

◊ Nam 266, KED 817.

‖ Дыбо 5, Лексика 277.

✱**opˊV** powder: Tung. ***upa**; Mong. ***(h)ow**; Turk. ***opa**.

PTung. ***upa** flour (мука): Neg. *opa*; Man. *ufa*; SMan. *ufā* (294); Jurch. *wu-fa* (531); Ul. *upa*; Ork. *upa*; Nan. *opa*; Orch. *upa*; Ud. *ufa*; Sol. *ụγõ*, *uon* 'bread'.

◊ TMC 2, 247.

PMong. ***(h)ow** white lead, powder (белый свинец, порошок): WMong. *ou* (L 625); Kh. *ō*; Kalm. *ō*; Ord. *ō*.

◊ KW 292, TMN 1, 182.

PTurk. ***opa** white powder, white lead (белый порошок, свинцовые белила): OTurk. *opo* (OUygh.); Karakh. *opo* (MK); MTurk. *opa* (Et-tuhf.); Uzb. *upa*; Uygh. *upa*; Kirgh. *upa*; Kaz. *opa*; KKalp. *opa*; Shr. *oba*; Oyr. *obo*.

◊ VEWT 363, EDT 6, ЭСТЯ 1, 465-466.

‖ EAS 90, Владимирцов 210. A Western isogloss. Despite TMN 1, 182, Doerfer MT 142, Rozycki 215-216 not borrowed in Mong. from Turk. or in TM from Mong.

✱**ŏpʹV** hill, heap of stones: Mong. ***obuɣa**; Turk. ***ōpuŕ**.

PMong. ***obuɣa** heap, heap of stones, grave hill (куча, куча камней, могильный холм): MMong. *obo'o* (SH, HY 4); WMong. *obuγa(n)* (L 598); Kh. *ovō*; Bur. *obō*; Kalm. *owā*; Ord. *owō*; Dag. *obō* (Тод. Даг. 159, MD 201); S.-Yugh. *owō*; Mongr. *ōbō* (SM 296).

◊ KW 291, MGCD 523, TMN 1, 153-155. Mong. > Koman *oba*, Oyr. *obō* etc. (ЭСТЯ 1, 398-400), TMN 1, 154-155, 2, 132, Щербак 1997, 207; Evk. *oba* etc., TMN 1, 156, Doerfer MT 103, Rozycki 165.

PTurk. ***ōpuŕ** rough, uneven ground (возвышение, неровность почвы): Karakh. *opuz* (MK); Tur. *obuz*; Turkm. *ōbur* 'precipice'.

◊ EDT 17. Cf. also Chuv. *juba* 'pillar' (in particular, 'grave pillar') - unlike other forms like Khak. *obā*, hardly borrowed from Mong. *obuγa.*

‖ Мудрак Дисс. 199; Лексика 323. A Turk.-Mong. isogloss.

✱**ŏpʹV** clan, family: Mong. ***obug**; Turk. ***ōpa**.

PMong. ***obug** clan, family (род, семья): MMong. *obox* (SH); WMong. *obuγ* (L 598); Kh. *ovog*; Bur. *obog*; Kalm. *obug* (СЯОС).

PTurk. ***ōpa** village, clan (деревня, род): Karakh. *oba* (MK Oghuz); Turkm. *ōba*; MTurk. *oba*.

◊ EDT 5, ЭСТЯ 1, 400-401.

‖ A Turk.-Mong. isogloss - but hardly borrowed in Mong. < Turk., despite TMN 2, 133.

✱**ŏre** to plait, weave: Mong. ***ör-**; Turk. ***ȫr-**; Jpn. ***ə́r-**; Kor. ***ōr**.

PMong. ***ör-** 1 soft woollen cloth 2 to plait (1 мягкая шерстяная ткань 2 плести): MMong. *ormege* (SH) 1, *öre-* 2 (MA); WMong. *örmöge*, *ermüge* 1 (L 331); Kh. *örmög*; Bur. *ürmege* 'mat'; Kalm. *örməG* 1; *örmēči* 'weaver'; Ord. *örmögö*; Mongr. *merge* 'espèce de tissu grossier fait de poils ou de laine' (SM 236).

◊ KW 300.

PTurk. ***ȫr-** to plait (плести): Karakh. *ör-* (MK); Tur. *ör-*; Gag. *jör-*; Az. *hör-*; Turkm. *ȫr-*; Khal. *hiri-*; MTurk. *ör-* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *ọr-*; Uygh. *ö(r)-*; Krm. *ör-*; Tat. *ür-*; Bashk. *ür-*; Kirgh. *ör-*; Kaz. *ör-*; KKalp. *ör-*; Nogh. *ör-*; Khak. *ür-*; Oyr. *ör-*; Chuv. *var* 'best sort of flax'; Yak. *ör-*; *örǖ* 'plaiting'; Dolg. *örǖ* 'plait'.

◊ EDT 195, VEWT 374, 375, ЭСТЯ 1, 544-546, Лексика 394, Stachowski 200. Cf. also **örken* 'smth. plaited', **ör-mek* 'Stoff aus Kamelhaar, Spinngewebe' (cf. also Yak. *örböx* 'тряпка'). Turk. **ör-čüg* > Hung. *orsó* 'spindle', see Gombocz 1912.

PJpn. ***ə́r-** to weave (ткать): OJpn. or-; MJpn. *ór-*; Tok. *ór-*; Kyo. *òr-*; Kag. *òr-*.

◊ JLTT 742. For accent cf. RJ *ór-* (modern dialects have merged phonetically *ór-ù* 'to weave' and *wòr-ù* 'to bend', which are well distinguished in early sources).

PKor. ***ōr** strands of rope (пряди веревки): MKor. *ōr*; Mod. *ōl*.

◊ Liu 579, KED 1207.

‖ Poppe 110 (Turk.-Mong.). Mong. **ör-mege* may be < Turk. (cf. TMN 2, 47, Щербак 1997, 197), but may also reflect a common Turk.-Mong. derivative. The Turk. form can be alternatively compared with TM **poro-*, **pori-* 'turn round, spin', Mong. *hor-či-* id. (see **p'i̯áru*), but the Turk.-Mong.-Jpn. comparison seems closer semantically.

✱**ȍr(e)kV** to be frightened, startled: Tung. ***(x)ūrkan-**; Mong. ***ürgü-**; Turk. ***ürk-**; Jpn. ***ə̀ntə̀rə̀k-**.

PTung. ***(x)ūrkan-** to lose consciousness, be knocked out (терять сознание, быть оглушенным): Evk. *ūrkan-*; Evn. *ṻrqъn-*; Neg. *ojkan-*; Ud. *ukana-*.

◊ TMC 2, 286.

PMong. ***ürgü-** to be afraid, frightened (бояться, пугаться): MMong. *urgu-* (SH), *orgo-* (IM), *urgu-* (MA); WMong. *ürgü-*; Kh. *ürgü-*, *ürge-*; Bur. *ürge-*; Kalm. *ürgə-*; Ord. *ürgü-*; Dag. *xurgi-*; Bao. *hergə*; Mongr. *furgudi-*, *xargudi-* (SM 110, 162).

◊ KW 459, MGCD 696. Mong. > Man. *urxu-* (TMC 2, 286). Initial x- in Dagur is not quite clear and may reflect a merger with a different root; MMong. forms clearly have 0- (Poppe 1983, 115 cites *hürgü-*, but the source is unknown),

PTurk. ***ürk-** to be afraid (бояться): OTurk. *ürk-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *ürk-* (MK); Tur. *ürk-*; Gag. *jürük-*; Az. *ürk-*; Turkm. *ürk-*; Khal. *hirk-*; MTurk. *ürk-* (Pav. C.), *ürük-* (AH); Uzb. *hürk-*; Uygh. *ürkü-*; Krm. *ürk-*; Tat. *ŭrk-*; Bashk. *ŭrk-*; Kirgh. *ürk-*; Kaz. *ürkĭ-*; KBalk. *ürk-*; KKalp. *ürk-*; Kum. *ürk-*; Nogh. *ürk-*; SUygh. *örk-*; Khak. *ürük-*; Oyr. *ürkü-*; Yak. *ürg-üt-* 'to frighten'; Dolg. *ürg-üt-* 'to frighten'.

◊ EDT 221, VEWT 522, ЭСТЯ 1, 635-637, Stachowski 253.

PJpn. ***ə̀ntə̀rə̀k-** to be startled, horror-struck (пугаться): OJpn. *od(w)or(w)ok-*; MJpn. *òdòròk-*; Tok. *odorók-*; Kyo. *ódórók-*; Kag. *odorók-*.

◊ JLTT 740. Accent in Kagoshima is irregular.

‖ EAS 122, Poppe 80, 83, 111. Mong. may be < Turk., see Щербак 1997, 162. There is also a possibility of confusion of this root with **p'i̯uri* q.v. - in Turkic their reflexes could have merged, and in Mong. some dialects (cf. the Dagur form) may reflect **hürgü-*.

✱**ő̀ri (~ -e)** to cover: Tung. ***ura- / *ur-ke**; Mong. ***örü-**; Turk. ***ört-**; Kor. ***òrái**.

PTung. ***ura- / *ur-ke** 1 become covered by top (of milk) 2 (milk) top, cream 3 door (1 подергиваться пенкой (о молоке) 2 пенки, сливки 3 дверь): Evk. *urke* 3; Evn. *urkъ* 3; Neg. *ujke* 3; Man. *oro-* 1, *oroqu* 2, *uče* 3; SMan. *učī* 3 (451); Ul. *uče* 3; Ork. *ute* 3; Nan. *ujke* 3; Orch. *ukke* 3; Ud. *uke* 3; Sol. *ukke*, *urke* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 286, 288.

PMong. ***örü-** 1 top of milk 2 cover of roof-window (1 сливки 2 покрышка дымохода в юрте): MMong. *eruge*, *oruge* 2 (SH), *uremä* 1, *uruke*

2 (MA 329, 278); WMong. *örüme* 1 (L 644), *erüke*, *örke* 2 (L 332); Kh. *öröm* 1, *örx(ön)* 2; Bur. *ürme(n)* 1, *ürxe* 2; Kalm. *örṃ* 1, *örkə* 2; Ord. *örmö* 1, *öröχö* 2; Dag. *urum* 1 (Тод. Даг. 171), *urume* ' a k. of cheese' (MD 233); S.-Yugh. *öröm* 1; Mongr. *jermen* (SM 492), *rmēn* 1.

◊ KW 299, 300, MGCD 549. Mong. *örüme* > Man. *oromo*, Evk. *urumu* (Doerfer MT 103), Yak. *örümä*; *örüke* > Oyr. *örökö* etc. (see Лексика 517); > Sol. *örxŏ* (TMC 2, 286), see Doerfer MT 21 (but hardly > PTM **urke* 'door' which seems rather to be a genuine cognate).

PTurk. ***ört-** to cover (покрывать): OTurk. *ört-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *ört-* (MK); Tur. *ört-*; Gag. *jört-*; Az. *ört-*; Turkm. *ört-*; Sal. *öxt-*; MTurk. *ört-* (AH), *örüt-* (Ettuhf.); Uzb. *ört-* (dial.); Krm. *ört-*; Chuv. *vit-*.

◊ EDT 202, VEWT 375, ЭСТЯ 1, 551-552, Егоров 55, Федотов 127. The suffixless root **ör-* may be found (see ЭСТЯ ibid.) in Chag. *ör-* 'be covered' (Abush.); cf. also Tur. dial. *örek* 'blanket, covering'.

PKor. ***òrái** door, gate (дверь, ворота): MKor. *òrái*; Mod. *orä* (arch.).

◊ Nam 380, KED 1198.

‖ Lee 1958, 118 (TM-Kor.), Константинова 1972, 240-241, TMC 2, 288, Rozycki 215.

✱**ŏri (~ -e)** to dig: Tung. ***urī-**; Mong. ***örüm**; Turk. ***or-**.

PTung. ***urī-** to scoop, dig out (черпать, вытаскивать): Evk. *urī-*; Evn. *uri-*; Neg. *ojị-*; Man. *wara-*; Ork. *uri-*; Nan. *oriči-*; *orị* 'scoop'; Ud. *ui-*; Sol. *orū-*.

◊ TMC 2, 23, 284.

PMong. ***örüm** drill, gimlet (сверло, бурав): MMong. *jorəm* (IM); WMong. *örüm* (L 644); Kh. *öröm*; Bur. *ürem*; Kalm. *örṃ*; Ord. *ürüm*, *öröm*; S.-Yugh. *urəm*; Mongr. *urəm*.

◊ KW 300, MGCD 549. Mong. probably > Man. *eruwen* 'drill, auger' (Rozycki 72).

PTurk. ***or-** 1 to dig 2 hole, pit 3 to tear out, drag out (1 копать 2 дыра, яма 3 вырывать, вытаскивать): Karakh. *oru* 2 (MK); Turkm. *or-* 1, *or* 2; Chuv. *var* 2; Yak. *orō-* 3; Dolg. *orō-* 3.

◊ ЭСТЯ 1, 466-468, TMN 2, 144, Stachowski 196. Turk. > Kalm. *ur* 'hole, pit'. The Chuv. form may point to a variant **ōr* (?).

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**óru** to cry, shout: Tung. ***or-**; Mong. ***ori- / *uri-**; Turk. ***orɨ**; Jpn. ***úru-tápa-**.

PTung. ***or-** 1 roaring (of a tiger) 2 echo 3 to sound, resound 4 to rave 5 to shout 6 to roar (of a bear) 7 shout (of an aurochs) 8 to call (1 рев (тигра) 2 эхо 3 звучать, отдаваться (об эхе) 4 бредить 5 кричать 6 реветь (о медведе) 7 крик (изюбра) 8 звать): Evk. *orê-* 5, 6, 7; Man. *or* 1, *ori-* 4, *ura-* 3; Nan. *oral* 2, *oriqo* 7; Sol. *oŕê-*.

◊ TMC 2, 23.

PMong. ***ori- / *uri-** to shout, call (кричать, звать): MMong. *uri* 'to call' (HY 34), *uri-* 'to invite' (MA); WMong. *orila-*, *uri-* (L 619, 881); Kh. *orilo-*; *uri-* 'to invite'; Bur. *oril-* 'to weep', *oriloldō(n)* 'shouting, howling';

Ord. *uri-* 'to invite'; Dag. *ori-* (Тод. Даг. 160, MD 203); Bao. *ure-* 'to invite, call' (Тод. Бн.); Mongr. *uri-* (SM 476).

PTurk. ***orɨ** 1 shout, outcry 2 to make a noise, shout 3 to shout together (1 крик, выкрик 2 шуметь, кричать 3 кричать вместе): OTurk. *orla-* (OUygh.) 2; Karakh. *orɨ* 1, *orlaš-* 3 (MK); MTurk. *orɨ* (IM); Khak. *orlas-* 3; Oyr. *orla-* 'to moo', *orlas-* 3.

◊ EDT 197, 230.

PJpn. ***úru-tápa-** to complain, sue (жаловаться): OJpn. *urutapa-*; MJpn. *uttáf-*; Tok. *ùttae-*, *uttaé-*; Kyo. *úttáe-*; Kag. *ùttàè-*.

◊ JLTT 781. Accent in Kagoshima is irregular.

‖ МССНЯ 345 (Mong.-Tung.). An expressive root. Mong. may be < Turk. Cf. also notes to **ū́lo*.

✱**ǒrù** inner side: Tung. ***(x)urī-**; Mong. ***oro-**; Turk. ***or-**; Jpn. ***ùrà**.

PTung. ***(x)urī-** station, dwelling place (стойбище, жилище): Evk. *urī-kīt*; Evn. *örikit*; Sol. *urīlẽ*.

◊ TMC 2, 285. Cf. perhaps also TM **ura* 'behind, buttocks' (< 'back part'), see TMC 2, 282.

PMong. ***oro-** to enter (входить): MMong. *oro-* (HY 36, SH), *ur-* (IM), *wora-* (Lig.VMI), *ur-* (MA); WMong. *oro-* (L 620: *oru-*); Kh. *oro-*; Bur. *oro-*; Kalm. or-; Ord. *oro-*; Mog. *эru-* (Weiers); Dag. *war(a)-* (Тод. Даг. 129), *ore-*, *uare-* (MD 202, 230) *warə-*; Dong. *oro-*; Bao. *orə-*; S.-Yugh. *orō-*; Mongr. *uro-* (SM 477).

◊ KW 288-289, MGCD 532. Cf. also Mong. *urača* 'hut' (> Turk. *orača*, Yak. *uraha*, see Лексика 501).

PTurk. ***or-** 1 place 2 palace 3 lair, den 4 middle 5 place of staying (of the army, ruler etc.) 6 army (1 место 2 дворец 3 берлога, логово 4 середина 5 место стоянки (армии, правителя) 6 армия): OTurk. *orun* 1 (OUygh.), *ordu* 2, 5, *ortu* 4 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *orun* 1, *ordu* 2, 3, *otra* ~ *ortu* (MK) 5; Tur. *orun* 1, *ordu* 6, *orta* 4; Gag. *orta* 4; Az. *ordu* 6, *orta* 4; Turkm. *orun* 1, *orta* 4, *orda* 6; MTurk. *orun* 1, *ordu*, *orda* 5, *orta* 4 (Pav. C.); Uzb. *ọrin* 1, *ọrda* 5, *ọrta* 4; Uygh. *orun* 1, *o(r)da* 5, *orta* 4; Krm. *orun* 1, *ordu* 6, *orta* 4; Tat. *urɨn* 1, *urda* 5, *urta* 4; Bashk. *urɨn* 1, *urda* 5, *urta* 4; Kirgh. *orun* 1, *ordo* 5, *orto* 4; Kaz. *orɨn* 1, *orda* 4, 5, *orta* 4; KBalk. *orun* 1, *orta* 4; KKalp. *orɨn* 1, *orda* 5, *orta* 4; Kum. *orun* 1, *orda* 5, 6, *orta* 4; Nogh. *orɨn* 1, *orda* 5, *orta* 4; SUygh. *orɨn* 1, *orta*, *orto*, *otra* 4; Khak. *orɨn* 1, *orda* 5, *ortɨ* 4; Oyr. *orɨn* 1, *ordo* 5, *orto* 4; Tv. *orun* 1, *ortu* 4; Chuv. *vɨrъn* 1, *vъda* 4; Yak. *ordū* 1, 3, 5, *oron* 1, *orto* 4; Dolg. *onnu* 1.

◊ EDT 203-204, 233, VEWT 364, 365, TMN 2, 141, ЭСТЯ 1, 470-472, 474-479, Лексика 495, 563, 569, Stachowski 193, 196. Turkic is the source of Mong. *oron* 'place', *ordo(n)* 'palace' (cf. TMN 1, 164-165, 2, 38-39, Щербак 1997, 130), whence Man. *oron* etc., see Doerfer MT 116. The PT **ordu* 'place of staying' may need to be separated from other forms here: it contains a very untypical *-rd- cluster (as opposed to **or-tu* 'middle') and may reflect

an ancient borrowing from some unknown source. Cf. in that respect WMong. *örte-* 'to change post horses', *örtegen* 'postal relay station', also somewhat obscure in origin.

PJpn. ***ùrà** inside; back side (внутренняя сторона; задняя сторона, изнанка): OJpn. *ura*; MJpn. *ùrà*; Tok. *urá*; Kyo. *úrà*; Kag. *urá*.

◊ JLTT 563.

‖ Murayama 1962, 110 (Jpn.-TM). Cf. **ōŕi* (the two roots are liable to mergers).

✱**orusi** river, to flow: Mong. ***urus-**; Turk. ***örs, *örsen**.

PMong. ***urus-** to flow (течь): MMong. *oros-* (LH); WMong. *urus-* (L 886); Kh. *ursa-*; Bur. *urda-*; Kalm. *ursə-* (KPC); Ord. *urus-*; Dag. *orsu-*, (Тод. Даг. 160), *orese-* (MD 203), *orso-*; Dong. *usuru-*, *urusu-*; S.-Yugh. *urus-*, *urusu-*, *usuru-*; Mongr. *urosə-* (SM 478).

◊ MGCD 296, 681.

PTurk. ***örs, *örsen** 1 river, river bed 2 to flow (1 река, русло реки 2 течь): Karakh. *özen* (AH) 1; Az. *öz-* 2; Turkm. *özen* 1; Chuv. *vazan* 1; Yak. *örüs* 1.

◊ ЭСТЯ 1, 510-511.

‖ A Turk.-Mong. isogloss. Phonetically a good match would be Jpn. **úrúsí* 'lacquer' (< *'liquid'?), but semantics raises doubts. Poppe 102 compares **urus-* with Evk. *urigden* 'backwater' - the same comparison see in ОСНЯ 1, 240-241. Cf. also Yak. *ürex*, Dolg. *ürek* 'river' (Stachowski 253) - suggesting that *-si might be an original suffix.

✱**orV** deer, antelope: Tung. ***oran**; Mong. ***(h)oroŋgo**; Turk. ***orga**.

PTung. ***oran** reindeer (олень): Evk. *oron*; Evn. *orںn*; Neg. *ojon*; Man. *oron*; Ul. *oro(n)*; Nan. *orõ*; Orch. *oro*; Ud. *oro*.

◊ TMC 2, 24-25.

PMong. ***(h)oroŋgo** a k. of antelope (вид антилопы): WMong. *oroŋγu* (L 623: *oruŋγu*); Kh. *oroŋgo*; Bur. *oroŋgo*; Kalm. *orŋgə* 'rhinoceros' (KPC 403); Ord. *oroŋgo*.

PTurk. ***orga** female or young maral (самка или детеныш марала): Tat. *oryacaq* (Sib.); Khak. *oryа*, *oryača* (Kyz.); Shr. *oryа*.

◊ Борг. 629.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**ŏrV** to mow, hay: Tung. ***orā-kta**; Turk. ***or-**.

PTung. ***orā-kta** grass (dry), hay (сухая трава, сено): Evk. *orokto*, *orōkto*; Evn. *orāt*; Neg. *ojokto*; Man. *orχo*; SMan. *orəhə* 'grass' (2130); Jurch. *or-γo* (116); Ul. *orχoqta*; Ork. *oroqto*; Nan. *oroqta*; Orch. *ōkto*; Ud. *ōkto*; Sol. *orōkto*.

◊ TMC 2, 24.

PTurk. ***or-** to mow (косить): Karakh. *or-* (MK); Tur. *ora-*; Turkm. *or-*; Chuv. *vir-*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 1, 468, Лексика 469.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**ŏŕe (~ -i)** other, one of two: Tung. ***urē-**; Mong. ***öre-**; Turk. ***öŕ-ge**.

PTung. ***urē-** 1 to be similar, resemble 2 similar (1 быть похожим, напоминать 2 похожий): Evk. *urē-* 1; Evn. *urēč* 2; Ork. *urexe* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 289.

PMong. ***öre-** 1 to set in order, put in line, arrange in a row 2 half of a carcass; hobble for legs on one side of a horse 3 one of two (objects) (1 приводить в порядок, располагать в ряд 2 половина туши; односторонние путы 3 один из двух (предметов)): MMong. *ore'elesun* (HY 44) 2, *ore'ele* 3 (SH), *urele* 2 (MA); WMong. *örü-* (L 643), *öre-* 1, *örügel* 2 (L 643); Kh. *örö-* 1, *öröl* 2; Bur. *ürөhe(n)*, *ürөle* 3; Kalm. *ör-* 1 *örēsṇ* 3; Ord. *öröl* 2; Dag. *ergūlen* 2 (Тод. Даг. 140); Bao. *rɛji* 3; S.-Yugh. *örlölöd* 2, *örlö* 3.

◊ KW 298, 299 MGCD 548, 549. Mong. > Chag. *örük* etc. 'foot hobbles' (VEWT 375).

PTurk. ***öŕ-ge** other (другой): OTurk. *özge* (OUygh.); Karakh. *özge* (MK - Tefs.); Tur. *özge*; Az. *özgä*; Turkm. *özge*; MTurk. *özge* (AH, Pav. C.); Uzb. *ọzgä*; Uygh. *özgä*; Krm. *özge*; Tat. *üzgä*; Kirgh. *özgö*; Kaz. *özge*; KBalk. *özge*; KKalp. *özge*; Kum. *özge*; Nogh. *özge*; SUygh. *üzge*; Shr. *öske*; Oyr. *öskö*; Tv. *öske*.

◊ EDT 285, VEWT 377, ЭСТЯ 1, 508.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**ŏ́ŕì** middle, inside: Tung. ***uri**; Mong. ***örü**; Turk. ***ȫŕ**; Jpn. ***útì**.

PTung. ***uri** 1 stomach, belly 2 breast collar 3 inner fat 4 maw 5 upper layer of yukola (1 живот, желудок 2 нагрудник 3 внутренний жир 4 сычуг 5 верхний слой юколы): Evk. *ur, uri-gde* 1; *uri-ptun* 2; *orik* 4; Evn. *ur* 1, *orъqъn* 3; Neg. *uji-pun* 2; Ul. *uru-ptu(n)* 2; Ork. *uritte* 'fish belly'; Nan. *oriχta* 5; Sol. *orxĩ* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 23, 24, 30, 281. Evk. > Dolg. *örögö(tö)* 'fish belly' (Stachowski 200).

PMong. ***örü** inside, breast (внутренность, грудь): MMong. *oro* (HY 46), ore (SH); WMong. *örü* (L 643); Kh. *ör*; Bur. *üre*; Kalm. *örə*; Ord. *örö*, *ör*; Mog. ZM *ourä* 'heart, mind' (4-4a); Dag. *erecū* 'chest, bosom, breast' (MD 145).

◊ KW 298.

PTurk. ***ȫŕ** inside, the essential part (середина, внутренность, сущность): OTurk. *öz* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *öz* (MK); Tur. *öz*; Gag. *jöz*; Az. *öz*; Turkm. *ȫz* 'self'; Khal. *ḕz*; MTurk. *öz* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *ọz*; Uygh. *öz*; Krm. *öz*; Tat. *üz*; Bashk. *üδ*; Kirgh. *öz*; Kaz. *öz*; KKalp. *öz*; Kum. *öz*; Nogh. *öz*; SUygh. *üz*; Oyr. *üs*; Chuv. var; Yak. *üös*; Dolg. *üös*.

◊ EDT 278, VEWT 376-7, ЭСТЯ 1, 506-512, Лексика 90, 117, Stachowski 252. The word and its derivatives have a wide scope of meanings: 'middle' > 'heartwood, central crossbeam, pole' (**ȫŕek).*

PJpn. ***útì** middle, inside (середина, внутренность): OJpn. *uti*; MJpn. *útì*; Tok. *ùchi*; Kyo. *úchí*; Kag. *úchi*.

◊ JLTT 565. The Kyoto and Tokyo forms point to a variant **útí.*

‖ EAS 112, KW 298, Poppe 81, АПиПЯЯ 74, Лексика 90. Despite TMN 2, 146, not borrowed in Mong. < Turk. Cf. **òru.*

✱**ŏ́ŕi** to rise, up: Mong. ***ergü- (*örgü-)**; Turk. ***ŭ̄ŕ (/*ŏ̄ŕ)**; Jpn. ***ura(i)**; Kor. ***òrā́-**.

PMong. ***ergü- (*örgü-)** to lift, raise (поднимать): MMong. *ergu-* (HY 33, SH), *wärgo-* (IM), *urg(i)-* (MA); WMong. *ergü-*, *örgü-* (L 325); Kh. *örgö-*; Bur. *ürge-*; Kalm. *örgə-*; Ord. *ürgü-*; Dag. *erewē-* (MD 146), *ergue-*; Dong. *uGu-*; S.-Yugh. *orgomǯilī*; Mongr. *urgu-* (SM 475).

◊ MGCD 548. Cf. also WMong. *örni-* 'to grow, increase'. Derived is WMong. *örgüge, ergüge*, Khalkha *örgō̄* 'tent, palace' > Khak. *örge* etc., see KW 299. Note that the root should be kept distinct from **öre-* 'to arrange, put in a row' (v. sub **ŏŕe).*

PTurk. ***ŭ̄ŕ (/*ŏ̄ŕ)** on top, high above (наверху, высоко над): OTurk. *üze* / *öze* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *üze* (MK); Tur. *üzer* 'upper part'; Az. *üzäri*; MTurk. *üze* (Pav. C., Бор. Бад.); SUygh. *üze*, *üzi*; Oyr. *üzeri*; Chuv. *vir* (<**ŏ̄ŕ*); Yak. *ū̄he*, *üöhe*; Dolg. *ühe*, *üöhe*.

◊ A common Turkic derivative is **üŕ-t* (with secondary vowel shortening): OT *üst*, Turkm. *üst*, Tat. *ös*, Khal. *ist* etc. 'upper part'. See EDT 280-281, VEWT 523, 524, ЭСТЯ 1, 622-623, 638-639, Stachowski 249, 251, 255.

PJpn. ***ura(i)** end of a branch, top of a tree (конец ветки, верхушка дерева): OJpn. *ura*, *ure*; Tok. *ura*.

◊ JLTT 563. PJ accent is unclear.

PKor. ***òrā́-** to rise (подниматься): MKor. *òrā́-*, *òr-*; Mod. *ori-*.

◊ Nam 380, KED 1199.

‖ SKE 178, EAS 107, ОСНЯ 1, 254. Despite Щербак 1997, 131 the Mong. stem cannot be regarded as a Turkic loanword. The root is sometimes difficult to distinguish from **p'ōre* q.v. See also notes to **p'i̯ŏlge.*

✱**ȍse** to be bad, guilty: Tung. ***us(a)**; Mong. ***ös**; Turk. ***osa-**; Jpn. ***ə̀sə̀r-**.

PTung. ***us(a)** 1 bad 2 to become sad 3 hate 4 guilt, crime 5 to be sick 6 to be unable, not want (1 плохой 2 огорчаться 3 ненависть 4 вина, преступление 5 болеть, чувствовать недомогание 6 не мочь, не хотеть): Evk. *usa* 1, *usē-* 5, *usē-če-* 6; Evn. *u̯s* 1,4, *öse-* 5, 6; Neg. *osa* 1; Man. *osχa* 1, *usa-* 2; SMan. *usa-* 'to be sad, to grieve' (1933); Jurch. *usu-ɣa-buren* (384) 3; Ul. *osisi-* 6; Nan. *osisi-* 6.

◊ TMC 2, 290-293.

PMong. ***ös** revenge, hate (месть, ненависть): MMong. *osül*, *oš(i)* (SH); WMong. *ös*, *ösige* (L 645: *ös*, *ösije*); Kh. *ös*; Bur. *ühō̄(n)*, *üšō̄rxe-*; Kalm. *ös*, *öšē*; Ord. *ös*, *öšō̄*.

◊ KW 301.

PTurk. ***osa-** 1 careless, dilatory 2 bad, evil 3 to be careless, negligent 4 negligence, harm (1 небрежный, медлительный 2 плохой, злой 3 быть небрежным, беспечным 4 небрежность, беспечность, увечье): OTurk. *osal* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *osal* 1, *osan-* 3 (MK); Tur. *osal* 2 (dial.), *usan-* 3; Az. *osal* 1 (dial.), *usan-* 3; Turkm. *osal* 1; MTurk. *osal* 1 (Abush., Pav. C.); Uzb. *ọsal* 2; Uygh. *osal* 2; Krm. *osal* 1, 2, *usan-* 3; Tat. *usal* 2; Bashk. *usal* 2; Kirgh. *osol* 2; Kaz. *osal* 2; KBalk. *osal* 2; KKalp. *osal* 2; Kum. *osal* 2; Nogh. *osal* 2; Chuv. *osal* 2; Yak. *ohol* 4.

◊ VEWT 365-366, EDT 247, 248, ЭСТЯ 1, 479-481, 608 (distinguishes *osal* and *usan-* - but the narrowing *osan-* > *usan-* is a local Oghuz phenomenon and probably secondary, due to interdialectal loans), Егоров 277, Федотов 2, 290. Turk. > Mong. *osal* (MMong. (SH) *osolda-*), see TMN 2, 149, Clark 1980, 39, not vice versa - despite Щербак 1997, 207.

PJpn. ***ə̀sə̀r-** to be scared, afraid (бояться): OJpn. *os(w)or-*; MJpn. *ò̀sò̀r-*; Tok. *osoré-*; Kyo. *ósóré-*; Kag. *ò̀sò̀rè-*.

◊ JLTT 743.

‖ EAS 102, Poppe 65, Finch 1987, 58. Despite TMN 2, 135, Щербак 1997, 131, Clark 1980, 51, Mong. *ös* cannot be borrowed from Turk. **ȍč* (see **ȍčʿe*). Attempts to disprove the Turk.-Tung. match in TMN 2, 149-150 are unsuccessful.

✱**ȍ̀ti (~ -tʿ-)** to move, change place: Tung. ***(x)utur-**; Mong. ***oči-**; Turk. ***öt-**; Jpn. ***ùtù-r-**; Kor. ***ti-**.

PTung. ***(x)utur-** to reel, turn round (вертеться): Evk. *utur-*.

◊ TMC 2, 295. Attested only in Evk., but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***oči-** to walk, move, go (идти, двигаться): MMong. *očira* 'before, along' (SH); WMong. *oči-* (L 599); Kh. *oči-*; Bur. *ošo-*; Dag. *vaǯire-* 'to come in', *vāǯi* 'track'; Dong. *ečɨ-* (Тод. Дн.); Bao. *šǯe-*, *hǯe-* (Тод. Бн.); Mongr. *śʒi-* (SM 387).

◊ WMong. has also a not quite clear variant *eči-* id. (possibly also reflected in some South Mong. languages). Without palatalization cf. MMong. (SH, HY) *ot-*, (MA) *udu-*, WMong. *od(u)-*, Kalm. *od-* 'be on one's way' (KW 283).

PTurk. ***öt-** to pass by, pass through (проходить мимо, проходить через): OTurk. *öt-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *öt-* (MK); Az. *öt-*; Turkm. *öt-*; Sal. *öt-*; MTurk. *öt-* (Pav. C., Abush.); Uzb. *ọt-*; Uygh. *öt-*; Krm. *öt-*; Tat. *üt-*; Bashk. *üt-*; Kirgh. *öt-*; Kaz. *öt-*; KBalk. *öt-*; KKalp. *öt-*; Kum. *öt-*; Nogh. *öt-*; SUygh. *jüt-*; Khak. *öt-*; Oyr. *öt-*; Tv. *öt-*; Chuv. *vit-*; Yak. *öt-*.

◊ EDT 39, VEWT 376, ЭСТЯ 1, 554-555.

PJpn. ***ùtù-r-** to move, change place (двигаться, менять место): OJpn. *utu-r-*; MJpn. *ùtù-r-*; Tok. *utsúr-*; Kyo. *útsúr-*; Kag. *ùtsùr-*.

◊ JLTT 781.

PKor. ***tɨ-** to move, change one's place (двигаться, менять место): Mod. *tɨ-*.

◊ SKE 264 (NKor.).

‖ The Kor. form (attested only in SKE) has a frequent loss of initial vowel.

✱**ōtʿa (~ -t-)** fire; hot, warm: Tung. ***(x)utinŋe**; Mong. ***(h)očki-n**; Turk. ***ōt**; Jpn. ***àtà- / *àtù-**; Kor. ***tǎ-**.

PTung. ***(x)utinŋe** wood fire (лесной пожар): Evk. *utinŋe*; Evn. *utöŋŋö*.

◊ TMC 2, 294.

PMong. ***(h)očki-n** spark (искра): WMong. *oči(n)* (L 599); Kh. *oč*; Bur. *ošo(n)*; Kalm. *očṇ*; Ord. *oči*; Mog. *ukin*; ZM *očkä* (18-3b); Dong. *očin*; Bao. *oken*; Mongr. *śʒun*, *fuʒun*.

◊ KW 291. Mong. > Turk. *učqun* 'spark' (see Лексика 368-369; not attested in OTurkic).

PTurk. ***ōt** fire (огонь): OTurk. *ot* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *ot* (MK); Tur. *ot* 'flame, fire' (arch.); Az. *od*; Turkm. *ōt*; Sal. *oht*; Khal. *hṻt*; MTurk. *ot* (Pav. C., Abush., MA); Uzb. *ụt*; Uygh. *ot*; Tat. *ut*; Bashk. *ut*; Kirgh. *ot*; Kaz. *ot*; KBalk. *ot*; KKalp. *ot*; Nogh. *ot*; SUygh. *ot*; Khak. *ot*; Oyr. *ot*; Tv. *ot*; Tof. *ot*; Chuv. *vot*; Yak. *uot*; Dolg. *uot*.

◊ VEWT 366, EDT 34, ЭСТЯ 1, 483-484, Лексика 356, 361, Федотов 1, 133, Stachowski 245. OT *ot-čuq* was borrowed in MMong. as *očaq* 'hearth' (see Щербак 1997, 196).

PJpn. ***àtà- / *àtù-** 1 warm 2 hot (1 теплый 2 горячий): OJpn. *atatake-* 1, *atu-* 2; MJpn. *àtàtáka* 1, *atu-* 2; Tok. *atataká-* 1, *atsú-* 2; Kyo. *átátáka-* 1, *átsù-* 2; Kag. *atataká-* 1, *atsú-* 2.

◊ JLTT 387, 826.

PKor. ***tǎ-** warm, hot (теплый, горячий): MKor. *tǎ-sǎ-*; Mod. *t:at:ɨt-ha-* [*t:at:ɨs*].

◊ Nam 136, KED 381.

‖ KW 291, ОСНЯ 2, 104, АПиПЯЯ 70, 97, 102, 278, Martin 234, Лексика 356. The Mong. form may belong here if **očkin* < **očikin* < **oti-kin*; however, it may also reflect PA **pʿōči* 'spark' q.v. Korean has a frequent loss of initial vowel. Tone in Jpn. is irregular.

✱**ŏtʿè** old: Tung. ***(x)ut-**; Mong. ***öte-**; Turk. ***ŏ̄tü-**; Jpn. ***ə́tə́-nà**.

PTung. ***(x)ut-** 1 old 2 earlier, before 3 old age (1 старый 2 раньше, прежде 3 старость): Evk. *utakān* 3; *utu* 1, *utēle* 2; Evn. *ute* 1, *ŏ̄tel* 2; Neg. *utēle* 2; Ud. *uteli* 2; Sol. *utaci* 'grandfather'.

◊ Cf. also Evn. *ụta-qan* 'old woman'. See TMC 2, 293, 294, 295.

PMong. ***öte-** 1 to be old, old 2 old man (1 быть старым, старый 2 старик): MMong. *otogu* (HY 27, SH), *utɛgu* (IM), *utägu* (MA) 2; WMong. *ötel-* 1, *ötegü* 2 (L 646); Kh. *ötöl* 1, *ötgös* 2; Bur. *ütelhe(n)* 1, *ütŏ̄* 2; Kalm. *ötl* 1, *ötəgə* 2; Ord. *ötöl-* 'to get old'; Mog. *ütäγŭ* 2; ZM *otäl* (10-3a) 2; Dag. *utel* 'constantly, traditionally'; *utule-* 1, *utāči* 2 (Тод. Даг. 171); Dong. *očien* 2, *očielu-* 1; Mongr. *sdōli-* (SM 337) 1, *sdōgu* 2.

◊ KW 302, MGCD 551, TMN 1, 160.

PTurk. ***ō̄tü-** 1 old 2 old, abandoned house 3 everything old 4 name of the homeland of the Turks ("old country") (1 старый 2 старое, заброшенное жилище 3 старье 4 назв. местности): OTurk. *ötüken* 4 (Orkh.); Karakh. *ötüken* 4 (MK); Tv. *ötükän* ʿname of a mountain ridge in Tuva' (ФиЛ 215); Tof. *ötükän* ʿровное широкое место на белках, удобное для пастьбы оленей' (ФиЛ 215); Chuv. *vadъ* 1; Yak. *ötöx* 2; Dolg. *ötök* 3.

◊ Лексика 85; ДТС 393; Stachowski 201. Chuv. *va-* points only to PT **ō̄-*. Turk. > Bur. *ütügen* ʿshaman word for earth' > Yak. *ütügen* 'неизвестная даль; преисподняя' (Пек. III 3195).

PJpn. ***ə́tə́-nà** grown-up man, aged person (взрослый): MJpn. *otona*; Tok. *òtona*; Kyo. *òtónà*; Kag. *òtónà*.

◊ JLTT 513.

‖ EAS 146, KW 302, Poppe 51, 107 (Mong.-Chuv.-Tung.), Дыбо 11, Лексика 85. Despite Doerfer MT 46, TM cannot be borrowed from Mong.

✸**ŏ́tʿè (~-t-)** sound: Tung. ***(x)ot-**; Mong. ***öči-**; Turk. ***öt-**; Jpn. ***ə́tə̀**.

PTung. ***(x)ot-** to shout, cry (кричать): Evk. *otutka-*.

◊ TMC 2, 29. Attested only in Evk., but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***öči-** 1 to report; to pray 2 to sing a song (1 докладывать, сообщать; молиться 2 петь песню): MMong. *oči-* (SH, HYt) 1; WMong. *öči-* 1; Kh. *öč-* 1; Kalm. *öčə-* 1; Ord. *öčö-* 'réciter à haute voix (prière)'; Dag. *učule-* 2 (Тод. Даг. 172).

◊ KW 302. Mong. (cf. the Dag. form) > Man. *učule-* 'sing', Man., Sol. *učun* 'song' (see TMC 2, 297).

PTurk. ***öt-** 1 to sing (of birds) 2 to say 3 to ask, request (1 петь (о птицах) 2 сказать, говорить 3 просить): OTurk. *öt-* 1 (OUygh.), *ötün-* 3 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *öt-* 1, *ötün-* 3 (MK); Tur. *öt-* 1; Turkm. *ötün-* 3; Sal. *edi-* 2; MTurk. *öt-* 2 (Pav. C.); Uygh. *ötün-* 3; Tat. *üten-* 3; Tv. *e't-* 1; Tof. *e't-* 1; Chuv. *avъt-* 1; Yak. *et-* 2; Dolg. *et-* 2.

◊ VEWT 52, ЭСТЯ 1, 556, 557-558, EDT 39, 62, Егоров 21, Stachowski 48. The Chuv. form is somewhat aberrant phonetically: it is possible that the actual Chuv. reflex of this root is *vitən-* ʿto ask' - while Chuv. *avъt-* (together with *avtan*, *atan* ʿcock', Tat. *ätäč* ʿcock') goes back to a separate PT root **ebt-*, possibly going back to PA **ipʿi* (*~-p-,-e*) ʿto say, speak' q.v.

PJpn. ***ə́tə̀** sound (звук): OJpn. *oto*; MJpn. *ótò*; Tok. *otó*; Kyo. *ótò*; Kag. *óto*.

◊ JLTT 513.

‖ KW 302, Владимирцов 323, Poppe 51, АПиПЯЯ 286. Despite TMN 2, 134, not borrowed in Mong. < Turk.

✱**ŏtʿkʿV** grass: Tung. ***okta**; Mong. ***(h)otul**; Turk. ***ot**.

PTung. ***okta** medicine, powder (лекарство, порошок): Neg. *okto*; Man. *oqto*; SMan. *oqətə* 'medicine, drug' (723); Ul. *oqto*; Ork. *oqto*; Nan. *oqto*; Orch. *okto*; Ud. *okto*.

◊ TMC 2, 11.

PMong. ***(h)otul** reed down; reed used for making mats (тростниковый пух; тростник для циновок): WMong. *otul* (L 625); Kh. *otol*.

PTurk. ***ot** grass (трава): OTurk. *ot* (OUygh.); Karakh. *ot* (MK); Tur. *ot*; Gag. *ot*; Az. *ot*; Turkm. *ot*; MTurk. *ot* (AH, Pav. C.); Uygh. *ot*; Krm. *ot*; Tat. *ut*; Kirgh. *ot*; Kaz. *ot*; KBalk. *ot*; KKalp. *ot*; Kum. *ot*; Nogh. *ot*; SUygh. *ot, ut*; Khak. *ot*; Oyr. *ot*; Tv. *o't*; Chuv. *udъ*, *vudъ* (dial.) 'hay'; Yak. *ot*; Dolg. *ot*.

◊ EDT 34-35, ЭСТЯ 1, 481-483, Лексика 119-120, Федотов 2, 294-295, Stachowski 197.

‖ KW 191, Poppe 98, Дыбо 10. A Western isogloss.

✱**ótʿó(rV)** bushes, low trees: Tung. ***utu-n / -r**; Turk. ***otrug**; Jpn. ***ə́ntə́rə́**.

PTung. ***utu-n / -r** 1 swamp 2 tundra 3 low bushes (1 болото 2 тундра 3 стланик): Evk. *utun* 1, 2; Ork. *uterikte* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 294, 295.

PTurk. ***otrug** island (остров): OTurk. *otruγ* (OUygh.); Karakh. *otruγ* (MK); MTurk. (MKypch.) *otrač* (dim.) (AH, CCum.); Krm. *otrac*, *otrač*, *oturaš*; Tat. *utraw*; Bashk. *utraw*; Oyr. *ortolɨq*.

◊ VEWT 367, EDT 65. In some languages the original form was folk-etymologically reinterpreted as **orta-lɨk* 'located in the middle'. The latter form was borrowed in Mong., with regular liquid metathesis, as WMong. *olturiγ*, Khalkha *oltrig* 'small island, archipelago' (whence again Khak. *oltɨrɨx*, Kum. *ottɨraγ* (VEWT) 'island').

PJpn. ***ə́ntə́rə́** thickly growing bushes (заросли, кусты): OJpn. *od(w)or(w)o*; MJpn. *ódóró*; Tok. *odoro*.

◊ JLTT 504.

‖ The meanings 'island' and 'forest, bushes' are frequently associated in Altaic, so the etymology on the whole seems quite plausible. Note the common derivative **ótʿó-rV* reflected in PT **ot-ru-g*, Orok *ute-ri-kte* and PJ **ə́ntə́rə́*.

✱**ȍtʿù (~ -t-, -i)** tent, house: Tung. ***utē-n**; Turk. ***otag**; Jpn. ***ùtàina (~ -ia-)**.

PTung. ***utē-n** house, dwelling (чум, жилище): Evk. *uten*; Evn. *ūtēn*; Neg. *ūtēn*; Ork. *utemi*; Orch. *ūtečeken*; Ud. *utuli*, *utulu*.

◊ TMC 2, 295.

PTurk. ***otag** 1 tent 2 room (1шалаш 2 комната): Karakh. *otaγ* (MK) 1; Tur. *otak* 1, *oda* 2; Gag. *oda* 1; Az. *otaG* 2; Turkm. *otaG* 2; MTurk. *oda* (Pav. C.) 2; Uzb. *ọtɔw* 1; Uygh. *otaq* 1; Krm. *oda* 2; Kirgh. *otō* 1; Kaz. *otaw* 1; KBalk. *otow* 2; KKalp. *otaw* 1; Kum. *otaw* 2; Nogh. *otaw* 1; SUygh. *otaγ*, *otax* 1; Khak. *otax* 1; Shr. *odaγ* 1; Oyr. *odū* 1; Tv. *odaγ* 1; Yak. *otū* 1.

◊ EDT 46, VEWT 366, ЭСТЯ 1, 484-487, TMN 2, 66-67, Лексика 496. Turk. > Mong. *otaq* (see TMN 2, 67, Щербак 1997, 130). Some forms (like Tur. *oda*) suggest **ōtag* - a secondary form, probably originally meaning "hearth" and derived from **ōt* 'fire' and easily confused with **otag* 'tent, dwelling place'. The latter, however, is very well attested (often in the shape **otagu*) and certainly containing a short vowel.

PJpn. ***ùtàina (~ -ia-)** a high building (высокое здание, чертог): OJpn. *utena*; MJpn. *ùtènà*; Tok. *utena*.

◊ JLTT 565 (with an incorrect translation as 'earthen mound/platform').

‖ It is not quite clear whether PTM **utē-n* and PJ **ùtàina* point to a common derivative **ŏtʿù-nV*; because of the diphthong in the second syllable Jpn. may rather reflect a compound with some obscure second element.

✱**òǯa** to play: Tung. ***(x)oǯu**; Mong. ***oǯu-**; Turk. ***oj-**; Jpn. ***àjà-**.

PTung. ***(x)oǯu** oestrum (течка): Evn. *oǯu̯*.

◊ TMC 2, 7. Cf. perhaps also Oroch *uǯaǯina-* 'to play on a wooden instrument' (if the original meaning was 'play' ('playfulness (of animals)' > 'oestrum').

PMong. ***oǯu-** 1 to kiss 2 penis (1 целовать 2 penis): MMong. *oǯu-* 1, *aǯoγa* 2 (IM), *uǯa-* 1, *uǯaγaj* 2 (MA), *uǯa-* 1, *uǯoqa*, *uǯəqai* 2 (LH); WMong. *oǯu-*, *oǯi-* 1, *oǯuγui*, *oǯuγu* 2 (L 626); Kh. *oǯo-* 1; Bur. *ozogoj* 2; Kalm. *ozā*, *ozəγā̄* 2; Ord. *oǯoGo*, *oǯoGō̄* 2; Dag. *oǯi-* (Тод. Даг. 159, MD 201) 1; Mongr. *oǯoGwə̄*, *ǯoGwə̄*, *ʒ́iGwə̄* (SM 72) 2.

◊ KW 292. Mong. > Man. *oǯo-* etc., see Doerfer MT 142, Rozycki 166.

PTurk. ***oj-** 1 play 2 to play 3 to jump (1 игра 2 играть 3 прыгать): OTurk. *ojun* 1, *ojna-* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *ojun* 1, *ojna-* 2 (MK); Tur. *ojun* 1, *ojna-* 2; Gag. *ojun* 1, *ojna-* 2; Az. *ojun* 1, *ojna-* 2; Turkm. *ojun* 1, *ojna-* 2; Uzb. *ọjin* 1, *ọjna-* 2; Uygh. *ojun*, *ojan* 1, *ojni-* 2; Krm. *ojun* 1, *ojna-* 2; Tat. *ujɨn* 1, *ujna-* 2; Bashk. *ujɨn* 1, *ujna-* 2; Kirgh. *ojun* 1, *ojno-* 2; Kaz. *ojɨn* 1, *ojna-* 2; KBalk. *ojun* 1, *ojna-* 2; KKalp. *ojɨn* 1, *ojna-* 2; Kum. *ojun* 1, *ojna-* 2; Nogh. *ojɨn* 1; SUygh. *oin*, *ujin* 1; Khak. *ojɨn* 1, *ojna-* 2; Shr. *oin* 1; Oyr. *ojɨn* 1, *ojno-* 2; Tv. *ojun* 1, *ojna-* 2; Chuv. *vъʷjъʷ* 1; Yak. *ōńńū* 1, *ōńńō-* 2, *oj-* 3; Dolg. *oj-* 3, *ōńńō-* 2.

◊ EDT 274, 275, ЭСТЯ 1, 435-436, Stachowski 190, 198. The verb also has sexual connotations, preserved in Kirgh., Oyr., Bashk. and Yak. (where it also means 'to flirt, be in love') and in the common Turkic derivative **ojnaĺ* 'lover' (see ЭСТЯ ibid.) - important for establishing external connections.

PJpn. ***àjà-** 1 to manipulate by strings (dolls etc.) 2 to nurse (1 манипулировать при помощи веревок (куклами и т.п.) 2 нянчить): MJpn. *àjà-túr-* 1; Tok. *ayatsúr-* 1, *ayas-* 2; Kyo. *áyátsúr-* 1; Kag. *ayatsúr-* 1.

◊ JLTT 679. The Tokyo accent is aberrant; otherwise all sources point to low tone.

‖ Poppe 64, TMN 2, 225 ("semantisch möglich, nicht mehr").

P

✱**pábVrV (~ pʹ-, -p-, -ŕ-)** to swim, flow: Tung. ***pabri-**; Jpn. ***pápúr-**.

PTung. ***pabri-** 1 to swim 2 to bathe (1 плыть, плавать 2 купаться): Neg. *xajwi-* 1; Ul. *pawrụwụ* 1; Ork. *paụrị-* 2; Nan. *faọr'i-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 458.

PJpn. ***pápúr-** to overflow (переливаться): OJpn. *papur-*; MJpn. *áfúr-*; Tok. *afuré-*; Kyo. *áfúré-*; Kag. *afuré-*.

◊ JLTT 675, 683. The word is rather peculiar phonetically (with both irregular preservation of -p- > -f- and loss of p- > 0-), but there is hardly reason to separate the OJ and the modern Jpn. forms.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss.

✱**pǎdà** to spread; flag, standard: Tung. ***pad-**; Mong. ***bad-**; Turk. ***bAd-rak / *bAd-ruk**; Jpn. ***pátà**.

PTung. ***pad-** 1 to spread out (animal's skin) 2 name of a game (spreading a rope between fingers) 3 to arrange (in a row) (1 растягивать, распяливать (шкуру животного) 2 натягивание шнура между пальцами (назв. игры) 3 расставлять, раскладывать): Evk. *hadarga* 2; Man. *fajda-* 3, *fajdan* 'row'; SMan. *faidən* 'row' (1624); Ork. *pādda-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 297, 308.

PMong. ***bad-** 1 to spread, expand, develop 2 flag, standard (1 распростирать, распространяться 2 флаг, знамя): WMong. *badara-* 1, *badaŋ* 2 (L 66); Kh. *badra-* 1, *badan* 2; Bur. *badar-* 1; Kalm. *badṛ-* 1; Ord. *badara-* 1; Dag. *badara-* 1 (Тод. Даг. 123), *badare-* (MD 117); Dong. *patara-* 1.

◊ KW 27, MGCD 130. Mong. > Evk. *badara-*, Man. *badara-* etc., see Doerfer MT 69. Sukhebaatar suggests a loan Mong. *badaŋ* < Tib. *badan* 'flag', but the case is not quite clear: the Tibetan word itself is clearly borrowed, but the source is not really known (it is hardly Sanskr. *patākā* id.), and may be actually Mongolian.

PTurk. ***bAd-rak / *bAd-ruk** banner, flag (знамя, флаг): OTurk. *badruq* (OUygh.); Karakh. *batraq* (MK: 'a lance with piece of silk at its head'); Tur. *bajrak*; Gag. *bajraq*; Az. *bajraG*; Turkm. *bajdaq*; MTurk. *bajraq* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *bajrɔq*, (dial.) *bajdaq*; Uygh. *bajraq*, *vajraq*, (dial.) *bajaq*; Krm. *bajraq*; Tat. *bajraq*; Bashk. *bajraq*; Kaz. (dial.) *bajraq*; KBalk. *bajraq*; KKalp. *bajraq*; Kum. *bajraq*; Nogh. *bajraq*.

◊ EDT 307, VEWT 55, TMN 2, 385-387, ЭСТЯ 33-34, 36, Лексика 565. Turk. (Chag.) > Pers., Arab. Clauson's hypothesis about borrowing from Sanskr. is unfounded because Sanskrit lacks anything similar.

PJpn. ***pátà** flag, banner (флаг, знамя): OJpn. *pata*; MJpn. *fátà*; Tok. *hatá*; Kyo. *hátà*; Kag. *háta*.

◊ JLTT 401.

‖ Cf. **bà̋di.*

✱**pa̋gdì (~ pʹ-)** to moisten, dip: Tung. ***pagda-**; Jpn. ***pìtà-**; Kor. ***ptí-**.

PTung. ***pagda-** to smear (мазать): Evk. *hagda-*; Evn. *hāda-*; Ul. *paGda-*; Nan. *pāGda-*.

◊ TMC 2, 308.

PJpn. ***pìtà-** 1 to be dipped, become wet 2 to dip, soak (1 окунаться, увлажняться 2 окунать, мочить): OJpn. *p(j)itas-* 2; MJpn. *fitàr-* 1; Tok. *hitár-* 1, *hitás-* 2; Kyo. *hítár-* 1, *hítás-* 2; Kag. *hìtàr-* 1, *hìtàs-* 2.

◊ JLTT 690. Tokyo has also irregular accent variants: *hìtar-*, *hìtas-*.

PKor. ***ptí-** to float (плавать): MKor. *ptí-*; Mod. *t:i-*.

◊ Nam 172, KED 523.

‖ An Eastern isogloss. Turk. **bat-* may be a contamination of this root with **patʹa* q.v. The Korean match is somewhat dubious semantically, unless one presumes a semantic development 'float' < 'be wet, flow'; this may be corroborated by apparently related (dialectal?) variants MKor. *pàthǎ-* 'to strain, filter' and MKor. *phjə́tì-* 'to overflow'. Ramstedt (SKE 191) compares the TM forms with MKor. *pa̋rǎ-* 'to plaster, smear', which is dubious (see **píla*).

✱**pàjá (~ pʹ-)** to shine, glitter: Tung. ***paja-**; Jpn. ***pàjá-**.

PTung. ***paja-** 1 to glitter (of snow) 2 blinded by bright light (1 блестеть (о снеге) 2 ослепленный (ярким светом)): Evk. *hajakat-* 1; Ud. *pajaktu* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 308. Ud. p- points to a borrowing from some unattested Nan. or Ul. form.

PJpn. ***pàjá-** 1 to be bright, glitter, shine 2 to eclipse (1 блестеть, сверкать 2 наступать (о солнечном или лунном затмении)): OJpn. *paja-* 1, 2; MJpn. *faja-* 1, 2; Tok. *haé-* 1; Kyo. *hàè-* 1; Kag. *hàè-* 1.

◊ JLTT 682.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss.

✱**pa̋jbu (~ pʹ-)** to add, increase: Tung. ***pāb-**; Jpn. ***pùjà- (~-w-)**; Kor. ***phó**.

PTung. ***pāb-** to add (добавлять): Evk. *hāw-*; Evn. *hāw-*; Neg. *xāw-*; Ul. *pajị-*; Ork. *poị-*; Nan. *poaị-*; Sol. *āwi-*.

◊ TMC 2, 306-307.

PJpn. ***pùjà- (~-w-)** to increase, grow (увеличиваться, возрастать): Tok. *fué-* (caus. *fujá-s-*); Kyo. *fùè-*; Kag. *fùè-*.

◊ JLTT 693, 696.

PKor. ***phó** 1 many, several, quantity 2 to pile up (1 много, несколько, количество 2 нагромождать): MKor. *phó* (adv.) 1, *phǎ-* 'do smth. repeatedly' , *pho-kai-* 2; Mod. *pho* 1, *pho-gä-da* 2.

◊ Liu 720, 725, KED 1753.

‖ An Eastern isogloss. Aspiration in Korean may be due to secondary affixation (**phó* < **po-h-* < **pVbV-g-*); however, a reconstruction **pāgu-* is not excluded for PTM, and therefore the PA form may be as well reconstructed as **pājgu* (*-j- is needed anyway to explain fricativization in Japanese).

✱**pàje (~ pʹ-)** a k. of grass: Tung. ***pajī-kta**; Jpn. ***pà (~ *puà)**.

PTung. ***pajī-kta** grass (dry) (трава (сухая)): Evk. *hajīkta*; Evn. *hajtṭ*; Neg. *xajta*; Man. *fojō*; Ul. *pajqta*; Ork. *paiqta*; Nan. *pajaqta*; Ud. *xaikta*.

◊ TMC 2, 309.

PJpn. ***pà (~ *puà)** spike, ear (of grain) (колос): OJpn. *p(w)o*; MJpn. *fò*; Tok. *hó*; Kyo. *hố*; Kag. *hó*.

◊ JLTT 413. RJ and Tokyo point to low tone, but Kyoto and Kagoshima are aberrant.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss.

✱**pàjkù** owl: Tung. ***pige (~ *piage)**; Mong. ***beg-**; Turk. ***bĀjk-**; Jpn. ***pùkù-**; Kor. ***púhuəŋ**.

PTung. ***pige (~ *piage)** kite (коршун): Evk. *hiγen*; Evn. *huhen*, *hösen*; Neg. *xiγē-čēn*; Ul. *piču(n)*; Ork. *pêčandi*; Nan. *pīčuẽ*; Orch. *xiwočo*; Sol. *igēsẽ*.

◊ TMC 2, 322-323.

PMong. ***beg-** barred owl (сыч): WMong. *beg-*; Kh. *beg-batār*, *beg-bātar*; Bur. *begserge*; Kalm. *böksə šowūn* 'eagle-owl'.

◊ KW 55.

PTurk. ***bĀjk-** owl (сова): Tur. *bajkuš*; *bajkara* 'hawk'; Turkm. *bājGuš*; MTurk. *bajquš*, *bajqɨz*; Kaz. *bajγɨz*; Shr. *pajoq* 'a k. of bird'.

◊ VEWT 57, ЭСТЯ 2, 32-33. Turk. > MMong. (ZM) *beiquš*.

PJpn. ***pùkù-** owl (сова): MJpn. *fùkùròfù*, *fùkùrókù*; Tok. *fukurō*.

◊ JLTT 417.

PKor. ***púhəŋ** owl; kite (сова; коршун): MKor. *púhəŋ*, *púhuəŋ*, *púhuəŋʹí*; Mod. *puəŋi*.

◊ Nam 266, KED 817.

‖ An expressive root with somewhat violated correspondences. Cf. some similar bird names: Khak. *pegem* 'wood-hen', Bur. *bug-bātar* 'owl' (if the analysis 'demon-hero' is a folk etymology); Oroch *bajakuli* 'name of a bird', Man. *bajbula* 'magpie'.

✱**pàjò (~ pʹ-)** spring or autumn wind: Tung. ***pajī-**; Jpn. ***pàjàtì**.

PTung. ***pajī-** 1 freezing weather (in spring or autumn) 2 Northern or Eastern wind 3 to blow (of spring wind) 4 frost (1 заморозки (весной или осенью) 2 северный или восточный ветер 3 дуть (о весен-

нем ветре) 4 иней): Evk. *hajī* 1, 2, *hajī-* 3; Nan. *χatqa* (Kur-Urm.) 1; Orch. *xaika* 4.

◊ TMC 2, 309.

PJpn. ***pàjàtì*** wind storm (сильный ветер): OJpn. *pajati*, *pajate*; MJpn. *fàjàtì*, *fajate*; Tok. *hàyate*, *hayáte*; Kyo. *háyàtè*; Kag. *hayaté*.

◊ JLTT 402. The Tokyo accent is unclear.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss. In Turkic cf. perhaps either Karakh. (MK) *ojuq* 'mirage' or **bej* > Chuv. *paj* ˊfrost'.

✱**pa̋ko (~ pʹ-, -kʹ-, -e)** rock, cliff: Tung. ***pākta***; Jpn. ***pəki**.

PTung. ***pākta*** 1 hill, mound 2 precipice 3 sand bank (1 бугор, возвышенность 2 обрыв 3 берег (песчаный)): Neg. *pakta* 1 (< South.); Ul. *pāqta* 2; Ork. *paqtaị* 3; Nan. *pāqta* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 32.

PJpn. ***pəki*** steep rock (крутая скала): MJpn. *foki*.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss; MKor. *pàhói* could also be related (if separated from **bi̯úge* q.v.).

✱**pákʹà (~ *pʹ-)** to insert, shut in, sew in: Tung. ***paKū-***; Jpn. ***pák-***; Kor. ***pàk-**.

PTung. ***paKū-*** to close in, buckle, shut up (закрывать, замыкать, запирать): Evk. *hakū-*; Evn. *haq-*; Neg. *xaxụ-*; Sol. *axụ-*.

◊ TMC 2, 311. TM > Dag. *xaku* 'closed' (Тод. Даг. 172); Evk. *hakuma* 'closed circle' > Dag. *xakimā* 'circle dance' (ibid).

PJpn. ***pák-*** to put on (shirts, trousers) (надевать (рубашку, штаны)): OJpn. *pak-*; MJpn. *fák-*; Tok. *hàk-*; Kyo. *hák-*; Kag. *hàk-*.

◊ JLTT 684. Accent in Kagoshima is irregular (under lit. influence?).

PKor. ***pàk-*** to insert; to sew with a double stitch (вставлять; сшивать двойным швом): MKor. *pàk-*; Mod. *pak-*.

◊ Liu 364, KED 710.

‖ An Eastern isogloss.

✱**pákʹ[ò]** a k. of fish or sea animal: Tung. ***paxan***; Turk. ***buka (= *boka)**; Jpn. ***púká***; Kor. ***pòk**.

PTung. ***paxan*** bream (лещ): Ul. *paχa(n)*; Nan. *paχã*.

◊ TMC 2, 32.

PTurk. ***buka*** perch (окунь): Tat. *ala-boγa*; Kaz. *ala-buγa*; Khak. *ala-buγa*.

◊ VEWT 15, Лексика 178 (traditionally regarded as a compound **āla* 'variegated' + **buka* 'bull', which is dubious because of the parallelism in Tat.: *ala-balıq* 'crucian' : *ala-boγa* 'perch' - suggesting that the second part of both compounds is originally a fish name).

PJpn. ***púká*** shark (акула): MJpn. *fúká*; Tok. *fùka*, *fuká*; Kyo. *fúká*; Kag. *fúka*.

◊ JLTT 417.

PKor. ***pòk** porpoise, (KED) globefish, swellfish, puffer (дельфин): MKor. *pòk*; Mod. *pog-ə*, *pok-čäŋi*.

◊ Liu 388, KED 798.

‖ Лексика 178. The vocalism reflects a variation between **pakʿo* (in most languages) and **pakʿu* (> Jpn. **púká*), perhaps under the influence of a similar fish name **bekʿu* q.v.

✱pala (~ *pʿ-) tooth: Tung. ***palV**; Jpn. ***pa**; Kor. ***par**.

PTung. ***palV** molar (коренной зуб): Ul. *palị*; Nan. *paloa*.

◊ TMC 2, 313.

PJpn. ***pa** tooth (зуб): OJpn. *pa*; MJpn. fa; Tok. *há*; Kyo. hâ; Kag. *há*.

◊ JLTT 394. The PJ accent is not quite clear: Tokyo and Kagoshima point to **pà*, but Kyoto has hâ (pointing rather to **pá*), and RJ has a special tone mark (*fá*, but with the upper dot to the right).

PKor. ***par** tooth (in comp. with **ni-*) (зуб (в слож. с **ni-*)): MKor. *ni-s-par*; Mod. *ip:al*.

◊ Nam 127, KED 1369.

‖ EAS 55-56, AKE 14, ОСНЯ 3, 95, АПиПЯЯ 109, 278. An Eastern isogloss. Jpn. reflects a suffixed form **pal(a)-gV* (cf. Nan. *paloa*).

✱pa̋lčà to be ashamed: Tung. ***pālʒe-**; Mong. ***balči-**; Jpn. ***pàntù-i**.

PTung. ***pālʒe-** to be ashamed (стыдиться): Evk. *hālʒe-*; Evn. *halʒụ-*; Neg. *xalʒa-*; Man. *fánči-xáša-*; Ork. *xalʒē-*; Nan. *χalʒa-*; Orch. *xagʒa-*; Ud. *xagʒa-*.

◊ TMC 2, 313.

PMong. ***balči-** to be ashamed (стыдиться): WMong. *balači-* (L 78); Kh. *balči-*; Bur. *balšɨsa bari-*.

PJpn. ***pàntù-i** shame (стыд): OJpn. *padi*; MJpn. *fàdì*; Tok. *hají*; Kyo. *hájì*; Kag. *hàjí*.

◊ JLTT 403. For -u- cf. *padukasi* 'shameful'.

‖ PA length is responsible for the preservation of b- in Mong. (otherwise **halči-* would be expected).

✱pa̋lgà foot: Tung. ***palga-n**; Turk. ***bAlak**; Jpn. ***pànkì**; Kor. ***pár**.

PTung. ***palga-n** 1 foot 2 sole (1 нога 2 подошва): Evk. *halgan* 1; Evn. *halgъn* 1; Neg. *xalgan* 1; Ul. *palʒa(n)* 1; Ork. *palʒa(n)* 1; Nan. *palgã* 2; Orch. *xaga* 'paw'; Ud. *xaga* 'paw; bear's trace'; Sol. *alγã* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 312.

PTurk. ***bAlak** 1 ankle 2 trouser leg 3 foot sole (1 щиколотка 2 штанина 3 стопа): Tur. *balaq* 2 (dial.); Az. *balaG* 2; Turkm. *balaq* 2; MTurk. *balaq* 2 (Pav. C.); Krm. *balaq* 2; Tat. *balaq* 1, 2; Bashk. *balaq* 2; Kaz. *balaq* 2; 'bird's foot'; KBalk. *balaq* 2, 3; KKalp. *balaq* 2; Kum. *balaq* 2; Nogh. *balaq* 2.

◊ VEWT 59, TMN 2, 312, ЭСТЯ 2, 51, Лексика 478. Turk. > Russ. Siber. *baláki* (pl.) (Аникин 114). [The latter contains a mistake: *balaq* 'пахи' is not attested in Kirgh. - it is

found in Radloff marked as Kirgh., which means Kazakh. Modern Kazakh dictionaries do not note this meaning; according to the KTTC (1, 86) it means ´a trouser leg from the knee downwards; horse's ankle; part of bird's leg from the knee down to the ankle'. In Kirgh. a related stem may be *balak-ta-* 'to hang loose (of clothes, particularly of wide trouser legs)'.]

PJpn. ***pànkì** shin (голень): OJpn. *pagji*; MJpn. *fàgì*; Tok. *hagí*; Kyo. *hágì*; Kag. *hagí*.

◊ JLTT 395. In Ryukyu dialects the word means 'foot, leg': cf. Nase *hágì*, Hateruma *páN*, Yonaguni *háN* 'foot, leg' etc.

PKor. ***pár** foot (нога): MKor. *pár*; Mod. *pal*.

◊ Nam 245, KED 722.

‖ EAS 52, Цинциус 1984, 29-30, ОСНЯ 3, 67-70, Menges 1984, 284, АПиПЯЯ 13, 43, 68, 96, 279.

✱**pā́li** a k. of fish: Tung. ***palu**; Mong. ***bilaɣu**; Turk. ***bālɨk**; Jpn. ***pírámái (~-miá)**; Kor. ***par-**.

PTung. ***palu** a k. of fish (similar to bream) (вид рыбы (похожей на леща)): Man. *falu*.

◊ TMC 2, 298. Cf. also Evk. *pulwāne, palwāne* 'язь' (borrowed from some South.-Tung. form); *huldi* 'pike'.

PMong. ***bilaɣu** 1 carp 2 a k. of salmon (1 карп 2 таймень, язь, сорога): WMong. *bilaɣu*; *buluu*, *buluɣu* 1 (БАМРС); Kh. *bulū cagān* 1; Bur. *bulūsxai* 2.

◊ Cf. also Bur. Okin. *baĺuɣan* < **baliɣugan*, Darkh. *baĺus* 'гольян, мелкий хариус' (see Аникин 115, but hardly borrowed < Turkic), with a usual vowel variation of the type *milaɣa / maliɣa.*

PTurk. ***bālɨk** fish (рыба): OTurk. *balɨq* (OUygh.); Karakh. *balɨq* (MK); Tur. *balɨk*; Gag. *balɨq*; Az. *balɨG*; Turkm. *bālɨq*; Sal. *baluχ*; MTurk. *balɨq*, *balɨɣ* (MA, Pav. C., Бор. Бад.); Uzb. *baliq*; Uygh. *beliq*; Krm. *balɨx*; Tat. *balɨq*; Bashk. *balɨq*; Kirgh. *balɨq*; Kaz. *balɨq*; KBalk. *balɨq*; KKalp. *balɨq*; Kum. *balɨq*; Nogh. *balɨq*; Khak. *palɨx*; Shr. *palɨq* (R.); Oyr. *balɨq*; Tv. *balɨq*; Tof. *balɨq*; Chuv. *polъ*; Yak. *balɨk*; Dolg. *balɨk*.

◊ EDT 335, ЭСТЯ 2, 59-60, Лексика 177, Федотов 1, 443, Stachowski 52.

PJpn. ***pírámái (~-miá)** fluke, plaice (камбала): OJpn. *p(j)iram(j)e*; Tok. *hìrame*; Kyo. *hìràmé*; Kag. *hiráme*.

◊ Tokyo and Kagoshima point unambiguosly to high tone, while Kyoto accent is irregular.

PKor. ***par-** carp (карп): MKor. *parkaŋ'i*; Mod. *palgaŋi*.

◊ Liu 368, KED 724 (the word is attested in MKor. with -a-, not -ă-, thus Martin's derivation: "a red one" cannot be correct).

‖ VEWT 61, KW 31 (but Kalm. *balɣă zaɣăsn̆* 'a k. of fish', also compared by Ramstedt, is a Turkism), SKE 185, АПиПЯЯ 282, Дыбо 8, Лексика 177.

✸**pȁli** to be separated, divided: Tung. ***pālan**; Mong. ***belčir**; Turk. ***bẹldir**; Jpn. ***pìràk-**; Kor. ***pə̄r-**.

PTung. ***pālan** bifurcation, fork (развилина): Evk. *hālān*; Neg. *xalan*; Ul. *xala(n)*; Nan. *pālã*; Orch. *xāla(n)*; Ud. *xala(n)*.

◊ TMC 2, 312.

PMong. ***belčir** cross-road; joint of two rivers (перекресток; соединение двух рек): MMong. *belčir* (SH); WMong. *belčir* (L 97); Kh. *belčir*; Bur. *belšer*; Kalm. *belčṛ*.

◊ KW 42.

PTurk. ***bẹldir** cross-roads, separation of two roads or rivers (перекресток, развилка двух дорог или рек): OTurk. *beltir* (OUygh.); Karakh. *beltir* (MK); Tat. *pilter* 'вода, скапливающаяся около болота' (KCTT); Khak. *piltər*; Shr. *peltir*; Oyr. *beltir*; Tv. *beldir*; Yak. *bilir*.

◊ VEWT 69, EDT 334, Лексика 98.

PJpn. ***pìràk-** to open (открывать): OJpn. *pjirak-*; MJpn. *fìràk-*; Tok. *hirák-*; Kyo. *hírák-*; Kag. *hìràk-*.

◊ JLTT 689.

PKor. ***pə̄r-** to be opened, separated (быть широко открытым, разделенным): MKor. *pə̄r-*; Mod. *pə̄l-*, *pə̄lli-*, *palɨ-* (trans.).

◊ Nam 256, KED 706, 765, 766.

‖ KW 42, SKE 150, Лексика 98. Mong. may be borrowed from Turk. (see TMN 1, 238, Щербак 1997, 104).

✸**pȁlukʿV** hammer: Tung. ***paluka**; Mong. ***haluka**; Turk. ***bAlka**.

PTung. ***paluka** hammer (молоток): Evk. *halka*; Evn. *halqṭ*; Neg. *xalka*; Man. *folχo*; Ul. *palawụ(n)*; Ork. *palo*; Nan. *paloa*; Orch. *xalua*, *xaluwa*; Ud. *xaluga*; Sol. *alxa*.

◊ TMC 2, 313.

PMong. ***haluka** hammer (молоток): MMong. *hol[o]ɣa* (IM); WMong. *aluqa(n)* (L 34); Kh. *alx(an)*; Bur. *alxa*; Kalm. *alxə*; Ord. *aluxu*; Mog. *aluqa* (Ramstedt 1906); Dag. *xallogu* (MGCD 106), *xaldugu* (Тод. Даг. 173).

◊ KW 7.

PTurk. ***bAlka** hammer (молоток): Uzb. *balɣa* (Chag.); Tat. *balɣa* (Sib.); Kirgh. *balɣa*.

◊ VEWT 61, ЭСТЯ 2, 57-58. Turk. > Mong. *balɣu*, *balig* (KW 31).

‖ KW 7, Poppe 11, Цинциус 1984, 30-31, Doerfer MT 22, Rozycki 78 (although, despite the two latter authors, in this case one can hardly think of a loanword). A Western isogloss. May be an old "Wanderwort" (cf. PIE **pelek'u-*). Low tone and shortness reconstructed because of Mong. *h-.

✱**pàńé (~ pʹ-)** shadow: Tung. ***pańa-**; Jpn. ***pènə́ (~ -ua-)**; Kor. ***pám**.

PTung. ***pańa-n** shadow (тень): Evk. *hańan*; Evn. *hịńān*; Neg. *xańan*; Man. *fajaŋGa* 'soul, spirit'; SMan. *faiŋə* 'soul' (771); Ul. *pańa(n)*; Ork. *pana(n)*; Nan. *pańã*; Orch. *xańa(n)*; Ud. *xańa(n)*.

◊ TMC 2, 315.

PJpn. ***pènə́ (~ -ua-)** dim (тусклый): OJpn. *p(w)on(w)o(-ka)*; MJpn. *fònó(-ka)*; Tok. *hónoka*; Kyo. *hònókà*; Kag. *honoká*.

◊ JLTT 414.

PKor. ***pám** night (ночь): MKor. *pám*; Mod. *pam*.

◊ Nam 248, KED 733.

‖ Цинциус 1984, 31. An Eastern isogloss. The Korean etymology in SKE 187 - to TM **pak-* 'dark' - is hardly plausible). Cf. perhaps also TM **pāŋ-sa-* (< **pań-ŋsa*?) 'black'.

✱**pańi (~ pʹ-)** ornament, attire: Tung. ***pani-**; Jpn. ***pìnâ**; Kor. ***pìń-**.

PTung. ***pani-** 1 to attire 2 attire (1 наряжаться 2 наряд): Evk. *hani-sin* 2; Evn. *hāni̇* 2, *hāni̇-* 2; Neg. *xāni̇-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 314.

PJpn. ***pìnâ** ornamental doll (кукла (как украшение)): MJpn. *fíná* (*fínà*), *fifina*, *fiina*; Tok. *hína*; Kyo. *hìnâ*; Kag. *hiná*.

◊ JLTT 407.

PKor. ***pìń-** to attire; to blossom (наряжать(ся); цвести): MKor. *pìs-* (*pìńɨ-*).

◊ Nam 280.

‖ An Eastern isogloss.

✱**papʹó (~ pʹ-, -b-)** work, order: Tung. ***paba (~ -p-)**; Mong. ***(h)eb**; Jpn. ***pampi-**.

PTung. ***paba (~ -p-)** 1 work 2 skilful, diligent 3 to work (1 работа 2 работящий, умелый, усердный 3 работать): Evk. *hawā* 1, *hawal-* 3; Evn. *hawa* 1, *hawad-* 3; Neg. *xawadi̇jin* 2, *xawādakta-* 1; Man. *fafuri* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 307.

PMong. ***(h)eb** system, order, co-operation (система, порядок, сотрудничество): WMong. *eb* (L 284); Kh. *ev*; Bur. *eb*; Kalm. *eb*; Ord. *eb*.

◊ KW 116. Mong. > Chag. *ep* etc. (ЭСТЯ 1, 286-287, see VEWT 46). Cf. perhaps also (with back vocalism) WMong. *aburi* 'conduct, behaviour' (L 7), *aγali*, *aγasi* id. (L 12).

PJpn. ***pampi-** to serve, to be (*pol.*) (служить, быть (вежл.)): MJpn. *faberi* (MJ); Tok. *haber-*.

◊ JLTT 682.

‖ A rather abstract common Altaic root. Note WMong. *abu-ri* which can probably be identified with Man. *fafu-ri* < **papʹó-rV* (but MJ *faberi* is rather < **pampi ari*, with a Jpn. auxiliary verb.

✱**parki** mighty, brave: Tung. ***parga**; Mong. ***berke**; Turk. ***berk**.

PTung. ***parga** 1 brave 2 silly 3 scoundrel (1 храбрый 2 глупый 3 негодяй): Man. *fáda* 3; Ul. *parGa(n)* 1; Ork. *parGa* 'miserly; harmful'; Nan. *farGa* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 34.

PMong. ***berke** difficult; competent, skilled (трудный, тяжелый; сведущий в чем-л., компетентный): MMong. *berke* (HY 51, SH, IM), *berket-* 'to become firm' (MA); WMong. *berke* (L 99); Kh. *berx*; Bur. *berxe*; Kalm. *berkə* (KPC 95); Ord. *berχe*.

◊ Mong. > Yak., Dolg. *berke* (but hardly > Chuv. *parga*, despite Róna-Tas 1971-1972).

PTurk. ***berk** mighty (мощный, крепкий): OTurk. *berk* (OUygh.); Karakh. *berk* (MK); Tur. *berk*; Az. *bärk*; Turkm. *berk*; MTurk. *berk* (Pav. C.); Bashk. *birĭk*; Kaz. *berĭk*; SUygh. *perik*; Chuv. *parga*; Yak. *bert*; Dolg. *bert*.

◊ EDT 361-362, ЭСТЯ 2, 116-120, Stachowski 58.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**pa̋ró (~ pʹ-, -ŕ-)** to buy, sell: Tung. ***pār-**; Jpn. ***pàrá-p-**; Kor. ***pa̋rh-**.

PTung. ***pār-** to buy, sell (покупать, продавать): Evn. *hārat-*.

◊ TMC 2, 317. Attested only in Evn., with probable parallels in Kor. and Jpn.

PJpn. ***pàrá-p-** to pay (платить): OJpn. *parap-*; MJpn. *fàráf-*; Tok. *hará-*; Kyo. *hárá-*; Kag. *hàrà-*.

◊ JLTT 684. Kyoto reflects a variant **pàràp-*.

PKor. ***pa̋rh-** to sell (продавать): MKor. *pha̋r-*; Mod. *phal-*.

◊ Nam 462, KED 1736.

‖ EAS 56. An Eastern isogloss.

✱**pa̋si** to press, pinch: Tung. ***pasu-**; Turk. ***bas-**; Jpn. ***pìsà- / *pə̀sə̀-**; Kor. ***ps-kí-**.

PTung. ***pasu-** to press, pinch (давить (пальцами, рукой)): Evk. *hasu-*; Evn. *as asṵqlan* (Ol.) 'handful'; Neg. *xas-*; Ul. *pasala-*; Nan. *pasoala-*; Sol. *asṵ-xṵ* 'handful'.

◊ TMC 2, 318.

PTurk. ***bas-** to press (давить): OTurk. *bas-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *bas-* (MK); Tur. *bas-*; Gag. *bas-*; Az. *bas-*; Turkm. *bas-*; Sal. *pas-*; MTurk. *bas-* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *bɔs-*; Uygh. *bas-*; Krm. *bas-*; Tat. *bas-*; Bashk. *baθ-*; Kirgh. *bas-*; Kaz. *bas-*; KBalk. *bas-*; KKalp. *bas-*; Kum. *bas-*; Nogh. *bas-*; SUygh. *pas-*; Khak. *pas-*; Oyr. *bas-*, *pas-*; Tv. *bas-*; Tof. *ba's-*; Chuv. *pos-*; Yak. *battā-*; Dolg. *battā-*.

◊ EDT 370-371, VEWT 64, TMN 2, 245-6, ЭСТЯ 2, 74-77, Лексика 393, 571, Федотов 1, 448, Stachowski 55. Turk. > Mong. *basu-* > Man. *basu-*, see TMN 2, 246, Doerfer MT 135.

PJpn. ***pìsà- / *pə̀sə̀-** thin (тонкий): OJpn. *p(w)oso-*; MJpn. *fòsò-*; Tok. *hosói*; Kyo. *hósò-*; Kag. *hosó-*.

◊ JLTT 828. Ryukyu dialects reflect a variant **pìsà-*, cf. Shuri F*í*s-, Hateruma *pìšà-*, Yonaguni *xìtč-*.

PKor. ***ps-kí-** to press, hold tight, compress (давить, сжимать): MKor. *pskí-*; Mod. *k:ī-*.

◊ Nam 80, KED 262.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 68, 280, Дыбо 13. In Jpn. 'thin' < 'pressed, compressed'. The root is actively interacting with **pìsa* and **pʿíúsa* q. v. The vowel variation in Japanese dialects may point to a variant **pǎse*.

✱**pasi (~ pʿ-)** to run, hurry: Tung. ***pasi-**; Mong. ***hesüre-**; Kor. ***pàs- / *pàč-**.

PTung. ***pasi-** 1 to hurry, scurry 2 commotion, hurry (n.) (1 торопиться, суетиться 2 торопливость, смятение): Evn. *hasụl-* 1; Man. *fači-xin*, *fačи-xun* 2, *fačixaša-* 1; SMan. *fačuhun* 'disordered' (1065); *fačuhuru-* 'to fall into disorder' (1066); Sol. *pašigụ̃* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 36. The root has some peculiarities: p- in Sol. probably means that the word is borrowed < Manchu. Manchu -č- : Evn. -s- is quite strange: it may point to a derivation *fači-* < **pasi-či-* in Manchu. TM > Dag. *pačgurā-* 'to become confused' (Тод. Даг. 160).

PMong. ***hesüre-** to jump, leap (прыгать, скакать): WMong. *üsür-* (L 1014); Kh. *üsre-*; Bur. *hür-*; Kalm. *ösr-* (KPC); Ord. *üsür-*; Mog. *üsürü-* (Ramstedt 1906); Dag. *xesre-* (Тод. Даг. 176), *xesure-*; *hesere-* (MD 161); S.-Yugh. *sur-*.

◊ MGCD 697.

PKor. ***pàs- / *pàč-** 1 to be hurried, urgent 2 to make hurry (1 быть срочным, поспешным 2 торопить, спешить): MKor. *pàspǎ-* 1, *pàčh-* 2; Mod. *pap:ɨ-* 1, *pap:i-ha-* 2.

◊ Liu 371, 373, KED 707.

‖ The root should be distinguished from **bàšo* q.v. (cf. the distinction in Manchu), although some contaminations were possible. Note a peculiar alternation *-s-/*-č- both in TM and Kor., possibly indicating an old suffixed variant **pʿasi-čʿV*. PJ **pasir-* 'run', because of its vocalism, is rather to be attributed to PA **pʿeĺo* q.v.

✱**pàtʿá** to get, get into: Turk. ***bat-**; Jpn. ***pàtàr-**; Kor. ***pàt-**.

PTurk. ***bat-** 1 to sink 2 to fit into, get into (1 погружаться 2 попадать): OTurk. *bat-* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *bat-* 1 (MK); Tur. *bat-* 1; Gag. *bat-* 1; Az. *bat-* 1; Turkm. *bat-* 1; Sal. *pat-* 1; MTurk. *bat-* 1 (Pav. C.); Uzb. *bɔt-* 1; Uygh. *bat-*, *pat-* 1; Krm. *bat-* 1; Tat. *bat-* 1; Bashk. *bat-* 1; Kirgh. *bat-* 1, 2; Kaz. *bat-* 1; KBalk. *bat-* 1; KKalp. *bat-* 1; Kum. *bat-* 1; Nogh. *bat-* 1; SUygh. *pat-* 1; Khak. *pat-* 1; Shr. *pat-* 1; Oyr. *pat-* 1, 2; Tv. *ba't-* 1; Tof. *ba't-* 1; Chuv. *pot-* 1; Yak. *bat-* 2, *batarɨ* 'into, deep into'; Dolg. *batarɨ* 'into, deep into'.

◊ EDT 298, VEWT 65, ЭСТЯ 2, 78-80, TMN 2, 230-231, Stachowski 55, Федотов 1, 455.

PJpn. ***pàtàr-** to collect (taxes etc.) (собирать (налоги), взимать): OJpn. *patar-*; MJpn. *fàtàr-*.

◊ JLTT 685.

PKor. ***pàt-** to get, obtain (получать): MKor. *pàt-*; Mod. *pat-*.

◊ Nam 244, KED 721.

‖ Poppe 89. Korean has a usual "verbal" low tone. See also *pagdi, *pʿetV.

✱**pà̰tʿe** louse, biting insect: Tung. ***pānta- / *pēnte-**; Mong. ***batagana**; Turk. ***bɨt**; Kor. ***pátắrí**.

PTung. ***pānta- / *pēnte-** 1 rainworm 2 flea (1 дождевой червь 2 блоха): Evk. *hānteku* 2; Nan. *pēnte* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 47, 315.

PMong. ***batagana** fly (муха): WMong. *bataγana* (L 91); Kh. *batgana*; Bur. *bataganā(n)*; Kalm. *batxənə*; Ord. *bataGana*.

◊ KW 36.

PTurk. ***bɨt** louse (вошь): OTurk. *bit* (OUygh.); Karakh. *bit* (MK); Tur. *bit*; Gag. *biť* ; Az. *bit*; Turkm. *bit*; Sal. *bišt*; Khal. *bit*; MTurk. *bit* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *bit*; Uygh. *pit*; Krm. *bit*; Tat. *bet*; Bashk. *bet*; Kirgh. *bit*; Kaz. *bi̱t*; KBalk. *bit*; KKalp. *bijt*; Kum. *bit*; Nogh. *bijt*; SUygh. *bišt*; Khak. *pət*; Shr. *pit*; Oyr. *bijt*; Tv. *bɨ't*; Tof. *bɨ't*; Chuv. *pɨjdъ*; Yak. *bɨt*.

◊ VEWT 76, EDT 296, ЭСТЯ 2, 151-152, Лексика 182.

PKor. ***pátắrí** a k. of bee (вид пчелы): MKor. *pátắrí*; Mod. *pādəri*.

◊ Nam 237, KED 704.

‖ Лексика 182. Mergers with **pʿunte* were possible (which may explain the non-etymological -n- in TM). Cf. also Kor. *pindä* 'bedbug'?

✱**pátʿò (~ *pʿ-)** loom, detail of a loom: Tung. ***pata-n**; Jpn. ***pátà**; Kor. ***pà̰tà̰i**.

PTung. ***pata-n** part of a weaving machine (ткацкое бердо): Man. *fatan*.

◊ TMC 2, 318.

PJpn. ***pátà** loom (ткацкий станок): OJpn. *pata*; MJpn. *fátà*; Tok. *hatá*; Kyo. *hátà*; Kag. *háta*.

◊ JLTT 401.

PKor. ***pà̰tà̰i** comb of a loom (гребень ткацкого станка): MKor. *pà̰tà̰i*; Mod. *padi*.

◊ Nam 240.

‖ Lee 1958, 109. An interesting Eastern isogloss.

✱**pečʿi (~ pʿ-)** to be ashamed: Tung. ***pečke-**; Mong. ***hiče-**; Kor. ***pɨskɨ́rì-**.

PTung. ***pečke-** 1 to be surprised 2 strange, wonderful; base, vile (1 удивляться 2 странный, причудливый; подлый, низкий): Man. *fečexun*, *fečuxun* 2, *fečiki* (n.); Ul. *peksi-*, *peske-* 1; Ork. *peske-* 1; Nan. *pekse-* 1; Orch. *peksi-*, *pekse-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 48, 305.

PMong. ***hiče-** to be ashamed (стыдиться): MMong. *xiǯe-* (HY 36), *xiče-* (SH), *hič[e]-* (IM), *(h)ičі-* (MA); WMong. *iče-*, *ičі-* (L 397-8); Kh. *iče-*; Bur. *eše-*; Kalm. *ič-* (KPC); Ord. *ača-*, *ečі-*; Dag. *xičі-* (Тод. Даг. 184), *šičі-* (Тод. Даг. 184, MD 215); Dong. *šɨǯə-*, *šəǯe-*; Bao. *ǯe-*, *šiče-*; S.-Yugh. *hǯe-*; Mongr. *śǯē-* (SM 389), *śiǯē-*.

◊ MGCD 415.

PKor. ***pìskɨ́rì-** to be ashamed (стыдиться): MKor. *pìskɨ́rì-*; Mod. *puk:ɨri-*.

◊ Nam 274, KED 810.

‖ SKE 203. MKor. *pìskɨ́rì-* = *pìčkɨ́rì-* (-s- and -č- are usually neutralized in this position).

✱**pédá** spot, ornament: Tung. ***pede-**; Mong. ***beder**; Turk. ***bEdiŕ**; Jpn. ***pantara**.

PTung. ***pede-** 1 to ruddle, mark (deer, by cutting its ear) 2 dirty (1 метить (оленя, надрезая ухо) 2 грязный): Evk. *pedenē-* 1 (Kamn.); Evn. *hedenin* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 45, 360. The dialectal Evk. form must be a borrowing from some unattested Southern Tungus form (as suggested by initial p-).

PMong. ***beder** stripe, spot (полоса, пятно): WMong. *beder*, *bider* (L 103); Kh. *bider*, *beder*; Bur. *büder*; Kalm. *bedṛ*; Ord. *beder* 'ornaments on metal or stone'.

◊ KW 41. Mong. > Manchu *bederi* id. (see Rozycki 27).

PTurk. ***bEdiŕ** painted ornamentation (рисованное украшение): OTurk. *bediz* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *beδiz* (MK).

◊ EDT 310, VEWT 67.

PJpn. ***pantara** in spots, scattered about (пятнистый, лежащий пятнами): OJpn. *padare*; MJpn. *fadara*.

◊ JLTT 395.

‖ EAS 112, KW 41, Poppe 53 (Turk.-Mong.). Despite Щербак 1997, 163, Mong. cannot be borrowed < Turk. High tone reconstructed because of Mong. *b-. See also notes to **méru*.

✱**pegò (~ p´-, -e)** wart: Tung. ***pegu(-ŋkte) (~ -b-)**; Mong. ***heɣü**; Jpn. ***pəkurə (~ -ua-)**.

PTung. ***pegu(-ŋkte) (~ -b-)** 1 wart 2 callosity (1 бородавка 2 мозоль): Evk. *hewum* 2, *heŋte* 1; Evn. *heŋtъ* 1; Neg. *xewu-kte* 2, *xeŋte* 1; Man. *fuxu* 1; SMan. *fuxə*, *fuxu* 'wart, knot' (150, 2136); Ul. *pukte* 1; Ork. *peukte* 1; Nan. *pūkte* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 359, 367. Evk. > Dolg. *heŋte* (see Stachowski 101).

PMong. ***heɣü** wart (бородавка): WMong. *egüü* (L 303); Kh. *ū̄(n)*; Bur. *ū̄(n)*; Kalm. *ū̄n*; Ord. *ū̄*; Dag. *хиеčі*; Dong. *хеиʒɨ*; Bao. *хəиʒɨ*; Mongr. *xūrʒə*.

◊ KW 461, MGCD 685.

PJpn. ***pəkurə (~ -ua-)** mole (родинка): Tok. *hokuro*.

‖ Poppe 61, Цинциус 1984, 45; Miller 1985, 147-148.

✱**pekʿa** to be embarrassed: Tung. ***peku-**; Mong. ***bakar-da-**.

PTung. ***peku-** to be embarrassed, troubled (смущаться, досадовать, стесняться): Evk. *hekir-*; Evn. *hekuruŋči-*; Man. *foχodo-*, *foχoto-*, *fexere-*; *fuqšiša-*; Jurch. *fe-xi-lar* (373); Ul. *peken-*.

◊ TMC 2, 302, 362-363.

PMong. ***bakar-da-** to be embarrassed (беспокоиться, смущаться): WMong. *baqarda-*; Kh. *baxarda-*; Bur. *baxarda-*; Ord. *baxarda-*.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**pḕkʿi** big, solid, firm: Tung. ***pegdi**; Mong. ***hike**; Turk. ***bek**; Kor. ***phək (< *pəkh) / *pak**.

PTung. ***pegdi** 1 big, large 2 important (1 большой 2 важный): Evk. *hegdi* 1; Man. *fušun* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 302, 359.

PMong. ***hike** big (большой): MMong. *jeke* (HY 52, SH), *ike*, *ikä* (IM), *jikǎ* (MA); WMong. *jeke* (L 431); Kh. *ix*; Bur. *jexe*; Kalm. *ikə*; Ord. *iχe*; Mog. *ikä*, (*j*)*ękä*, ZM *īkä* (6-2b); Dag. *xige*, *xig* (Тод. Даг. 176), *šige* (Тод. Даг. 183), *šihe* (MD 215); Dong. *fugie*; Bao. *hgo*, *fgo*, (MGCD) *fguo*; S.-Yugh. *šge*, (MGCD) *šige*; Mongr. *šge* (SM 378).

◊ KW 205-206, MGCD 415, TMN 1, 553. Initial *h- here is quite certain, but is rendered as j- in MMong. because of early palatalization (*hike > **hjeke* > *jeke*). Mong. > Manchu *jekeŋge* 'noble, grand' (see Rozycki 224).

PTurk. ***bek** firm, solid, stable (крепкий, прочный): OTurk. *bek* (OUygh.); Karakh. *bek* (MK); Tur. *pek*; Gag. *pek*; Turkm. *bek*; MTurk. *bek*, *pek* (Pav. C.); Krm. *bek*; Tat. *bik*; Bashk. *bik*; Kirgh. *bek*; Kaz. *bek*; KBalk. *bek*; KKalp. *bek*; Kum. *bek*; Nogh. *bek*; SUygh. *poq*, *pɨq*; Khak. *pik*; Shr. *pek*; Oyr. *bek*, *pek*; Tv. *be'k*; Chuv. *pak* 'suddenly, abruptly'; Yak. *bige*; Dolg. *bige*.

◊ EDT 323, VEWT 68, ЭСТЯ 2, 117-120, Stachowski 60. Closed -i- in Yak. is probably secondary.

PKor. ***pəkh / *pak** 1 very 2 vigorously (1 очень 2 сильно, крепко): MKor. *phək*; Mod. *phək* 1, *pak* 2.

◊ Liu 723, KED 710, 1743.

‖ SKE 62 (Mong.-Tung., incorrectly criticized in TMN 1, 554), 213. Turk. > WMong. *beki*, *bekü* > Evk. *beki* (see Doerfer TMN 1, 238, MT 101). Low tone and shortness reconstructed because of Mong. *h-. Cf. also **pʿi̯àka* 'mighty' (the two roots could interfere because of similarity).

✱**pḗkʿò (~ b-)** to wish, plan: Mong. ***baka-**; Turk. ***bḕken-**; Jpn. ***pàkàr-**.

PMong. ***baka-** to covet, wish (желать, желание, стремление): WMong. *baqa-*, *baqa* (n.) (L 92); Kh. *bax* (n.); Bur. *baxa-*; Kalm. *baxə* (n.);

Ord. *baxa* ‘satisfaction’; Mongr. *baGa-*, *paGa-* ‘atteindre, combattre’ (SM 18, 301).

◊ KW 28.

PTurk. ***bḕken-*** 1 to feel joy, appreciate 2 to strive, hope (1 радоваться, быть благодарным 2 стремиться, надеяться): Karakh. *biken-* 1; Tur. *beɣen-* 1; Az. *bäjän-* 1; Turkm. *begen-* 1; Kirgh. *bekū̃* ‘big joy, feast’; Chuv. *pigen-* 2.

◊ ЭСТЯ 2, 101.

PJpn. ***pàkàr-*** to plan, decide, measure (планировать, решать, измерять): OJpn. *pakar-*; MJpn. *fàkàr-*; Tok. *hakár-*; Kyo. *hákár-*; Kag. *hàkàr-*.

◊ JLTT 683.

‖ Cf. **bàka* which could have influenced some of the reflexes (in particular, the accentological irregularity of Jpn. **pàkàr-* may be explained by a secondary analogy with **bàkàr-*).

✱**pekʿV (~ pʿ-)** hot, warm: Tung. ***peku-***; Kor. ***pukh (~ -i-)***.

PTung. ***peku-*** hot (горячий): Evk. *heku*; Evn. *hök*; Neg. *xeku-gdi*; Man. *fáḱa-n* ‘heat’, *fáqu-* ‘to warm, dry’; Ul. *pukeuli* ‘hot’, *pêkki-* ‘to bake’ (> Ud. *piki-le-* id.); Ork. *xekkuli*, *xekusi* (< Oroch.); Nan. *peku* ‘hot’, *pi̧q̣i-* ‘to warm, heat’; Orch. *xeku*, *xekusi*; Ud. *xekuhi*; Sol. *exūgdi*.

◊ TMC 2, 362, 322. The root should be distinguished from **pigi-* (v. sub **ṕi̧agV)*.

PKor. ***pukh (~ -i-)*** warm (of weather) (теплый (о погоде)): Mod. *phuk-ha-*.

◊ KED 1762.

‖ EAS 53. A Tung.-Kor. isogloss.

✱**pélaba(nV)** a figure made of stone or clay: Tung. ***pelbu***; Mong. ***barimal***; Turk. ***bAlbal***; Jpn. ***páníwá, *panipai, *panima***.

PTung. ***pelbu*** antropomorphic pendant for women’s hair (подвеска (женское украшение в виде изображения человека)): Evk. *helbu*.

◊ TMC 2, 363. Attested only in Evk., but having interesting external parallels.

PMong. ***barimal*** sculpture (скульптура): WMong. *barimal* (L 88); Kh. *baŕmal*.

PTurk. ***bAlbal*** a stone pillar erected on a grave (каменная колонна на могиле, истукан): OTurk. *balbal* (Orkh., Yen.).

◊ EDT 333. Borrowed (possibly from an unattested Bulgar source) in Old Russ. *bolvanъ*, Hung. *bálvány* ‘stone idol’ (suggestion of Melioranski, evidently preferable to the hypothesis of Korsch-Dmitriev < Pers. *pahlavān*, see Шипова 84-85, Аникин 114).

PJpn. ***páníwá, *panipai, *panima*** figures of men and animals made of clay (фигурки людей и животных из глины): OJpn. *paniwa*, *panipe*, *panima*; MJpn. *fáníwá*; Tok. *hàniwa*; Kyo. *háníwá*; Kag. *haníwa*.

◊ JLTT 398.

‖ The comparison is very tempting, although one has to suppose secondary folk-etymological reanalysis in Mong. (where *barimal* /a

regular development < *balima-r/) is associated with *bari-* 'to build', and in Jpn., where all the variants are associated with *pani* 'red clay'.

✱**pȅma (~ pʹ-)** lip; to munch, eat: Tung. ***pemu-**; Jpn. ***pàm-**.

PTung. ***pemu-n** lip (губа): Evk. *hemun*; Evn. *hemъn*; Neg. *xemun*; Man. *femen*; SMan. *femən* 'lips' (28); Ul. *pemu(n)*; Ork. *pemu(n)*; Nan. *pemũ*; Orch. *xemu(n)*; Ud. *xemu(n)*; Sol. *emme*.

◊ TMC 2, 365.

PJpn. ***pàm-** eat (есть): OJpn. *pam-*; MJpn. *fàm-*.

◊ JLTT 684.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss; cf. perhaps Khalkha *omgono-* 'to chew with a toothless mouth'. On another possibility of finding Turkic and Mongolian matches see under **emV*.

✱**peńo (~ *b-, *pʹ-, -o-)** flame, light: Jpn. ***pənə**; Kor. ***pȁńǎ-**.

PJpn. ***pənə** 1 flame 2 dawn (1 пламя 2 рассвет): OJpn. *p(w)ono-p(w)o* 1, *ake-b(w)ono* 2; MJpn. *fónó-fó*, *fònò-fò* 1, *áké-bónó* 2; Tok. *hónoo*, *honóo* 1, *àkebono* 2; Kyo. *hònóò* 1, *ákébónó* 2; Kag. *honoó* 1, *akebóno* 2.

◊ JLTT 379, 414. Original accent is not quite clear, because the root is attested only in compounds.

PKor. ***pȁńǎ-** to shine brightly, glare (сверкать, сиять): MKor. *pȁńǎ-*; Mod. *nun-pusi-*.

◊ Nam 242, KED 362.

‖ A Kor.-Jpn. isogloss.

✱**pépʹà** dust, ashes: Tung. ***pepke-**; Mong. ***baɣa-su**; Jpn. ***páp(u)í**; Kor. ***pap**.

PTung. ***pepke-** grey (серый): Evk. *hepkeme*; Evn. *hēwkēn*.

◊ TMC 2, 368.

PMong. ***baɣa-** 1 dirt, excrements 2 to defecate (1 грязь, навоз 2 испражняться): MMong. *bāsun* (IM), *bāṣun* (IM), *basun* (MA); WMong. *baɣasu(n)* 1, *baɣa-* 2 (L 67, 68); Kh. *bās(an)* 1, *bā-* 2; Bur. *bāha(n)* 1, *bā-* 2; Kalm. *bāsṇ* 1, *bā-* 2; Ord. *bās(u)* 1; Dag. *bāse* 1, *bā-* 2 (MD 116), *bās* 1; Dong. *basun* 1, *ba-* 2; Bao. *basoŋ* 1, *ba-* 2; S.-Yugh. *pāsən* 1, *pā-* 2; Mongr. *bāsə* (SM 23) 1, *bā-* 2 (SM 18).

◊ KW 37, MGCD 128, 129. Cf. also **baɣa-la-* 'to suppurate' (KW 37).

PJpn. ***páp(u)í** ashes (зола): OJpn. *pap(j)i*; MJpn. *fáfí*; Tok. *hài*; Kyo. *hái*; Kag. *hé*.

◊ JLTT 396.

PKor. ***pap** refuse, scraps, dust (мусор, пыль): Mod. *pap*.

◊ KED 734.

‖ SKE 189.

✱**pȅrV** gland, callus: Tung. ***peri**; Mong. ***ber-seɣü**; Turk. ***ber**.

PTung. ***peri** abrasion, chafe (on horse's back) (ссадина, стертая кожа на спине лошади): Man. *feri*.

◊ TMC 2, 305. Attested only in Manchu, with possible external parallels.

PMong. ***ber-seɣü** callus, hard growth (мозоль, твердый нарост): WMong. *bersegüü* (L 100); Kh. *bersū̄*; Bur. *ber* 'bump'; Kalm. *bersū̄*; Ord. *bersū̄*.

◊ KW 43.

PTurk. ***ber** swelling, gland (железа, желвак): Turkm. *berč*; Kaz. *berišek* 'thick pus' (R); Khak. *mir*; Chuv. *par*; Yak. *bert / berge*.

‖ KW 43. A Western isogloss. For Turkic cf. alternatively Mong. *marma-* 'be covered with scars' (cf. traces of nasalization in Turkic languages).

✱**pḗŕe (~ -i)** to feel discomfort, trouble: Tung. ***peru-**; Mong. ***berbeji-**; Turk. ***bẹŕ-**.

PTung. ***peru-** to despair, be troubled (отчаиваться, тревожиться): Evk. *herū-*; Evn. *heri-*; Man. *furu* 'angry'; Nan. *peurekpen-*.

◊ TMC 2, 303, 370.

PMong. ***berbeji-** to chill, grow numb from cold; to be frightened, shy (затекать (от холода), зябнуть; пугаться, стесняться): WMong. *berbeji-* (L 99); Kh. *bervij-*; Bur. *birba-* 'to feel aversion'; Kalm. *berwē-*; Ord. *berwī-*.

◊ KW 43. Cf. **berele-*, with a possibility of contamination.

PTurk. ***bẹŕ-** to shiver, tremble; to hate, be bored, feel aversion (дрожать; ненавидеть, скучать, чувствовать отвращение): OTurk. *bez-* (Orkh.); Karakh. *bez-* (MK); Tur. *bez-*; Az. *bez-*, *bezik-*; Turkm. *bezik-*; MTurk. *bez-* (Qutb, CCum.); Uzb. *bez-*; Uygh. *bäz-*; Krm. *bez-*; Tat. *biz-*; Bashk. *biδ-*; Kirgh. *bez-*; Kaz. *bez-*; KBalk. *bez-*; KKalp. *bez-*; Kum. *bez-*; Nogh. *bez-*; Yak. *biskī-*.

◊ EDT 389, ЭСТЯ 2, 103-105, TMN 2, 387, Мудрак Дисс. 172 (~-ẹ̄-, -ĕ-).

‖ A Western isogloss. High tone reconstructed because of Mong. *b-.

✱**pȅsá (~ -o)** handle: Tung. ***pesin**; Mong. ***hesi**; Turk. ***basu-**; Jpn. ***pàsú-i**.

PTung. ***pesin** handle (рукоятка, ручка): Evk. *hesin*; Evn. *hesъn*; Neg. *xesin*; Man. *fesin*; SMan. *fešən*, *fesən* (594); Ul. *pesi(n)*; Ork. *pesi(n)*; Nan. *pesĩ*; Orch. *xesi(n)*; Ud. *xehi*.

◊ TMC 2, 371.

PMong. ***hesi** handle, stem (ручка, стебель): MMong. *hɛši* (IM), *niši* [with a secondary n- and a usual loss of *h- before s] (MA 299); WMong. *esi* (L 334); Kh. *iš*; Bur. *eše*; Kalm. *išə*; Ord. *eši*, *iši*; Dag. *xeši* (Тод. Даг. 176), *heši* (MD 161); Bao. *jɛśi*; S.-Yugh. *šə*.

◊ KW 210, MGCD 413.

PTurk. ***basu-** sledge-hammer, mallet (молот, колотушка): Karakh. *basu* (MK); Uzb. *baska*; Khak. *pasxa*; Oyr. *masqa*.

◊ VEWT 64.

PJpn. ***pàsú-i** chopsticks (палочки для еды): OJpn. *pasi*; MJpn. *fàsí*; Tok. *háshi*; Kyo. *hàshí*; Kag. *hashí*.

◊ JLTT 400. The reconstruction **pàsú-i* is based on the old Ainu loanword *pasuy* id.

‖ EAS 54, 102, Poppe 11, 65, , ОСНЯ 3, 77-78, Цинциус 1984, 71-72, АПиПЯЯ 79. Despite Doerfer MT 22, Rozycki 76, TM is not < Mong.

✱**pȅsu** hoar-frost, cold: Mong. ***(h)osu-**; Turk. ***bes**; Kor. ***psǎ-**.

PMong. ***(h)osu-** to freeze, to suffer from cold weather (мерзнуть, страдать от холода): WMong. *osu-* (L 624); Kh. *oso-*, *osgo-*.

PTurk. ***bes** hoar-frost (иней): Tur. dial. *besim*, *peseɣü*, *pesen*; Tat. *bɛs*; Bashk. *bäϑ*; Chuv. *pas*.

◊ Лексика 37-38.

PKor. ***psǎ-** hail (град): MKor. *psǎ-nūn*.

◊ Nam 289. Connection with *psǎr* 'rice' ("rice-snow") cannot be excluded, cf. also the modern form *s:aragi-nūn*.

‖ Shortness and low tone reconstructed because of Mong. *(h)-. The etymology is somewhat questionable because of late attestation in Turkic and a possibility of an alternative analysis of the Korean form (see above).

✱**pètá (~ *p´-, -t´-)** to drop, fall: Tung. ***pet-ke-**; Jpn. ***pàtá-**; Kor. ***ptàrə́-**.

PTung. ***pet-ke-** to fall, drop (падать, валиться): Evn. *hetkъŋči-*.

◊ TMC 2, 371. Attested only in Evn., with possible parallels in Kor. and Jpn.

PJpn. ***pàtá-** to finish; anchor (кончаться; ставить на якорь): OJpn. *pata-*; MJpn. *fata-*; Tok. *haté-*; Kyo. *hàtè-*; Kag. *hàtè-*.

◊ JLTT 686.

PKor. ***ptàrə́-** to drop, fall; finish (падать, валиться; кончаться): MKor. *ptàrə́-tí-*; Mod. *t:ərə-ʒi-*.

◊ Nam 151, KED 449.

‖ An Eastern isogloss. Cf. also Kor. *ptər-* 'shake'.

✱**pȅʒo** to dance: Tung. ***pēʒe-**; Mong. ***böʒi-**; Jpn. ***pàjà-s-**.

PTung. ***pēʒe-** to dance, roundelay (танцевать, водить хоровод): Evk. *hēʒe-*; Evn. *hēʒe-*; Neg. *xēʒen-*; Ork. *xede* (n.).

◊ TMC 2, 361.

PMong. ***böʒi-** to dance (танцевать): MMong. *boʒi* (HY 35), *buʒo-* (IM), *buʒi-* (MA); WMong. *böʒi-* (L 153: *büʒi-*); Kh. *böʒi-*, *büʒi-*; Bur. *büžeg*; Kalm. *böʒi-*, *büʒi-*; Ord. *böʒök* 'elégant, joli', *böʒöglö-*.

◊ KW 54.

PJpn. ***pàjà-s-** to accompany, sing and dance in unison (аккомпанировать, танцевать и петь в унисон): MJpn. *fajas-*; Tok. *hayás-*; Kyo. *háyás-*; Kag. *hàyàs-*.

◊ JLTT 686.

‖ PA length is responsible for the preservation of b- in Mong. (otherwise **höǯi-* would be expected).

✸**píla** to rub, plaster: Tung. ***pilki-**; Mong. ***bila-**; Jpn. ***pár-**; Kor. ***pȁrȁ-**.

PTung. ***pilki-** to rub, smear (натирать, гладить): Evk. *hilki-*; Ork. *pikki-*; Nan. *pịlqị-*.

◊ TMC 2, 324.

PMong. ***bila-** to smear, plaster (мазать, лепить): WMong. *bila-* (L 103); Kh. *b́ala-*; Bur. *bila-*; Ord. *bila-*.

PJpn. ***pár-** to plaster (лепить, наклеивать): OJpn. par-; MJpn. *fár-*; Tok. *hàr-*; Kyo. *hár-*; Kag. *hár-*.

◊ JLTT 685.

PKor. ***pȁrȁ-** to plaster, stick on (штукатурить, намазывать): MKor. *pȁrȁ-*; Mod. *parɨ-*.

◊ Nam 241, KED 706.

‖ Martin 238 (Kor.-Jpn.). Irregular vowel in Korean (**parV-* would be expected) can be probably explained by vowel assimilation, as well as by secondary adjustment of this root to *părăm* 'wall' q.v.

✸**pȉle** a k. of hawk: Tung. ***pilakta**; Mong. ***heliɣe**; Turk. ***bElin**.

PTung. ***pilakta** 1 a k. of hawk 2 a k. of woodpecker (1 вид ястреба 2 вид дятла): Evk. *hilakta* 1, 2; Ul. *pịlaqta*, *pê̂laqta* 2; Nan. *pịlaqta* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 323.

PMong. ***heliɣe** hawk, kite (ястреб, коршун): MMong. *xele'e* (HY 13), *iläs* (MA), *həlē-* (LH); WMong. *elije* (L 310); Kh. *elē*; Bur. *eĺē*; Kalm. *elɛ̄*; Ord. *elē*, *ilē*; Dong. *helie*; Bao. *heloŋ*.

◊ KW 119, MGCD 257. Mong. > Yak. *elia*, ? > Bulg. **ileg* > Hung. *ölyú*, *ölyuv* (see Gombocz 1912, VEWT 40).

PTurk. ***bElin** hawk (ястреб): Az. *beli-baGlɨ*; Uzb. *belin* (Chag.); Krm. *beliŋ*.

◊ VEWT 69.

‖ Shortness and low tone reconstructed because of Mong. *h-. A Western isogloss; cf. perhaps OJ *p(j)e-* in *p(j)è-wò* 'foot-cord for a falcon' (wo 'cord, rope'), although the word pe is not attested separately. PJ **pìa* < **pȉl(e)-gV* would be a very good match for Mong. **heliɣe*.

✸**pȉĺǯi** to become overripe, pickled: Tung. ***pil(b)-**; Mong. ***(h)ilǯi-**; Turk. ***biĺč-**; Jpn. ***pìsì-kuá**; Kor. ***pìrí-**.

PTung. ***pil(b)-** 1 slime 2 to eat raw fish, meat 3 ear pus (1 слизь 2 есть сырое (мясо, рыбу) 3 ушной гной): Evk. *hilbi* 1, *hilbikā-* 2, dial. *pila* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 38, 324. A rather rich group of derivatives - attested, however, only in Evk.

PMong. ***(h)ilǯi-** to become rotten, overboiled (перевариться, сгнивать): WMong. *ilǯira-*, *ilǯire-* (L 408: *ilǯara-*, *ilǯira-*, *ilǯire-*); Kh. *jalʒra-*; Bur. *ilzar-*; Kalm. *ilǯr-*.

◊ KW 206. Mong. > Dolg. *ilʒi*, *ilʒirij-* (see Stachowski 125).

PTurk. ***biĺč-*** to become boiled, ripe (свариваться, созревать): OTurk. *biš-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *biš-* (MK, KB); Tur. *piš-*; Gag. *piš-*; Az. *biš-*; Turkm. *biš-*; Khal. *bɨš-*; MTurk. *biš-* (Sangl.); Uzb. *piš-*; Uygh. *piš-*; Krm. *biš-*, *piš-*; Tat. *beš-*, *peš-*; Bashk. *beš-*; Kirgh. *bɨš-*; Kaz. *pɨs-*; KBalk. *biš-*; KKalp. *pɨs-*; Kum. *biš-*; SUygh. *pɨs-*; Khak. *pɨs-*; Shr. *pɨš-*; Oyr. *biš-*; Tv. *bɨš-*; Tof. *bɨš-*; Chuv. *piś-*; Yak. *bus-*.

◊ VEWT 76, EDT 376-377, ЭСТЯ 2, 161-164. Mong. *bišlaq*, *basilaɣ* 'a k. of home cheese' < Turk. **biĺ-lak* (Clark 1980, 42, Щербак 1997, 107).

PJpn. ***pìsì-kuá*** anchovy (анчоусы): MJpn. *fìsìkó*.

◊ JLTT 409.

PKor. ***pìrí-*** to smell (of raw fish, blood) (пахнуть (сырой рыбой, кровью)): MKor. *pìrí-*; Mod. *piri-*.

◊ Liu 412, KED 852.

‖ JOAL 119.

✱**píńŋe** scar, pimple: Tung. ***pinŋa***; Mong. ***beɣere***; Turk. ***bẹńŕ***; Kor. ***pɨńɨrɨm***.

PTung. ***pinŋa*** scar (шрам): Evk. *hinŋa*; Evn. *hịnŋъn*; Neg. *xịnŋan*; Man. *fiχa* 'ulcer'; Ork. *pịna*.

◊ TMC 2, 299, 325.

PMong. ***beɣere*** pus (гной): WMong. *begere* (MXTTT); Kh. *bēr*.

◊ Man. *berxe* 'eye pus' (TMC 1, 127) < Mong.

PTurk. ***bẹńŕ*** 1 swelling 2 scar, ulcer (1 железа 2 шрам, язва): Karakh. *bez* (MK, IM) 2; Tur. *bez* 2; Az. *bäz*, *väz*; Turkm. *mäz* 2; MTurk. *bez* (Sangl.), *mez* (Sangl.) 1, 2; Uzb. *bez* 2; Uygh. *bäz*; Tat. *biz* 1, 2; Bashk. *biδ*; Kirgh. *bez* 1, 2; Kaz. *bez* 1, 2; KBalk. *bez* 1, 2; KKalp. *bez* 1, 2; Kum. *bez* 1, 2; Nogh. *bez*; Tv. *bes* 1; Tof. *bes* 1; Chuv. *pür* 'pus'.

◊ VEWT 72, EDT 388, Егоров 142, Федотов 1, 384, ЭСТЯ 7.

PKor. ***pɨńɨrɨm*** pimple, blotch (прыщ): MKor. *pɨńɨrɨm*; Mod. *pusɨrəm*, *pūrəm*.

◊ Nam 271, KED 813, 816.

‖ Егоров 171 (Chuv.-Mong.), Лексика 209 (with a different Turkic parallel), Robbeets 2000, 111.

✱**píńŕa** needle: Tung. ***pi[ńr]a***; Mong. ***birim***; Turk. ***bińŕ (*biŋŕ)***; Jpn. ***pàrí***; Kor. ***pànǎr (/-r-)***.

PTung. ***pi[ńr]a*** 1 thick needle 2 fish-hook (1 толстая игла 2 удочка, рыболовный крючок): Evk. *hinna* (dial. *hinda*, *hindra*) 2; Nan. *bịnʒā*.

◊ TMC 1, 83, 2, 325. Phonology is somewhat irregular (perhaps due to a rare medial cluster): in Nan. **pịnʒā* would be expected.

PMong. ***birim*** awl (шило): WMong. *birim*; Kalm. *birṃ*.

◊ KW 46.

PTurk. ***bińŕ (*biŋŕ)*** awl (шило): Tur. *biz*; Az. *biz*; Turkm. *bijz/bīz*; MTurk. *biz* (MA), *bigiz* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *bigiz*; Uygh. *biz*; Krm. *biz*; Tat. *bez*;

Bashk. *beδ*; Kirgh. *miz*; Kaz. *biz*, dial. *bigiz*; KBalk. *miz*; KKalp. *biz*; Kum. *biz*; Nogh. *biz*; SUygh. *pɨz-*, *puz-*; Khak. *pəs*; Shr. *pis*; Oyr. *mis*; Tv. *bis*; Tof. *bis*.

◊ VEWT 75, ЭСТЯ 2, 130-131, TMN 2, 311. The Chag. form *bigiz* is quite strange: perhaps it is a result of denasalization of **biŋiz* < **biŋ́* (this would then suggest a velar nasal in the root).

PJpn. ***pàrí** needle (игла): OJpn. *pari*; MJpn. *fàrí*; Tok. *hári*; Kyo. *hàrí*; Kag. *harí*.

◊ JLTT 399.

PKor. ***pànăr (/-r-)** needle (игла): MKor. *pànăr*, *parăr*; Mod. *panɨl*.

◊ Nam 236, 238, KED 703.

‖ KW 46, Martin 237. Despite Doerfer's skepticism (TMN 2, 311), Ramstedt's comparison still holds. Low tone in Jpn. is perhaps due to contraction (it does not match either Kor. or *b- in Mong.).

✱**pĭŋa (~ *pʹ-)** to separate, emit: Tung. ***piŋta-**; Jpn. ***pànà-**.

PTung. ***piŋta-** to separate (from the herd, flock) (отделять(ся) (от стада)): Evk. *hiŋtal-*; Evn. *hīntъl-*.

◊ TMC 2, 326.

PJpn. ***pànà-** to emit, separate (испускать, отделять(ся)): OJpn. *pana-t-*, *panara-*; MJpn. *fànà-t-*, *fana-s-*, *fànàra-*; Tok. *hanát-*, *hanás-*, *hanaré-*; Kyo. *hánát-*, *hánás-*, *hánáré-*; Kag. *hànàt-*, *hànàs-*, *hànàrè-*.

◊ JLTT 684.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss.

✱**pŕrò (~ b-)** beak, nose: Turk. ***burun (*burɨn)**; Jpn. ***kútí-(n)-pírù**; Kor. ***pūrì**.

PTurk. ***burun (*burɨn)** 1 nose 2 front part 3 before (1 нос 2 передняя часть 3 перед, впереди): OTurk. *burun* 1, 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *burun* 1, 3 (MK, KB); Tur. *burun* 1; Gag. *burnu* 1; Az. *burun* 1; Turkm. *burun* 1; Sal. *purnɨ* 1; Khal. *burɨn* 1; MTurk. *burun* 1, 3 (Sangl.); Uzb. *burun* 1; Uygh. *burun* 1; Krm. *burun* 1; Tat. *borɨn* 1; Bashk. *moron* 1, *boron* 3; Kirgh. *murun* 1; Kaz. *murɨn* 1; KBalk. *burun* 1; KKalp. *murɨn* 1; Kum. *burun* 1; Nogh. *burɨn* 1; SUygh. *p'urɨn* 3; Khak. *purun* 1, 3; Shr. *purnu*, (Верб.) *purun* 1, 3; Oyr. *burun* 3; Tv. *murnu* 2; Tof. *murnu* 2; Yak. *murun* 1; Dolg. *munnu* 1.

◊ VEWT 90, EDT 366-367, ЭСТЯ 2, 269-273, Лексика 214-215, Stachowski 182. Cf. **bur-* 'to smell' (VEWT 89).

PJpn. ***kútí-(n)-pírù** lips, beak (губы, клюв): OJpn. *kuti-pjiru*; MJpn. *kútí-bírù*; Tok. *kùchibiru*; Kyo. *kùchìbírù*; Kag. *kuchibíru*.

◊ JLTT 467. A compound with **kútí* 'mouth'.

PKor. ***pūrì** beak (клюв): MKor. *pūrì*; Mod. *pūri*.

◊ Nam 265, KED 814.

‖ Whitman 1985, 191, АПиПЯЯ 283, Лексика 215. Turk. **bur-* must be a secondary assimilation < **bɨr-*.

✱**pĭsa (~ pˊ-)** to insert, press between: Tung. ***pisa-**; Jpn. ***pàsàm-**; Kor. ***ps-kì'ú-**.

PTung. ***pisa-** to insert a wedge, to patch (вставлять клин, латать): Evk. *hisā-*; Neg. *xi̯sa-*; Ul. *pi̯sa-*; Nan. *pi̯sa-*.

◊ TMC 2, 328.

PJpn. ***pàsàm-** to press between, to wedge into (зажимать между, вклинивать): OJpn. *pasam-*; MJpn. *fàsàm-*; Tok. *hasám-*; Kyo. *hásám-*; Kag. *hàsàm-*.

◊ JLTT 685.

PKor. ***ps-kì'ú-** 1 to insert into a rim 2 to butt, stick in (1 вставлять в оправу 2 вставлять, вкалывать): MKor. *ps-kì'ú-* 1, *ps-tìrɨ̀-* 2; Mod. *k:iu-* 1, *č:irɨ-* 2.

◊ Nam 80, 181, KED 271, 1530.

‖ An Eastern isogloss. Mergers of this root with **pǎsi* and **pˊi̯úsa* q.v. were possible.

✱**pisV (~ pˊ-, -i̯a-)** seed, grain: Tung. ***pise-**; Kor. ***psí**.

PTung. ***pise-** 1 seed, offspring; kin 2 millet (1 семя, приплод; племя 2 просо): Evn. *hese-n* 1 (Okh.); Man. *fise-n* 1, *fisi-ke* 2; Ul. *pikse* 2; Nan. *pikse*, Kur-Urm. *fisxe* 2.

◊ See TMC 2, 38 (where the Nan. and Ul. forms are qualified as borrowed from Manchu, which is hardly justified; Oroch *pikse* is < Ul.), 300, 371. One should probably unite the Manchu stems 'breed, offspring' and 'millet' (*'seed'). The -e-vowel in Even is not quite clear.

PKor. ***psí** seed (семя): MKor. *psí*; Mod. s:i.

◊ Nam 326, KED 1032.

‖ EAS 54, 82, SKE 231, Цинциус 1984, 40, Lee 1958, 110, АПиПЯЯ 296. A Tung.-Kor. isogloss. Since the TM forms meaning "millet" go back to the same root, the second of Ramstedt's etymologies (SKE 214, comparison with Kor. *phi* 'millet') should be rejected. In Kor. cf. also *psǎr* '(fine) rice' (see Lee 1958, 109).

✱**pi̯áge (~ pˊ-)** a k. of weed, panicum: Tung. ***pig-**; Jpn. ***píjái**; Kor. ***phí**.

PTung. ***pig-** 1 nettle, hemp 2 to peel fibre (from nettle) 3 to spin threads (1 крапива, конопля 2 снимать волокно с крапивы (для изготовления ниток) 3 сучить нитки): Evk. *hiɣa-* 3; Neg. *xīkte* 1; Man. *fé* 1; Ul. *pīkte* 1; Ork. *pīkte* 1; Nan. *pīkte* 1; Orch. *xīkte* 1, *xig-du-* 2; Ud. *sikte* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 322.

PJpn. ***píjái** panicum Crus-Galli (куриное просо): OJpn. *pjije*; MJpn. *fíjé*; Tok. *hìe*; Kyo. *híé*; Kag. *híe*.

◊ JLTT 405.

PKor. ***phí** millet (просо): MKor. *phí*; Mod. *phi*.

◊ Nam 465, KED 1771.

‖ An Eastern isogloss. Kor. *phí* < **pìhí* (with vowel reduction).

✱**pi̯ȁki** liver: Tung. ***pākin**; Turk. ***biagɨr**.

PTung. ***pākin** liver (печень): Evk. *hākin*, *hakin*; Evn. *hāqṇn*; Neg. *xākịn*; Man. *faxun*; SMan. *fahun* (91); Ul. *pā*; Ork. *pāγa* / *pāqa*; Nan. *pā*; Orch. *pāγa*, *pāqa*; Ud. *xa'i* (Корм. 304); Sol. *āxī*.

◊ TMC 2, 310.

PTurk. ***biagɨr** liver (печень): OTurk. *baγɨr* (OUygh.); Karakh. *baγɨr* (MK); Tur. *baγɨr* 'breast, bosom'; Az. *baγɨr*; Turkm. *baGɨr*; Sal. *baγir*; MTurk. *baγɨr* (Бор. Бад., MA); Uygh. *beγir*; Krm. *baγɨr*; Tat. *bawɨr*; Bashk. *bawɨr*; Kirgh. *bōr*; Kaz. *bawɨr*; KBalk. *bawur*; KKalp. *bawɨr*; Nogh. *bawɨr*; SUygh. *baγɨr*; Khak. *pār*; Tv. *bār*; Tof. *bār*; Chuv. *pəʷver*; Yak. *bɨar*; Dolg. *bɨar* 'belly; liver'.

◊ VEWT 55, EDT 317, ЭСТЯ 2, 17-19, 22-23, Лексика 278, Stachowski 69.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 45, 286, Мудрак Дисс. 196-197, Лексика 278. A Turk.-Tung. isogloss, demonstrating again the rule of monophthongization in PTM after *p- (see **pi̯alagV*, **pi̯ari*).

✱**pi̯ǎlagV** fortress, group of houses: Tung. ***palVga**; Mong. ***balaga-sun**; Turk. ***bialɨk**; Jpn. ***pái**.

PTung. ***palVga** a group of houses (группа домов): Man. *falGa*.

◊ TMC 2, 298. Attested only in Manchu, but probably archaic.

PMong. ***balaga-sun** city, fortress (город, крепость): MMong. *balaxasun* (HY 4), *balaqasun* (SH), *bal(a)γaṣun* (IM), *balγasun* (MA); WMong. *balaγasun* (L 80: *balγasu(n)*); Kh. *balgas*; Bur. *balgāha(n)*, *balgān* 'hovel'; Kalm. *balγəsṇ*; Ord. *balGasu*, *balGus*; Dag. *balga*, *balag* 'house, dwelling place' (Тод. Даг. 124); Mongr. *ba(r)Gāsə*, *warGāsə* (SM 21, 481).

◊ KW 31. Mong. > Evk. *balaγan*, *balgahun* etc., see Poppe 1966, 197, Doerfer MT 73; Аникин 113-114 proposes rather Mong. > Russ. *balagán* ; Russ. > Yak., Evn. *balaγan*.

PTurk. ***bialɨk** city, fortress (город, крепость): OTurk. *balɨq* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *balɨq* (MK); Khal. *baluq* 'деревня'; MTurk. *balɨq* (Pav. C.); SUygh. *balɨq*, *paluq*; Chuv. *püler*.

◊ TMN 2, 257, EDT 335-336, ЭСТЯ 2, 59, ОСНЯ 3, 91, Лексика 485, Мудрак Дисс. 194.

PJpn. ***pái** hearth; household (очаг; домашнее хозяйство): OJpn. pe; MJpn. *fé*.

◊ JLTT 403.

‖ EAS 56, KW 31, Владимирцов 147-148, ОСНЯ 3, 91-92, Sinor 1981 (listing all forms but considering the Turkic word to be borrowed from Ugric), Дыбо 15, Мудрак Дисс. 194. Despite TMN 1, 216, 2, 258, Щербак 1997, 104 the Mong. form is hardly borrowed from Turk. Jpn. **pá-i* presupposes a form **pi̯ǎl(a)-gV* = TM **palVga* etc. Note that this is a case of monophthongization after *p- in TM (cf. similarly **pi̯ari*, **pi̯āki*).

✱**pi̯ànà (~ *p´-)** face (colour), colour: Tung. ***pian-**; Kor. ***s-pám**.

PTung. ***pian-** 1 appearance, face, colour 2 face side (1 внешность, лицо, цвет 2 лицевая сторона): Man. *fán* 1; Ud. *pä́ńia* (Bik.) 2 (< South.).

◊ TMC 2, 36-37.

PKor. ***s-pám** cheek (щека): MKor. *spám*; Mod. *p:jam*.

◊ Nam 248, KED 758.

‖ A TM-Kor. isogloss. One of the cases of prefixed *s- in body parts in Korean (cf. **s-pjə́* 'bone', **s-pɨ́r* 'horn', **s-kòrí* 'tail').

✱**pi̯api (~ *p´-)** a k. of small bird: Tung. ***piabi**; Jpn. ***pipa**; Kor. ***pjəp-sāi**.

PTung. ***piabi** a k. of sparrow (вид воробья): Evk. *hiwi*, Yerb. *hẽ̂wi* 'клест, снегирь, дрозд ореховый'; Man. *fábqu*, *fáfiqu* 'воробей-коноплянник'.

◊ TMC 2, 321.

PJpn. ***pipa** siskin (чиж): Tok. *hiwa*.

◊ JLTT 412.

PKor. ***pjəp-sāi** jenny wren, Korean crow-tit (крапивник): MKor. *pjəp-sāi* (-sāi 'bird'); Mod. *pa̋psä*.

◊ Nam 258, KED 756.

‖ An onomatopoeic Eastern isogloss.

✱**pi̯àri** finger, finger width (measure): Tung. ***pargan**; Turk. ***biarŋak**; Jpn. ***pia**; Kor. ***pa̋r**.

PTung. ***pargan** 1 ski bedding for the foot 2 a measure of length (one centimeter) (1 подстилка на лыже для ступни 2 мера длины (один сантиметр)): Evk. *hargan* 1, 2; Nan. *pajGa* 1; Ud. *xaga* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 317.

PTurk. ***biarŋak** finger, thumb (палец, большой палец): Karakh. *barmaq* (Tefs., IM); Tur. *parmak*, dial. *barnak*; Gag. *parmaq*; Az. *barmaG*; Turkm. *barmaq*; Sal. *parmax*; Khal. *barmaq*; MTurk. *barmaq* (Sangl., MA); Uzb. *barmɔq*; Uygh. *barmaq*; Krm. *barmaq*; Tat. *barmaq*, dial. *barnaq*; Bashk. *barmaq*, (Pallas) *parnaq*; Kirgh. *barmaq*; Kaz. *barmaq*; KBalk. *barmaq*; KKalp. *barmaq*; Kum. *barmaq*; Nogh. *barmaq*; Chuv. *pürne*.

◊ VEWT 63, ЭСТЯ 2, 66-68, Дыбо 319-320, Лексика 253-255.

PJpn. ***pia** layer (слой): OJpn. *pje*; MJpn. *fe*.

◊ JLTT 403.

PKor. ***pa̋r** 1 layer 2 set (1 слой 2 набор): MKor. *pa̋r* 1, 2; Mod. *pəl* 2.

◊ Liu 353, KED 764.

‖ Whitman 1985, 153-154, 210 (Kor.-Jpn.). Jpn. **pia* < **pi̯àr(i)-ga* (cf. TM **par-ga-*) or < **pi̯àr(i)-ŋa* (cf. PT **biar-ŋa-k*). For the reflex *-a- in TM see notes to **pi̯alagV*. The original meaning is 'finger, finger width', whence 'bedding, layer ("one finger thick")'. Such a combination of

meanings is still clearly seen in TM (without which the Turkic and Jpn.-Kor. forms would be hardly comparable).

✸**pi̯ȁtʿè** to suffer: Tung. ***pita-**; Mong. ***hataɣa-**; Turk. ***b(i)at**; Jpn. ***pə̀tə̀p- / *pùtùk-**.

PTung. ***pita-** 1 to worry 2 to suffer (1 беспокоиться 2 страдать): Evk. *hitačil-* 1; Evn. *hīt-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 328.

PMong. ***hataɣa-** to envy, jealousy (завидовать, ревность): WMong. *ataɣa(n)* (L 58); Kh. *atā(n)*; Bur. *atā(n)*; Kalm. *atān*; Dag. *xatarkā-* (Тод. Даг. 175).

◊ KW 17.

PTurk. ***b(i)at** bad, unworthy (плохой, негодный): OTurk. *bat* (Orkh., OUygh.); Tv. *pat*.

◊ EDT 296, VEWT 65.

PJpn. ***pə̀tə̀p- / *pùtùk-** to be angry, disturbed (сердиться, тревожиться): OJpn. *putukum-*; MJpn. *futuk-*, *fòtòfòr-*, *fùtùkùm-*.

◊ JLTT 693, 695. OJ *potopor-* and *putuk-* are hard to separate; the vocalism in *putuk-* may have been influenced by *putukurwo* / *put(w)ok(w)orwo* 'breast' (or else the vocalism in *potopor-* may have been influenced by a homonymous *potopor-* 'to emit heat').

‖ OJ *pətə-pə-r-* and PM **hata-ɣa-* may reflect a common derivative **pi̯ȁtʿè-pʿV*.

✸**pi̯ā́tʿe** tough; swift: Tung. ***pit(a)**; Mong. ***bat-**; Turk. ***biāt**; Kor. ***patɨk / *potɨk**.

PTung. ***pit(a)** hard, tough (крепко, плотно): Evk. *pit* (< South.); Man. *fita*; Ul. *pịtam* 'near, close'; Ork. *pịtamǯi*; *pit* 'just, soon'.

◊ TMC 2, 39.

PMong. ***bat-** 1 hard, tough 2 urgent (1 прочный, надежный 2 срочный, поспешный): MMong. *batu* (SH, HYt), *bāṭu* (IM), *batu* (MA) 1; WMong. *batu* 1 (L 91), *bačim* 2 (L 65); Kh. *bat* 1, *bačim* 2; Bur. *bata* 1, *bašam* 2; Kalm. *batə* 1, *bačṃ* 2; Ord. *batu* 1 *bačimda-* 'to hurry'; Dag. bate 1 (MD 120), *batu* 1; Dong. *putu* 1; Bao. *batə*; S.-Yugh. *batə* 1; Mongr. *padu* (SM 300), *padə* 1.

◊ KW 36, MGCD 146.

PTurk. ***biāt** swift, quick (быстрый): OTurk. *bat* (OUygh.); Karakh. *bat* (MK); Tur. *pat* 'suddenly'; Turkm. *bāda* 'at once'; MTurk. *bat* (Sangl.); Uzb. *bɔt*; Uygh. *pat*; Kirgh. *bat*; Tv. *pat* 'extremely'; Chuv. *pidə* (< **püdə*?) 'most, very'.

◊ VEWT 65, EDT 296, Егоров 162, Федотов 1, 437.

PKor. ***patɨk / *potɨk** persistently, obstinately (упрямо, настойчиво): Mod. *padɨk-padɨk*, *podɨk-podɨk*.

◊ KED 704.

‖ Poppe 51, KW 36, PKE 146-147. The Kor. form is expressive and not quite regular.

✱**pi̯ŏka** a k. of weed: Tung. ***puka**; Mong. ***(h)agi**; Turk. ***bakɨr**; Jpn. ***pàkuá-**; Kor. ***phá (~ *páh)**.

PTung. ***puka** 1 henbane 2 fern 3 dry grass for fire (1 белена 2 папоротник 3 сухая трава для растопки): Man. *fuqtala* 2, *fuxen* 3; Ul. *poqo* 1; Nan. *poqaqã* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 40, 301, 302.

PMong. ***(h)agi** wormwood (полынь): WMong. *agi* (L 19); Kh. *aǵ*; Bur. *aja*; Ord. *agi* 'artemisia maritima Bess.'.

◊ S.-Yugh. *ajī* id. (MGCD 96) may be a literary loan.

PTurk. ***bakɨr** cockle (куколь): Tat. *baqra*; Chuv. *poxra*.

◊ Федотов 1, 441-442. Cf. Oyr. *pagɨr* 'allium nutans', 'слизун'.

PJpn. ***pàkuá-** a k. of weed (Stellaria media Cyr.) (мокричник): Tok. *hàkobe*; Kyo. *hàkóbè*; Kag. *hakobé*.

PKor. ***phá (~ *páh)** onion (лук): MKor. *phá*; Mod. *pha*.

◊ Nam 461, KED 1728.

‖ Дыбо 11. Kor. **phá* < **puhá* ~ **pắhá* with usual vowel reduction. The Turkic forms are very scantily attested and somewhat dubious (one would rather expect **bagɨr*).

✱**pi̯óko** buttock: Tung. ***pika**; Mong. ***bögse**.

PTung. ***pika** 1 rear, buttocks 2 naked, with naked buttocks (1 зад, ягодицы 2 голый, без штанов): Evk. *hikańa* 1; Neg. *xi̯xańa* 1; Man. *f́aqu* 2; SMan. *f́aku* 2 (207); Ul. *pi̯qa* 2 (Суник 1985, 225); Nan. *piqa* 2 (Он.).

◊ TMC 2, 323, 299.

PMong. ***bögse** rump, buttock (зад, ягодицы): MMong. *bokse* (SH), *bukse* (MA 123); WMong. *bögse(n)* (L 126); Kh. *bögs*; Bur. *bügse*; Kalm. *böksə*; Ord. *bögsö* 'buttock, vulva'; Dag. *bursu*, *burse* (Тод. Даг. 128), *burs*; Dong. *bursu*, burse, *bugsu* (Poppe); S.-Yugh. *bəgse*.

◊ KW 55, MGCD 161. Usually considered to be borrowed < Turk. *bögsek* (see Щербак 1997, 109, Лексика 278, EDT 329), but the Turkic word means "upper part of chest" which makes the loan theory extremely dubious. Mong. > Kirgh., Kaz. *böksö* 'buttocks' (see EDT 329), Evk. *buksu* etc., see Doerfer MT 130, Rozycki 37.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss. High tone can be reconstructed because of Mong. *b-.

✱**pi̯ŏltorV (/-ld-)** a k. of small bird: Tung. ***pilti-**; Mong. ***bolǯir- / *boldur-**; Turk. ***bɨldur- (*buldɨr-)**; Jpn. ***pàtuâ**; Kor. ***pìtùrí**.

PTung. ***pilti-** a k. of wild duck (утка-свиязь): Evk. *hiltiwir*, *hiltiɣir*.

◊ TMC 2, 324. Attested only in Evk., with probable external parallels.

PMong. ***bolǯir- / *boldur-** lark (жаворонок): MMong. *bildu'ur*, *bilǯi'ur* 'lark' (SH); WMong. *buldurayun*, (L 119) *bolǯimar*, *bolǯimur*; Kh.

bolǯmor, *boǯrogo*; Bur. *bulžamar*, *bulžamūr*; *bolžūxaj*, *bulžūxaj* 'young of a bird'; Kalm. *bolǯūxā̄* 'young of a bird', *buldərūn*; Ord. *bilǯūxā̄* 'little bird'.

◊ KW 50, 59. Mong. > Manchu *baldargan* 'a k. of bird'.

PTurk. ***bɨldur- (*buldɨr-)** a bird smaller than a grey partridge, quail (рыжая куропатка, степной рябчик): Tur. *bɨldɨrǯɨn*; Az. *bɨldɨrčɨn* (dial.); MTurk. *bɨldɨrčɨn* (Sangl., Houts., Bulgat); Uzb. *bulduriq* 'Steppenhuhn'; Kirgh. *bulduruq*; Kaz. *buldɨrɨq*; KKalp. *buldɨrɨq*; Chuv. *pъʷldъʷržan* (dial.); Yak. *bɨlǯɨrɨt*, *bɨllɨrɨt* 'snipe'.

◊ EDT 309, TMN 2, 312, VEWT 73-74, ЭСТЯ 2, 305-306, Лексика 173. Turk. > Russ. Siber. *buld'ur'uk* (Аникин 140).

PJpn. ***pàtuâ** pigeon (голубь): OJpn. *patwo*; MJpn. *fato*; Tok. *háto*; Kyo. *hàtô*; Kag. *ható*.

◊ JLTT 402.

PKor. ***pìtùrí** pigeon (голубь): MKor. *pìtùrí*, *pitărki*, *pitori*, *pituroki*; Mod. *pidulgi*.

◊ Nam 276, KED 851.

‖ Martin 228, Лексика 174. An expressive root with not quite precise correspondences (like in many bird names). Vocalism is rather hard to reconstruct: in PT we have to assume a secondary delabialization (**buldɨr- > *bɨldur-*). Note velar suffixation in several Turkic and Mongolian forms; the PJ form also may go back to **pi̯oltor-ga* > **pi̯oltoɣa* > **patua*.

✱**pi̯ŏro** a k. of plant: Tung. ***piregde**; Mong. ***burga-**; Turk. ***bōr-**.

PTung. ***piregden** a k. of plant (вид кустарника): Ul. *piragda* 'чубушник'; Nan. *piregdēn* сирень крупная (Сем Ю.А.-Сем Л.И. 1988, 14).

◊ TMC 2, 39.

PMong. ***burga-, *buraɣa** 1 willow 2 (willow) bushes (1 ива 2 кусты, заросли (ивы)): WMong. *buryasu(n)* 1, *buraɣa*, *buryа* 2 (L 137); Kh. *burgas(an)*, *burgās(an)* 1, *burgana* 'a k. of maple', *burā* 2; Bur. *burgāha(n)* 1, 2; Kalm. *buryəsṇ* 1, *burā* 2; Ord. *burGasu* 1; Dag. *bargās* (Тод. Даг. 124), *baregase* (MD 119); Mongr. *burGāsə*.

◊ KW 61,62, MGCD 170. Cf. also *borolǯi* 'кедровник на болотах'. TMN 1, 225. Mong > MTurk. *buryasun*, see Щербак 1997, 201 (whence Russ. Siber. *burgás*, see Аникин 143-144); > Evk. *burgan* etc. (TMC 1, 111, Rozycki 39).

PTurk. ***bōr-** a k. of plant or tree (вид дерева или растения): Turkm. *bōržaq* 'эфедра'; Kirgh. *boruq* 'small reed'; Oyr. *borsuq* 'yew'; Yak. *borū* 'хвощ'.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**pi̯óro(-kʿV) (~ -i̯u-)** wrinkle, callosity: Tung. ***pirki- (~ -ü-)**; Mong. ***boruɣa**; Turk. ***burkɨ**.

PTung. ***pirki- (~ -ü-)** to obtain a callosity (натирать мозоль): Evk. *hirki-*; Evn. *i̯rqъ-*.

◊ TMC 2, 327. Cf. perhaps also Man. *furu* 'pustule (in mouth); knag (on a tree)', TMC 2, 303.

PMong. ***boruɣa** bone callosity (мозоль на кости): WMong. *boruu*; Kh. *borō*; Bur. *bordigor* 'с наростами (о коре дерева'; *bordij-* 'быть шероховатым'; Kalm. *borā(n)* 'Fehler in der Haarbekleidung des Pferdefusses'.

◊ KW 51.

PTurk. ***burkɨ** wrinkled (сморщенный): OTurk. *burqɨ*; Karakh. *burqɨ*, *burqɨɣ* 'wrinkle'.

◊ EDT 360.

‖ A Western isogloss. High tone may be reconstructed because of Mong. *b-. Reflected are forms with different suffixes (**pi̯oro-kʿV* and **pi̯oro-gV*).

✱**pi̯ósò** stairway, step (of stairs): Tung. ***pise-**; Mong. ***bosuga**; Turk. ***bAs-kɨč**; Jpn. ***pásì**.

PTung. ***pise-** 1 to make a penthouse 2 penthouse 3 opposite walls from roof to ceiling (1 делать навес 2 навес 3 стены напротив друг друга от крыши до потолка): Man. *fise-* 1, *fiseku*, *fiseŋge* 2; Nan. *pisoa* 3 (Он.).

◊ TMC 2, 300.

PMong. ***bosuga** threshold (порог): MMong. *bosoxa* (HY 16), *bosoqa* (SH) 'threshold', *bosaqa*, *bosaɣa* 'door-post' (MA 141, 143); WMong. *bosuɣa* (L 122); Kh. *bosgo*; Bur. *bohogo*, *bogoho*; Kalm. *bosəɣə*, *bosxə*; Ord. *bošoGo*; Dag. *basarga*, *basarag* (Тод. Даг. 125) (MGCD *basrag*); Mongr. *bosGo* (SM 29), (MGCD *pusGo*).

◊ KW 52, MGCD 158. Mong. > Chag. *bosaɣa* etc. (VEWT 85, TMN 1, 227, Щербак 1997, 201, ЭСТЯ 2, 197-198, Лексика 512), Chuv. *pusaxa* 'stirrup, threshold, ladder' (Róna-Tas 1971-1972). A variant form must have been **basu(r)ga*, cf. Dag. *basrag* and TM loanwords: Evk. *basurga* etc. (TMC 1, 76, Doerfer MT 101).

PTurk. ***bAs-kɨč** stairway (лестница): Uzb. *basqɨǰ* (Chag.); Khak. *pasxɨs*; Tv. *basqɨš*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 2, 77 (usually derived < **bas-* 'to press, trample').

PJpn. ***pasi** bridge, ladder (мост, лестница): OJpn. *pasi*; MJpn. *fásì*; Tok. *hashí*; Kyo. *háshì*; Kag. *háshi*.

◊ JLTT 400.

‖ In PT **bos-* would be expected; the root had changed to **bas-* probably because of the folk-etymological resemblance to **bas-* 'press'. Cf. **bi̯ási* 'penthouse'.

✱**pi̯oʒi (~ pʹ-, -i̯u-)** root: Tung. ***puʒuri***; Mong. ***hiʒaɣur***.

PTung. ***puʒuri*** root, beginning (корень, основание): Man. *fuʒuri*.

◊ TMC 2, 302. Attested only in Manchu - but cf. perhaps PTM **puʒurga-* 'to contort, twist (an arm, leg)' (< 'uproot'?) (TMC 2, 337).

PMong. ***hiʒaɣur*** 1 root, stalk, stem 2 origin 3 back (1 корень, стебель, ствол 2 происхождение 3 задняя сторона): MMong. *uʒu'ur* 'stalk, stem' (HY 50), *xuʒa'ur* ('root' HY 7, SH), *uʒawur*, *hiʒauri* (MA) 1, *xuʒa'ur* 2 (HYt), *hūʒāwur* (LH), *hūʒaūr* (Lig.VMI); WMong. *uʒuɣur*, *iʒaɣur* 1 (L 418); Kh. *joʒōr* 1, *uʒūr* 3; Bur. *uzūr* 1, 2; Kalm. *jozūr* 1; Ord. *iʒūr* 1, 2; Dag. *xoʒōr* (Тод. Даг. 176) 1, 2; *hoʒore* 1 (MD 163); Mongr. *sʒūr*, *śʒūr* (SM 340, 392), (MGCD *śiʒūr*).

◊ KW 220, MGCD 732, TMN 1, 535. Mong. > Evk. (Kamn.) *iʒagur*, Sol. *oʒōr*, see Doerfer MT 102, Rozycki 80 (but not Man. *fuʒuri!)*.

‖ Владимирцов 187, Poppe 12, Цинциус 1984, 53. A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**pi̯ŭbi** to mince, saw: Tung. ***pubu-***; Mong. ***(h)üji-***; Turk. ***bij-***; Jpn. ***piwa-***; Kor. ***pjàpǎi-***.

PTung. ***pubu-*** 1 to saw 2 saw (1 пилить 2 пила): Evk. *huɯu-* 1, *hūwun* 2; Evn. *hū-na-*; Neg. *xo-*; Man. *fufu-* 1, *fufun* 2; Ul. *pū-* 1, *pụpụ(n)* 2; Ork. *pụpụ-la-*, *pūpụ(n)* 2; Nan. *pō-* 1, *popõ* 2; Orch. *xū* 2; Ud. *xu* 2; Sol. *ōgĩ*, *ụ̄gĩ* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 336. The existing form reflect the verbal stem **pubu-* and the derived noun **pubu-pu(n)* (with some later confusion because of the loss of *-b-).

PMong. ***(h)üji-*** to crush, pulverize (ломать на мелкие куски, крошить): WMong. *üi-le-*, *üi-re-* (L 1001); Kh. *üjre-*; Bur. *üjre-*.

PTurk. ***bij-*** sharp edge, knife (острый край, нож): OTurk. *bi* (OUygh.); Khak. *pi-ze-* 'to whet, sharpen'; Yak. *bī*; Dolg. *bī*.

◊ EDT 291, VEWT 75, Лексика 398, 399-400, Stachowski 61.

PJpn. ***piwa-*** to mince, cut into small slices (размельчать, резать на мелкие куски): OJpn. *pjiwa-*.

◊ JLTT 688.

PKor. ***pjàpǎi-*** to mince, rub (in hands) (крошить, растирать (в руках)): MKor. *pjàpǎi-*; Mod. *pibi-*.

◊ Liu 374, KED 854.

‖ Correspondences are basically regular, with the following comments: in Turkic one has to suppose secondary delabialization **bij-* < **büj-* (< **büb-*); the Kor. form *pjàpǎi-* must be denominative, derived from a noun **pjàpǎ-* < **pibV-pu-* < **pi̯ubi-pʹu-* (= PTM **pubu-pu-*). Cf. **pʹi̯ōpo* : the two roots are sometimes hard to distinguish.

✱**pi̯ŭčʹà** to tear, split, cut: Tung. ***puče- (~ -š-)**; Mong. ***biči-**; Turk. ***bɨč-**; Jpn. ***pàtùr-**; Kor. ***pčɨ́č-**.

PTung. ***puče- (~ -š-)** 1 to split, burst 2 to pierce through (1 лопаться, рваться, раскалываться 2 протыкать, продирать): Evk. *huče-rge-* 1; Ud. *pusege-* 1 (< unattested Nan. or Ulch.).

◊ TMC 2, 358 (the Manchu and Orok forms are included incorrectly).

PMong. ***biči-** 1 small 2 to demolish, crush (1 маленький 2 уничтожать, разламывать): WMong. *biči-qan* 1 (L 102), *bič-al-* 2 (L 101); Kh. *ƀacxan* 1, *ƀacla-* 2; Bur. *bišɨxan* 1, *bisal-* 2; Kalm. *bičkṇ* 1; Ord. *bičaxan* 1; Dag. *piči* 'into small pieces'; Bao. *bežiGən* 1 (Тод. Бн.); Mongr. *pažilə* 'into small pieces'.

◊ KW 47, MGCD 154. Mong. > Yak. *bičik* etc. (VEWT 75).

PTurk. ***bɨč- / *bič-** to cut (резать): OTurk. *bɨč-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *bɨč-* (MK); Tur. *bič-*; Gag. *bič-*; Az. *bič-*; Turkm. *bič-*; MTurk. *bič-* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *bič-*; Uygh. *pič-*; Krm. *bič-*; Tat. *pĭč-*; Bashk. *bĭs-*, *bɨs-*; Kirgh. *bič-*; Kaz. *pĭš-*; KBalk. *bič-*; KKalp. *piš-*; Kum. *bič-*; SUygh. *piš-*; Khak. *pɨs-*; Oyr. *bɨč-*; Tv. *bɨš-*; Tof. *bɨ'š-*; Chuv. *pəʷś-*; Yak. *bɨs-*; Dolg. *bɨs-*.

◊ EDT 292-293, VEWT 73, ЭСТЯ 2, 158-160, Stachowski 71. Turk. > Hung. *biczak* 'knife' (Gombocz 1912).

PJpn. ***pàtùr-** to pare, whittle, remove the skin (подрезать, срезать, сдирать): OJpn. *patur-*; MJpn. *fàtùr-*.

◊ JLTT 686.

PKor. ***pčɨ́č-** to tear (раздирать): MKor. *pčɨ́č-*; Mod. *č:it-* (-č-).

◊ Nam 441, KED 1559.

‖ EAS 144, KW 47, ОСНЯ 1, 178. In Turk. also OT *biče* 'small', Tuva *biče* id. Cf. also MKor. *pčǎ-* 'to wring out, squeeze' (SKE 18); MKor. *pči-* 'to cut' (SKE 32); mod. *pit-ta* (*piǯ-*) 'cut, slice'. Doerfer's (TMN 2, 427) doubts are hardly justified - the semantic development in Mong. is perfectly well explainable. One should note, however, that low tone in Jpn. does not correspond to Mong. *b- here (one would rather expect *h-); either this is an incorrect tone notation (the Jpn. word is attested in RJ, but not accented in Hirayama's dictionary), or an irregularity in an expressive etymon.

✱**pi̯ŭkʹí** a k. of insect: Tung. ***peKe (< *puKe ?)**; Mong. ***böküne**; Turk. ***bökelek**; Jpn. ***pínkúrási**.

PTung. ***peKe (< *puKe ?)** nit (гнида): Evk. *heke*.

◊ TMC 2, 362. Attested only in Evk., but having possible external parallels.

PMong. ***böküne** 1 gad-fly 2 mosquito (1 овод 2 комар): MMong. *boko'una* (HY 12); WMong. *böküne* (L 127), *bökügene* 1; Kh. *böxnö* 1; Kalm. *bökūnə* 2; Ord. *böχöŋ* 2; Mongr. *pugunoG* (SM 307).

◊ KW 55.

PTurk. ***bökelek*** gad-fly (овод): Az. *böjäläk*; Turkm. *bökelek*; Yak. *bügülex*, *bügüje*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 2, 212-213, Лексика 185.

PJpn. ***pínkúrásí*** a k. of cicada (вид цикады): OJpn. *pjigurasi*; MJpn. *fígúrásí*; Tok. *hìgurashi*; Kyo. *hígúráshí*; Kag. *higuráshi*.

◊ JLTT 406.

‖ Лексика 185.

✱**pi̯ŭkʹì (~ pʹ-)** short: Tung. ***poKa-***; Mong. ***hokar***; Jpn. ***pìkù-***.

PTung. ***poKa-*** 1 short 2 sacrum (*anat.*) (1 короткий 2 крестец): Evk. *hokopčo* 2; Man. *foxolon* 'short', *faqari* 'short-legged', *faqača* 'short one'; SMan. *fóhələn*, *fóhulun* 1 (2412); Jurch. *fo-xo-lo* (691) 1.

◊ TMC 2, 331.

PMong. ***hokar*** short (короткий): MMong. *okor* (HY 52), *oqor* (SH), *hoqar* (IM), *aqar* (MA); WMong. *oqor*, *aqar*; Kh. *oxor*, *axar*; Bur. *oxor*; Kalm. *oxər*; Ord. *axur*, *uxur*; Mog. *uqar*; ZM *waqar* (11-6a); Dag. *uakar* (Тод. Даг. 178), *huakare* (MD 165); Dong. *oqo*; Bao. *Gor*; S.-Yugh. *xoGor*; Mongr. *xuGor* (SM 179), *xoGor*.

◊ KW 4, 284, MGCD 524. Some variants with 0- are probably secondary (although it is somewhat strange to find them in MMong.). Mong. > Russ. Siber. *oxar, oxára, axara* 'шерсть, наросшая после первой стрижки овцы', see Аникин 103.

PJpn. ***pìkù-*** low (низкий): OJpn. *p(j)ik(j)i* 'low, short'; Tok. *hikú-*; Kyo. *híkù-*; Kag. *hikú-*.

◊ JLTT 828.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 292 (without the Jpn. parallel). See Poppe 11, 55, Цинциус 1984, 42. Despite Poppe 1966, 198, 1972, 99, Doerfer MT 132, Rozycki 78 the TM forms are hardly borrowed from Mong.

✱**pi̯únri (~ pʹ-)** fish scales, fin: Tung. ***ponda***; Jpn. ***pírái***; Kor. ***pìnɨ́r***.

PTung. ***ponda*** footwear made of fish skin (обувь из рыбьей кожи): Ul. *pondo*; Ork. *pondo*; Nan. *pondoqto*.

◊ TMC 2, 41.

PJpn. ***pírái*** fin (плавник): MJpn. *fíré*; Tok. *hìre*; Kyo. *híré*; Kag. *híre*.

◊ JLTT 408.

PKor. ***pìnɨ́r*** (fish) scales ((рыбья) чешуя): MKor. *pìnɨ́r*; Mod. *pinɨl*.

◊ Nam 276, KED 850.

‖ An Eastern isogloss.

✱**pi̯úŋu** a k. of fish: Tung. ***poŋdV***; Mong. ***boŋčiliki***; Turk. ***bɨŋɨt (~-ń-,-d)***; Jpn. ***pùnâ***; Kor. ***pì'út***.

PTung. ***poŋdV*** 1 gudgeon 2 grayling (1 пескарь 2 хариус): Ul. *puŋgu* 1; Nan. *pendē* 2 (Он.).

◊ TMC 2, 43, 47 (Evk. *punnu*, *pundu*, Oroch *pende* and Ud. *poŋehä* are borrowed).

PMong. ***boŋčiliki*** plaice (камбала): WMong. *boŋčilgi* (Kow.); Kh. *bončilgo*.

◊ Mong. > Manchu *poŋčilki* id. (despite Sukhebaatar, not vice versa).

PTurk. ***bɨŋɨt (~-ń-,-d)** Salmo lenoc (ленок): Khak. *mind-ər* 'burbot'; Tv. *mɨjɨt*; Tof. *miit*; Yak. *bɨjɨt*.

◊ VEWT 336, Лексика 177.

PJpn. ***pùnâ** crucian (карась): OJpn. *puna*; MJpn. *fùná*; Tok. *fúna*; Kyo. *fùnâ*; Kag. *funá*.

◊ JLTT 418.

PKor. ***pì'út** mackerel, (KED) herring (скумбрия, макрель): MKor. *pì'út*; Mod. *piut* [*pius*].

◊ Nam 278, KED 856.

‖ Дыбо 9, Лексика 177-178.

✱**pŏ̄ga** to tie up, strangle: Tung. ***poga-**; Mong. ***boɣo-**; Turk. ***bog-**.

PTung. ***poga-** to choke, pant (задыхаться): Evk. *hoγo-*; Neg. *xoγo-*; Man. *fo-do-*; Ud. *xō-*.

◊ TMC 2, 330.

PMong. ***boɣo-** to tie up, wrap; to hinder (завязывать, заворачивать; препятствовать): MMong. *bo'o-* (SH), *bo'am* (HY 4) 'dam, barrage'; WMong. *boγu-*; Kh. *bō-*; Bur. *bō-*; Kalm. *bō-*; Ord. *bō-*; Bao. *boGəldə-*; Mongr. *bō-* (SM 26).

◊ KW 53. Mong. > Evk. *boγoli*, Neg. *bōla-* (Poppe 1966, 190, TMC 1, 87).

PTurk. ***bog-** 1 to tie up 2 to strangle 3 to hinder 4 bundle (1 завязывать 2 душить 3 препятствовать): OTurk. *boγ-* 2, *boγ* 4 (MK); Karakh. *boγ-* 2, *boγ* 4 (MK); Tur. *bō-* 2, dial. *boγ* 4, *boγa-* 1; Gag. *bū-* 2; Az. *boγ-* 1, 2; Turkm. *boγ-* 1, 2; MTurk. *boγ-* 2, *boγ* 4 (Pav. C.); Uzb. *bǫγ-* 1, 2; Uygh. *boγ-* 2; Krm. *boγ-* 2; Tat. *bu-* 2; Bashk. *bɨw-* 2; Kirgh. *bū-* 1, 2; Kaz. *bu-* 2; KBalk. *buw-* 1, 2; KKalp. *buw-* 1, 2; Kum. *buw-* 2; Nogh. *buw-* 2; SUygh. *poγ-* 1, 2; Khak. *poγ-* 1, 2; Oyr. *pō-*, *po-*, *bū-*, *pu-* 1, 2; Tv. *boγ-* 1, 2; Chuv. *pъv-* 2; Yak. *buoj-* 3; Dolg. *buoj-* 3 ('to pacify, appease').

◊ EDT 311, VEWT 78, ЭСТЯ 2, 164-167, Stachowski 66.

‖ EAS 58, KW 53, Владимирцов 277, Poppe 21 (although words for 'slave' should be kept apart, see **bŏ̄ga*); Дыбо 15 (compares TM **bōki-*, see **bŏ̄ki*). A Western isogloss. Shortness and high tone are reconstructed because of Mong. *b-; note, however, that Mong. can be borrowed from Turk. (see TMN 2, 346, Щербак 1997, 108). If this is the case, the real Mong. reflex could be **bög-si-* 'choke', **böγe-lǯi-* 'vomit', suggesting a reconstruction **pŏ̄ge* or **pŏ̄gi*.

✱**pŏ̄gí(-rV)** kidneys, testicles: Tung. ***pugi- / *puki-**; Mong. ***böɣere**; Turk. ***bögür, *bögrek**; Jpn. ***púnkúri**; Kor. ***pɨr / *pur**.

PTung. ***pugi- / *puki-** intestines, stomach (внутренности, желудок): Evk. *huγi-te* / *huki-te*; Evn. *huktъ*; Neg. *xuxi-n*; Ul. *puku(n)*; Ork. *puxi(n)*; Nan. *puxī*; Orch. *xūki*; Ud. *xuγi*.

◊ TMC 2, 339.

PMong. ***böɣere** kidney(s); testicle(s) (почки; testiculi): MMong. *bo'ere* (HY 47, SH); WMong. *bögere* (L 124); Kh. *bŏ̄r*; Bur. *bŏ̄re*; Kalm. *bŏ̄rə*; Ord. *bŏ̄rö*; Mog. *böärä*; ZM *bürä* (4-4b); Dag. *būr*; Dong. *bore, boro*; Mongr. *bōro* (SM 28).

◊ KW 56-57.

PTurk. ***bögür, *bögrek** kidney(s) (почки): OTurk. *bögür* (OUygh.); Karakh. *bögür* (MK); Tur. *böjrek*, *böbrek*; Gag. *bŭ̄r*, *bŏ̄rek*, *bŭ̄rek*; Az. *böjür*, *böjrək*; Turkm. *bevrek*, *bövrek*; MTurk. *bögrek* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *bujrak*; Uygh. *börək*; Krm. *bögrek*, *bivrek*; Tat. *büjer*, *bŭ̆jĭrək*; Bashk. *bŭ̆jŭ̆r*; Kirgh. *böjrök*; Kaz. *büjĭr*, *büjrek*; KBalk. *börek*; KKalp. *büjir*, *büjrek*; Kum. *büjrek*; Nogh. *büjrek*; Khak. *pügürek*, *pürek*; Shr. *pŭ̄rek*; Oyr. *börök*; Tv. *bŭ̄rek*; Tof. *bŏ̄rek*; Chuv. *püre*; Yak. *büör*.

◊ EDT 328, VEWT 83, TMN 2, 353, ЭСТЯ 2, 205-207, Лексика 278, Stachowski 68.

PJpn. ***púnkúri** testicles (testiculi): MJpn. *fúgúri*; Tok. *fuguri* (dial.).

◊ JLTT 416.

PKor. ***pɨr / *pur** kidney; testicle (почка; testiculus): MKor. *pɨr / pur*; Mod. *pul*.

◊ Liu 399, 407, KED 832.

‖ KW 57, Владимирцов 195, Martin 250, АПиПЯЯ 68, Дыбо 6, Лексика 278. Despite TMN 2, 353, Щербак 1997, 108, there is no need at all to suppose Mong. < Turkic. The variant **puki-* in TM is assimilative (< **pugi-*). Cf. also MKor. *pùrəi* 'fish bladder'.

✱**pŏ̄gV (~ -u-)** deer (male): Tung. ***pegu(le)-**; Mong. ***bojir**; Turk. ***bugu, -ra**.

PTung. ***pegu(le)- (/ *po-)** young of elk, elk (лосенок, лось): Evk. *hoglokān*, *heglen*, *hewlen*.

◊ TMC 2, 360. An Evk. word with probable external parallels; its relationship to a homophonous TM name of a constellation (Ursa Major or Minor) is not quite clear.

PMong. ***bojir** male (of animals: elk, otter etc.) (самец животных (лося, выдры и др.)): WMong. *bojir* (L 113); Kh. *bojr*; Kalm. *bŏ̄lcən* 'otter' (KPC 114).

PTurk. ***bugu, -ra** 1 deer (male) 2 camel stallion (1 олень 2 самец верблюда): OTurk. *buɣu* 1 (13th c.), *buɣura* 2 (Orkh.); Karakh. *buɣra* 2 (MK); Tur. *buɣur* 2, dial. *buɣu* 1; Az. *buɣur* 2; Turkm. *buɣra* 2; MTurk. *buɣu* 1, *buɣra*, *buɣur* 2 (Pav. C.); Uzb. *buɣu* 1; Uygh. *buɣu* 1, (dial.) *buɣra*, *boɣra* 2; Kirgh. *būra* 2; Kaz. *bura* 2; KBalk. *bū* 1; KKalp. *buɯra* 2; Nogh. bora 2; SUygh. *pɨrɣa* 2; Oyr. *bura* 2; Tv. *būra* 2, *būr* 'male elk'; Yak. *būr* 'male reindeer, male'; Dolg. *būr* 'male reindeer'.

◊ EDT 317-318, ЭСТЯ 2, 235-238, Лексика 152, Лексика 446-447, Stachowski 67. Turk. *buɣura* > Mong. *buɣura* (see TMN 2, 296, Щербак 1997, 110). Щербак 1997, 201 considers Turkic **bugu* to be borrowed from Mongolian *buɣu* 'male deer' (which may be true for some Kypchak forms: Kirgh. *buɣu*, Kaz. *bŭɣɨ*, Nogh., KKalp. *buɣɨ*), but in fact one can also think of a loan in the opposite direction: Turk. > Mong. *buɣu* (KW 58, MGCD

166), further > Evk. *buγu* etc., see Doerfer MT 78. Turk. > Russ. Siber. *burá* 'female camel'; Mong. (Bur.) *būra* > Russ. Siber. *búra* id., see Аникин 142.

‖ KW 58, Лексика 152. A Western isogloss. High tone reconstructed because of Mong. *b-.

✱**pòjńV̀ (~ pˊ-)** vessel; boat: Mong. ***haji-ʒagan**; Jpn. ***pùná-i**; Kor. ***pǎi**.

PMong. ***haji-ʒagan** ship (корабль): MMong. *haiʒaγa* (IM).

PJpn. ***pùná-i** boat, vessel (лодка, сосуд): OJpn. *pune*; MJpn. *fùné*; Tok. *fúne*; Kyo. *fùné*; Kag. *funé*.

◊ JLTT 418. *puna-* in OJ compounds (*puna-pjito* etc.).

PKor. ***pǎi** boat (лодка): MKor. *pǎi*; Mod. *pä*.

◊ Nam 251, KED 743.

‖ Martin 226, Menges 1984, 284, АПиПЯЯ 67, 288 (with a different Turk. parallel, see **eńa*). Basically a Kor.-Jpn. isogloss (the Mong. form is poorly attested and has a somewhat obscure suffixation; besides, one would rather expect **huji-* or **heji-*). Jpn. > MKor. *pòńǎ*, mod. *posigi* 'basin, bowl' (on the other hand, Kor. *pǎi* may be the source of OJ *pé* 'bow, front of boat', see JLTT 403).

✱**póju (~ *pˊ-)** child, young (of animals): Tung. ***puj(u)-, *puj-kte**; Jpn. ***pítə̀**; Kor. ***pùthjə̀**.

PTung. ***puj(u)-, *puj-kte** 1 small 2 child 3 junior (1 маленький 2 ребенок 3 младший): Evk. *hujukūn* 1, *hute* 2, *huju-digi* 3; Evn. *hut* 2; Neg. *xute* 2; Man. *fáŋGu*, *fijaŋu* 3; Ul. *pikte* 2, *pu̧jaŋGu̧* 3; Ork. *putte* 2; Nan. *pikte* 2, *poja(ŋGo)* 3; Orch. *xītke*, *xiteke* 2; Ud. *site* 2; Sol. *ute* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 37, 338, 357-358. TM > Dag. *xutām* 'child' (Тод. Даг. 180).

PJpn. ***pítə̀** person (человек): OJpn. *pjito*; MJpn. *fítò*; Tok. *hitó*; Kyo. *hítò*; Kag. *híto*.

◊ JLTT 410. The root **pí-* may be also observed in OJ *pjí-kwo* 'great-grandson; prince', *pjí-mje* 'princess'.

PKor. ***pùthjə̀** pupil of the eye (зрачок глаза): MKor. *núns-pùthjə̀*; Mod. *nun-pučhə*.

◊ Nam 116, KED 363. -pùthjə̀, originally "child" (with a widely spread metaphor "pupil of the eye" = "child of the eye") is folk-etymologically perceived as = *puthjə* "Buddha".

‖ Murayama 1962, 110, АПиПЯЯ 80, 107, 277. An Eastern isogloss. Jpn. has a contraction (like in **kík-* < **kˊūjlu-kˊ-*).

✱**póki (~ -kˊ-, -e)** to run, run away: Tung. ***pukti-**; Mong. ***bög-si-**.

PTung. ***pukti-** to run, gallop (бежать, мчаться): Evk. *hukti-*; Evn. *hō̄tu-*; Neg. *xukti-*; Man. *feksi-* / *fekče-*; SMan. *fekəši-* (1232); Ul. *pukti-*; Ork. *pukči-*; Nan. *pukči-*; Orch. *xukti-*; Ud. *xukti-*; Sol. *uktelī-*.

◊ TMC 2, 340-341. Cf. also Evk. *hukulwa-* 'to ride (along a path)'.

PMong. ***bög-si-** to run (slowly), trot; run (as a hare) (бежать, трусить, скакать): WMong. *bögsi-*; Kalm. *bökšə-*.

◊ KW 55. Cf. also Ord. *bögö-* id.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss; high tone can be reconstructed because of Mong. *b-. Cf. perhaps also Jpn. coll. *fuke-* 'to run away, flee' (dubious because of very late fixation).

✸**pōki (~ pʿ-) (?)** deep: Mong. ***(hü)gün**; Jpn. ***pùkà-**.

PMong. ***(hü)gün** deep (глубокий): MMong. *gun* (HY 52, SH); WMong. *gün* (L 391); Kh. *gün*, dial. *gū̄n*; Bur. *gün*; Kalm. *gün*; Ord. *gün*; Dag. *guen* (MD 153); Dong. *gun*; Bao. *guŋ* (Тод. Бн.); S.-Yugh. *guŋ*; Mongr. *fugwən* (SM 104).

◊ KW 139, MGCD 308.

PJpn. ***pùkà-** deep (глубокий): OJpn. *puka-*; MJpn. *fùkà-*; Tok. *fuká-*; Kyo. *fúkà-*; Kag. *fuká-*.

◊ JLTT 828.

‖ Cf. perhaps *-pók* in MKor. *pǎi-s-pók* 'navel' (*'belly cavity'?); TM **pokV-n* (TMC 1, 469) 'corner of the eye'. In Turkic cf. perhaps OUygh. *boɣaj* (*boɣań*?) 'low', borrowed in Mong. as WMong. *boɣoni* (see EDT 322). This all seems rather uncertain; but for Mong. the reconstruction **hügün* (based on the archaic Mongor form *fugun*) seems probable, and the Mong.-Jpn. parallel at least seems satisfactory.

✸**pȍkʿè (~ -k-)** to dig, cut off; a cutting instrument: Tung. ***poK-**; Mong. ***hoktal-, *(h)okčira-**; Turk. ***bügde (~ -ö-)**; Jpn. ***pə̀kə̀**.

PTung. ***poK-** 1 to pound, crush, mince 2 to break (1 толочь, размельчать 2 ломать): Evk. *hoko-* 2; Evn. *hokak-* 2; Ork. *poqpụ-* 1; Nan. *poqpị-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 40, 330-331.

PMong. ***hoktal-** 1 to chop, cut off 2 to be broken off (1 отрубать, отрезать 2 отламываться): MMong. *xoxtol-* (SH), *uqtal-* (MA), *hotqal-* (LH) 1; WMong. *oɣtal-*, *oɣtul-* (L 602) 1, *oɣčira-* (L 601: *oɣčura-*) 2; Kh. *ogtlo-* 1, *ogcro-* 2; Bur. *otol-* 1; Ord. *ogtol-* 1; Dag. *ogtolo-* 1 (Тод. Даг. 159) (< lit.); Dong. *otolu-*; Bao. *hdolə-*; Mongr. *sdoli-* (SM 338).

◊ Mong. > Manchu *oktala-* 'to cut off the nose (an ancient punishment)' (see Rozycki 167).

PTurk. ***bügde (~ -ö-)** dagger (кинжал): OTurk. *bü/ögde* (OUygh.); Karakh. *bü/ögde* (MK, KB).

◊ EDT 325, TMN 2, 294-295, Лексика 566. Turk. > Pers. *bogda* 'big knife'.

PJpn. ***pə̀kə̀** pole-axe, battle-axe, halberd (алебарда): OJpn. *p(w)oko*; MJpn. *fòkò*; Tok. *hóko*; Kyo. *hókò*; Kag. *hóko*.

◊ JLTT 413. Accent in both Tokyo and Kagoshima is irregular, suggesting a loan from the Kyoto area.

‖ Cf. other similar roots: **pʿi̯ùjge, *bȁkʿù, *pʿū̀ge, *pʿago.*

✱**póńe (~ p´-)** smoke: Tung. ***puń-**; Mong. ***huni-**; Kor. ***pɨ̀ńə̀k**.

PTung. ***puń-** to smoke (дымить(ся)): Ul. *punʒiči-*, *puńambu-*; Ork. *pun-*; Nan. *poŋqị-*.

◊ TMC 2, 43-44. Ul. or Nan. > Oroch *puńa* 'smoky', Ud. *puŋkisi-* 'to smoke out'.

PMong. ***huni-** 1 smoke 2 mist (1 дым 2 мгла, дымка): MMong. *xunin* (HY 1, SH) 1, *honi* (IM) 1, *hunin* (MA) 1; WMong. *unijar*, *ünijer* 2 (L 877, 1010); Kh. *uniar* 2; Bur. *uńār* 2; Kalm. *uńār*, *ünā̆r* 2; Ord. *unār(i)* 2; Mog. ZM *honaɣ* (3-8b) 'smell, odour'; Dag. *xoni* (Тод. Даг. 177), *xoń*, *xonētu* 1; *onir* (Тод. Даг. 159) 2 (< lit.), *honi* 1 (MD 163); Dong. *funie* 1; Bao. *fənə* 1; Mongr. *funi* (SM 107), *xuni* (Minghe) 1, 2.

◊ KW 449, 458, MGCD 676, 682.

PKor. ***pɨ̀ńə̀k** kitchen (кухня): MKor. *pɨ̀ńə̀k*, *pɨ́ńəp*; Mod. *puək* [*puəkh*].

◊ Nam 271, KED 817.

‖ TMC 2,43-44, Цинциус 1984, 54-55, АПиПЯЯ 295. In Korean one has to presume a semantic shift "smoking place" > "kitchen".

✱**pòŋa (~ *p´-)** bud: Tung. ***poŋga**; Jpn. ***pànà**; Kor. ***poŋ'ori**.

PTung. ***poŋga** bud, cone (бутон, головка цветка, шишка): Man. *boŋGu*, *boŋqo*; Ul. *poŋGorpị*; Nan. *poŋgo* 'bush' (On.).

◊ TMC 2, 41. Manchu has an assimilative (expressive) voicing *p- > b-.

PJpn. ***pànà** flower (цветок): OJpn. *pana*; MJpn. *fànà*; Tok. *haná*; Kyo. *hánà*; Kag. *haná*.

◊ JLTT 398.

PKor. ***poŋ'ori** bud (бутон, головка цветка): MKor. *poŋ'ori*; Mod. *poŋori*.

◊ Liu 391, KED 807.

‖ An Eastern isogloss.

✱**pŏ̀ru** to snow, rain: Tung. ***pur-**; Mong. ***boruɣa**; Turk. ***bora-**; Jpn. ***pùr-**; Kor. ***pora**.

PTung. ***pur-** 1 to drizzle 2 slush 3 to fall (of first snow) 4 wind (changing its direction) (1 моросить (о дожде) 2 шуга, слякоть 3 выпадать (о первом снеге) 4 ветер (меняющий направление)): Evn. *horụ-* 3, *hū̆rqa* 4; Man. *furana-* 'запылиться'; Ork. *purē-* 1; Nan. *puruekme* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 44, 334, 349, 353.

PMong. ***boruɣa** 1 heavy rain 2 to snow, sleet (1 ливень 2 идти (о снеге, дожде со снегом)): MMong. *boro'an* (SH); WMong. *boruɣa(n)* 1 (L 121), *buryana-* 2 (L 137: *buryani-*); Kh. *borō(n)* 1, *burgana-* 2; Bur. *borō* 1, *burga-* 2; Kalm. *borān* 1; Ord. *borōn* 1; Mog. *bɔrɔn* (Weiers) 1; S.-Yugh. *boroŋ*; Mongr. *burōn* (SM 36) 'little rain'.

◊ KW 51, MGCD 158. Mong. > Chag. *boraɣan* etc. (TMN 1, 219-220); Evk. *būrga* etc. (TMC 1, 111).

PTurk. ***bora-** 1 North wind 2 to snow heavily (1 северный ветер 2 обильно падать (о снеге)): Tur. *bora(k)* 1; Turkm. *bora-* 2; Kaz. *bora-* 2.

◊ VEWT 80, ЭСТЯ 2, 189-192, Лексика 45.

PJpn. ***pùr-** to rain, snow (идти (о дожде, снеге)): OJpn. *pur-*; MJpn. *fùr-*; Tok. *fúr-*; Kyo. *fùr-*; Kag. *fùr-*.

◊ JLTT 694.

PKor. ***pora** snow-storm (снежная буря): Mod. *пип-pora*, *пип-pore*.

◊ KED 362.

‖ Poppe 21, Ozawa 288-289, ОСНЯ 1, 188-189, АПиПЯЯ 69. Cf. **boru*, a contamination with which should explain Mong. *b- (one would expect *h- with low tone and shortness).

✱**pótirkV** breast, breast bone: Tung. ***putukā**; Mong. ***büdürkei**; Jpn. ***pútúkə́rə́**.

PTung. ***puturkā** 1 heartwood 2 spine (1 сердцевина 2 спинной хребет, спинной мозг): Evk. *hutukā*, dial. *hurka* 1, 2; Evn. *hụtqa* 2; Neg. *xojkān* 1, 2; Ud. *xutiga* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 353, 356-357. Evk. > Dolg. *hutuka, hutukā* (Stachowski 114).

PMong. ***büdürkei** breast bone, breast handle (грудная кость): WMong. *büdürkei* (L 144); Kh. *büderxij*; Kalm. *büderkə* (KPC 125); Ord. *büdürχī*.

PJpn. ***pútúkə́rə́** breast, bosom (грудь, пазуха): OJpn. *putukuro*; MJpn. *fútókóró*; Tok. *fùtokoro*; Kyo. *fútókórò*; Kag. *futokóro*.

◊ JLTT 419.

‖ Cf. also Yak. *bötüön* 'грудная кость'; Az. *pötänä* 'потроха'.

✱**pōto (~ -ū-, -i̯ū-)** to think, intend: Tung. ***pōt[e]-**; Mong. ***bodu-**; Jpn. ***pə́tua**; Kor. ***ptɨ́-t**.

PTung. ***pōti-** 1 sense 2 to pay attention (1 смысл 2 обращать внимание): Evk. *hōtiwūn* 1; Evn. *hotiːčiːw-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 335.

PMong. ***bodu-** to think (думать): WMong. *bodu-* (L 109); Kh. *bodo-*; Bur. *bodo-*; Kalm. *bodə-*; Ord. *bodo-*; Dag. *bodo-* (Тод. Даг. 127), bode- (MD 124), *bodu-*; Dong. *bodo-*; S.-Yugh. *bodo-*.

◊ KW 48, MGCD 156.

PJpn. ***pə́tua** measure, degree (мера, степень): OJpn. *p(w)otwo*; MJpn. *fodo*; Tok. *hodó*, *hòdo*; Kyo. *hódó*; Kag. *hódo*.

◊ JLTT 413. Original accent is not quite clear. Modern dialects point to **pə́tuá* or **pə́tuà* (? **pə̀tuà*), and MJ accentuation is not attested.

PKor. ***ptɨ́-t** will, intention (воля, намерение): MKor. *ptɨ́t*; Mod. *tːɨt* [*tːɨs*].

◊ Nam 174, KED 544.

‖ Lee 1958, 119 (Kor.-Mong.). Cf. also MKor. *pthə̄k* 'reason'; without vowel reduction perhaps also MKor. *pùrə́*, mod. *purə* 'intentionally, on

purpose'. Mong. > Evk. *bodo-* etc. (see TMC 1, 88, Doerfer MT 78). The Jpn. reflex is not quite certain, being somewhat distant semantically and aberrant accentologically (TM length should correspond to low tone in Jpn.). The voicing in modern dialects (Tok. *hodo* etc.) also contradicts *-t- in **pōto*. One should consider a possibility of relating Kor. *pthāk* and PJ **pətua* (**pə(n)tua*) to PA **p'ēt[e]* 'name, to call' ('name' as the essence or reason of the called object?) which would be phonologically more plausible (assuming Gruntov's rule about **C'VCV* > **CVC'V* in early PJ).

✱**puč'ù (~ b-,-i̯u-o,-i̯a-u)** two, pair; half: Turk. ***buč-uk**; Jpn. ***puta-**; Kor. ***pča-k**.

PTurk. ***buč-uk** half (половина): Karakh. *bičuq* (MK, IM); Tur. *bučuk*; MTurk. *bučuq* (Sangl., MKypch. - AH).

◊ VEWT 85, EDT 294, ЭСТЯ 2, 283-284. Usually regarded as derived from **bič-* 'to cut', which is dubious in the light of external evidence.

PJpn. ***puta-** two (два): OJpn. *puta-*; MJpn. *fútà-*, *fútá-*; Tok. *fùta-*; Kyo. *hùtá-*; Kag. *fúta-*.

◊ JLTT 419. Original accentuation, as with other numerals, is hard to reconstruct.

PKor. ***pča-k** 1 pair 2 one of a pair (1 пара 2 один из пары): MKor. *pčàk* 1, 2; Mod. *č:ak* 2.

◊ Nam 415, KED 1386.

‖ EAS 96, Martin 249-250, АПиПЯЯ 109, 278. Korean has a frequent vowel reduction between a stop and an affricate, which makes the precise vowel reconstruction difficult.

✱**pǔgò** distressed, restive: Tung. ***pūg-**; Mong. ***bug**; Jpn. ***pə̀k(a)-**.

PTung. ***pūg-** 1 mad, crazy 2 to have a troubled, disquiet sleep 3 angry bear (not sleeping during hibernation) (1 сумасшедший 2 переворачиваться с боку на бок, плохо спать 3 медведь-шатун): Evk. *hūγī* 1, *hūγ* 3; Evn. *hökъčen* 3; Neg. *xūγēčēn* 3; Man. *fuχa-ša-* 2; *foqǯiχan* 'hot-tempered'; Nan. *pue-se-* 2; Orch. *xui-si-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 301, 337.

PMong. ***bug** demon (черт, демон): WMong. *buγ* (L 131); Kh. *bug*; Bur. *bug*; Kalm. *bug* 'demon of mist'; Ord. *buGu*.

◊ KW 58. Also WMong. *buγ-sa-* 'to be angry, irritated' (> Chag. *buxsa-* etc.).

PJpn. ***pə̀k(a)-** to be distressed, restive (волноваться, быть в смятении): MJpn. *fòk(a)-*; Tok. *boké-*; Kyo. *bòkè-*; Kag. *boké-*.

◊ JLTT 680. Accent in Kagoshima is irregular. One of the few cases of secondary expressive initial voicing in modern Japanese.

‖ See SKE 207. An expressive root; cf. **buk'V*.

✱**pŭkʿa** craw, crop: Tung. ***pukēn**; Mong. ***bakawu, *bakalaɣur**; Turk. ***bokak**.

PTung. ***pukēn** crop, craw (зоб): Evk. *hukēn*; Neg. *xūxēn*; Man. *fuqa* 'navel of animals, musk bag'; Ul. *poko*; Nan. *poqõ* 'tear follicle' (On.); Ud. *xuguńä*.

◊ TMC 2, 342.

PMong. ***bakawu, *bakalaɣur** 1 crop, craw, goiter 2 throat (1 зоб 2 горло): WMong. *baqaɣu*, *baqau*, *baquu* (L 92, 93) 1, *baqalaɣur* 2; Kh. *baxū* 1, *baxlūr* 2; Bur. *baxalūr*, *baxalzūr* 2; Kalm. *baxəlūr*, *baxəlzūr* 2; Ord. *baxu*, *baxū* 1.

◊ KW 28. Mong. > Oyr. *paqɨlūr*. The forms meaning 'throat' have undergone a partial contamination with **bagalǯaɣur* (v. sub **bŏ̀ku).*

PTurk. ***bokak** crop, craw (зоб): Karakh. *boqaq* (MK); Tur. *boɣak*; Az. *buxaG*; Turkm. *buqaw*; MTurk. *boqaɣu* (AH); Uzb. *buqɔq*; Uygh. *poqaq*; Bashk. *boɣaq*; Kirgh. *boɣoq*; Kaz. *buɣaq*; KBalk. *boɣaq*; KKalp. *buɣaq*; Kum. *buɣaq*; Khak. *poɣo*; Oyr. *boɣoq*; Yak. *moɣox*.

◊ VEWT 79, TMN 2, 349, ЭСТЯ 2, 202, Лексика 150.

‖ Дыбо 10, Лексика 150. A Western isogloss. High tone is reconstructed because of Mong. *b-. The root is actively contaminating with **bŏ̀ku* 'throat' q.v.

✱**púkʿV** all, complete: Tung. ***puK-**; Mong. ***bük-**; Kor. ***pukh**.

PTung. ***puK-** completely, all (все, совсем, вполне): Man. *fuχali*.

◊ TMC 2, 302. Attested only in Manchu, but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***bük-** all, everything (все, целиком): MMong. *bugude* (HYt), *bügde* (IM), *bogde* (LH); WMong. *bükü*, *büküli*, *bügüde* (L 145); Kh. *büx*, *büxel*, *bügd*; Bur. *büxɨ*; Kalm. *bügdə* (KPC); Ord. *bügüde*, *büxül*, *büxüli*; Dag. *bugede* (MD); Mongr. *pugilī* (SM 306).

◊ Mong. > Evk. *bukuli*, Sol. *buxuli* (see TMC 1, 105).

PKor. ***pukh** completely, exhaustively (полностью, целиком): Mod. *phuk*, *phok*.

◊ KED 1762.

‖ TMC 2, 302. The root is not preserved in Turkic - but cf. perhaps the isolated Yak. *buka barɨ* 'all together', *buka* 'perhaps', *buka-tɨn* 'completely' (Dolg. *buka* 'exactly', *bukatɨn* 'completely', see Stachowski 64).

✱**púla (~ -o-)** to swell: Tung. ***pul-**; Mong. ***bul-**; Jpn. ***párá-**.

PTung. ***pul-** 1 hump 2 swelling, convexity (1 горб 2 опухоль, выпуклость): Evk. *hulin* 1, *hulka* 2; Evn. *hụlḫn* 1; Ork. *pulu* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 345.

PMong. ***bul-** swelling, lump (опухоль, выпуклость): MMong. *bulu* 'hob' (HY 18); WMong. *buluw*, *bulduruw* (L 134, 136: *bulu*, *bulduru*); Kh. *bulū*, *buldrū*; Bur. *bula*, *bulū*; *bulxaj-* 'be convex'; Kalm. *bulə*; Dag. *bol*, *bolo* 'bolster' (Тод. Даг. 127).

◊ KW 59. An expressive root with numerous derivatives (*bul-t-*, *bul-č-*, *bül-t-* etc.); there also exist variants with -a- (*bal-t-*, *bal-č-* etc.). Most of these forms can also be found borrowed in modern Turkic and Tungus languages (see, e.g., Doerfer MT 73). Bur. > Russ. Siber. *buldurun* 'кочка' (Аникин 140).

PJpn. ***párá-** to swell (пухнуть, опухать): OJpn. *para-*; Tok. *hàre-*; Kyo. *háré-*; Kag. *haré-*.

◊ JLTT 685.

‖ An expressive root, but seems to be a good match between Mong., TM and Japanese.

✱**puli (~ pʹ-,-Í-, -o-e)** red: Tung. ***pula-**; Mong. ***hulaɣan**; Kor. ***pɨrk-**.

PTung. ***pula-** red (красный): Evk. *xula-ma,-rin*; Evn. *hụlańā*; Neg. *xolajin*; Man. *fulǵan*; SMan. *fələǵan*, *fulǵan* (2419); Jurch. *fula-gian* (617); Nan. *folǵā̃(n)*; Ud. *xulaligi*; Sol. *ụlã̃*.

◊ TMC 2, 343-344.

PMong. ***hulaɣan** red (красный): MMong. *xula'an* (HY 41, SH), *holām* (IM), *hula'an*, *hulan* (MA); WMong. *ulaɣan* (L 869); Kh. *ulān*; Bur. *ulān*; Kalm. *ulān*; Ord. *ulān*; Mog. *ulōn*; ZM *ulɔ̄n* (13-8); Dag. *xulān* (Тод. Дar. 179), *hulān* (MD 166); Dong. *xulan*; Bao. *felaŋ*, *fulaŋ*; S.-Yugh. *łān*; Mongr. *fulān* (SM 105).

◊ KW 448, MGCD 671, TMN 1, 540.

PKor. ***pɨrk-** red (красный): MKor. *pɨrk-*; Mod. *puk-* [*pulk*].

◊ Nam 274, KED 844.

‖ AKE 14, Lee 1958, 110, EAS 53, 143, KW 448, Poppe 12, 74, Цинциус 1984, 54, Menges 1984, 287, АПиПЯЯ 40, 291, Rozycki 80-81. Despite Poppe 1972, 100, Doerfer MT 23, TM cannot be borrowed from Mong (and vice versa, as suggested in TMN 1, 540); borrowing in Kor. from TM is also highly improbable.

✱**pŭlo** last year; to become old, wear out: Tung. ***polo-kta**; Mong. ***boli-**; Turk. ***bɨldur (/*buldɨr)**; Jpn. ***pə́rə́-(m)pə-**.

PTung. ***polo-kta** 1 old, worn out 2 last year's (1 старый, изношенный 2 прошлогодний): Evk. *holokto* 1; Neg. *xolokto* 2; Nan. *polōqto* 2 (On.)

◊ TMC 2, 332.

PMong. ***boli-** to become old, weak, cease (стареть, слабеть, прекращать(ся)): MMong. *b[o]li-* (IM), *buli-* (MA); WMong. *boli-* (L 117); Kh. *boli-*; Bur. *boli-*.

PTurk. ***bɨldur (/*buldɨr)** past time, last year (прошлое, прошлый год): Karakh. *bɨldɨr* (MK); Gag. *bɨldɨr*; Az. *bildir*; Turkm. *bildir*; MTurk. *bɨltɨr* (AH), *bɨlɨr* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *bultɨr*; Uygh. *bultu(r)*; Krm. *bɨltɨr*; Tat. *bɨltɨr*; Bashk. *bɨltɨr*; Kirgh. *bɨltɨr*; Kaz. *bɨltɨr*; KBalk. *bɨltɨr*; KKalp. *bɨltɨr*; Kum. *bɨltɨr*; SUygh. *pɨtɨr*; Khak. *pɨltɨr*; Yak. *bɨlɨr*; Dolg. *bɨlɨr*.

◊ EDT 334, VEWT 74, ЭСТЯ 2, 139-140, Лексика 71, Stachowski 70.

PJpn. ***pə́rə́-(m)pə-*** to perish (погибать): OJpn. *p(w)orobu-*; MJpn. *fóróbu-*; Tok. *hòrobi-*; Kyo. *hóróbí-*; Kag. *horobí-*.

◊ JLTT 692. Final *-ə- is reconstructed on the basis of the caus. OJ *p(w)orob(w)os-*.

‖ The suffixless form is preserved only in Mong. *boli-*; PT and PTM may reflect a common derivative **pŭ̄lo-ktV*.

✱**pŭ̄ne** to ride: Tung. ***punŋe-***; Mong. ***hunu- (/ *unu-)***; Turk. ***bŭ̄n- (/*bīn-)***; Jpn. ***pana-***; Kor. ***pòm-nór-***.

PTung. ***punŋe-*** 1 to drive (deer) 2 running deer (1 гнать (оленей) 2 олень-бегун): Evn. *hunik* 2; Ul. *puŋne-* 1; Ork. *puŋne-* 1; Nan. *puŋne-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 44, 348.

PMong. ***hunu- / *unu-*** to ride, mount (ехать верхом, сидеть верхом): MMong. *uno-* (SH), *unu-* (MA), *unu-* (LH); WMong. *unu-* (L 877); Kh. *una-*; Bur. *una-*; Kalm. *un-*; Ord. *unu-*; Mog. *uni-;* ZM *onu-*; Dag. *ono-*, *on-* (Тод. Даг. 160), *one-* (MD 201); Dong. *huntra-*, *unu-*; Bao. *fune-*, *honə-*; S.-Yugh. *funa-*; Mongr. *funi-*, *xuni-*, *xoni-* (SM 107, 171, 183).

◊ KW 450, MGCD 674. The variation of *h- and *0- within Mong. is unclear: a contamination with the root reflected in PM **unagan* 'foal' (v. sub **ènŋù*) is not excluded.

PTurk. ***bŭ̄n- (/*bīn-)*** to ride on, to mount, to *rize* (ехать верхом): OTurk. *bin-* (Orkh.), *mün-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *mün-* (MK, KB); Tur. *bin-*; Gag. *pin-*; Az. *min-*; Turkm. *mün-*; *mīn-* (dial.); Sal. *min-*, *mim-*, *miŋ-* (ССЯ); MTurk. *min-* (Sangl.); Uzb. *min-*; Uygh. *min-*; Krm. *min-*; Tat. *men-*; Bashk. *men-*; Kirgh. *min-*; Kaz. *min-*; KBalk. *min-*; KKalp. *min-*; Kum. *min-*; Nogh. *min-*; SUygh. *min-*; Khak. *mün-*; Shr. *mün-*; Oyr. *min-*; Tv. *mun-*; Tof. *mun-*; Chuv. *minder* 'pillow'; Yak. *mīn-*; Dolg. *mīn-*.

◊ VEWT 338, TMN 4, 34, EDT 348, ЭСТЯ 7, Stachowski 180. Shortness in Turkm. is not clear. On the derivative **bin-ig-* > **binge-í-* 'to ride behind someone else on the same horse' see EDT 771, Stachowski 178. Chuv. *minder* may be < Kypch., cf. Turk., Gag., Turkm., Nogh. *minder,* Kum. *minnir*, Tat., Bashk. *mendär* - see Федотов 1, 359.

PJpn. ***pana-*** to run, trot, jump (бежать, скакать, прыгать): MJpn. *fana-*; Tok. *hané-*; Kyo. *hànè-*; Kag. *hané-*.

◊ JLTT 684. Tone unclear: Kyoto and Tokyo point to **pàná-*, Kagoshima - to **páná-*.

PKor. ***pòm-nór-*** to ride swiftly (быстро ехать, мчаться): MKor. *pòm-nór-*.

◊ Nam 263.

‖ The Mong. form has a strange variation of *h- and *0-, so far unexplained.

✱**pùnV (~ pʹ-, -o-)** year, spring / summer: Tung. ***pune-***; Mong. ***hon***; Kor. ***póm***.

PTung. ***pune*** 1 time, period 2 South (1 время, период 2 юг): Man. *fon* 1; SMan. *fon* 'occasion' (2649); Jurch. *fowan* (*fom-wan*) do (81) 1, *fAn-ti* (592) 2; Ul. *punele* 2; Nan. *fõ* (Kur-Urm.) 1 (< Man.).

◊ TMC 2, 43, 300. Ul. or Nan. > Oroch *punele*, Ud. *puńalanǯini* 'South'. The original meaning may be reconstructed as *'summer' (> a) 'South'; b) season, time).

PMong. ***hon** year (год): MMong. *xon* (HY 5, SH), *hun* (IM), *hun* (MA); WMong. *on* (L 611); Kh. *on*; Bur. *on*; Kalm. *on*; Ord. *on*; Dag. *xōn* (Тод. Даг. 177), *hōn* (MD 164); Dong. *xon*; Bao. *xoŋ*, *hoŋ* (Tunren); S.-Yugh. *hon*, *χon*; Mongr. *fən*, *xwən* (SM 98), *fen*, *fon* (Huzu), *xön*, *xon* (Minghe).

◊ KW 286, MGCD 444, 528.

PKor. ***póm** spring (весна): MKor. *póm*; Mod. *pom*.

◊ Nam 263, KED 804.

‖ EAS 53, 141, SKE 205, KW 286, 295, Poppe 11, 69, Цинциус 1984, 43. Despite Doerfer MT 143, Rozycki 78-79, the TM forms meaning 'time' are hardly < Mong. Cf. perhaps also Jpn. **pàrû* 'spring' (if -ru is regarded as a suffix < **pUn-ra*); see Whitman 1985, 188, 202, 211.

✱**puŋga (~ pʹ-, -i̯u-)** musk smell, bad smell: Tung. ***poŋga**; Mong. ***huŋga-su**; Kor. ***pāŋkui**.

PTung. ***poŋga** 1 musk deer 2 musk (1 кабарга, мускусный олень 2 кабарговая струя, мускус): Evk. *hoŋgo* 2; Evn. *hoŋgačan* 1; Man. *fońo* 1; Ul. *poŋGol* 2; Nan. *poŋGol* 2; Orch. *xoŋgolo* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 333.

PMong. ***huŋga-su** fart (кишечный газ): MMong. *xuŋši'ut* (pl.) (SH), *hun[u]s* (IM), *honγū-* 'to fart' (LH), *ənqu-* 'to fart' (MA 98); WMong. *uŋγasu(n)*, *uŋγusu(n)* (L 876); Kh. *uŋgas(an)*; Bur. *ungaha(n)*; Kalm. *oŋgъ-*, *uŋgъ-*; Ord. *uŋgusu*; Mog. *uŋγu-* 'to fart' (Weiers); ZM *onγu* 'flatus' (3-8b); Dag. *xongə-*, *xongos*; Dong. *hunGu-*, -sun; Bao. *hoŋGə-*, -*soŋ*; S.-Yugh. *hoŋgo-*, -sən; Mongr. *uŋGwāsə*, *ŋGwāsə* (SM 292, 472), *uŋGusə* (SM 472), *ŋGosə* (Huzu).

◊ KW 450, MGCD 675.

PKor. ***pāŋkui** flatulence, wind in the bowels (кишечные газы): MKor. *pāŋkui*; Mod. *paŋgwi*.

◊ Nam 250, KED 736.

‖ Poppe 72 (Mong.-Kor.). The stem may be derived from **pʹúńe* 'smell' q.v.

✱**púre** leaf, bud: Mong. ***bor-**; Turk. ***bür**; Jpn. ***pá**.

PMong. ***bor-** cone (шишка): WMong. *borγučuj*, *borγučuγ* (L 121); Kh. *borgocoj*; Bur. *borbōsgoj*.

◊ Cf. also *bordo-* 'to feed (with grain)' (S.-Yugh. *bordo-*, MGCD 157), possibly derived from the same root.

PTurk. ***bür** 1 bud 2 leaf 3 grain (1 почка 2 лист 3 зерно): OTurk. *bür* 1 (OUygh.); Tur. *bürčük* 1, *bürtük* 3 (dial.); Krm. *bürtük* 3; Tat. *börö* 1; Bashk. *börö* 1; Kirgh. *bür* 1; KBalk. *bürtük* 3; KKalp. *bürtik* 3; Kum. *bürtük* 3; Nogh. *bürtik* 3; Khak. *pür* 2; Tv. *bürü* 2; Tof. *bür* 2; Chuv. *pəʷrʒe* 'grain, particle'; Yak. *burduk* 'flour'; Dolg. *burduk* 'flour'.

◊ VEWT 92, EDT 354, Лексика 114-115, Stachowski 67. Turk. > WMong. *bür*, Kalm. *bür* (KW 67).

PJpn. ***pá** leaf (лист): OJpn. pa; MJpn. *fá*; Tok. *hà*; Kyo. *hā́*; Kag. *há*.

◊ JLTT 394.

‖ Jpn. **pá* presupposes a suffixed form **púr(e)-gV* (= Mong. **bor-gu-*).

✱**pure** pipe: Mong. ***bürije-n**; Turk. ***burgu**; Jpn. ***patiku**.

PMong. ***bürije-n** trumpet, trumpet horn (труба): WMong. *bürije(n)* (L 149), *bürege*; Kh. *bürē(n)*; Bur. *büŕē*; Kalm. *bürē*; Ord. *bürē*; Dag. *burē* (Тод. Даг. 128); Mongr. *būraG* (MGCD 177).

◊ KW 67. Mong. > Man. *buren.*

PTurk. ***burgu** 1 trumpet 2 pipe (of a plant) (1 труба 2 трубка (растения)): OTurk. *burγu* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *borγuj* (MK) 1; Tur. *boru* 1; Gag. *boru* 1; Az. *boru* 1; MTurk. *burγu* 1 (Pav. C.); Uzb. *burγu* 1; Krm. *boriɨ* 1; Tat. *biɨrγiɨ* (Tob.) 1; Bashk. *borγo* 1; KBalk. *biɨrγiɨ* 1; Kum. *biɨrγiɨ* 1; SUygh. *piɨra* 1; Khak. *piɨrγiɨ* 1, 2, *miɨrγiɨ* 1; Shr. *piɨrγiɨ* 1; Tv. *murγu* 1, 2; Tof. *murγu* 1, 2; Chuv. *pъrъx* 1.

◊ EDT 361, TMN 2, 286, ЭСТЯ 2, 194-195. Turk. > Mong. : Khalkha *burguj* 'wire for pipe cleaning', Bur. *burgiɨ* 'drill'. Turk. > Russ. Siber. *borga* (Аникин 134-135).

PJpn. ***patiku** bamboo (used for making trumpets) (бамбук (используемый для изготовления труб)): MJpn. *fatiku*; Tok. *hachiku*.

◊ Accent unknown.

‖ Laufer 1919, 575 (Doerfer: "lautlich unmöglich"). Cf. perhaps Nan. *furgẽ* 'loud, bass' (TMC 2, 303). The final velar element is suffixed, and the suffixes are different here (Jpn. -k- pointing to *-kʿ- or -k-, but Turcic and Mongolian - to *-g-).

✱**pŭŕi (~ -e)** to wink, wrinkle: Tung. ***puri-**; Mong. ***hür-**; Turk. ***büŕ- / *bür-**.

PTung. ***puri-** to wink (мигать, моргать): Evk. *hurim-*; Evn. *hụrъm-*; Neg. *xojịm-*; Nan. *poṛia* 'scowling'.

◊ TMC 2, 352.

PMong. ***hür-** to wrinkle (морщиться): MMong. *hurni-* (MA 187); WMong. *ürčiji-*, *ürči-* (L 1011); Kh. *ürčij-*; Bur. *ürziɨ-*; Ord. *ürčī-*, *örčī-*.

PTurk. ***büŕ- / *bür-** to wrinkle (морщиться): Karakh. *bür-* (MK, KB), *büz-* (IM); Tur. *bür-* (dial.), *büz-*; Az. *büz-*, *bürüš-*; Turkm. *bür-*, *büz-*; MTurk. *bür-* (Sangl.); Uzb. *buriš-*; Uygh. *pü(r)-*; Krm. *bürüš-*; Tat. *bör-*; Bashk. *bör-*; Kirgh. *bür-*; Kaz. *bür-*; KKalp. *bür-*; Kum. *bürüš-*; Nogh. *bür-*; Khak. *pür-*; Chuv. *pəʷr-*.

◊ VEWT 92, EDT 355, ЭСТЯ 2, 294-296 (contaminates with **bür-* 'to cover'). Егоров 157, Федотов 1, 421.

‖ Цинциус 1984, 56. A Western isogloss. Low tone is reconstructed because of Mong. *h-.

✱**pūsa** outside, exterior: Tung. ***pūski-**; Mong. ***busu-**; Jpn. ***pásí**; Kor. ***pàsk**.

PTung. ***pūski-** counter, opposite (напротив): Evk. *hūskī*; Evn. *huwuski*; Neg. *hoskī*.

◊ TMC 2, 355.

PMong. ***busu-** other (другой): MMong. *busi* 'foreigner' (IM), *busu* (SH, HYt), *būši* 'foreigner' (Lig.VMI); WMong. *busu* (L 140); Kh. bus; Bur. *busa*; Kalm. *busə*; Ord. *busu*; Mog. *biši* (Ramstedt 1906); Dag. *bišin* (Тод. Даг. 126), *biši(n)*; Dong. *puse*; Mongr. *buśi*.

◊ KW 46, 63.

PJpn. ***pásí** outer edge (внешний край): OJpn. *pasi*; MJpn. *fásí*; Tok. *hàshi*; Kyo. *háshí*; Kag. *hashí*.

◊ JLTT 400. The Kagoshima accent is unexpected (a regular reflex would be *háshi)*.

PKor. ***pàsk** outside, exterior; other (внешний; другой): MKor. *pàs*, *pàsk*; Mod. *pak* [*pak*:].

◊ Nam 248, 250, KED 713.

‖ Turk. **baĺ(č)ka* 'other' is very similar, but phonetically unclear. Another irregularity is the tonal discrepancy between TM and Kor.-Jpn. (note that the TM reconstruction is not quite certain: one should perhaps reconstruct **pubuski* because of the Even form, and either separate the TM form from the rest or suppose a form with a cluster like **pubsa*). On the whole, a tempting but not quite secure etymology.

✱**púsa (~ -i̯o-)** a k. of fish: Tung. ***puse-**; Mong. ***basiŋga**; Jpn. ***pansai**.

PTung. ***puse-** 1 trout 2 black *amur* (fish) 3 a k. of fish (1 форель 2 черный амур 3 вид рыбы): Evn. *hēsъmki* 1; Man. *fuseli* 3; Nan. *fusuli* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 304, 371.

PMong. ***basiŋga** a k. of roach (вид рыбы (плотва, вобла)): WMong. *basiŋγa* (L 90); Kh. *bašinga*; Kalm. *bašŋgə* 'вобла (мелкая)'.

◊ KW 36.

PJpn. ***pansai** goby (бычок): Tok. *háze*; Kyo. *házè*; Kag. *háze*.

◊ JLTT 403. Original accent unclear (high-low, to judge from Kyoto and Kagoshima, but low-high - from Tokyo).

‖ High tone is reconstructed because of Mong. *b-; voicing in Jpn. is unclear.

✱**puse** to break through, break out: Tung. ***pos-**; Turk. ***bös-**; Jpn. ***pansa-**.

PTung. ***pos-** 1 to burst, break out 2 through (1 лопаться, раскалываться 2 насквозь): Man. *fusxu-* 1; Ul. *pos* 2; Ork. *pos* 2; Nan. *pos*, *fos* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 42, 358.

PTurk. ***bös-** 1 to break through 2 rupture, hernia (1 прорываться 2 прободение, грыжа): Uygh. *bös-* 1; Tat. *büs-* 1, *büser* 2.

◊ VEWT 84.

PJpn. ***pansa-** to burst open, split (лопаться, раскалываться): Tok. *hazé-*; Kyo. *hàzè-*; Kag. *hazé-*.

◊ JLTT 686. The PJ accent is not quite clear.

‖ Reason for voicing (prenasalization) in Jpn. is not quite clear.

✱**pŭti (~ -i̯u-, -e)** to quilt, weave: Mong. ***hüde-***; Turk. ***büt-**.

PMong. ***hüde-** to quilt, tuft (простегивать): MMong. *hüdesü* (SH) 'lanière servant à fixer un objet en le perçant d'outre en outre'; WMong. *üde-* (L 995); Kh. *üde-*; Bur. *üde-*; Kalm. *üd-* (KPC); Ord. *üdēri* 'little strap'; Dong. *xudu-*; Mongr. *sdē-* 'rapiécer' (SM 334), *šdē-* (Huzu).

◊ MGCD 688.

PTurk. ***büt-** 1 to join, intertwine, adhere 2 to wind, weave (1 присоединяться, переплетаться, примыкать 2 плести, ткать): Karakh. *bütüš-* (MK) 1; Tur. *bitiš-* 1; Az. *bitiš-* 1; Turkm. *bitiš-* 1; Uzb. *bitiš-* 1; Tat. *böter-* 'крутить, свертывать'; Bashk. *bötörgös* 'деталь ткацкого станка'; Kaz. *bitis-* 'мириться'; Chuv. *pəʷdəʷr-* 2.

◊ EDT 309-310. Федотов 1, 427

‖ A Turk.-Mong. isogloss. Low tone and shortness may be reconstructed because of Mong. *h-. The root is similar to **pʿútʿa* and **bòtʿe* q.v., but still should be probably reconstructed as a separate etymon.

✱**putʿi[m]ukʿV** a k. of berry: Tung. ***putumukte**; Kor. ***ptárkì**.

PTung. ***putumukte** 1 honeysuckle, woodbind 2 strawberry (1 жимолость 2 земляника): Evk. *hutumukte* 1, 2; Evn. *hutъmtъ* 1; Neg. *hutumte* 1; Ud. *xutumukte* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 357. Oroch *utumukte* and Nan. *kutumiekte* are quite irregular (a possible different etymology of the Nan. word see under **ki̯orteme).*

PKor. ***ptárkì** raspberry, strawberry (малина, земляника): MKor. *ptárkì*; Mod. *t:algi*.

◊ Nam 140, KED 402.

‖ A Tung.-Kor. isogloss.

✱**pŭtʿò** poplar, branch, stick: Tung. ***pota**; Mong. ***buta**; Turk. ***būta-**; Jpn. ***pəta**; Kor. ***pètɨ́r**.

PTung. ***pota** willow (тальник, верба): Ork. *potoqto*; Nan. *fotoχa*.

◊ TMC 2, 45. The TM forms are certainly not borrowed from Mong., despite Rozycki 77 (who additionally follows TMC in confusing the root with **pude-* q. v. sub **pʿude*, and **pučі-* q.v. sub **pʿúčʿí).*

PMong. ***buta** bushes (кусты): MMong. *buta* (SH); WMong. *buta*, *butu* (L 141); Kh. *but*; Bur. *buta*; Kalm. *butə*; Ord. *buta*; Dag. *boto* (Тод. Даг. 128); Dong. *puda*; S.-Yugh. *but*; Mongr. *budā* 'herbes ou plantes croissant en touffes, touffe (herbes)' (SM 31), *butā* (Huzu).

◊ KW 63, MGCD 171.

PTurk. ***būta-** 1 to cut branches 2 branch 3 nail (1 срезать ветви 2 ветвь 3 гвоздь): OTurk. *butɨq* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *butɨq*, *butaq* 2 (MK);

Tur. *buda-* 1, *budak* 2; Gag. *buda-* 1, *budaq* 2; Az. *buda-* 1, *budaG* 2; Turkm. *pūda-* 1, *pūdaq* 2; Sal. *pu/ūtax* 2 (ССЯ); Khal. (*buta* 'bush' - a backloan from Pers.?); MTurk. *buda-* 1 (Pav. C.), (MKypch.) *buda-* 1 (AH); Uzb. *buta-* 1, *butɔq* 2; Uygh. *puta-* 1, *putaq*; Krm. *buta-* 1, *butaq* 2; Tat. *bota-* 1, *botaq* 2; Bashk. *bota-* 1, *botaq* 2; Kirgh. *buta-* 1, *butaq* 2; Kaz. *buta-* 1, *butanaq* 2 (*buta* 'bush' < Iran.); KBalk. *buta-* 1, *butaq* 2; KKalp. *puta-* 1, *putaq* 2; Kum. *buta-* 1, *butaq* 2; Nogh. *bɨta-* 1, *butaq* 2; Khak. *pɨdɨra-* 1; Oyr. *buda-* 1, *budaq* 2; Tv. *buʼduq* 2; Chuv. *pъʷda* 3; Yak. *bɨtā-* 1, *butuk* 2 (Пек.); *mutā-* 1, *mutuk* 2; Dolg. *mutuk* 2.

◊ EDT 301, 302, VEWT 90, TMN 2, 330, Лексика 103, Stachowski 183. Turk. > WMong. *butaq* 'branch' (see Щербак 1997, 111) (but Mong. *buta* can be hardly explained as a loan).

PJpn. ***pəta** log (полено): MJpn. *fota*; Tok. *hota*.

◊ Accent unknown.

PKor. ***pə̀tɨ́r** poplar, willow (тополь, ива): MKor. *pə̀tɨ́r*; Mod. *pədɨ́l*.

◊ Liu 375, KED 759.

‖ KW 446, Poppe 12, 52, Цинциус 1984, 52-53, Дыбо 10, Лексика 104. Despite some confusion between **pōtˈo* and **pˈude,* the two roots are clearly distinguishable. Kor. **pə̀tɨ́r* must be delabialized < **pə̀tɨ́r*.

✱pV̀tˈokˈV (~ pˈ-, b-) cuckoo: Jpn. ***pə̀tə̀tə̀kí-su**; Kor. ***pə́kúk-**.

PJpn. **pə̀tə̀tə́kí-sù** cuckoo (кукушка): OJpn. *p(w)ototogjisu*; MJpn. *fòtòtógísù*; Tok. *hototógisu*; Kyo. *hótótógìsù*; Kag. *hototogísu*.

◊ JLTT 416.

PKor. ***pə́kúk-** cuckoo (кукушка): MKor. *pə́kúk-sāi*; Mod. *p:ək:ugi*.

◊ Nam 254, KED 758.

‖ An onomatopoeic Kor.-Jpn. isogloss.

Pʿ

✱**pʿačʿV** to open, split up: Tung. ***pač-***; Mong. ***(h)ača**; Turk. ***ač-**.

PTung. ***pač-*** crack, split, interval (щель, промежуток): Evn. *hačịq*.

◊ TMC 2, 319. Attested only in Evn., but having probable Turkic and Mongolian parallels.

PMong. ***(h)ača** bifurcation (развилка, разветвление): MMong. *āčiba* 'развилина' (MA); WMong. *ača(n)* (L 7); Kh. ac; Bur. *asa*; Kalm. *acə*; Ord. *ača*.

◊ KW 18. Mong. > Man. *ačan*, Kirgh. *ača* etc. (ЭСТЯ 1, 210).

PTurk. ***ač-*** to open (открывать): OTurk. *ač-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *ač-* (MK); Tur. *ač-*; Gag. *ač-*; Az. *ač-*; Turkm. *ač-*; MTurk. *ač-* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *ɔč-*; Uygh. *ač-*; Krm. *ač-*; Tat. *ač-*; Bashk. *as-*; Kirgh. *ač-*; Kaz. *aš-*; KBalk. *ač-*; KKalp. *aš-*; Kum. *ač-*; Nogh. *aš-*; SUygh. *ač-*; Khak. *as-*; Shr. *aš-*; Oyr. *ač-*; Tv. *a'š-*; Tof. *a'š-*; Chuv. *uś-*; Yak. *as-*.

◊ EDT 18-19, VEWT 3, ЭСТЯ 1, 209-210, Федотов 2, 292.

‖ A Western isogloss. KW 18, Poppe 63, Цинциус 1984, 36-37 (with somewhat different TM data), TMN 2, 14 (: "semantisch unwahrscheinlich").

✱**pʿačʿV (~ -č-)** blessing, favour: Mong. ***hači**; Turk. ***ačɨ-**.

PMong. ***hači** favour, service (милость, услуга): MMong. *xači* 'favour, rewards' (HYt), *xači qari'un* 'thanks' (HY 40), *xači* (SH); WMong. *ači* (L 7); Kh. *ač*; Bur. *aša*; Kalm. *ačə*; Ord. *ači*; Dag. *ači* (< lit.) (Тод. Даг. 122, MD 111); S.-Yugh. *haǯig* (MGCD).

◊ KW 18, MGCD 125. WMong. *ačiguri* (Kalm. *ačūr*, KW 19) > Nan. *ačeuri.*

PTurk. ***ačɨ-*** 1 precious gift; wellbeing 2 to tend, make comfortable, be favourable 3 to pity, have compassion (1 драгоценный дар; благосостояние 2 быть благоприятным, благосклонным, ухаживать 3 жалеть, иметь сострадание): OTurk. *ačɨɣ* 1, *ačɨn-* 2; Tur. *aǯɨ-* 3; Az. *aǯɨ-* 3; KBalk. *ačɨ-* 3; Yak. *ahɨn-* 3; Dolg. *ahɨn-* 3.

◊ EDT 22, 29, ЭСТЯ 1, 92 (together with **iāčɨ-* 'bitter'), Stachowski 29. Turk. > WMong. *ačuɣ* 'wages, rent' (L 8). In modern languages the root tends to be confused with **iāčɨ-* 'bitter, bitterness' (v. sub **pʿi̯āčʿo*), thus the Oghuz voicing may be a result of secondary contamination and not due to original vowel length; but the two roots are rather well distinguished in Old Turkic, see EDT ibid.

‖ A Turk.-Mong. isogloss; cf. perhaps Nan. *pāčila-* 'жечь багульник во время камлания'.

✱**pʿāda** to separate, some, other: Tung. ***pādi**; Turk. ***adɨ-**; Jpn. ***pá(n)tú-**; Kor. ***ptǎ-n**.

PTung. ***pādi** separate(ly) (отдельный, отдельно): Evk. *hādi* 'some, part of'; Evn. *hādi-n* 'some, other'; Man. *fažu* 'space between'; Ul. *pāši*; Ork. *padi*; Nan. *pāši*; Sol. *adĩ* 'some'.

◊ TMC 2, 305-306. TM **pā* 'part' (ibid.) is probably a different root (there is no -di-suffix in TM), so Doerfer's (MT 239) doubts about TM **pādi-* = Turk. **ad-* have no ground.

PTurk. ***adɨ-r-** to separate (отделять): OTurk. *adɨr-* (Orkh., OUygh.); *adɨn* (OUygh.) 'other'; Karakh. *aδɨr-* (MK); *aδɨn* (MK) 'other'; Tur. *ajɨr-*; Gag. *ajɨr-*; Az. *ajɨr-*; Turkm. *ajɨr-*; Khal. *hadru-*, *hadur-*; MTurk. *ajɨr-* (Abush.); Uzb. *ajir-*; Uygh. *ajra-*, *ajri-* (dial.); Krm. *ajɨr-*; Tat. *ajɨr-*; Bashk. *ajɨr-*; Kirgh. *ajɨr-*; Kaz. *ajɨr-*; KBalk. *ajɨr-*; KKalp. *ajɨr-*; Kum. *ajɨr-*; Nogh. *ajɨr-*; SUygh. *azɨr-*; Khak. *azɨr-*; Shr. *azɨr-*; Oyr. *ajrɨ-*; Tv. *adɨr-*; Chuv. *ojъr-*; Yak. *atɨr-*; *atɨn* 'other'; Dolg. *atɨn* 'other'.

◊ VEWT 6, EDT 60, 66-67, ЭСТЯ 1, 93, 114-116, Федотов 2, 270, Stachowski 39. Turk. > MMo, WMong. *ažira-* (see Щербак 1997, 94), whence again Uzb. *ažra-* etc. (see ЭСТЯ ibid.).

PJpn. ***pá(n)tú-** 1 to separate 2 some, only (1 отделять 2 некоторый, только): OJpn. *patu-ka* 2; MJpn. *fádú-s-* 1; Tok. *hàzus-* 1; Kyo. *házús-* 1; Kag. *hazús-* 1.

◊ JLTT 686.

PKor. ***ptǎ-n** other (другой): MKor. *ptǎ-n*; Mod. *t:a-n*.

◊ Nam 138, KED 393.

‖ Korean has a frequent vowel loss between two stops (which occurred before *-d- > -r- and thus explains medial -t-). Correspondences are regular except for the aberrant high tone in Jpn.

✱**pʿā́dì** a k. of vessel: Tung. ***padu**; Turk. ***ẹ̄diĺ**; Jpn. ***pítú, *pítú-ki**.

PTung. ***padu** bag, pouch (сумка): Man. *fadu*; SMan. *fadə* (248); Ul. *padụ(n)*; Ork. *padụ*; Nan. *pado*.

◊ TMC 2, 31.

PTurk. ***ẹ̄diĺ** vessel (сосуд): OTurk. *ediš* (OUygh.); Karakh. *ed/δiš* (MK), *ijiš* (IM); Turkm. *īdiš* (dial.); Khal. *hidīš*; MTurk. *ediš* (Abush., Sangl.), *iδiš* (Qutb); Kirgh. *idiš*; Kaz. *ɨdɨs*; KKalp. *ɨdɨs*; Khak. dial. *edis*; Tv. *idiš*; Yak. *ihit*.

◊ VEWT 36, EDT 72, ЭСТЯ 1, 328-329. Turk. > Mong. *idiš* (see Щербак 1997, 119). Yak. *ihit* < *isit* < *itis*; most of the other modern forms are probably backloans < Mong.

PJpn. ***pítú, *pítú-ki** 1 box 2 coffin (1 ящик 2 гроб): OJpn. *pjitu* 1, *p(j)ituk(j)i* 2; MJpn. *fítú* 1, *fítúki* 2; Tok. *hìtsu*, *hìtsugi*; Kyo. *hítsú*, *hítsúgí*; Kag. *hitsú*, *hitsúgi*.

◊ JLTT 411. Accent in Kag. *hitsú* is aberrant.

‖ PTM **padu* and PJ **pítú* may reflect a common derivative like **padi-bV* (otherwise final -u is hard to explain).

✸**pʿádo** wall: Tung. ***padira-**; Mong. ***(h)adar**; Kor. ***pằrằm**.

PTung. ***padira-n** wall (стена): Man. *faǯiran*; SMan. *faǯərəhən* (463); Jurch. *fa-dar-an* (64); Ul. *padịra(n)*; Nan. *paǯirã*.

◊ TMC 2, 31.

PMong. ***(h)adar** 1 ceiling 2 shelves (1 потолок 2 полки): WMong. *adajir*, *adar* 1, 2 (L 9); Kh. *adar* 1; Bur. *adajir*, *ad́ār* 2.

PKor. ***pằrằ-m** wall (стена): MKor. *pằrằ-m*; Mod. *param*.

◊ Nam 241, KED 705.

‖ Cf. perhaps also Chuv. *pora* 'сруб'. See Redei 4,347. The Kor. form can be formally analysed as derived from *pằrằ-* 'to plaster', but this is probably a result of secondary reinterpretation (see under **pila*).

✸**pʿā́dV** sober, attentive: Mong. ***hada- / *haǯi-**; Turk. ***ād-**.

PMong. ***hada- / *haǯi-** 1 to beware, be careful 2 worth attention, attention (1 быть осторожным, внимательным 2 заслуживающий внимания, внимание): MMong. *xada'u-* 1 (SH); WMong. *aǯi-* 1, *aǯig* 2 (L 61); Kh. *aǯig* 2; Bur. *aǯig*, *adag* 2; Kalm. *aǯig* 2; Ord. *aǯigla-* 'observer avec attention'.

◊ KW 2.

PTurk. ***ād-** 1 to sober up 2 sober, conscious (1 трезветь 2 трезвый, сознательный): OTurk. *adɨn-* (OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *aδɨl-* (MK,KB), *aδɨn-* (MK, KB) 1, *aδɨɣ* (MK) 2; Tur. *ajɨl-*, dial. *aj(ɨh)-*, Osm. *ajɨn-* 1, *ajɨk* 2; Az. *ajɨl-* 1, *ajɨG* 2; Turkm. *ājɨl-* 1, dial. *ajɨq* 2; MTurk. *ajɨl-* (Sangl.) 1, *ajɨq* (Houts., Pav. C., IM) 2, *ajɨɣ* (IM, Qutb) 2; Uzb. dial. *ajɨq* 2; Tat. dial. *ajɨl-* 1, *ajɨq* 2; Bashk. *ajɨq-* 1, *ajɨq* 2; Kirgh. *ajɨq-* 1; Kaz. *ajɨq-* 1, *ajɨq* 2; KKalp. *ajɨq-* 1, *ajɨq* 2; Nogh. *ajɨq-* 1; Khak. *ajɨɣ* 2; Chuv. *orъl-* 1, *orъ* 2.

◊ ЭСТЯ 1, 113-114, EDT 46, 61, Федотов 2, 285.

‖ KW 2. A Turk.-Mong. isogloss.

✸**pʿágdi** foot, foot sole: Tung. ***pagdi(-kī)**; Mong. ***(h)adag**; Turk. ***adak**; Jpn. ***pí(n)túmai (~ -ia)**.

PTung. ***pagdi(-kī)** sole, foot sole (ступня, подошва): Evk. *hagdikī*; Neg. *xakkị*; Ork. *paGǯe*; Nan. *χaGdịkị* (dial.); Orch. *xagdi*; Ud. *xagdiɣi*.

◊ TMC 2, 308.

PMong. ***(h)adag** end, lower part of stream (конец, устье, низ течения): WMong. *adaɣ* (L 9); Kh. *adag*; Bur. *adag*; Kalm. *adəg*; Ord. *adaq*.

◊ KW 1.

PTurk. ***adak** foot (нога): OTurk. *adaq* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *aδaq* (MK); Tur. *ajak*; Gag. *ajaq*; Az. *ajaG*; Turkm. *ajaG*; Sal. *aja(:)χ*; Khal. *hada:q*, *hadaq*; MTurk. *ajaq* (Abush., Sangl.); Uzb. *ɔjɔq*; Uygh. *ajaq*; Krm. *ajax*; Tat. *ajaq*; Bashk. *ajaq*; Kirgh. *ajaq*; Kaz. *ajaq*; KBalk. *ajaq*; KKalp. *ajaq*;

Kum. *ajaq*; Nogh. *ajaq*; SUygh. *azaq*; Khak. *azax*; Shr. *azaq*; Oyr. *ad̑aq*; Tv. *adaq* 'bottom part'; Tof. *adaq* 'сошки; нижняя часть'; Chuv. *ora*; Yak. *ataq*; Dolg. *atak*.

◊ VEWT 5, EDT 45, ЭСТЯ 1, 103-105, Лексика 288, Федотов 2 283, Stachowski 38.

PJpn. ***pí(n)túmai (~ -ia)** hoof (копыто): MJpn. *fítúme*; Tok. *hìzume*, *hízume*; Kyo. *hízúmé*; Kag. *hizumé*.

◊ JLTT 413. Accent in Kagoshima is irregular.

‖ KW 1, Poppe 52, VEWT 5 (Turk.-Mong.; but the Kor. parallel listed there - *patak* 'bottom, foundation' - should be rather compared with TM **pata* 'id.', see **pʿátʿa(-kV)*), АПиПЯЯ 282, Лексика 288. Despite TMN 4, 266 Mong. cannot be < Turk. Further Nostr. parallels (PIE **ped-* 'foot' etc.) see in МССНЯ, 368.

✸**pʿàgò (~ -e-, -a, *pʿùgà)** to dig, cave: Mong. ***haɣur**; Jpn. ***pàkà**; Kor. ***phǎ̀-**.

PMong. ***haɣur** cave, mine (яма, пещера): MMong. *haur*, *huur* 'grave' (MA); WMong. *aɣurqai*, *uɣurqai* (L 18), *urqai*; Kh. *ūrxaj*; Bur. *ūrxaj*; Kalm. *ūrxā̄*; Ord. *ūrgā̄*.

◊ KW 454.

PJpn. ***pàkà** grave, tomb (могила): OJpn. *paka*; MJpn. *fàkà*; Tok. *haká*; Kyo. *hákà*; Kag. *haká*.

◊ JLTT 396.

PKor. ***phǎ̀-** to dig (копать): MKor. *phǎ̀-*; Mod. *pha-*.

◊ Nam 461, KED 1729.

‖ SKE 212, EAS 56. Kor. *phǎ̀-* is a result of usual reduction < **pVhǎ̀-*.

✸**pʿágò (~ p-)** box, vessel: Tung. ***paga, -ča, -kī**; Jpn. ***pákúa**; Kor. ***phǎ́kái**.

PTung. ***paga, -ča, -kī** 1 box, birch vessel, scoop 2 window, window frame (1 короб, чуман (берестяной) 2 окно, оконная рама): Evk. *haɣa*, *haɣakī*, *haɣačan*; Neg. *xa-čaw*, *xa-vụn* 1; Man. *fa* 2; SMan. *fā* 2 (466); Jurch. *fah-ha* (209) 2; Ul. *pača(n)* 1, *pawa* 2; Ork. *pawa* 2; Nan. *pāčā* 1, *pāwa* 2; Ud. *xasaʿa* 1 (Корм. 305).

◊ TMC 2, 31, 308.

PJpn. ***pákúa** box (ящик): OJpn. *pakwo*; MJpn. *fákó*; Tok. *hàko*; Kyo. *hákó*; Kag. *háko*.

◊ JLTT 397.

PKor. ***phǎ́kái** scoop, dipper (черпак): MKor. *phǎ́kái*, *phǎ́kà*; Mod. *phagä*.

◊ Nam 461, KED 1728 (derivation from *phǎ́-* 'to dig' is implausible both phonetically and semantically).

‖ An Eastern isogloss. Cf. **bi̯ukʿ[e]*. Kor. **phǎ́kái* < **pago-kai* (= PTM **pagakī*), which explains seemingly irregular tone correspondence between Kor. and Jpn.

✱**pʿāji** part: Tung. ***pā**; Mong. ***hejil-**; Jpn. ***pia**.

PTung. ***pā** part (часть): Evk. *hā, hā-n*; Evn. *hānị*; Neg. *xā*; Man. *fa-li*; Jurch. *far far* (*far-ar far-ar*) 'separately' (781); Ul. *pa-sị*; *pānị* 'some, others'; Ork. *pō*; Nan. *pa-sị*; *poani* 'some, others'; Orch. *xa*; Ud. *xa(n)*.

◊ TMC 2, 305-306.

PMong. ***hejil-** to separate (отделять): MMong. *xejil-* (SH); Bur. *īle-* 'to churn butter' (? *'separate'); Dag. *xeile-* (Тод. Даг. 175).

PJpn. ***pia** part (часть, доля): OJpn. *-bje* (in compounds); MJpn. *-be*.

◊ JLTT 390. Cf. also OJ *pje-datar-* 'to become separated'.

‖ Mong. *h- before a long vowel indicates PA *pʿ-.

✱**pʿajo** to rub off, wipe off, cut off: Tung. ***pajū-**; Mong. ***haɣu-**; Turk. ***ajɨt-**; Jpn. ***pajas-**; Kor. ***pūi-**.

PTung. ***pajū-** to break, tear (ломать, разрушать, рвать): Evk. *ha-jūp-*; Evn. *hājụ-*; Neg. *xajị-*, *xajụ-*; Orch. *xāju-*; Ud. *xai-*.

◊ TMC 2, 309.

PMong. ***haɣu-** to scoop out, drain (вычерпывать, осушать): MMong. *xa'u-*, *xa'ut-* (SH); WMong. *aɣu-* (L 15).

PTurk. ***ajɨt-** to rub off, peel off (стирать, сдирать шкуру): Tur. *ajɨt-la-*, *ajɨk-la-*; Uygh. *ajt-*.

◊ VEWT 12, Radloff 1, 48, 222. Cf. also Khak. *ajɣɨ* 'smooth, polished' (VEWT 11).

PJpn. ***pajas-** to cut in small pieces (резать на мелкие куски): MJpn. *fajas-* 'to cut'; Tok. *hayas-* (dial.).

PKor. ***pūi-** to rub (тереть): MKor. *pūi-*.

◊ Nam 269.

‖ One of the common Altaic "Verba des Schlagens", with a rather uncertain semantics. The basic meaning seems to be "rub off, peel off", whence "break, tear into small pieces" etc. MMong. *xa'ut-* may reflect the same derivative as PT **ajɨt-*, PA **pʿajo-tʿV*.

✱**pʿàlà** field, level ground: Tung. ***pāla-n**; Turk. ***ala-n / *ala-ŋ**; Jpn. ***pàrà**; Kor. ***pə́r(h)-**.

PTung. ***pāla-n** 1 meadow, open ground 2 floor (1 поляна, ровное место 2 пол): Evn. *hālinrṭ* 1; Neg. *palan* 2 (< South.); Man. *fala(n)* 2; SMan. *falən* 2 (454); Ul. *pala(n)* 2; Ork. *pālla(n)* 2; Nan. *palã* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 32, 313. Shortness in Nan. *palã* is probably secondary (or a misrecording).

PTurk. ***ala-n / *ala-ŋ** level ground, plain (равнина): Karakh. *alaŋ* (MK); Tur. *alan*, dial. *ala*; Turkm. *alaŋ*, *āla*; MTurk. *alaŋ* (Pav. C.); Krm. *alaŋ*; Tat. *alan*; Kaz. *alaŋ*; KKalp. *alaŋ*; Nogh. *alaŋ*; Tv. *alāq*, *alandɨ*; Chuv. *olъx*; Yak. *alās*, *alī*; Dolg. *alɨn*, *alī*.

◊ EDT 147, ЭСТЯ 1, 134-135, Федотов 2, 277, Stachowski 32, 33. Length in the Turkm. variant *āla* is not clear. Yak. *alās* > Russ. Siber. *alás* (Аникин 80-81).

PJpn. ***pàrà** level ground, plain (равнина): OJpn. *para*; MJpn. *fàrà*; Tok. *hára*; Kyo. *hára*; Kag. *hàrá*.

◊ JLTT 399. Tokyo reflects rather **pàrá.*

PKor. ***pə́rh-** fields, meadows (поля, луга): MKor. *phə́rí*; Mod. *pəl*, *phəl*.

◊ Nam 463, KED 764, 1744.

‖ Martin 238, АПиПЯЯ 67.

✱**pʿalí** relationship, friendship: Tung. ***pal- (~ -ā-)**; Turk. ***ḗĺ**.

PTung. ***pal- (~ -ā-)** 1 to have relations with 2 relationship, friendship 3 quarrel, contest 4 to quarrel (1 заводить связи, сближаться 2 связь, дружба 3 ссора, спор 4 ссориться): Man. *fali-* 1, *falin* 2; Ul. *pāḷi* 3; Ork. *pāḷi* 3; Orch. *palimači-* 4.

◊ TMC 2, 33.

PTurk. ***ḗĺ** friend, companion, mate (друг, товарищ): OTurk. *eš* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *eš* (MK); Tur. *eš*; MTurk. eš (Sangl.); Tv. *eš*; Tof. *eš*; Chuv. *jɨš* 'family'.

◊ EDT 253-254, ЭСТЯ 1, 313-314, Егоров 83, Лексика 314.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss. Original vowel length is not quite clear: in Turkic the reconstruction is based only on the absence of pharyngealization in Tuva-Tof., while in TM critical evidence is lacking from Evk. and Nan.

✱**pʿáĺŋa (~ -e)** palm (of hand): Tung. ***palŋa**; Mong. ***haliga(n)**; Turk. ***āja (~ -ń-)**; Kor. ***pār**.

PTung. ***palŋa** palm (of hand) (ладонь): Evk. *hanŋa*; Evn. *hanŋъ*; Neg. *xańŋa*; Man. *falaŋGu*; SMan. *faləŋə* (71); Ul. *pańa*; Ork. *xaŋŋa* / *xaŋa*; Nan. *pajŋa*; Orch. *xaŋa*, *xaŋŋa*; Ud. *xańʿa*.

◊ TMC 2, 312, 314. All languages, except Manchu, reflect **pańŋa*; Manchu probably reflects a more archaic variant **pal(i)ŋa*, simplified to **pańŋa* elsewhere.

PMong. ***haliga(n)** palm (of hand) (ладонь): MMong. *xalaqan* (HY 46, SH), *alaqan* (MA); WMong. *alaɣa(n)* (L 26); Kh. *alga*; Bur. *aĺga(n)*; Kalm. *aĺxən*; Ord. *alaga*; Mog. *olaqɛi* (Ramstedt 1906); ZM *alaqa* (2-9b); Dag. *xaləg*, (Тод. Даг. 173) *xalaga*, *halehe* (MD 156); Dong. *hanGa*; Bao. *halgə*; S.-Yugh. *halaʁan*; Mongr. (*x*)*arGa* (SM 13), *xalGa* (MGCD).

◊ KW 7, Дыбо 231. Mong. > Kirgh. *alaqan*, Uygh. *aliqan* etc. (ЭСТЯ 1, 133), Evk. *aliga*, Sol. *aĺga* (TMC 1, 312).

PTurk. ***āja (< *āńa)** palm (of hand) (ладонь): OTurk. *aja* (OUygh.); Karakh. *aja* (MK, KB); Tur. *aja*; Turkm. *āja*; MTurk. *aja* (Sangl.; MKypch.- Houts., AH); Bashk. *aja* 'мера длины - пальма; гребень для чесания пуха'; Kaz. *aja* 'center of a palm'; KBalk. *ajaz* (< формы 3 л.); Kum. *aja*; Nogh. *aja*; SUygh. *χaja*, *χajan*; Khak. *aja*.

◊ VEWT 10, ЭСТЯ 1, 100-101, Дыбо 179-181, Лексика 252.

PKor. ***pār** armful (охапка): MKor. *pār*; Mod. *pāl*.

◊ Nam 245, KED 723.

‖ EAS 107, KW 7, Poppe 95, Цинциус 1984, 27-28, ОСНЯ 3, 94-95, Дыбо 317, Лексика 252, Doerfer MT 22, Rozycki 73 (but note that TM forms meaning 'foot, sole' should be certainly kept apart, see **pǎlka*). The Mong.-Tung. match here seems impeccable, and (despite MT and Rozycki) borrowing is excluded. The Turkic form presents problems with a unique cluster development *-Íŋ- > *-lń- > -ń-, but still is probably the reflex of the same root. The Korean form may belong here if we suppose a secondary semantic development 'palm' > 'handful' > 'armful'.

✱**pʿánŋi** to trace, investigate: Tung. ***panŋū-**; Mong. ***hana-**; Turk. ***ēŋe-**; Jpn. ***pima-**.

PTung. ***panŋū-** 1 to ask 2 to investigate 3 to follow smb. (1 спрашивать 2 исследовать 3 следовать за кем-л.): Evk. *hanŋū-* 1, *hanŋi- / hāŋī-* 3; Man. *fonǯi-* 1, 2; SMan. *fónǯi-* 'to ask, to question, to ferret out' (1288); Jurch. *fanǯu-mij* (775) 2; Ul. *pan-sị-* 1; Ork. *panụ-*; Ud. *xauntasi-* 1; Sol. *aŋū̃-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 314-315.

PMong. ***hana-** to trace, follow, be in wait for (следить, следовать, поджидать): WMong. *ana-* (L 42); Kh. *ana-*; Mongr. *xana-* 'se guérir' (SM 8).

◊ The Mongor variant ana- is < lit. Mong.

PTurk. ***ēŋe-** to look after smb. (смотреть за кем-л.): Turkm. *ǟŋet-*; Kirgh. *ene-* 'обращать внимание, замечать (при отр.)'; Yak. *eŋej-*.

PJpn. ***pima-** to keep smth. in secret (держать что-л. в тайне): MJpn. *fima-*; Tok. *hime-*.

◊ JLTT 689. Original accent is not clear: in RJ the form is not attested, Tokyo and Kyoto point to **pìmá-*, but Kagoshima - to **pímá-*.

‖ The original meaning, still well traceable in Mong. and Jpn., must have been 'to follow (smb.) secretly, investigate stealthily'.

✱**pʿápʿa** shaman, sorcery: Tung. ***pap-**; Mong. ***hab**; Turk. ***apačɨ, *apakɨ**; Jpn. ***papur-**.

PTung. ***pap-** 1 to yell (of a shaman) 2 to divine 3 shaman, sorcerer (1 кричать (о шамане во время камлания) 2 гадать 3 шаман, колдун): Evk. *haptaj* 3; Neg. *xaptụ-* 1; Man. *fada-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 297, 316. Evk. has both *aptaj* and *haptaj*, of which the former may be < Yak. or Bur., but the latter preserves the old root (= Neg., Manchu); an example of Wortmischung.

PMong. ***hab** sorcery (колдовство): MMong. *xab* (SH), *hab* (IM); WMong. *ab* (L 1); Bur. *ab*; Kalm. *ab* KW 1, *avə* KPC 20; S.-Yugh. *fawa* 'shaman' (MGCD 160).

◊ Mong. > Oyr., Yak. *ap* (see KW 1, VEWT 21); Mong. **habtaj* (Bur. *abtaj*) > Evk. *aptaj*, Yak. *aptā-*, Dolg. *aptā-k* (Kał. MEJ 129, Stachowski 35); Mong. *ab-galdai* 'shaman mask' > Evk. *awagaldai*, see Doerfer MT 126.

PTurk. ***apačɨ, *apakɨ** 1 bogy 2 figure set up to avert the evil eye 3 idol (1 бука 2 фигурка для отвода сглаза 3 идол): Karakh. *abačɨ* 1, *abaqɨ* 2 (MK); Tur. *apaq*, *abaq* 'jinn, ghoul' (dial.), 'fool'; MTurk. (MKypch.) *abaq* 'doll' (Houts., At-Tuhf.); Uzb. *эра-lar* 'female evil ghosts' (lit. "elder sisters"); Krm. *abaq*, *abax* 3; KBalk. *abačɨ* 1; Yak. *abāhɨ* 'evil ghost'.

◊ VEWT 1, 2, EDT 6, 8. Quite dubious is the hypothesis (see Аникин 71, TMN 4, 307-310, Clark 1977, 127) of the Turkic forms being borrowed from Mong. *abuγači* 'receiver' (all the more so because the Bur. form is not *abāša*, but *abagša*, i. e. reflecting -g-, not -γ-). See a detailed discussion in Stachowski 2001.

PJpn. ***pápúri** priest (жрец, священник): OJpn. *papuri*; MJpn. *fáfúri*.

‖ Цинциус 1984, 31-32. See also Miller-Naumann 1991, Miller 1998 (connecting it with Old Chinese **pap* 'law'), and recently Stachowski 2001 (although Yak. *aba* 'gift' should be rather kept apart).

✸**pˈapˈo** to attack: Mong. ***hawl-**; Turk. ***op-**.

PMong. ***hawl-** surprise attack (внезапное нападение): MMong. *xa'ul-*, *xau'ul-* (SH 75) 'to attack, capture'; WMong. *uulγa* (L 889); Kh. *ūlga*; Bur. *ūla-gar* 'hot-tempered'; Kalm. *ūlγa* 'vanguard', *ūlγa-la-* 'to belong to the vanguard, rob'; Mongr. *xṻli-* 'courir' (SM 180).

◊ KW 454.

PTurk. ***op-** 1 to attack 2 to rob (1 нападать 2 грабить): OTurk. *op-la-* 1 (Orkh.); MTurk. *op-* 2 (R - ShS); Krm. *op-* 2; Kirgh. *ob-dul-* 1; Kaz. *op-* 2 (R); Tv. *opla-* 1.

◊ EDT 11, ЭСТЯ 1, 464 (together with **ōp-* 'suck'), R I 1155.

‖ A Turk.-Mong. isogloss. In TM cf. perhaps Evn. *hapkon-* 'to sit in ambush' (TMC 2, 316).

✸**pˈárà** cross-beam, constructing piece: Tung. ***para(n)**; Mong. ***(h)aran-ga**; Turk. ***ara-n**; Jpn. ***párì**.

PTung. ***para(n)** 1 place for the hut, floor 2 perch 3 lattice(d) (1 площадка для чума, пол 2 насест 3 решетчатый): Evk. *haran* 1; Evn. *harān* 1; Neg. *hajān* 1; Man. *fargi ~ farki* 2, *faraŋga* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 299, 317. Evk. > Dolg. *haran* (see Stachowski 97).

PMong. ***(h)aran-ga** balcony, verandah, platform, shed (балкон, веранда, платформа, сарай): WMong. *araŋγa* (L 49); Kh. *araŋga*; Bur. *araŋga*; Kalm. *arŋga*.

◊ KW 14. Bur. > Russ. Siber. *aranga* (Аникин 93).

PTurk. ***ara-n** 1 shed 2 stable 3 fold 4 store-room (1 хлев 2 скотный двор 3 загон 4 кладовая, лабаз): Karakh. *aran* 1 (MK); Turkm. *aram* (dial.) 3; MTurk. *aran* 1 (Sangl.); Krm. *aran* 3; Tat. *aran* 1; Bashk. *aran* 1;

Kaz. *aran* 3; Kum. *aran* 1; Nogh. *aran* 3; Yak. *araŋas* (< **aran-gač*, Dimin.) 4, dial. *arān* 'место, на котором стоит чум, палатка'; Dolg. *araŋas* 4.

◊ VEWT 23, 66, EDT 232, Лексика 523-524. Turk. > Russ. Siber. *arán* (Аникин 92). Yak. > Evk. *araŋas* > Russ. Siber. *arangas* (Аникин 93). Despite Stachowski 36, the Yak. and Dolg. word is not borrowed < Mong. *araŋga* - which could not explain the derivation suffix - but is rather a productive derivative from the common Turkic root, with a meaning variant "auxiliary building".

PJpn. ***pári** cross-beam (балка): MJpn. *fárì*; Tok. *harí*; Kyo. *hárì*; Kag. *harí*.

◊ JLTT 399. The Kagoshima accent is irregular (**hári* would be expected).

‖ Lee 1958, 109 compares the TM forms also with Kor. dial. *paradi*, *paraži* 'a window in the wall'.

✱**pʿā́ra** to be tired: Tung. ***paru-**; Mong. ***(h)ari-**; Turk. ***ạ̄r-**; Jpn. ***pátá-**; Kor. ***parh-**.

PTung. ***paru-** to faint, feel giddy (кружиться (о голове), терять сознание): Evk. *harū-*; Evn. *hārụ-*; Man. *fara-*; Nan. *farịnda-*; Ud. *xau-ne-*.

◊ TMC 2, 317-318. Despite Poppe 1972, 98 not a loan < Mong.

PMong. ***(h)ari-** to be tired, exhausted (уставать, истощаться): WMong. *ari-*, *ar-ɣu-* (L 52: *argi-* 'to grow old, to become senile'); Kh. *argi-*; Kalm. *ar-ɣə-*; Ord. *argi-* 'говорить ошибочно, выжить из ума (от старости)'.

◊ KW 13. For *h- Poppe (1972, 98) cites (MA) *harun* 'stubborn (horse)' - but this is translated by Chag. *harun* id. and may well be a loan < Chag.

PTurk. ***ạ̄r-** 1 to be tired, exhausted 2 to become lean (1 уставать 2 худеть): OTurk. *ar-* (Orkh., OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *ar-* (MK, KB) 1; Tur. *ar-* 1; Az. *arɨG* (Adj.) 1; Turkm. *ār-* 1; Khal. *harqān*, *harqan* (Ger.) 1; MTurk. *ar-* (Sangl., Abush., Pav. C., AH, Qutb, IM) 1; Uzb. *hɔri-* 1, (Khor.) *hār-* 1; Uygh. *ar-* 1; Tat. *ar-* 1; Bashk. *arɨ-* 1; Kirgh. *arɨ-* 1; Kaz. *arɨ-* 1; KBalk. *arɨ-* 1; KKalp. *harɨ-* 1; Kum. *arɨ-* 1; Nogh. *arɨ-* 1; Khak. *ar-* 2; Shr. *ar-* 2; Oyr. *arɨ-* 1; Tv. *ar-* 2; Chuv. *ɨr-* 1; Yak. *ɨ̄r-* 2.

◊ VEWT 22, ЭСТЯ 1, 160-162, EDT 193, Егоров 343.

PJpn. ***pátá-ra-k-** to work (работать): MJpn. *fatarak-*; Tok. *hàtárak-*; Kyo. *hátárák-*; Kag. *hataráḱ-*.

◊ JLTT 685. Cf. also **pátá-* / **pàtá-* 'to end, be exhausted' (with accent variation, see АПиПЯЯ 139; but this form may be alternatively compared with MMong. *hečüs* 'end' (HY), WMong. *ečüs*, Khalkha *eces*, Bur. *eses*, Kalm. *ecəs* (KPC), Dag. *heči-* 'get thin, waste away' etc.).

PKor. ***parh-** to be lean, emaciated (быть тощим, истощенным): Mod. *phari-ha-*.

◊ KED 1730.

‖ AKE 15, EAS 139, KW 13, Poppe 96, АПиПЯЯ 73, Цинциус 1984, 34, Мудрак Дисс. 182.

✱**pʿare (~ -e-)** man, people: Mong. ***haran**; Turk. ***Eren**.

PMong. ***haran** people (народ): MMong. *haran* (SH, HYt), *harān* (IM), *harən* (Lig.VMI), *harān* (MA); WMong. *aran* (L 49); Kh. *aran*, pl. *arad*; Bur. *arad*; Kalm. *ardə* (KPC); Ord. *arat*.

PTurk. ***Eren** man, mankind (человек, человеческий род): OTurk. *eren* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *eren* (MK); MTurk. *eren* (Pav.C.); Uygh. *ejen* (Lob.); S.-Uygh. *eren;* Krm. *eren*; Tat. *irɛn* (dial.); Kirgh. *eren*; Kaz. *eren*; Khak. *iren*. ◊ ЭСТЯ 1, 290-291.

‖ A Turk.-Mong. isogloss.

✱**pʿarkV** excrement: Tung. ***parga- (~ -rk-)**; Mong. ***hargal**; Turk. ***ark**.

PTung. ***parga- (~ -rk-)** excrement, to defecate (помет, испражняться): Man. *fažan*, *faža-*; SMan. *fažən* (104, 497, 2327).

◊ TMC 1, 50. Attested only in Manchu (with -ž- regularly < *-rg- or -rk-), with probable parallels in Turkic and Mongolian; despite Rozycki 72-73 borrowing from Mong. is extremely unlikely.

PMong. ***hargal** dung, excrement (навоз, кизяк): MMong. *horγ[a]l* (IM), *hărγal* (MA); WMong. *arγal*, *arγasu(n)* (L 52); Kh. *argal*; Bur. *argal*; Kalm. *arγəsn̥*; Ord. *argal*; Dag. *xargal* (Тод. Даг. 174); S.-Yugh. *harʁal*; Mongr. *xarGar* (SM 161), (MGCD: *xarGal*).

◊ KW 14, MGCD 118. Mong. > Chag. *arγasun*, see Щербак 1997, 203; > Evk. *argahun* (see Doerfer MT 130 - but not Man. *fažan*!), Russ. dial. *argál*, *argasún* (Аникин 94, 95).

PTurk. ***ark** excrement (навоз, экскременты): Karakh. *arq* (MK); Turkm. *arq* (А-Б); Khal. *harq*; MTurk. Kypch. *arq* (Houts.); Khak. *arɨx*.

◊ EDT 213, VEWT 26.

‖ EAS 53, 125, Poppe 11, Цинциус 1984, 33. A Western isogloss.

✱**pʿărV** thill: Tung. ***para**; Mong. ***(h)aral**; Turk. ***arɨĺ**; Kor. ***parko**.

PTung. ***para** 1 saddle arc 2 sleigh 3 thill (1 лука седла, клин (посреди лука) 2 сани 3 оглобля): Evk. *hara*, dial. *hāren* 1; Man. *fara* 2, 3; SMan. *farə* 'shaft' (1252); Ul. *para* 2; Ork. *paṵra* 'полозья'; Nan. *para* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 316-317. TM > Dag. *pār* 'sleigh' (Тод. Даг. 160).

PMong. ***(h)aral** thill (оглобля): MMong. *aral* 'axle, pivot' (HY 18); WMong. *aral* (L 48); Kh. *aral*; Bur. *aral* 'carriage; thills'; Ord. *aral*; Dag. *aral* (MGCD 116); S.-Yugh. *aral* (MGCD 116); Mongr. *rāl* (MGCD 116).

◊ TMN 2, 40. Note that both HY and Southern Mong. forms point to *0- (if we are not dealing with later loans). Mong. > Sol., Oroch *aral* id.

PTurk. ***arɨĺ** thill (оглобля): Tur. dial. *arɨš*; Turkm. *arɨš*; MTurk. *arɨš* (Pav. C.); Uzb. dial. *arɨš*; Krm. *arɨš*; Tat. *arɨš*; Bashk. *arɨš*; Kaz. *arɨs*; KBalk. *arɨš*; KKalp. *arɨs*; Kum. *arɨš*; Nogh. *arɨs*.

◊ VEWT 26, TMN 2, 40-41, ЭСТЯ 1, 189-191, Лексика 555. Turk. > Kalm. *arš* 'thill' (KW 15). The word is attested late, and Clauson 1965, 166 proposes a loan < Arab. *ʕariṣ*.

PKor. ***parko** a k. of horse-drawn sleigh (вид саней, запрягаемых лошадьми): MKor. *parko*; Mod. *palgu*.

◊ Nam 245, KED 724.

‖ Poppe 11, 77, 78-79, Цинциус 1984, 32-33, Ramstedt 1916, 3, Lee 1958, 108, Лексика 555, Rozycki 74. The root is frequently quoted, but indeed rather problematic (cf. TMN 2, 40-41). If the Mong. form is **aral* (accounting for the HY and South Mong. evidence), and the Turkic form is borrowed from a different source, all we are left with are the Tungus and Korean forms - which, however, are difficult to explain as loans.

✱**pʿǎsi** to hang: Tung. ***pasi-**; Mong. ***(h)asa-**; Turk. ***as-**; Jpn. ***písà(n)k-**.

PTung. ***pasi-** to hang (повисать, повесить): Man. *fasi-*; Ork. *pasị-*; Nan. *pasị-*; Orch. *xasi-*.

◊ TMC 1, 464.

PMong. ***(h)asa-** to climb up; to stick, cling to (ползти вверх; цепляться к чему-л.): WMong. *asa-* (L 55); Kh. *asa-*; Bur. *aha*; Kalm. *as-*.

◊ KW 16.

PTurk. ***as-** to hang (висеть): OTurk. *as-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *as-* (MK); Tur. *as-*; Gag. *as-*; Az. *as-*; Turkm. *as-*; Khal. *has-*; MTurk. *as-* (Sangl., Houts.); Uzb. *ɔs-*; Uygh. *as-*; Krm. *as-*; Tat. *as-*; Bashk. *aϑ-*; Kirgh. *as-*; Kaz. *as-*; KBalk. *as-*; KKalp. *as-*; Kum. *as-*; SUygh. *as-*; Tv. a's-; Chuv. *us-*, *os-*.

◊ VEWT 28, EDT 240, ЭСТЯ 1, 192-193, Егоров 277, Федотов 2, 289.

PJpn. ***písà(n)ka-** to hold in hands (держать в руках): OJpn. *p(j)isaga-*; MJpn. *fisàga-*; Tok. *hisage-*.

◊ JLTT 690 (but the derivation < **piki-sanka-*, based on the modern expressive variant *hissage-*, is wrong; the word is attested as *p(j)isaga-* in OJ).

‖ KW 5, 16, Poppe 65, Цинциус 1984, 34-35. The Mong. parallel is somewhat dubious semantically.

✱**pʿátà(kV) (~ -tʿ-)** fish fin; gills: Tung. ***pati(ke)**; Turk. ***atkak**; Jpn. ***pátá**.

PTung. ***pati(ke)** 1 tail fin 2 fish tail (1 хвостовой плавник 2 хвост рыбы): Neg. *xepkī* 2; Man. *fetxe* 1, *fetxeku* 2; Ul. *patị* 2; Ork. *pačị*, *pačịkke* 1,2; Nan. *pačī* 1, *pačqị* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 482; 2, 35.

PTurk. ***atkak** gills (жабры): Khak. *atpax*; Shr. *attaq*; Oyr. *atqaq*.

◊ VEWT 31. A local Siberian word; should be kept distinct from **ạt(ki)*- 'pinch, pinchful, handful' (q.v. sub **pʿǎtʿà(-kV))*.

PJpn. ***pátá** fish fin (рыбий плавник): OJpn. *pata*; MJpn. *fátá*.

◊ JLTT 401.

‖ The root is very similar phonetically to **pʿǎtʿà(-kV)* 'bottom, lower side' and the two roots could in fact have influenced each other in Turkic and Japanese. The TM languages, however, clearly oppose them. The TM evidence may indeed point to a different second vowel in 'fish fin' - perhaps a reconstruction like **pʿátì(kV)* would be more

plausible; in the latter case the -a-vocalism in Jpn. would be secondary, under the influence of **pˊǎtˊà(-kV)* 'bottom'.

✱**pˊátˊà** uncultivated land, field: Mong. ***(h)atar**; Turk. ***Atɨŕ**; Jpn. ***pátà / *pàtá**; Kor. ***pàt(h)**.

PMong. ***(h)atar** uncultivated land (необработанная земля): WMong. *atar* (L 58); Kh. *atar*; Bur. *atar*; Mongr. *atər* (MGCD 124) < lit..

PTurk. ***Atɨŕ** watered field, boundary (орошаемое поле, межа): Karakh. *atɨz* 'any strip of land between two dikes' (MK); Turkm. *atɨz*; Uygh. *etiz*; Kirgh. *adɨr* 'холмистая местность, увалы'; Kaz. *atɨz*; Shr. *adɨs* 'загон 1/18 десятины'.

◊ VEWT 31, EDT 73. Turk. > Mong. *atiz* (Щербак 1997, 102). Cf. also **ātag* 'island'.

PJpn. ***pátà / *pàtá** field (поле): OJpn. *pata*; MJpn. *fàtá*; Tok. *hatá*, *háta*; Kyo. *hátà*; Kag. *hátà*.

◊ JLTT 401. Reflexes reveal a variation between **pátà* (Tokyo *hatá*, Kagoshima *hátà*) and **pàtá* (RJ *fàtá*, Tokyo *háta*, Kyoto *hàtá)*.

PKor. ***pàt(h)** field (поле): MKor. *pàt*, *pàth*; Mod. *pat [path]*.

◊ Nam 244, 250, KED 741.

‖ EAS 53, SKE 192-193, Poppe 51, 82, Menges 1984, 284, АПиПЯЯ 16, 67, Martin 231.

✱**pˊàtˊà** to strike, hit: Tung. ***pāt(i)-**; Mong. ***(h)atalga**; Turk. ***ạt-**; Jpn. ***pàtà-k-**; Kor. ***pat-**.

PTung. ***pāt(i)-** 1 to strike, hit 2 clapper, beetle 3 to hew off (1 бить, ударять 2 колотушка 3 отделять, разделывать тушу): Evk. *hatal-* 3 (Sakh.); Neg. *pāṭi* 2 (< South.); Ul. *pāṭi-čị-*, *pāṭi-la-* 1, *pāṭi* 2; Ork. *pāt-čụ-* 1; Nan. *pāčị-čị-* 1, *pačị* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 57, 2, 35. Shortness in the Evk. form (attested only in the innovative Sakh. dialect) is evidently secondary.

PMong. ***(h)atalga** adze (долото): WMong. *atalɣa*; Kh. *atlaga*; Bur. *atalga*; Kalm. *atḷɣə*.

◊ KW 18. Mong. > Yak. *adalɣa*, Kirgh. *atalɣɨ* etc. (ЭСТЯ 1, 201-202).

PTurk. ***ạt-** to throw, shoot (бросать, стрелять): OTurk. *at-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *at-* (MK); Tur. *at-*; Gag. *at-*; Az. *at-*; Turkm. *at-*; Khal. *hat-*; MTurk. *at-* (Abush., Pav. C.); Uzb. *ɔt-*; Uygh. *at-*; Krm. *at-*; Tat. *at-*; Bashk. *at-*; Kirgh. *at-*; Kaz. *at-*; KBalk. *at-*; KKalp. *at-*; Kum. *at-*; Nogh. *at-*; SUygh. *at-*; Khak. *at-*; Shr. *at-*; Oyr. *at-*; Tv. *at-*; Chuv. *ĭvъt-*, dial. *ut-*; Yak. *ɨt-*; Dolg. *ɨt-*.

◊ EDT 36, VEWT 31, ЭСТЯ 1, 199-200, 203, 204, Егоров 342, Федотов 2, 469, Stachowski 262.

PJpn. ***pàtà-k-** to flap, clap, slap (хлопать, выбивать): MJpn. *fatak-*; Tok. *haták-*; Kyo. *háták-*; Kag. *hàtàk-*.

◊ JLTT 685.

PKor. ***pat-** to strike against, push, gore with the horns (ударять, толкать, бодать): Mod. *pat-* (-d-).

◊ KED 721.

‖ SKE 194, 247, PKE 147, Цинциус 1984, 36.

✱**pʿǎtʿà(-kV)** bottom, lower side: Tung. ***pata, *pataka**; Mong. ***hatku**; Turk. ***ạt(kɨ-)**; Jpn. ***pátá**; Kor. ***pàtók**.

PTung. ***pata, *pataka** 1 feet pads 2 fetlock 3 sole 4 bottom 5 paw, hoof 6 sledge runner 7 butt (of tree) (1 подушечки на лапе 2 щетка под копытом 3 подошва 4 дно, низ 5 лапа, копыто 6 полоз нарты 7 комель, дерево, погруженное в воду): Evk. *hata* 1,2; Evn. *hat* 3,4, *hatịqa* 2; Neg. *xata* 1,2; Man. *fatan* 3,4, *fatχa* 5; SMan. *fatəhə*, *fatəqə* 'hoof' (2289); Ul. *pata* 6; Ork. *patta* 7; Nan. *pata* 5; Ud. *xedi* 6.

◊ TMC 2, 318. Some languages reflect a variant **piakta* (**piatka*) - see TMC 2, 320.

PMong. ***hatku** handful; to clutch (горсть; сжимать в руке): MMong. *xatqu* (SH); WMong. *adqu*, *adqu-* (L 12); Kh. *atga*; Bur. *adxa*; Kalm. *atxə*, *adəg*; Ord. *adxu*, *adxu-*; Dag. *xatku* (Тод. Даг. 175; MGCD: *xataku*); S.-Yugh. *atGə-*, *atGəm* (< lit.).

◊ KW 1, 17, MGCD 124.

PTurk. ***ạt(kɨ-)** 1 handful 2 pinch(ful) 3 barb of the fish-fork hook (1 горсть, пригоршня 2 щепотка 3 бородка, зазубрина крючка острги): Tur. *atɨm* 2, *atkɨ* 'weft; wooden fork; strap on footwear, scarf'; Az. *atGɨ* 'cross-bar', *atɨm* 2; Turkm. *atɨm* 2; Uzb. *ɔtim* 2; Tat. *atqɨrɨ* (dial.) 'cross-beam'; Kirgh. *atɨm* 2; Oyr. *atqaq* 3; Tv. *adɨm* 1, *atqaq* 3, *atpaq* 'hanger for horse harness', *atpaq-ta-l-* 'to hitch on to smth.', *atpaŋna-* 'grasp (of a child)'; Chuv. *ɨdam* 'armful'.

◊ Егоров 344, Мудрак Дисс. 85, VEWT 31. If we exclude obvious loans from Mong. *adqu-*, all the other forms clearly fall into two types. 1) PT **ạtɨm* 'handful, pinchful' 2) PT **Atkɨ-* 'smth. hitched, clutching, clinging'. The latter (Tuva *atkak*) is linked in EDT 47 with OUygh. *atqaq* 'vikalpa'. There is a number of OUygh. Buddhist terms that can be derived from a stem meaning 'grasp, hitch': *atqaq* '1) vikalpa, attachment to the material world (whence borrowed in Mong. atqaɣ 'illusion, prejudice'), 2) *viṣaya*, 'idea, notion, subject', *atqaq-lɨɣ* 'appertaining to smth.', *atqa-n-* 'be connected, clinging to (the material world)', *atqa-nč-sɨz* 'devoid of sense perceptions', *atqanγu* 'viṣaya', *atqanγu-luγ* 'correlated' (cf. (*alquqa*) *atqanγuluγ tutǯaqlɨγ* 'correlated (with everything) (and) grasping (everything)'), see ДТС 68, EDT 47. This all seems to indicate a primary root **ạt-* meaning both 'to cling, hitch on to smth., grasp' and 'a grasp, handful' (also 'armful' if we take into account the Chuv. meaning). Note that in Siberian languages this root (**ạt-ka-k*) is additionally confused with the local word for 'gills' - which has a quite separate Altaic origin (see under **pʿátà(kV)* 'fish fin').

PJpn. ***pátá** side (край, сторона): OJpn. *pata*; MJpn. *fátá*; Tok. *hàta*; Kyo. *hátá*; Kag. *hatá*.

◊ JLTT 401. Accent in Kagoshima is irregular.

PKor. ***pàtók** bottom, lower part (дно, нижняя часть): MKor. *pàtók*, *pàtáŋ*; Mod. *padak*.

◊ Nam 237, KED 703.

‖ EAS 52, KW 1, Poppe 11, 50, Цинциус 1984, 35, 36, Lee 1958, 109, АПиПЯЯ 70, Дыбо 317, Лексика 252-253, Rozycki 75. In Kor. cf. perhaps also MKor. *pàtháŋ* 'step (of stairs)', *ptɨ́r* 'staircase', 'yard'. The original meaning was no doubt 'bottom', 'bottom side', with a subsequent development > 'bottom of hand or foot' > 'sole, palm' in the Western Altaic region. In Turkic and Mongolian such a semantic change was probably favoured by a contamination with yet another PA root, **pʿetʿV* 'to pinch' (q.v.), so that the final meaning resulted in 'take a handful, clutch'.

✱**pʿát̓ʿi** trousers, boots: Tung. ***pati**; Turk. ***ētük**; Kor. ***pàtì**.

PTung. ***pati** winter boots (унты): Evk. *hati*.

◊ TMC 2, 318-319.

PTurk. ***ētük** boot (ботинок, сапог): OTurk. *etük* (OUygh.); Karakh. *etük* (MK); Tur. *edik*; Turkm. *ǟdik*; Sal. *ītix*, *itix*; MTurk. *etük* (Pav. C.), *ötük* (Бор. Бад., Pav. C.); Uzb. (dial.) *ädik*, *ötik*, *ötük*; Uygh. *ötük*; Tat. *itĭk*; Kirgh. *ötük*; Kaz. *etik*; KKalp. *etik*; Kum. *etik*; Nogh. *etik*; Khak. *ödək*; Oyr. *ödük*; Tv. *idik*; Chuv. *adъ*; Yak. *eterbes*; Dolg. *eterbes*.

◊ EDT 50, VEWT 52, ЭСТЯ 1, 319-321, Егоров 36, Лексика 479, Stachowski 48.

PKor. ***pàtì** trousers (брюки): MKor. *pàtì*; Mod. *paʒi*.

◊ Nam 237, Liu 360, KED 709.

‖ The Evk. word, albeit isolated in TM, builds a good bridge between the Turkic and the Korean forms.

✱**pʿē** to be unable: Tung. ***pē-**; Mong. ***jada-**; Jpn. ***piá-r- (~ -ai-)**.

PTung. ***pē-** to be unable, not dare (не мочь, не решаться): Evk. *hē-*; Evn. *hē-*.

◊ TMC 2, 358.

PMong. ***jada-** to be unable, have no power (не мочь): MMong. *jada-* (SH, HY 54, IM); WMong. *jada-* (L 422); Kh. *jada-*; Bur. *jada-*; Kalm. *jadə-* (KPC); Ord. *jada-*; Mongr. *jadā-*, *idā-* 'se fatiguer, être épuisé' (SM 188).

◊ Mong. > Oyr. *jada-* etc. (ЭСТЯ 4, 67-68), Dolg. *ʒadaŋi* (Stachowski 88); > Manchu and South Tung. *jada-* 'to be poor, weak' (Rozycki 222).

PJpn. ***piá-r- (~ -ai-)** to humble oneself; become less (унижаться; уменьшаться): OJpn. *p(j)er-*; MJpn. *fér-*; Tok. *hèr-*; Kyo. *hér-*; Kag. *hér-*.

◊ JLTT 687.

‖ One of the common Altaic monosyllabic verbal roots; Mong. and Jpn. reflect suffixed forms.

✱**pʿéčʿV** to be tired, defeated: Tung. ***peče-**; Mong. ***heče-**; Turk. ***ēč- (~ī-)**.

PTung. ***peče-** to be tired (уставать): Evk. *heče-*; Evn. *heč-*.

◊ TMC 2, 372-3.

PMong. ***heče-** to be exhausted, tired (уставать): MMong. *xiǯe-* 'to be confused' (HY 36), *hiči-* (MA), *həče-* (LH); WMong. *eče-* (L 291); Kh. *ece-*; Bur. *ese-*; Kalm. *ecə-*; Ord. *eči-* 'to become lean'; Mog. *ečä-* (Ramstedt 1906); Dag. *xeče-* (Тод. Даг. 176: *xeč̌e-*), *xeči-*; Dong. *heče-*; S.-Yugh. *χǯē-*.

◊ KW 129, MGCD 273.

PTurk. ***ēč- (~ī-)** to submit (подчинять): OTurk. *ičik-* (Orkh., OUygh.), *ečik-* (Yen.); Karakh. *ečik-* (MK); Turkm. *eǯīz* 'weak, fenceless'; Uygh. *ečin-* 'to repent, regret'; Khak. *is-* 'to obey'.

◊ EDT 25.

‖ EAS 96, PKE 32, Цинциус 1984, 72. A Western isogloss. Despite Poppe 1966, 198, 1972, 99, Doerfer MT 98, TM cannot be borrowed from Mong. A Western isogloss: the Korean parallel mentioned in PKE 32 (*č:i-* 'be inferior to, weakened') is unreliable - probably a misreading of *či-* id.

✱**pʿedí** energetic: Tung. ***pede**; Mong. ***(h)ide**; Turk. ***ide (/*ede)**; Jpn. ***pintua-**.

PTung. ***pede** swift, energetic (быстрый, энергичный): Neg. *xeden*; Nan. *pede*; Orch. *xidus* (adv.).

◊ TMC 1, 480.

PMong. ***(h)ide** 1 energy, force, craft 2 energetic, young (1 энергия, сила 2 энергичный, юный): WMong. *ide* 1 (L 398), *ider* 2 (L 400); Kh. *id* 1, *ider* 2; Bur. *edi* 1, *edebxi* 'activity'; Kalm. *idə* 1 (KPC); Ord. *ẹde* 1; S.-Yugh. *idir* 2 (< lit. *ider*).

◊ MGCD 406. Mong. > Yak., Dolg. *eder* (Kał. VIII, Stachowski 43).

PTurk. ***ide (/*ede)** very, of course, emphatic adverb (очень, усилительное наречие): OTurk. *idi* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *iδi* (KB); *iδrig* 'anything hard' (MK - Argu); Tat. *eje*; Bashk. *eje*; Kirgh. *iji*; Kaz. *ije*; Khak. *əze*; Shr. *eze*; Tv. *ide*; Chuv. *ara*; Yak. *iti*.

◊ EDT 41, 65, ЭСТЯ 1, 335. Tat., Chuv. *ije* 'yes', erroneously related here in ЭСТЯ, have different connections, cf. Khak. *ja* 'yes', Tof. *ijen*, *ijne*, MTurk. Xwar., Kypch., Osm. *ineŋ*, *inen* (EDT 42); the Kypchak forms above, because of the merger of *-d- and *-j-, can have either origin.

PJpn. ***pintua-** horrible; extreme (ужасный, чрезвычайный): MJpn. *hido-*; Tok. *hidó-*; Kyo. *hídò-*; Kag. *hído-*.

◊ The word is attested late (since Edo) and the accent reconstruction is not clear; however, its Chinese origin (suggested in JLTT 848) is dubious.

‖ The meaning 'horrible' in Japanese must be secondary, going back to < 'extreme' < 'powerful, energetic', reflected elsewhere.

✱**pʿèjkʿV** brain, head: Tung. ***pējKe**; Mong. ***heki**; Kor. ***pákì**.

PTung. ***pējKe** 1 brain 2 forehead 3 top of the head (1 мозг 2 лоб 3 темя, макушка): Evk. *hējē*, *heje* 2; Evn. *hēje* 3; Neg. *xējē* 2; Man. *fexi* 1; SMan. *fixe* (5) 1; Ul. *pēje* 2; Ork. *pēje* 2; Nan. *pēje* 2.

◊ TMC 2,304, 361.

PMong. ***heki** 1 head 2 front (1 голова 2 начало, перед): MMong. *xeki* (SH, HYt), *hikin* (MA) 1; WMong. *eki(n)* 2 (L 305); Kh. *ex* 2; Bur. *exi(n)* 1; Kalm. *ekṇ* 2; Ord. *eχe* 1, 2; Mog. *ekin* 1; ZM *ekin* (2-1a); Dag. *xeki* (Тод. Даг. 175), *heki* 1 (MD 159); S.-Yugh. *šəgən* 1; Mongr. *xəgi* 'source, commencement' 2 (SM 166).

◊ KW 118, MGCD 274.

PKor. ***pákì** top of the head (темя, верхушка головы): MKor. *tjáŋ-pákì* (*tjáŋ-* < Chin.).

◊ Nam 155.

‖ KW 118, АПиПЯЯ 294, Poppe 56, Lee 1958, 109. Despite Doerfer MT 236, TM is not borrowed from Mong. Mong. *h- (not b-) before a long vowel indicates PA *pʿ.

✱**pʿèjló** belly, liver: Tung. ***pēlbu-**; Mong. ***helige**; Jpn. ***pàrà**; Kor. ***pǎi**.

PTung. ***pēlbu-** to be pregnant (быть беременной): Evk. *hēlbu-*.

◊ TMC 2, 363. Attested only in Evk., but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***helige** liver (печень): MMong. *xeligan* (HY 47), *xelige(n)* (SH), *hilgä* (IM), *iligän* (MA); WMong. *elige* (L 309); Kh. *eleg*, *elgen*; Bur. *eĺge(n)*; Kalm. *elkṇ*, *elgṇ*; Ord. *elege*; Mog. *ilkan* 'Herz' (Weiers), *elkän*; ZM *elkan* (4-2a); Dag. *xeleg* (Тод. Даг. 175), *helehe* (MD 159); Bao. *helgə*, *xelge*; S.-Yugh. *heleɣe*; Mongr. *xalege* (SM 152), *xelige*, *xalige* (Huzu), *xelge* (MGCD).

◊ KW 119, MGCD 257.

PJpn. ***pàrà** belly (живот): OJpn. *para*; MJpn. *fárà*; Tok. *hará*; Kyo. *hárà*; Kag. *hará*.

◊ JLTT 399. Modern dialects (especially Kagoshima) point to **pàrà*, but the attested RJ form is *fárà*.

PKor. ***pǎi** belly (живот): MKor. *pǎi*; Mod. *pä*.

◊ Nam 251, KED 743.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 68, 90 (with literature), 274, Martin 243. See also notes on **boga*. Medial *-j- is reconstructed to account for the loss of -l- in Korean; Mong. *h- before a long vowel indicates PA *pʿ-.

✱**pʿèjńé** bone: Tung. ***peń-ŋen**; Mong. ***ja-su**; Turk. ***(j)ẹ̄n-čik**; Jpn. ***pànià**; Kor. ***s-pjə́**.

PTung. ***peń-ŋen** knee (колено): Evk. *henŋen*; Evn. *henŋen*; Neg. *heńŋen*; Ul. *peńe(n-)*; Ork. *pene*, *peŋe(n-)*; Nan. *peiŋẽ*; Orch. *heŋŋe*, *heŋen*; Ud. *heŋe*; Sol. *eŋẽ*.

◊ TMC 2, 366.

PMong. ***ja-su** bone (кость): MMong. *jasun* (HY 15, 48, SH), *jāṣon* (IM), *jasun* (MA); WMong. *jasu(n)* (L 430); Kh. *jas(an)*; Bur. *jaha(n)*; *jangarxaj* 'shin-bone'; Kalm. *jasṇ*; Ord. *jasu*; Mog. *jōsun*; KT *jɔ̄sun* (6-4b);

Dag. *jas* (Тод. Даг. 147), *jase* (MD 169); Dong. *jasun*; Bao. *jasoŋ*; S.-Yugh. *jasən*; Mongr. *jasə* (SM 490).

◊ KW 217, MGCD 737, TMN 1, 553. Cf. also Kalm. *jan-dəγər* 'bony', Bur. *jandagar* 'bony'.

PTurk. ***(j)ḗn-čik** 1 shin, shank 2 shin bone 3 boot-top strap 4 heel (1 голень 2 кость голени 3 ремешки для подтягивания голенищ 4 пятка): Karakh. *jinǯik* 2 (IM); Tur. *inǯik* 1; Turkm. *īnǯik* 1, 2; Sal. *inǯix* голень (ССЯ); MTurk. *inǯik* 'cou de pied' (Pav. C.); Krm. *inčik*, *inǯik* 1; Tat. *jinǯik* 1 (КСТТ); Bashk. *jensek* 1; KBalk. *inčik* 2; Shr. *enǯik* 4; Oyr. *enčik* 4 (Leb.); Tv. *inčik* 3; Yak. *inńiäx* 1 (Пек. 1941).

◊ VEWT 172, 203, Лексика 286.

PJpn. ***pànià** bone (кость): OJpn. *p(w)one*; MJpn. *fònè*; Tok. *honé*; Kyo. *hóne*; Kag. *honé*.

◊ JLTT 414.

PKor. ***s-pjə́** bone (кость): MKor. *spjə́*; Mod. *p:jə*.

◊ Nam 258, KED 774.

‖ Martin 226, АПиПЯЯ 12, 13, 39-40, 67, 92, 274, Лексика 286. The irregular tone correspondence between Turk. and Kor.-Jpn. here should be probably explained by a secondary contraction *-ej- > *-ḗ- in PT. The medial *-j- is also responsible for the loss of *-ń- in Kor. and for the emergence of *j- in Mong. (**ja-su* < **jan-su* < **pʿejńe-sV*). Kor. has here the *s-prefix (cf. also **s-kòrí* 'tail', **s-pɨ́r* 'horn').

✱**pʿèkʿà** to emit, throw: Tung. ***peK-**; Mong. ***haka-la-**; Turk. ***ek-**; Jpn. ***pàk-**; Kor. ***phɨ́-**.

PTung. ***peK-** 1 to throw 2 to scatter, strew (1 бросать, кидать 2 сыпать): Man. *faχa-* 1; Ork. *pektikke-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 46, 297.

PMong. ***haka-la-** to throw, abandon (бросать, выкидывать, покидать): Mongr. *χaGala-*, *šGala-* (SM 149).

PTurk. ***ek-** 1 to sow 2 to scatter (1 сеять 2 разбрасывать): OTurk. *ek-* (Late OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *ek-* (MK, KB) 1, 2; Tur. *ek-* 1; Gag. *ek-* 1; Az. *äk-* 1, 2; Turkm. *ek-* 1; Sal. *ex-* 1; Khal. *häk-* 1; MTurk. *ek-* (Abush., Sangl.) 1; Uzb. *ek-* 1; Uygh. *ek-* 1; Krm. *ek-* 1; Tat. *ik-* 1; Bashk. *ik-* 1; Kirgh. *ek-* 1; Kaz. *ek-* 1; KKalp. *ek-* 1; Nogh. *ek-* 1; Chuv. *ak-* 1.

◊ EDT 100, ЭСТЯ 1, 251-252. Turk. > Hung. eke 'plough' (< **äkäγ*), see Gombocz 1912.

PJpn. ***pàk-** to spit out; to emit (выплевывать; испускать): OJpn. *pak-*; MJpn. *fàk-*; Tok. *hák-*; Kyo. *hák-*; Kag. *hàk-*.

◊ JLTT 684.

PKor. ***phɨ́-** to emit, spread (испускать, распространять): MKor. *phɨ́-*; Mod. phi-.

◊ Nam 464, KED 1772.

‖ SKE 184. See also notes to **bi̯ura* 'abandon'.

✱**pˊěkˊV** acid, astringent: Tung. ***pekču-**; Mong. ***(h)ekeɣü**; Turk. ***ek-ĺči-**.

PTung. ***pekču-** acid, astringent (терпкий, вяжущий, острый (на вкус)): Man. *fekčuxun*.

◊ TMC 2, 304. Cf. perhaps Evk. *hepkeripču* 'bitter' (TMC 2, 368) < **pek-pe-ripču* ?

PMong. ***(h)ekeɣü** acid, bitter (кислый, горький): WMong. *ekegün* (L 305); Kh. *exū*; Bur. *exūn*; Kalm. *egūn*, *ekūn*; Ord. *ekūn*.

◊ KW 117, 118.

PTurk. ***ek-ĺči-** 1 sour, acid, bitter 2 to be sour, bitter (1 кислый, горький 2 быть кислым, горьким): Karakh. *ekšig* (MK) 1; Tur. *ekši* 1, *ekši-* 2; Gag. *īši* 1, *īši-* 2; Az. *äkši* 1; Turkm. *egšit-* 2; MTurk. *ekši* 1, *ekši-* 2 (Pav. C.); Krm. *ekši* 1, *ekši-* 2; Chuv. *jəksü* (< **jəkśü*) 1.

◊ EDT 118, ЭСТЯ 1, 259-260, Мудрак Дисс. 199.

‖ TMC 2, 304. A Western isogloss.

✱**pˊéle (~ -o)** to mock; to feel mocked at, be shy, distracted: Tung. ***pel-**; Mong. ***hel-**; Turk. ***elük**; Jpn. ***pə́rá-**.

PTung. ***pel-** 1 to insult, mock 2 not dare (1 оскорблять, издеваться 2 не сметь): Evk. *hel-* 2; Man. *fele-* 1; SMan. *felə-* 'to murder a superior person' (741).

◊ TMC 2, 304.

PMong. ***hel-** 1 to be sad, anguish 2 to decline (of mental facilities), be dumbfounded 3 wild, ignorant (1 быть печальным, тосковать 2 отупеть, остолбенеть 3 дикий, невежественный): MMong. *xelumu-* 1 (HY); WMong. *elemeg* 3 (MXTTT); Kh. *elmere-* 2 (Gomb.), *elmeg* 3.

PTurk. ***elük** mockery, ridicule (насмешка, издевательство): Karakh. *elük* (MK); Turkm. *ilgezik* 'glib, jaunty' (?); Krm. *elik*; Khak. *eləк*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 1, 264-265, EDT 142. Turk. > WMong. *eleg*, *ileg*, Khalkha *eleg* (KW 119).

PJpn. ***pə́rá-** 1 to be distracted 2 to fall in love, lose one's head (1 смущаться, быть сбитым с толку 2 влюбляться, терять голову): OJpn. *p(w)ora-* 1, 2; MJpn. *fóra-* 1, 2; Tok. *hòre-* 2; Kyo. *hóré-* 2; Kag. *horé-* 2.

◊ JLTT 692.

‖ Цинциус 1984, 68.

✱**pˊěĺo** to walk, to run: Tung. ***peli- (/*puli-)**; Mong. ***hülde-**; Turk. ***ẹĺ-**; Jpn. ***pàsìr-**; Kor. ***pǎrb-**.

PTung. ***peli- (/*puli-)** 1 to walk 2 to hurry (1 ходить 2 спешить, торопиться): Evk. *helde-* (dial.) 1, *helin-(če)-* 2; Evn. *höl-* 1, *helīŋ-(či)-* 2; Neg. *xul-* 1, *xenindu-* 'in a hurry'; Man. *feĺe-* 1; Jurch. *ful-ĉwi* (421) 1; Ul. *pulikte-* 1; Ork. *puli-* 1, *pelin-* 2; Nan. *pul-si-* 1, *penin-* 2; Orch. *xuli-* 1; Ud. *xuli(hi)-* 1, *xelin-e-* 2; Sol. *ul-*.

◊ TMC 2, 363-364. A probable derivative is **pelbu-* 'to lead, take with oneself' (TMC 2, 363).

PMong. ***hülde-** to chase (гнать): MMong. *xulde-* (SH); WMong. *ülde-* (БАМРС); Kh. *ülde- / öldö-*; Bur. *ülde-*.

PTurk. ***ẹĺ-** to walk, trot, amble (ходить, брести, ехать иноходью): OTurk. *eš-* (Orkh.); Karakh. *eš-* (MK); Tur. *eš-*; Gag. *ieš-*; Tat. *äšt-* (dial.); Oyr. *eš-* (dial.); Chuv. *iš-*; Yak. *is-*; Dolg. *is-*.

◊ EDT 255, ЭСТЯ 1, 316, Stachowski 129.

PJpn. ***pàsìr-** to run (бежать): OJpn. *pasir-*; MJpn. *fàsìr-*; Tok. *hashír-*; Kyo. *háshír-*; Kag. *hàshìr-*.

◊ JLTT 685.

PKor. ***pă̆rb-** to tread, trample (ступать, топтать): MKor. *pă̆rp-* (-w-); Mod. *pāp-* [*pālp-*].

◊ Nam 247, KED 732.

‖ Цинциус 1984, 46-47, JOAL 119, Street 1985, 646.

✱**pʿémi** thread, twist a thread: Tung. ***pem- / *pim-**; Mong. ***himer-**; Jpn. ***pímə́**.

PTung. ***pem- / *pim-** 1 to wind, be twisted 2 loop on a thread, rope (1 скручиваться 2 петля (на конце аркана или веревки), кольцо (для аркана)): Evn. *hemъr-* 1, *hịmqan* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 325, 366.

PMong. ***himer-** to spin, twist (a thread) (сучить, вить (нить)): WMong. *imer-* (L 409); Kh. *imre-*; Bur. *emir-*; Kalm. *imṛ-*; Ord. *ẹmere-*, *emere-*, *imere-*; S.-Yugh. *xemeri-*.

◊ KW 208, MGCD 410.

PJpn. ***pímə́** lace, thread, rope (шнурок, нить, веревка): OJpn. *pjim(w)o*; MJpn. *fímó*; Tok. *hìmo*; Kyo. *hímó*; Kag. *hímo*.

◊ JLTT 407.

‖ Cf. notes to **pʿujme* for possible reflexes in Manchu, Jurchen and Korean.

✱**pʿeńu** a k. of edible root: Tung. ***peńe-kte**; Mong. ***(h)ojimu**; Turk. ***Ań**.

PTung. ***peńe-kte** name of an edible root (вид съедобного корня): Evk. *heńekte*; Evn. *hīntъ* 'лилия даурская, сарана'.

◊ TMC 2, 325, 367.

PMong. ***(h)ojimu** fern (папоротник): WMong. *ojimu*, (L 604) *ojima*; Kh. *ojim*; Kalm. *ojm* (KPC 393).

PTurk. ***Ań** onion, edible root (сарана): Kaz. *āj*, *aj* (Katanov); Khak. *aj* (Koib.); Tv. *aj̃*; Tof. *aj̃*.

◊ VEWT 10.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**pʿéŋi** to gape, hole: Tung. ***peŋ-**; Turk. ***eŋ-**; Jpn. ***pímá**; Kor. ***pə̀ŋ-**.

PTung. ***peŋ-** 1 hole in ice or snow 2 to laugh, chuckle (1 полынья, проталина 2 смеяться, хохотать): Evk. *heŋke* 1, *heŋne-* 2; Evn. *heŋke* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 367. On the possibility of uniting the meanings 'hole' and 'laugh' see below.

PTurk. **eŋ-** 1 to be perplexed 2 stupid 3 bashful, gauche 4 to torture, pester (1 быть в недоумении 2 глупый 3 застенчивый, робкий 4 измучить, привести в состояние растерянности): Karakh. *eŋ-* 1; (caus.) *eŋit-*, *eŋtür-* (MK); *endik* 2 (MK); Tur. (dial.) *endik* 3; MTurk. (Xwar.) *entik* 2 (Qutb); Uzb. *enka-tenkasini čiqar-* 4; Kirgh. *enõ* 'ротозей', *ente-* 'to become confused', *eŋke* 'stupid person'; Khak. *iŋde-t-* 'to flounder (of thoughts)'; Chuv. *ankъ-minkə* 'stupidity, madness' (but may be < Tat., see **aŋ-*); Yak. ? *eŋej-* 'to look greedily on food, wait for a sop'.

◊ EDT 168, 179, 181, ЭСТЯ 1, 155, 156-157 (sub **aŋ-* 'perplexed, silly').

PJpn. ***pímá** gap (промежуток, щель): OJpn. *p(j)ima*; MJpn. *fímá*; Tok. *hìma*; Kyo. *hímá*; Kag. *híma*.

◊ JLTT 406.

PKor. ***pə̀ŋ-** 1 to open up, spread open (slightly) 2 to smile, grin, chuckle (1 раскрываться, приоткрываться 2 улыбаться, смеяться, хохотать): MKor. *pə̀ŋʼí-*, *pə̀ŋkír-* 1; Mod. *paŋgɨ-*, *pəŋgɨ-*, *paŋgɨt* [*paŋkɨs*] *ha-*, *pəŋgɨt* [*pəŋkɨs*] *ha-* 1, 2.

◊ Liu 381, KED 736, 772.

‖ SKE 197-198. Most languages reveal a variation of meanings 'gap' > 'to gape' (> 'laugh, smile, be perplexed'). On a possible trace of this root in Mong. see **àŋa*.

✱**pʿépʿa** a k. of insect: Tung. ***pep-**; Mong. ***haba-kai**; Turk. ***apa-**; Jpn. ***pápái**.

PTung. ***pep-** 1 locust 2 earth-worm (1 саранча 2 земляной червь): Man. *febsexe* 1, *febǵe* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 304. Attested only in Manchu, but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***haba-kai** spider (паук): WMong. *abaqai*, (L 3) *abaɣaqai* (Bur. and Kalm.); Kh. *avgaldaj*; Bur. *abāxaj*; Mongr. *xāxə̄* (SM 151), *xāxai*.

◊ See also notes to **araɣalžin* (sub **ara*).

PTurk. ***apa-** grasshopper (кузнечик): Shr. *abačaq*; Oyr. *abačɨjaq*; Chuv. *oba ləʷbəʷžəʷ* 'бабочка совка', *oba nъrri* 'медведка (насекомое)'.

◊ VEWT 1. Contaminations with *abačɨ* 'чучело', *aba* 'father > bear'.

PJpn. ***pápái** fly (муха): OJpn. *pape*; MJpn. *fáfé*; Tok. *hàe*; Kyo. *háé*; Kag. *háe*.

◊ JLTT 395.

‖ An expressive root (possibly denoting originally some kind of locust or grasshopper), with some tabooistic changes in Turkic and Mongolian.

✱**pʿéra** bee: Tung. ***perē-**; Mong. ***herbekei**; Turk. ***ārɨ**; Jpn. ***pátí**; Kor. ***pər-**.

PTung. ***perē-** bumble-bee (шмель): Evk. *herēptin* (Bac.).

◊ Attested only in Evk., but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***herbekei** butterfly (бабочка): MMong. *xerbegai* (HY 12), *hirbäkäi* (MA); WMong. *erbekei*, *erbeɣekei* (L 319); Kh. *ervēxij*; Bur. *erbēxej*; Kalm. *erwēkē*; Ord. *erwēkī*; Dong. *həbəɣəi*; Mongr. *xalege* (SM 152), *xelige*, *xalige* (Huzu), *xerbuge* (MGCD).

◊ KW 127, MGCD 264.

PTurk. ***āri** wasp, bee (пчела, оса): Karakh. *ari* (MK); Tur. *ari*; Gag. *āri*; Az. *ari*; Turkm. *ari*, *āri* (ЭСТЯ); Khal. *hāri*; MTurk. *ari* (Sangl., Pav. C., Qutb), *aru* (AH); Uzb. *ari*, *tukli ari* 'humble-bee'; Uygh. *hɛrɛ*; Kirgh. *āri*; Kaz. *ara*, *tükti ara* 'humble-bee'; KKalp. *hɛrre*; Khak. *ār*, *tüktig ār* 'hornet'; Oyr. *arū*; Tv. *ari*, Todzh. *hari*; Chuv. *təgəld-ora* 'humble-bee' ? (*təgəl* 'shaggy'); Yak. *iŋiria*.

◊ VEWT 25, EDT 196-197, TMN 2, 47, ЭСТЯ 1, 186-187, Лексика 186, Ашм. XV, 23, Федотов 2, 213-214. Turk. > Mong. *ari* (not vice versa, despite Щербак 1997, 100).

PJpn. ***pátí** bee (пчела): OJpn. *pati*; MJpn. *fátí*; Tok. *hàchi*; Kyo. *háchí*; Kag. *háchì*.

◊ JLTT 401.

PKor. ***pər-** bee (пчела): MKor. *pər*, *pəri*; Mod. *pəl*.

◊ Liu 375, 379, HMCH 50, Nam 254, KED 764.

‖ Martin 226, АПИПЯЯ 67, Лексика 186.

✱**pʿèrì** edge: Tung. ***pere**; Mong. ***hir-**; Turk. ***Erneg**; Jpn. ***piàrì**.

PTung. ***pere** bottom, floor (дно, пол): Evk. *here*; Evn. *her*; Neg. *xeje*; Man. *fere*; SMan. *ferə* (2594); Ul. *pere(g)*; Ork. *pereɣ*, *perel*; Nan. *pereg*, *perel*; Orch. *xē*; Ud. *xē*; Sol. *eri*.

◊ TMC 2, 368-371 (PTM **per-gī* 'bottom' and **pere-mū̃* 'sole' are derived from the same root).

PMong. ***hir-** 1 floor, ground 2 bottom 3 blade, edge (of knife) 4 edge, border, shore (1 пол, почва 2 дно 3 лезвие, острие (ножа) 4 острый край, берег): MMong. *xiru'ar* (HY 51), *xira'ur* (SH), *hiruar*, *hirur* (MA) 1; WMong. *iruɣar*, *iruɣal* 1 (L 415), *ir* 3 (L 412), *irmeg* 4 (L 415); Kh. *jorōl* 2, *ir* 3, *irmeg* 4; Bur. *ojōr* 2, *eŕ* 3, *erimeg* 4; Kalm. *jorāl* 2; Ord. *irōl* 2, *īrmek*; Dag. *xigōr* 1, *xir* 3 (Тод. Даг. 146: *ir* < lit.), *šowōre*, *šigōre* 2, *šire* 3 (MD 215); Dong. *širo* 1; Bao. *holər* 1; S.-Yugh. *horūl* 1, *hir* 3, *ermeg* 4 (< lit.); Mongr. *ir* 3 (< lit.).

◊ KW 219, MGCD 411, 412, 740.

PTurk. ***Erneg** edge (of a dish) (край, кромка (посуды)): Tur. *ernek* (dial.); Turkm. *erŋek*; MTurk. *ernek* (Pav. C.); Tat. *irnäw*; Bashk. *irne-* 'to border'; Kirgh. *erdõ*; Kaz. *ernew*; KKalp. *ernek*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 1, 301. The root is attested late and may be theoretically derived from **Erin* 'lip' (v. sub **i̯ā̆ré*); however, the latter can also mean 'edge (of a dish)' in some languages and one can suspect that PT actually merged **Erin* 'lip' and **Erin* 'edge', while the form **Erneg* was derived only from the latter.

PJpn. ***piàrì** edge, brink (край): MJpn. *fèrì*; Tok. *herí*; Kyo. *hérì*; Kag. *herí*.

◊ JLTT 404.

‖ Цинциус 1984, 69-70, АПиПЯЯ 12, 281, ЭСТЯ 1, 301. Jpn. **piari* instead of **piri* probably under the influence of **pia* 'edge, border' q.v. (or else it may indicate a reconstruction **pʿèjrì*). Cf. **pʿire*.

✱**pʿerkV** to tie round, surround: Tung. ***perke-**; Mong. ***hergi-**.

PTung. ***perke-** to bind, tie round (связывать, перевязывать, обвязывать): Evk. *herke-*; Evn. *herkъ-*; Neg. *xejke-*; Ork. *pitu-* 'man's girdle'; Sol. *ekke-*.

◊ TMC 2, 369-370. Note that Ud. *xeke-*, Ul. *xerke-* and Nan. *xerke-* are rather borrowed < Man. *xergi-* < PTM **kerge-* (v. sub **kèra).*

PMong. ***hergi-** to go round (кружиться, вертеться): MMong. *xergi-* (SH), *hirgi-* (MA); WMong. *erge-*, *ergi-* (L 323); Kh. *ergi-*; Bur. *erje-*; Kalm. *ergi-*; Ord. *erge-*; Mog. irga- 'to spin a spindle' (Weiers); Dag. *ergi-* (< lit.), *xergi-*, *xorgi-* (Тод. Даг. 140, 177); S.-Yugh. *heregdī-*; Mongr. *xərgi-* (SM 167), *xargi-* (Huzu).

◊ KW 124, MGCD 267. Mong. > Man. *erguwe-* etc., see Doerfer MT 72; > Yak. *ergij-*, Dolg. *ergij-* (see Kał. MEJ 67, Stachowski 47).

‖ Poppe 103, Цинциус 1984, 70. A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**pʿĕro** to wish, desire: Tung. ***per-**; Mong. ***(h)eɣe-re- (< *here-re-?)**; Turk. ***er-**; Jpn. ***pər-**; Kor. ***pǎrá-**.

PTung. ***per-** 1 to esteem 2 to wait (1 уважать 2 ждать): Evk. *heriče-* 1, *herū-* 2; Evn. *her-* 1, *herut-/-č-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 369-370. Cf. also **perge-* 'to try; to wonder' (TMC 2, 45-46; not reflected in Evn. and Evk.).

PMong. ***(h)eɣe-re- (< *here-re-?)** to seek, wish, hope (стремиться, желать, надеяться): WMong. *eɣere-* (L 298); Kh. *ēre-*.

◊ Mong. > Yak. *eren-* 'to hope', *erel* 'hope' (Kał. MEJ 16, Stachowski 46).

PTurk. ***er-** 1 coquetry 2 cockering, endearment 3 cockered, beloved 4 entertainment , joke (1 кокетство 2 баловство, ласка 3 избалованный, любимый 4 забава, шутка): Tur. *erke* (dial.) 3; Az. *ärkä* (dial.) 2, 3; Turkm. *ermek* 4 (dial.); MTurk. *erke* 1, 2, 3 (Abush., Pav. C.); Uzb. *erkä* 1, 3, *ermak* 4; Uygh. *ärkä* 3, *ermäk* 4; Tat. *irkä* 3, (dial.) *irmäk* 4; Bashk. *irkä* 3, *irmäk* 4; Kirgh. *erke* 3, *ermek* 4; Kaz. *erke* 3, *ermek* 4; KBalk. *erke* 3; KKalp. *erke* 3, *ermek* 4; Kum. *erke* 3; Nogh. *erke* 3; Khak. *irkä* 3; Shr. *erke* 3, *erbek* 4; Oyr. *erke* 3, *ermek*, *erbek* 4; Tv. *eryе* 2; Chuv. *jərgən* 'wriggler, trickster' (Ashm.); Yak. *erke* 2.

◊ VEWT 48, ЭСТЯ 1, 296-297, 300-301, TMN 2, 181-182. The root is widely spread, although unattested in older sources; its relationship to **eríl-* 'contest' (suggested in ЭСТЯ 297) is dubious.

PJpn. ***pər-** to wish, hope (желать, надеяться): OJpn. *p(w)or-*.

◊ JLTT 693.

PKor. ***pǎrá-** to desire (желать, надеяться): MKor. *pǎrá-*; Mod. *para-*.
◊ Nam 240, KED 704.

‖ Martin 230, Дыбо 14. Cf. also MKor. *pjərǎ-* 'to purpose, intend' (cf. SKE 198).

✱**pʹerV** thumb: Tung. ***peru-**; Mong. ***herekei**; Turk. ***erŋek**.

PTung. ***peru-** thumb (большой палец): Evk. *huruɣučēn*; Evn. *hörъɣъn*; Neg. *xöjeŋen*; Man. *ferxe*; Ul. *poro(n)*; Ork. *poro(n)*, *pero(n)*; Nan. *perxe*; Orch. *xōŋo(n)*; Ud. *xue*; Sol. *orogun*, *urɣun*.

◊ TMC 2, 354. Doerfer MT 68-69 regards Manchu *ferxe* and Nan. *perxe* as borrowed from Mong., separating them from the rest of TM forms (derived ibid. from **puru-* 'to crush' - ?). This all is clearly unacceptable, because in fact we are dealing with a very clear case of e/u alternation after a labial.

PMong. ***herekei** thumb (большой палец): MMong. *xeregai* (SH), *hərəkejin* (gen.) (LH); WMong. *erekei* (L 322); Kh. *erxij*; Bur. *erxɨ*; Kalm. *erkē* (Dörbet); Ord. *ereχī*; Dag. *xereg*, (Тод. Даг. 175) *xergī*; *herehe* (MD 161); S.-Yugh. *hermegči*.

◊ KW 125, MGCD 271.

PTurk. ***erŋek** finger, thumb (палец, большой палец): OTurk. *erŋek* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *erŋek*, dial. *ernek* (MK); MTurk. *ernek* (Pav. C.); Khak. *irgek*; Oyr. *ergek*; Tv. *ergek*; Yak. *erbex*; Dolg. *erbek* 'peg'.

◊ EDT 234, ЭСТЯ 1, 299, Лексика 253-255, Stachowski 47.

‖ EAS 54, KW 125, Владимирцов 285, Poppe 11, 79, ОСНЯ 3, 73-76, Цинциус 1984, 71, ЭСТЯ 1, 299, Дыбо 318-321, Мудрак Дисс. 194, Лексика 253-255, Rozycki 76. A Western isogloss. Assumption of Mong. < Turk. (Щербак 1997, 116) is impossible. Cf. also Mong. **(h)arba-* 'to spread (of fingers)'. It is also interesting to note the equation (see Lee 1958, 109) of Manchu *fereχe siŋguri* (lit. 'fingered mouse') 'bat' = MKor. *pǎrk-čúi* id. (*čui* 'mouse'). This may be a trace of the root in Korean; however, also possible is a local merger (in Korean and Manchu) of this root with PA **pʹore* 'feather, wing' - in that case the compounds would mean rather 'winged mouse'.

✱**pʹèsì (~ -a-)** old, former: Mong. ***(h)esi**; Turk. ***es-(kü)**; Jpn. ***pìsà-si**; Kor. ***ps-kíi, *ps-tái**.

PMong. ***(h)esi** origin, beginning (происхождение, основание, начало): WMong. *esi* (L 334); Kh. *iš*; Bur. *ešе*; Kalm. *ešn*; Ord. *iši*.

◊ KW 128.

PTurk. ***es-(kü)** old, ancient (старый): OTurk. *eski* (OUygh.); Karakh. *eski* (MK, KB); Tur. *eski*, dial. *esgi*; Gag. *i̯eski*; Az. *äski*, *äsilli* 'grown up'; Turkm. *esgi*; MTurk. *eski* (Sangl., Pav. C., AH, IM); Uzb. *eski*; Uygh. *eski*, *öski*; Krm. *eski*; Tat. *iske*; Bashk. *iϑke*; Kirgh. *eski*; Kaz. *eski*; KBalk. *eski*; KKalp. *eski*; Kum. *esgi*, *eski*; Nogh. *eski*; Oyr. *eski*; Chuv.

as-lъ 'great', *az- (-atte, -anne)* 'grandfather, grandmother'; Yak. *ösük* 'ancient times'.

◊ VEWT 50, ЭСТЯ 1, 306-308, Лексика 86, EDT 246, Федотов 1, 63-64. Cf. also Turk. **asi-* 'old, last year's' (VEWT 29).

PJpn. ***pìsà-si** ancient, long ago (древний, давно): OJpn. *pjisasi*; MJpn. *fisàsi*; Tok. *hisashí-*; Kyo. *hísáshì-*; Kag. *hisashí-*.

◊ JLTT 828.

PKor. ***ps-kɨ́i, *ps-tái** 1 time 2 mealtime (1 время 2 время еды): MKor. *pskɨ́i*, *pstái* 1; Mod. t:ä 1, k:i 2.

◊ Nam 77, 147, KED 260, 418-419.

‖ See KW 128 (Turk.-Mong.), Лексика 86. Korean has a frequent vowel reduction between a stop and a fricative.

✱**pʿéta** to step, walk: Tung. ***pete-**; Mong. ***(h)ada-**; Turk. ***āt-**.

PTung. ***pete-** 1 to run quickly, hurry 2 to jump (away, off) (1 бежать, мчаться 2 прыгать, отпрыгивать): Evk. *hetekēn-* 2; Evn. *heteken-* 1; Neg. *xetexen-* 2; Man. *finte-* 2; Ul. *peten-* 2; Ork. *potčo-* 2; Nan. *petēn-* 2; Orch. *xete-* 2; Ud. *xetigen-e-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 372.

PMong. ***(h)ada-** 1 to hurry 2 hurried walking (1 спешить 2 быстрый шаг): WMong. *adaɣa-* 1 (L 9), *adam* 2 (L 10); Kh. *adga-* 1; Kalm. *adɣə-*1, *adm* 2.

◊ KW 1.

PTurk. ***āt-** 1 to step 2 to walk 3 step (n.) (1 шагать 2 ходить 3 шаг): Tur. *adɨm* 3, *adɨm* at-, Osm. *ad-* 1; Az. *adɨm* at- 1, *adɨm* 3; Turkm. dial. *āt-*, *ǟt-*, *ǟt-le-* 1, *ǟdim*, dial. *ādɨm* 3; Sal. *a'tla-* 2; MTurk. *adɨm* (Pav. C.) 3; Uzb. *ɔdim*, dial. *adɨm* 3; Uygh. *atli-* 1; Krm. *adɨm* 3; Tat. *atla-* 1, *adɨm* 3, *atɨ* 'step'; Bashk. *atla-* 1, *aδɨm* 3; Kirgh. *atta-* 1, *adɨm* 3; Kaz. *atla-* 1, *adɨm* 3; KBalk. *atla-* 1; KKalp. *atla-* 1, *adɨm* 3; Nogh. *atla-* 1, *adɨm* 3; Khak. *alta-* 1, *atɨx-* 'to jump'; Oyr. *alta-* 1 (< *atla-*); Chuv. *odъm* 3, *ot-* 2; Yak. *atɨllā-* 1; Dolg. *atɨllā-* 'to jump, hop'.

◊ VEWT 31, ЭСТЯ 1, 88-89, 322, Федотов 2, 293-294, Stachowski 39.

‖ KW 1, АПиПЯЯ 15, 71, 280 (with an erroneous Jpn. match, see **àja*). A Western isogloss.

✱**pʿètá** meat; skin: Tung. ***pētē**; Mong. ***(h)adaska**; Turk. ***et**; Jpn. ***pàntá**.

PTung. ***pētē** 1 seal fat 2 seal skin 3 seal (1 сало нерпы 2 шкура нерпы 3 нерпа): Evk. *hētē* 1; Evn. *hēte* 1, *hētes* 2; Neg. *xētē* 1, 3; Man. *fetxi* 3; Ork. *pĕte* 3, *pĕteske* 2; Orch. *xēte* 3, *xētekse* 2; Ud. *xete* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 372.

PMong. ***(h)adaska** unworked leather (необработанная кожа): MMong. *adasqa* 'old skin' (MA 402); WMong. *adasqa* (L 11); Kh. *adsaga*; Kalm. *adsxə* (KPC 28).

◊ One should mention MMong. (SH) *hudesu* 'leather' < **hede-sü* (?).

PTurk. ***et** meat (мясо): OTurk. *et* (OUygh.); Karakh. *et* (MK); Tur. *et*; Gag. jet'; Az. *ät*; Turkm. *et*; Sal. *äht*; Khal. *ät* (< Az.?); MTurk. *et* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *et*; Uygh. *ät*; Krm. *et*; Tat. *it*; Bashk. *it*; Kirgh. *et*; Kaz. *et*; KBalk. *et*; KKalp. *et*; Kum. *et*; Nogh. *et*; SUygh. *jeht*; Khak. *it*; Shr. *et*; Oyr. *et*; Tv. *e't*; Tof. *e't*; Chuv. *üt*; Yak. *et*; Dolg. *et*.

◊ VEWT 52, EDT 33, ЭСТЯ 1, 311-312, Лексика 455, Stachowski 48.

PJpn. ***pàntá** skin, flesh (кожа, плоть): OJpn. *pada*; MJpn. *fada*; Tok. *háda*; Kyo. *hàdá*; Kag. *hadá*.

◊ JLTT 395.

‖ For semantics cf. MKor. *săr* 'flesh, muscle', 'skin'. АПиПЯЯ 283, Дыбо 14, Лексика 455.

✸**pʿḗt[e]** name, to call: Tung. ***pete-**; Turk. ***āt**; Jpn. ***pəta-ja-**; Kor. ***pɨ̀rɨ̀-** / ***pɨ́rɨ́-**.

PTung. ***pete-n** fate (судьба): Man. *feten*.

◊ TMC 2, 305. Attested only in Manchu, with possible external parallels.

PTurk. ***āt** name (имя): OTurk. *at* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *at* (MK); Tur. *ad*; Gag. *āt*; Az. *ad*; Turkm. *āt*; Sal. *āt*; Khal. *āt*; MTurk. *at* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *ɔt*, dial. (Namangan) *ät*; Uygh. *at*; Krm. *ad*; Tat. *at*; Bashk. *at*; Kirgh. *at*; Kaz. *at*; KBalk. *at*; KKalp. *at*; Kum. *at*; Nogh. *at*; SUygh. *at*; Khak. *at*; Shr. *at*; Oyr. *at*; Tv. *at*; Tof. *at*, (*adɨ*); Chuv. *jat*; Yak. *āt*; Dolg. *āt*.

◊ VEWT 30-1, EDT 32-3, ЭСТЯ 1, 198-199, Егоров 355, Stachowski 41-42.

PJpn. ***pəta-** 1 to put on airs; to joke, call names 2 arrogant speech (1 кокетничать, зазнаваться; шутить, издеваться 2 надменная речь): OJpn. *p(w)otaki koto* 2; MJpn. *fotaja-* 1.

PKor. ***pɨ̀rɨ̀-** / ***pɨ́rɨ́-** to call (звать): MKor. *pɨ̀rɨ̀-* / *pɨ́rɨ́-*; Mod. *purɨ-*.

◊ Nam 270, KED 813.

‖ The parallel seems interesting (with a semantic development 'call' < > 'name' > 'omen', 'fate'), but back *ā in Turkic is not quite clear (one should rather expect **ēt*); perhaps we should reconstruct dialectal variants **pʿḗte* / **pʿḗta*. See also notes to **pōto*.

✸**pʿetʿV (~ p-, -t-)** to pinch: Tung. ***pet-**; Kor. ***ptɨ́-t-, *ptɨ̀̀-**.

PTung. ***pet-** 1 to pinch 2 to grab 3 to dig, pick 4 to pluck, collect (1 захватить щепотку, отщипнуть 2 хватать 3 копать, рыть 4 срывать, собирать): Evk. *hetu-kēt-* 1; Evn. *hetъkle-* 1; Man. *fata-* 1, *fete-* 3; SMan. *fatə-* 1, 4 (1165, 1575); Ul. *patarači-* 2; Nan. *pata-* (Он.) 4, *fete-* (Bik., Kur-Urm.) 3.

◊ TMC 2, 305, 371-372. Forms with -a- reflect a partial contamination with **pāt(i)-* q. v. sub **pʿà̀tʿà*. Rozycki 76 supposes Man. *fete-* < Mong. *ete-*, which is impossible due to the absence of *h- in Mongolian (v. sub **ìtʿù*).

PKor. ***ptɨ́-t-, *ptɨ̀̀-** to pinch, pick, pluck (срывать, выщипывать): MKor. *ptɨ́-t-*, *ptɨ̀̀-*; Mod. *t:ɨt-*, *t:a-*.

◊ Nam 137, 174, KED 380, 532.

‖ Lee 1958, 109. A Tung.-Kor. isogloss, with usual vowel loss between two stops in Kor. Cf. **patʹa.* On possible reflexes in Turkic and Mongolian (a result of contamination) see under **pʹăt̆ʹà(-kV)*.

✱**pʹĭčʹi** to drink, pour: Tung. ***piče-**; Mong. ***(h)ečüg-le-**; Turk. ***ič-**.

PTung. ***piče-** to sprinkle, gush forth (брызгать, плескать): Evn. *hečēpkin-*; Nan. *pičkē-* (Он. 331).

◊ TMC 2, 373.

PMong. ***(h)ečüg-le-** to give drinks to spirits (делать возлияния духам): WMong. *ečügelkül-* (MXTTT); Kh. *ecegle-*.

PTurk. ***ič-** to drink (пить): OTurk. *ič-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *ič-* (MK); Tur. *ič-*; Gag. *ič-*; Az. *ič-*; Turkm. *ič-*; Sal. *īč-*; Khal. *ič-*; MTurk. *ič-* (Бор. Бад., Pav. C.); Uzb. *ič-*; Uygh. *ič-*; Krm. *ič-*; Tat. *eč-*; Bashk. *es-*; Kirgh. *ič-*; Kaz. *iš-*; KBalk. *ič-*; KKalp. *iš-*; Kum. *ič-*; Nogh. *iš-*; SUygh. *i̇š-*; Khak. *əs-*; Shr. *iš-*, *eš-* (R., Верб.); Oyr. *ič-*; Tv. *iš-*; Tof. *iš-*; Chuv. *əś-*; Yak. *is-*; Dolg. *is-*.

◊ VEWT 168, EDT 19, ЭСТЯ 1, 391, Егоров 66, Stachowski 129.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**pʹĭjkʹe** rib, breast bone: Tung. ***piKen**; Turk. ***ejekü**.

PTung. ***piKen** breast bone (грудная кость): Evk. *hiken*; Evn. *hiken*.

◊ TMC 2, 323.

PTurk. ***ejekü** side, upper rib (бок, верхнее ребро): OTurk. *ejegü* (OUygh.); Karakh. *ejegü* (MK, KB); Tur. *eje*; (Osm.) *ejegi*; MTurk. *ejegü*, *üjegi* (Sangl.); Tv. *ēgi*; Tof. *ē~gi*; Chuv. *ajъk*; Yak. *ojoγos* (< **ajaku-č*?); Dolg. *ojogos*.

◊ VEWT 38, EDT 272, Егоров 38, Мудрак Дисс. 64, Лексика 275, Stachowski 190.

‖ Лексика 275. A Turk.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**pʹíjo** spindle, part of loom or cross-bow: Tung. ***pia-la-**; Turk. ***ijik**; Jpn. ***pí**; Kor. ***pu-**.

PTung. ***pia-la-** 1 part of a cross-bow 2 name of a tree (used for bows) (1 лучок (для самострела) 2 назв. дерева (употребляемого на луки)): Neg. *pêlaxa* 1; Man. *filan* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 36. The Neg. word is borrowed from some unattested Southern Tungus form.

PTurk. ***ijik** spindle (веретено): Karakh. *ik*, *jik*, *ijik* (MK); Tur. *iγ*, *ij*, *iji*; Gag. *ī*; Az. *ij*; Turkm. *īk*; MTurk. ik (Pav. C.); Uzb. *ik*, *jik*, *ǯik*; Kirgh. *ijik*; KKalp. *ijik*; SUygh. *ǯik*; Shr. *īk*; Oyr. *īk*, *ijik*; Chuv. *jəge*.

◊ VEWT 170, EDT 99, ЭСТЯ 1, 336-337, Егоров 77. Az., Turk., Gag. have a secondary voicing due to early contraction *-iji- > *-ī-. Turk. > Mong. *ig* 'spindle' (Щербак 1997, 123); the derivative **ijik-lig* (Chag. *ikliγ* 'violin', cf. Khak. *īk* id. (see VEWT 179) > Kalm. *ikəĺə* (KW 206).

PJpn. ***pí** shuttle (of a loom) (челнок (ткацкого станка)): OJpn. *pji*; MJpn. *fi*; Tok. *hi*.

◊ JLTT 405.

PKor. ***pu-** 1 to spin 2 to twist (1 сучить, прясть 2 выкручивать): MKor. *pūi-thír-*; Mod. *pɨ-* (dial., SKE 203); *pi-thɨl-*.

◊ Nam 269, KED 859. The simple verb is cited from Ramstedt's SKE; in other sources it is only attested as part of a compound with *thɨr-* 'twist' (v. sub **tokʿV).*

‖ SKE 203. An interesting common Altaic cultural term.

✱**pʿík̑ʿè (~ -k-)** to file, polish, rub: Tung. ***piKi-**; Turk. ***ḗke-**; Jpn. ***pík-**.

PTung. ***piKi-** to rub (тереть): Evk. *hiki-*; Evn. *ḥik-*; Neg. *xixi-*.

◊ TMC 2, 323.

PTurk. ***ḗke-** 1 to file 2 file (n.) (1 пилить, обтачивать 2 напильник): Karakh. *ike-* (~ *ege-*) 1 (MK); Tur. *eje* 2; Gag. *ija* 2; Az. *äjä* 2; Turkm. *īge* 2; MTurk. *ekäk* 2 (Pav. C.); Uzb. *egɔw* 2; Uygh. *ekäk*, *igäk* 2; Krm. *ege*, *egew* 2; Tat. *igä-* 1, *igäw* 2; Bashk. *igä-* 1, *igäw* 2; Kirgh. *ege-*, *ögö-* 1, *egő*, *ögő* 2; Kaz. *ege-* 1, *egew* 2; KBalk. *egew* 2; KKalp. *ege-* 1, *egew* 2; Kum. *egew* 2; Nogh. *ege-* 1, *egew* 2; Khak. *ige-* 1; Oyr. *ege-* 1, *egü* 2; Tv. *eɣe-*, *öɣe-* 1, *eɣē* 2; Chuv. *jəgev* 'whetstone'; Yak. *igī* 2; Dolg. *igī* 2.

◊ EDT 101, VEWT 38, ЭСТЯ 1, 326-328, TMN 2, 93, Егоров 77, Лексика 399, Stachowski 123.

PJpn. ***pík-** to file, to saw (пилить): OJpn. *pjik-*; MJpn. *fík-*; Tok. *hìk-*; Kyo. *hík-*; Kag. *hík-*.

◊ JLTT 689. The basic meaning of the verb attested in OJ is 'pull'; modern Jpn. has, however, also the meaning 'to file, saw', and in OJ there is a derived noun *pjikji*, *pjikji-ri* 'rubbing wood for producing fire' (where *pji-* is definitely attested and cannot be = *pi* 'fire'). The meaning 'pull' therefore is either unrelated or secondarily derived < 'file, rub'.

‖ Дыбо 15, Мудрак Дисс. 198, Лексика 399. Mong. *egeɣü* is probably borrowed from Turkic. Closed **ḗ* in Turk. is not quite clear: it is either the result of narrowing in a polysyllabic stem, or a reflex of the lost **pʿ-* (cf. the diphthongization in Chuv. *jəgev*).

✱**pʿìle (~ -i)** to fly, soar, flap: Tung. ***pīlu-**; Mong. ***hele-**; Jpn. ***pìrù(n)kap-**.

PTung. ***pīlu-** to soar; to drop (of leaves) (лететь, парить; облетать (о листьях)): Man. *f́ele-*; Nan. *pīluen-*.

◊ TMC 2, 38.

PMong. ***hele-** to soar (парить): MMong. *hilkā̆n* 'smth. drooping' (IM); WMong. *ele-* (MXTTT); Kh. *ele-*; Bur. *eli-*; Kalm. *el-* (KPC); Ord. *ele-*; Dong. *helie-*.

PJpn. ***pìrù(n)kap-** to flap, flutter (развеваться): OJpn. *p(j)irugapjer-*; MJpn. *firùgafer-*; Tok. *hirugáer-*; Kyo. *hírúgáér-*; Kag. *hirugaér-*.

◊ JLTT 690. Accent in Kagoshima is irregular.

‖ ОСНЯ 3, 105-106.

✸**pʿìlo** to dry, heat: Tung. ***pile-**; Mong. ***hil-**; Jpn. ***pə̀-**.

PTung. ***pile-** to dry under the sun (греться на солнце): Evn. *hilъt-*; Neg. *xilet-*.

◊ TMC 2, 324.

PMong. ***hil-** heat, warmth (тепло): WMong. *ilči(n)* (L 403); Kh. *ilč*; Bur. *elše* 'ray(s), warmth of the sun'; Kalm. *ilčə*; Ord. *ilči*, *ẹlči*, *nilči*; Dag. *hilči*; *šilči* (Тод. Даг. 183), *šiliči* (MD 216); S.-Yugh. *hilbər*.

◊ KW 207, 276, MGCD 409.

PJpn. ***pə̀-** to dry up (сохнуть): OJpn. *pu-* (*po-*); MJpn. *fi-*, fu; Tok. *hí-*; Kyo. *hí-*; Kag. *hì-*.

◊ JLTT 690. Final *-ə- can be determined on the basis of the caus. **pə̀-s-*, OJ *p(w)os-*.

‖ One of the few verbs losing *-lV in Jpn. (cf. **gèle* , **si̯óle*), thus possibly a monosyllabic root (**pʿìl*).

✸**pʿɨ̀mà** a k. of nut or berry: Tung. ***pimi-kte**; Jpn. ***pàmì**; Kor. ***pām**.

PTung. ***pimi-kte** red bilberry (брусника): Evk. *himikte*; Evn. *hiēmtъ*.

◊ TMC 2, 324-325. Evk. > Dolg. *himikte* (Stachowski 104).

PTurk. ***imen** oak tree (дуб): Turkm. *imen*; Uzb. *eman*; Tat. *imɛn*; Oyr. *ermen*; Chuv. *joman*, NW *öman*.

◊ VEWT 42, Егоров 348, Лексика 124, Федотов 2, 485. Cf. Mong. iman bor 'a k. of reddish tree (with black bark and round leaves)' (may be a Turkism).

PJpn. ***pàmì** Phlomis umbrosa; chestnut, acorn, filbert, oxalis (Phlomis umbrosa; каштан, лещина): OJpn. *pamji*; MJpn. *fàmì*; Tok. *-bami*.

◊ The root is present in compounds: *pasi-bamji*, *turu-bamji*, *kata-bamji* - see JLTT 397.

PKor. ***pām** chestnut (каштан): MKor. *pām*; Mod. *pam*.

◊ Nam 248, KED 733.

‖ Martin 248, JLTT 397 (Kor.-Jpn.). An Eastern isogloss.

✸**pʿɨ́mù** sign: Tung. ***pim-**; Mong. ***(h)im**; Turk. ***ɨm**; Jpn. ***púmì**.

PTung. ***pim-** sign (знак, метка): Evk. *him*.

◊ TMC 2, 324. Attested only in Evk., but hardly borrowed from Mongolian (because of h-) and having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***(h)im** sign (знак, метка на ушах скота): WMong. *im*, *ime* (L 409); Kh. *im*; Bur. *emni-* 'to mark cattle'; Kalm. *im*; Ord. *ẹm*, *im*.

◊ KW 208. Mong. > Evk. *im* (but not *him*, despite Poppe 1966, 198, 1972, 99).

PTurk. ***ɨm** sign (знак): Karakh. *im* (~*ɨm*) (MK); Tur. *im*; Turkm. *üm*; MTurk. *ɨm* (Pav. C.); Tat. *ɨm*; Bashk. *ɨm*; Kirgh. *ɨm*; Kaz. *ɨm*; KKalp. *ɨm*; Kum. *jum*; Nogh. *ɨm*; Oyr. *um*; Tv. *im*; Yak. *im*; Dolg. *imnēk* 'signed'.

◊ EDT 155, VEWT 171, ЭСТЯ 1, 278, 632-633, Stachowski 126.

PJpn. ***púmì** text, letter (текст, буква): OJpn. *pum(j)i*; MJpn. *fúmì*; Tok. *fumí*, *fúmi*; Kyo. *fúmì*; Kag. *fúmi*.

◊ JLTT 417.

‖ Цинциус 1984, 38-39, Poppe 1972, 99, АПиПЯЯ 12.

✱**pˈìrá** far: Mong. ***hiri-če-**; Turk. ***ɨra-**; Jpn. ***pàrú-kà-**.

PMong. ***hiri-če-** to separate, sunder (отделять, разъединять): MMong. *xiriče-*, *xirišе-* (SH).

PTurk. ***ɨra-k** far, distant (далекий): OTurk. *ɨraq* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jɨraq* (MK, KB); Tur. *ɨrak* adv.; Gag. *jɨraq*; Az. *iraG* adv.; Turkm. *ɨrāq* (arch.); Sal. *jɨrax*; Khal. *hɨrāq*; MTurk. *jɨraq* (Pav. C., MA), *ɨraq* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *jirɔq*, *irɔq*; Uygh. *jiraq*; Krm. *jɨraq*; Tat. *jɨraq*; Bashk. *jɨraq*; Kirgh. *ɨraaq*; Kaz. *žɨraq*; KKalp. *ɨraq*, *žɨraq*; Kum. *jɨraq*; SUygh. *jiraq*, *jüriq*; Khak. *ɨrax*; Oyr. *ɨraq*, *raq*; Tv. *ɨraq*; Tof. *ɨraq*; Yak. *ɨrāx*; Dolg. *ɨrāk*.

◊ PT*ɨra-k- is derived from **ɨra-* 'to be far'. See EDT 198, 214, ЭСТЯ 4, 286-287, Stachowski 261.

PJpn. ***pàrú-kà-** far (далекий): OJpn. *paru-ka-*; MJpn. *fàrú-kà-*; Tok. *háruka*; Kyo. *hàrúkà*; Kag. *haruká*.

◊ JLTT 399.

‖ PT **ɨra-k* = PJ **pàrú-kà* < PA **pˈìrá-kˈV*.

✱**pˈire (~ -ŕ-)** bank, steep bank: Tung. ***piri**; Mong. ***her-gi**; Jpn. ***pi(n)tipa**.

PTung. ***piri** steep (slope, bank) (крутой (склон, берег)): Evk. *hir-ki*; Evn. *hiri-le* 'rock, cliff'.

◊ See TMC 2, 327.

PMong. ***her-gi (?)** steep bank (крутой берег): MMong. (*hergi*), *ergi* (SH, HY 4); WMong. *ergi* (L 323); Kh. *ereg*; Bur. *erje*; Kalm. *ergə*; Ord. *erge*; Dag. *əriǵ*, *ergi* (Тод. Даг. 140); S.-Yugh. *eryə*; Mongr. *xargi*, *jergi* (SM 162), *xerge*, *xargi*.

◊ KW 124, MGCD 266. Mong. > Man. *ergi*, see Doerfer MT 137. Loss of *h- in Dag. and S.-Yugh. is not quite clear.

PJpn. ***pi(n)tipa** bank (берег): OJpn. *pjidipa* (dial.).

◊ Cf. MJ *fidà*, mod. *hida* 'pleat' (on cloth, but also on mountain); see JLTT 405.

‖ The comparison of PTM **piri* with PT **jā̯r* (АПиПЯЯ 13) should be abandoned, since it does not explain PT closed *ạ (on the etymology of the Turkic word see rather **šə́ro*). For a possible Korean parallel see under **pˈi̯ŏlo*. Cf. **pˈeri.*

✱**pˈĭru** to pray, bless: Tung. ***pirugē-**; Mong. ***hiruɣe-**; Turk. ***ɨr-**; Kor. ***pīr-**.

PTung. ***pirugē-** to pray (молиться, заклинать): Evk. *hiruɣē-*; Evn. *hirge-*; Neg. *xīɣē-*; Man. *firu-*; Sol. *irugē-*.

◊ TMC 2, 327-328.

PMong. ***hirüɣe-** 1 to bless 2 benediction (1 благословлять, молиться 2 благословение): MMong. *xiru'e-* (SH) 1, *hirē-* (MA 185) 1; WMong. *irüge-* 1, *irügel* 2 (L 415); Kh. *jörō̄-* 1, *jörō̄l* 2; Bur. *jürō̄-* 1, *ürō̄r* 2 (Alar.); Kalm. *jörēl* 2; Ord. *örō̄-* 1, *örō̄l* 2; Dag. *hirbe-* (Тод. Даг. 176: *xirbe-*), *šurēl* 1 (Тод. Даг. 184); Mongr. *śurō-* (SM 402) 1.

◊ KW 220.

PTurk. ***ɨr-** 1 prediction, luck 2 omen 3 premonition (1 предсказание, счастье 2 знамение 3 предчувствие): OTurk. *ɨrk* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *ɨrk* 1 (MK); Tur. *ɨrk* 1; Krm. *ɨrɨz* 'dignity'; Bashk. *ɨrɨχ* 1 (dial.); Kirgh. *ɨrk* 'welfare', *ɨrɨs* 1; Kaz. *ɨrɨq* 1; KBalk. *ɨrɨs* 1; KKalp. *ɨrɨs* 1; Kum. *ɨrɨs* 1; Nogh. *ɨrk* 3, *ɨrɨs* 1; SUygh. *ɨrq* 1; Khak. *ɨrɨx* 1, *ɨrɨs* 1; Shr. *ɨrɨs* 1; Oyr. *ɨrɨs* 1; Chuv. *ərex* 'soul; expedience'; Yak. *ɨrā* 3.

◊ VEWT 166, 167, EDT 213, ОСНЯ 3, 119-120, ЭСТЯ 1, 665.

PKor. ***pīr-** to beg, pray (просить, умолять): MKor. *pīr-*; Mod. *pīl-*.

◊ Nam 279, KED 862.

‖ EAS 53, 150, Владимирцов 181-182, Poppe 12, 60, ОСНЯ 3, 119-124, Цинциус 1984, 39, Дыбо 14. Despite Poppe 1966, 197, 1972, 100, Doerfer MT 23, TM is hardly < Mong.

✱**pʿís[a]** oblique: Mong. ***(h)isü**; Jpn. ***pású**; Kor. ***pìsk-**.

PMong. ***(h)isü** across, obliquely (наискось): WMong. *isü*; Kalm. *is*; Ord. *iš maš uguī* 'in every direction'.

◊ KW 210.

PJpn. ***pású** slanted, oblique (косой, наклонный): Tok. *hàsu*; Kyo. *hású*; Kag. *hásu*.

◊ JLTT 400.

PKor. ***pìsk-** slanted, oblique (косой, наклонный): MKor. *pìs-*, *pìs-kí-*; Mod. *pik:i-*, *pit:ul-*.

◊ Nam 279, 280, KED 850, 851.

‖ SKE 202, Martin 228. Preservation of -i- in Kor. presents a problem, as well as very scarce representation in Mong. (only Kalm.). PA *pʿ- (not *p-) is reconstructed because of *(h) in Mong., together with high pitch in Jpn.

✱**pʿísi(KV)** to break, cleave, peck: Tung. ***pis(k)-**; Mong. ***heske-**; Jpn. ***písí, *pisi(n)k-**; Kor. ***pskír**.

PTung. ***pis(k)-** 1 crack 2 to prick (with a fish-fork) 3 to split 4 to prick, incise 5 to tear 6 to be torn (1 трещина 2 колоть (острогой) 3 трескаться 4 прокалывать 5 рвать 6 (быть) разодранным): Evk. *hismat-* 4; Evn. *hịsqān-* 3; Neg. *xịskan* 1, *xịsmịkịt-* 2; Man. *pes* seme 6 (borrowed < South. Tung. or with expressive p-?); Ork. *pesitči-* 5.

◊ TMC 2, 48, 328.

PMong. ***heske-** to cut, shape, slice (вырезать): MMong. *iskǎ-*, *hečke-* (MA), *hačkə-* (LH); WMong. *eske-* (L 334); Kh. *esge-*, *esxe-*; Bur. *esxe-*; Kalm. *iškə-*, *išək-*; Ord. *esχe-*; Dag. *xerkī-* (Тод. Даг. 175), *xerke-*; Bao. *segə-*; S.-Yugh. *hədge-*.

◊ KW 211, MGCD 272. The S.-Yugh. form is a contamination of **heske* and **etke-* (see **ete-*).

PJpn. ***písí, *pisi(n)k-** 1 fish-fork 2 to break up (1 двузубые вилы, острога 2 разбивать, раздавливать): MJpn. *físí* 1, *físíg-* 2; Tok. *hishi* 1, *hishíg-* 2; Kyo. *híshíg-* 2; Kag. *hìshìg-* 2.

◊ JLTT 690. In **pisi(n)k-* RJ has high tone, but all modern dialects point rather to **pìsì(n)k-*.

PKor. ***pskɨ́r** chisel (долото): MKor. *pskɨ́r*; Mod. *k:ɨl*.

◊ Nam 74, KED 247.

‖ In Kor. cf. also *psús-tōl* 'whetstone', *psɨ́-* 'to rub', *psùs-* / *psùč-* 'to rub, to whet', *psó-* 'to sting; to shoot', *pís* 'comb'.

✸**pʿi̯ā́čʿo** acid, salty: Tung. ***pŭ̄č-**; Turk. ***iāčɨ-g**; Kor. ***pčā́-**.

PTung. ***pŭ̄č-** to spoil (of food) (испортиться (о пище)): Evk. *hūčilke-*, *hučilku-*.

◊ TMC 2, 358.

PTurk. ***iāčɨ-g** bitter, acid (горький, кислый): OTurk. *ačɨɣ* (OUygh.); Karakh. *ačɨɣ* (MK); Tur. *aǯɨ*; Gag. *aǯi*; Az. *aǯɨ*; Turkm. *āǯɨ*, *āǯɨɣ*; Sal. *āǯɨ*; Khal. *hāčuɣ*, *hāčuq*; MTurk. *ačɨ* (Abush.); Uzb. *ačči*, *ɔčči* (dial.); Krm. *aǯɨ*, *ačɨ*; Tat. *ačɨ*; Bashk. *asɨ*; Kaz. *aššɨ*; KBalk. *ačɨ*; KKalp. *aššɨ*; Kum. *aččɨ*; Nogh. *ašɨ*; Oyr. *aču*; Tv. *ažɨɣ*; Tof. *aǯɨɣ*; Chuv. *jüźə*; Yak. *ahɨ̄*; Dolg. *ahɨ̄*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 1, 89-93, Егоров 82, Мудрак 115, Stachowski 30. In most languages also attested as a verbal stem **iāčɨ-* 'to become bitter, sour'.

PKor. ***pčā́-** salty, briny (соленый): MKor. *pčā́-*; Mod. *č:a-*.

◊ Nam 415, KED 1375.

‖ PKE 22. Vowel length in Tung. is not clear (the root is attested only in some Evk. dialects, thus the phonology is not quite reliable here). Kor. has a usual vowel reduction between a stop and affricate.

✸**pʿi̯ȁge** rain: Tung. ***pigi-n**; Mong. ***(h)aɣa-**; Turk. ***jag-**; Kor. ***pí**.

PTung. ***pigi-n** 1 storm 2 wind (1 буря 2 ветер): Evk. *xigin* 2; Neg. *xiɣin* / *xijin* 1; Ul. *piwsu(n)* 1; Ork. *sii* 1; Nan. *piugi-* 1 (v.); Ud. *sī* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 322.

PMong. ***(h)aɣa-** heavy rain (ливень): WMong. *aɣadar* (L 12); Kh. *ādar*; Bur. *ādar*.

PTurk. ***jag-** 1 to rain 2 rain (1 идти (о дожде) 2 дождь): OTurk. *jaɣ-* 1 (Orkh.), *jaɣmur* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *jaɣ-* 1 (MK, KB); Tur. *jā-* 1, *jāmur* 2; Gag. *jā-* 1, *jāmur* 2; Az. *jaɣ-* 1, *jaɣmur*, *jaɣɨš*, *jaɣɨn* 2; Turkm. *jaɣ-* 1, *jaɣmɨr*, *jaɣɨš*, *jaɣɨn* 2; Sal. *jaɣ-* 1, *jaɣmur* 2; Khal. *jaɣ-* 1; MTurk. *jaɣ-* 1, *jaɣmur* / *jamɣur* 2 (Pav. C., AH, Ettuhf., MA), *jaɣɨn* 2 (Pav. C.); Uzb. *jɔɣ-* 1, *jɔmɣir*, *jɔɣin* 2; Uygh. *jaɣ-* 1, *jamɣu(r)*, *jaŋmur*, *jeɣin* 2; Krm. *jaɣmur* 2; Tat. *jaw-* 1, *jaŋɣɨr*, *jawɨm* 2; Bashk. *jaw-* 1, *jamɣɨr*, *jawun* 2; Kirgh. *ǯā-*, *ǯau-* 1, *ǯamɣɨr*, *ǯān* 2; Kaz. *žaw-* 1, *žaŋbɨr*, *žawɨn* 2; KBalk. *žawun*, *ǯanɣur*; KKalp. *žaw-* 1, *žawɨn*, *žamɣɨr* 2; Kum. *jaw-* 1, *jaŋɣur*, *jaŋur*, *jawɨn* / *jawun* 2; Nogh. *jaw-* 1, *jamɣɨr*; SUygh. *jaɣ-* 1, *jaɣmir*; Khak. *čaɣ-* 1, *naŋmɨr* 2; Shr.

čaɣ-, *čā-* 1, *naɣbɨr*, *namɨr* 2; Oyr. *jā-*, *d́a-* 1, *d́aŋmɨr*, *d́āš* 2; Tv. *čaɣ-* 1, *ča's* 2; Tof. *čaɣ-* 1; Chuv. *śu-* 1, *śomъr* 2; Yak. *samīr* 2; Dolg. *hamīr* 2.

◊ VEWT 177, EDT 896, 903-4, 908, ЭСТЯ 4, 57, Лексика 25, Федотов 2, 135, Stachowski 95.

PKor. ***pí*** rain (дождь): MKor. *pí*; Mod. *pi*.

◊ Nam 275, KED 848.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 13, 34, 283, Vovin 2000 (with a strange assertion that PT *jag- means ʹfall').

✱**pʹi̯agu** stripes, rope ornaments: Tung. ***p[u]g-***; Mong. ***hoɣu-sur***; Jpn. ***pu***; Kor. ***poh***.

PTung. ***p[u]g-*** 1 ornament 2 drawing (1 орнамент (витой) 2 рисунок): Evk. *huɣak* 2, *hiɣerente* 1; Ork. *pūripteŋi*, *pueripteŋgi* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 323, 337.

PMong. ***hoɣu-sur*** rope (веревка): MMong. *xoošin* (SH, Козин); WMong. *oɣusur* (L 603); Kh. *ōsor*; Bur. *ōhor*; Kalm. *ōsər* (KPC); Ord. *ōsor*; Mongr. *fujāsar*.

◊ MGCD 522. Mongr. *fujā-sar* reflects a contamination with *fujā-* (PM **huja-*) 'to tie, bind'.

PJpn. ***pu*** stripes, (woven) stitch, mesh ((вышитые) полосы, швы): OJpn. *pu*.

◊ JLTT 416.

PKor. ***poh*** diaper, wrapping cloth (пеленки): MKor. *po* (*poh-*); Mod. *po*.

◊ Nam 259, KED 786. Usually treated as a loan < Chin. 褓 id., but final -h in MKor. cannot be explained.

‖ The Kor. match is somewhat dubious (even if it is not a loan, its meaning was certainly influenced by the similar Chinese word), but Mong., TM and Japanese still form a plausible match.

✱**pʹi̯agV** hot; sun, day: Tung. ***pigi-***; Mong. ***heɣe-***; Jpn. ***pí***; Kor. ***pài***.

PTung. ***pigi-*** 1 to warm, be warmed 2 to be sun-tanned (of skin) (1 греть, греться 2 загорать (о коже)): Evk. *hiɣit-* 1; Evn. *hiɣъt-* 1; Neg. *xō-* 'пригорать'; Man. *fo-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 467, 2, 322, 331. Neg. and Man. reflect **pigi-b-*.

PMong. ***heɣe-*** to heat, be heated (греть, палить; греться): MMong. *xeʹu-* (SH); WMong. *ege-*, *egege-*, *egsi-* (L 296, 297, 300); Kh. *ē-*; Bur. *igā-* 'греть (о солнце), греться (на солнце)'; Kalm. *ē-*; Ord. *ē-*; Dag. *šē-* (Тод. Даг. 183); Dong. *šie-*; Bao. *hē-*; S.-Yugh. *hī-*; Mongr. *xē-* (SM 166), *śē-*.

◊ KW 130, MGCD 248. Cf. also **heg-či-*, WMong. *egči-*, Kalm. *ekčə-* id. (KW 118).

PJpn. ***pí*** sun, day (солнце, день): OJpn. *pji*; MJpn. *fí*; Tok. *hì*; Kyo. *hé*; Kag. *hí*.

◊ JLTT 404. RJ has also a variant *fì* (besides the normal *fí*), but high tone is supported by the accent of the derived **pí-rù* 'day, daytime' (RJ *fírù*, Tokyo *hirú*, Kyoto *hírù*, Kagoshima *híru)*.

PKor. ***pài** dawn (рассвет): MKor. *sài-pài* (*sāi-* 'to dawn').

◊ HMCH 152, Nam 295 (gives *sài-pái*, although HMCH has explicitly *sài-pài*). Modern *sä-bjək* (KED 922) 'dawn' is probably related, with a secondary suffixation.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 108, 277. Final vowel uncertain, due to contractions in Kor.-Jpn. originated by the loss of *-g-.

✸**pʿi̯àká** mighty, heavy: Tung. ***piaKa**; Turk. ***iagɨr**; Jpn. ***pànkiá-**.

PTung. ***piaKa** 1 diligent, smart 2 disobedient, brave 3 to arouse (1 ловкий, старательный 2 озорной, непослушный, смелый 3 возбуждать): Evk. *hêka* 1; Evn. *hịqār* 2; Nan. *pikpu-* 3 (Он.).

◊ TMC 2, 319.

PTurk. ***iagɨr** heavy (тяжелый): OTurk. *aɣɨr* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *aɣɨr* (MK, KB); Tur. *aɣɨr*; Az. *aɣɨr*; Turkm. *aGɨr*; Sal. *aɣɨr*; Khal. *aɣị̄r*; MTurk. *aɣɨr* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *ɔɣir*; Uygh. *eɣir*; Tat. *awɨr*; Bashk. *awɨr*; Kirgh. *ōr*; Kaz. *awɨr*; KBalk. *awur*; KKalp. *awɨr*; Khak. *ār*; Tv. *ār*; Tof. *ār*; Chuv. *jɨvъr*; Yak. *ɨar*; Dolg. *ɨara-kan*.

◊ VEWT 8, EDT 88-9, ЭСТЯ 1, 85-87, Егоров 82-83, Лексика 338-339, Stachowski 258.

PJpn. ***pànkiá-** mighty, passionate, severe (мощный, страстный, суровый): OJpn. *pag(j)e-si*; MJpn. *fàgé-si*; Tok. *hageshí-*; Kyo. *hágéshì-*; Kag. *hageshí-*.

◊ JLTT 827.

‖ In Turkic one has to suppose the semantic development 'mighty, severe' > 'heavy' (cf. similarly 'important, authoritative' > 'heavy' in Mong., see under **kuńi*). Cf. also **pekʿi*.

✸**pʿi̯àlbí** a k. of small bird: Tung. ***pialakī**; Turk. ***jelbe**; Jpn. ***pìmpárí**.

PTung. ***pialakī** partridge (куропатка): Evk. *hêlakī*; Evn. *hā̈lịkị*; Neg. *xêlaxị̄*; Man. *f́eleŋku*; Ul. *pêla*.

◊ TMC 2, 320.

PTurk. ***jelbe** a k. of small bird (вид маленькой птички): Tur. *jelve*; MTurk. *jälvä* (AH); Khak. *jelbegej* 'a k. of bird' (Верб.); Oyr. *d́eleči* 'titmouse'.

◊ VEWT 196, TMN 4, 192.

PJpn. ***pìmpárí** skylark (жаворонок): OJpn. *pjibari*; MJpn. *fìbárí*; Tok. *hìbari*; Kyo. *hìbàrí*; Kag. *hibarí*.

◊ JLTT 405.

‖ Дыбо 9.

✸**pʿi̯ȁle** strap: Tung. ***pīl(a)-**; Mong. ***hila-su**; Turk. ***jelö**; Jpn. ***pírái (~-ia)**; Kor. ***pjə́rí**.

PTung. ***pīl(a)-** 1 strap(s) 2 to tug 3 belt 4 bridle (1 лямка, завязки 2 надеть лямку (на плечо) 3 ремень 4 узда): Evn. *hịlъ̣pъ̣n* 1; Neg. *xị̄la-* 2; Man. *feleku* 4; Ork. *pịtụ* (< **pil-tu*) 3; Ud. *silipti* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 323-324, 304.

PMong. ***hila-su** thread (нить): Dag. *šilās*, *xilās* (Тод. Даг. 183), *šilāse* (MD 216).

◊ MGCD 685.

PTurk. ***jelö** tether, rope for calves (веревка для привязывания жеребят, телят): Karakh. *jelü* (MK) (~ *jalu*); Tur. *ǯele* (DS); Az. *ǯälä*; MTurk. *ǯele* (Pav. C.) 'string, bow-string'; Uzb. *ǯelə*; Uygh. *ǯili* (dial.); Tat. *jele* (dial.); Bashk. *jele* (dial.); Kirgh. *ǯele*; Kaz. *ǯeli*; KKalp. *ǯelle*; Oyr. *jele*, *d́ele*; Tv. *čele*; Yak. *sele*.

◊ EDT 919, ЭСТЯ 4, 21-22. Turk. > WMong. *ǯele* (rather than vice versa, despite VEWT 125).

PJpn. ***pírái (~-ia)** women's kerchief worn as ornament (шарф, женский платок-украшение): OJpn. *pjire*; MJpn. *fíré*.

◊ JLTT 408 (confused with 'fish fin').

PKor. ***pjə́rí** guiding net rope (ведущая веревка у сети): MKor. *pjə́rí*; Mod. *pjəri*.

◊ Liu 382, KED 775.

‖ OJ has irregular tone and vowel (one would rather expect -ə-), thus a loan from Korean cannot be excluded (although the Kor. and Jpn. meanings are rather distant).

✱**pʿi̯àlkʿi** lightning, thunder: Tung. ***pialki-**; Turk. ***jAlkɨ-**; Jpn. ***pìkàr-**; Kor. ***pə́nkái**.

PTung. ***pialki- (/-rk-)** 1 to flash (of lightning) 2 lightning 3 to thunder (1 сверкать (о молнии) 2 молния 3 греметь (о громе)): Evk. *hêlki-* 1, *hêlkin* 2 (/-rk-); Ul. *pi̯čṵ-* 1; Nan. *pojqana-* 1; Orch. *xãkki-* 3.

◊ See TMC 2, 320.

PTurk. ***jAlkɨ-** 1 to glitter 2 flame, ray (1 блестеть, сиять 2 пламя, блеск, луч): Tur. *jalkɨn* 2; Turkm. *jalqɨm* 2; MTurk. *jalqun* 2 (R); Uzb. *jɔlqin* 2; Uygh. *jalqun* 2; Tat. *jalqɨ-* 1 (dial.), *jalqɨn* 2; Bashk. *jalqɨn* 2; Kaz. *ǯalqɨn* 2; Oyr. *d́alqɨn* 2.

◊ VEWT 181, ЭСТЯ 4, 106-107, Лексика 357. Usually united with **jal-* (v. sub **ǯi̯ale*), but seems to have a distinct Altaic origin.

PJpn. ***pìkàr-** to flash, glitter, shine (сверкать, блестеть, светить): OJpn. *pjikar-*; MJpn. *fikàr-*; Tok. *hikár-*; Kyo. *híkár-*; Kag. *hìkàr-*.

◊ JLTT 688.

PKor. ***pə́nkái** lightning (молния): MKor. *pə́nkái*; Mod. *pəngä*.

◊ Nam 256, KED 762.

‖ Street 1985, 641, АПиПЯЯ 13.

✱**pʿi̯ã́ńčʿi** to crush: Tung. ***pianči-**; Mong. ***niča- / *niǯa-**; Turk. ***jạnč- / *jenč-**; Jpn. ***pínták-**.

PTung. ***pianči-** to crush (разрушать, раскалывать): Evn. *hênčik-*; Neg. *xiŋčel-*.

◊ TMC 2, 321.

PMong. ***niča- / *niǯa-** to crush (ломать): WMong. *niča-či-*, *niča-la-*, *nižа-la-*, *niča-ra-*, *nižа-ra-* (L 577, 587); Kh. *ńacla-*, *ńacra-*; Bur. *ńas* 'звукоподражание, изображающее треск'; Mongr. *śǯarGə* 'cassé, brisé, fêlé, tesson' (SM 389).

◊ Mong. > Evk. *ńičā-* etc., see TMC 1, 640.

PTurk. ***jạnč- / *jenč-** to crush (ломать): OTurk. *janč-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *janč-*, *jenč-* (MK); Tur. *jenč-*; Turkm. *jenč-*; MTurk. *jenč-* (R.); Uzb. *jänč-*; Uygh. *jänč-*; Krm. *janč-*, *jenč-*, *janc-*; Tat. *jɛnče-*; Kirgh. *ǯanč-*; Kaz. *žanši-*; KKalp. *ženš-*; Kum. *janč-*; Nogh. *janši-*; Shr. *naš-*; Yak. *sɨs-* / *sɨń-*.

◊ EDT 944, ЭСТЯ 4, 184-185. Turk. > WMong. *ǯanči-*, *janči-*, KW 466, Щербак 1997, 122. See also notes to **jān(u)-* 'threaten'.

PJpn. ***pintak-** to crush (ломать, разрушать): OJpn. *p(j)idak-*; MJpn. *fídák-*.

◊ JLTT 688.

‖ Дыбо 1995b (Tung.-Mong.). In Mong. one has to suppose a contraction **niča-* < **hin(i)ča-* (cf. similarly **hunis-* > *nis-* 'to fly'). An expressive root, but seems well reconstructable for PA.

✱**pʿi̯ani** hen, chicken, hazel-hen: Tung. ***pinukī**; Mong. ***jaŋgali**; Jpn. ***pina**; Kor. ***pjəŋ-**.

PTung. ***pinu-kī** hazel-hen (рябчик): Evk. *hinukī*; Evn. *hiniki*; Neg. *xīnkī*; Man. *fóxa* 'chicken'; Ul. *pinu*; Ork. *pinu*; Nan. *pimu*; Orch. *ximmui*, *ximui*; Ud. *sumugi*.

◊ TMC 2, 300, 325.

PMong. ***jaŋgali** a k. of small variegated bird (вид маленькой пестрой птицы): WMong. *jaŋγali* (MXTTT); Kh. *jaŋgaĺ*.

PJpn. ***pina** chicken (цыпленок): MJpn. *fíná*, *fínà*; Tok. *hína*; Kyo. *hìnâ*; Kag. *hiná*.

◊ JLTT 407. Original accent is not quite clear: while modern dialects point to **pìnâ*, RJ has variants HL and HH.

PKor. ***pjəŋ-** chicken (цыпленок): MKor. *pjəŋʼari*, *píjùk*; Mod. *pjəŋari*.

◊ Liu 384, 413, KED 785.

‖ Lee 1958, 109 (Kor.-TM). Modern Jpn. *hiyoko* (JLTT 412) < Kor.

✱**pʿi̯àŋkʿi** door post, detail of a house: Tung. ***piaŋkV**; Mong. ***(h)enike**; Turk. ***jAŋak**; Jpn. ***pìnkùrái**.

PTung. ***piaŋkV** 1 shelf 2 lower tent cover (1 полка 2 нижняя покрышка чума): Evn. *hiêŋku* 2; Ul. *pêŋGa* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 36, 321.

PMong. ***(h)enike** door-post, lintel of a door (дверной косяк): WMong. *enike* (L 319); Kh. *enex*; Ord. *eneχe*.

PTurk. ***jAŋak** door post (дверной косяк): Karakh. (*qapuɣ*) *jaŋaqɨ* (MK); Tat. *jaŋaq*; Bashk. *jaŋaq*; Oyr. *jāq*; Tv. *čāq*.

◊ DT 948, ЭСТЯ 4, 123-124. The root is traditionally considered merely a variant of **jąjŋak* 'cheek, jaw' (v. sub **zi̯àni*), but it may be possible to separate them etymologically. Tat. > Chuv. *janax* > Mari, Udm. *janak* (Федотов 2, 500).

PJpn. ***pìnkùrái** a cypress plank or stave (доска или перекладина из кипариса): MJpn. *fìgùré*.

◊ JLTT 406. The first syllable is usually treated as *pi 'cypress', but the second part is not clear, and the word may well be not a compound.

‖ The Turkic form raises some questions because it has actively merged with **jąjŋak* 'cheek, jaw' < **zi̯àni* q.v.

✱**pʿi̯ári** a k. of worm: Tung. ***piaru**; Mong. ***(h)irukai**; Jpn. ***pìrû**; Kor. ***pə̀r-**.

PTung. ***piaru** 1 worm (in meat) 2 moth 3 beetle (1 червь (в мясе) 2 моль 3 жук): Man. *fáru* 1; Ul. *piru(n)* 2; Ork. *paraụ* 3; Nan. *pi̯ro*, *fi̯aro* 2; Ud. *päu* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 37.

PMong. ***(h)irukai** caterpillar (гусеница): WMong. *iruqai* (MXTT); Kh. *jarxai*.

PJpn. ***pìrû** water leech (пиявка): OJpn. *p(j)iru*; MJpn. *firú*; Tok. *híru*; Kyo. *hìrû*; Kag. *hirú*.

◊ JLTT 408.

PKor. ***pə̀r-** worm, insect (червь, насекомое): MKor. *pə̀r'əi*; Mod. *pəlle*.

◊ Nam 256, KED 766.

‖ SKE 198, АПиПЯЯ 297.

✱**pʿi̯áru** to spin, plait, wrap: Tung. ***por-**; Mong. ***horiɣa-**, ***horči-**; Turk. ***ar-**; Kor. ***pòròkí**.

PTung. ***por-** 1 to spin, turn round 2 to weave (nets) (1 кружить(ся), вращать(ся) 2 плести (сети)): Evk. *horol-* 1; Evn. *herelkin-* 'to turn into'; Neg. *xoji̯l-* 1; Man. *foro-* 1; SMan. *forə-*, *foru-* 1 (270, 1776); Ul. *pori-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 47, 334.

PMong. ***horiɣa-**, ***horči-** 1 to wrap 2 to roll, rotate (1 заворачивать, закручивать 2 вращаться): MMong. *xorči-* 2 (SH), *orčul-* 2 (IM), *hura-* 1, *horči-/orči-* 2 (MA 238, 186, 270), *horči-* 2 (LH); WMong. *orija-*, *oruɣa-* 1 (L 618, 621) *orči-* 2 (L 616); Kh. *orō-* 1, *orči-* 2; Bur. *oŕō-* 1, *oršo-* 2; Kalm. *orā-* 1, *orčə-* 2; Ord. *orō-* 1, *orčin* 'around'; Dag. *oŕē-* (Тод. Даг. 160) (< lit.); Dong. *xoro-* 1; Bao. *horə-*; S.-Yugh. *horō-*; Mongr. *furō-*, *xurō-* (SM 111, 185), *xuro-* (Minghe) 1.

◊ KW 288, 290, MGCD 531. Mong. > Kaz. *ora-* etc. (ЭСТЯ 1, 469).

PTurk. ***ar-** 1 weft, woof 2 warp (1 утóк 2 основа ткани): OTurk. *arušɨ arqaɣɨ* (Ough.) 1; Karakh. *arqaɣ* (MK, IM) 1, *arɨš* 2; Tur. *arɣač* (-ʒɨ) 1,

eriš, Osm. *arɨš* 2; Az. *arɣaǯ* 1, *äriš* 2; Turkm. *arGač* 1, *arGa-* 'шить кое-как', *eriš* 2; MTurk. *arɣač* (Sangl.) 1, *arɨš* (Sangl.) 2; Uzb. dial. *arɣa* 1; Uygh. *arqaq* 1; Khak. *arɣa-* 'вышивать гладью'; Oyr. *arkū* 1; Tv. *eriš* 2; Chuv. *ura* 1.

◊ VEWT 25, 26 (confused with **arka-*), EDT 216, 239, ЭСТЯ 1, 170, Федотов 2, 284, Лексика 396. Turk. > WMong. *arqaɣ*, Kalm. *arxəɣ* (KW 14, Щербак 1997, 101). The front row variant **eriĺ* is peculiar: it may reflect a merger with a different root, reflected in Chuv. *arla-* ʿto spin', with possible parallels in Mong. *ere-* ʿto wind, tie round', Nan. (Kur-Urm.) *erin* ʿband, necking' (TMC 2, 463).

PKor. ***pòròkí** swaddlingclothes (пеленки): MKor. *pòròkí*.

◊ Nam 260.

‖ EAS 53, 126, Poppe 11, 98, Цинциус 1984, 44-45, Rozycki 79. Despite Doerfer MT 23, TM cannot be borrowed from Mong. Kor. **pòròkí* can be alternatively compared with PT **bele-* 'to swaddle' (ЭСТЯ 2, 111-112).

✱pʿi̯ā́rV to split, crack: Tung. ***p[ia]ri-**; Mong. ***jara-**; Turk. ***jār-**.

PTung. ***p[ia]ri-** 1 to split 2 split, crack (1 расщеплять 2 щель, трещина): Evk. *hir-ke-* 1, *hiri-kte* 2; Evn. *hir* 2; Man. *fére-* 1, *fére-n*, *fi-qtu* 2; Ork. *pīri-kte* 2; Nan. *pi̯ari̯*, Bik. *fi̯ri̯gda mōni̯* 'name of a tree for making bows' ("трескун-дерево").

◊ TMC 2, 327.

PMong. ***jara-** to split open, open wide (раскрываться, расщепляться): MMong. *jāra-* (IM), *jarā-* (MA); WMong. *jara-*, *ira-* (L 412, 428); Kh. *jara-*; Bur. *jara-*; Kalm. *ir-* (KPC) 'надрезать (кожу)'; Ord. *ir-*; Dong. *jara-*; Mongr. *jāra-* (SM 489).

PTurk. ***jār-** 1 to split 2 split, crack (1 рассекать, раскалывать 2 щель, трещина): OTurk. *jar-* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *jar-* 1 (MK); Tur. *jar-* 1; Gag. *jar-* 1; Az. *jar-* 1, *jar-ɨG* 2; Turkm. *jār-* 1; Sal. *jar-* 1; MTurk. *jar-* 1 (AH); Uzb. *jɔr-* 1; Uygh. *ja(r)-* 1; Krm. *jar-* 1; Tat. *jar-* 1; Bashk. *jar-* 1; Kirgh. *ǯar-* 1; Kaz. *žar-* 1; KBalk. *ǯar-* 1; KKalp. *žar-* 1; Kum. *jar-* 1; Nogh. *jar-* 1; SUygh. *jar-* 1; Khak. *čar-* 1; Shr. *čar-* 1; Oyr. *jar-*, *ďar-* 1; Tv. *čar-* 1; Chuv. *śor-* 1; Yak. *sar-kāx* (adj.) 'split'; Dolg. *sar-kāk* (adj.) 'split'.

◊ EDT 954-955, VEWT 188-189, ЭСТЯ 4, 135-137, Федотов 2, 139,Stachowski 209. Very widespread are the derivatives **jārɨk*, **jārma* 'crack, split' (see ЭСТЯ ibid.); Turk. **jārɨm* 'half' (ЭСТЯ 4, 147) > Mong. *ǯarim*, *ǯarimduq* (KW 470, Щербак 1997, 123).

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱pʿ[i̯o]bu nest: Tung. ***pubi / *pebi**; Mong. ***heɣür**; Turk. ***uja**.

PTung. ***pubi / *pebi** nest (гнездо): Evk. *huɣi*; *hewe* 'шалаш'; Evn. *hewi*; Neg. *xūɣī*; Man. *feje*; SMan. *fei* (2299); Ud. *xui*; Sol. *ubī*, *ūwī*.

◊ TMC 2, 337.

PMong. ***heɣür** nest (гнездо): MMong. *xe'ud* (SH), *he'ut* (HYt), *ǎwur* (MA 168); WMong. *egür* (L 301); Kh. *ǖr*; Bur. *ǖr*; Kalm. *ǖr*; Ord. *ǖr*; Dag.

xeur (Тод. Даг. 176), *heure* (MD 161); Dong. *xo*; Bao. *xor*, *hor*; Mongr. *fōr* (SM 100).

◊ KW 461, MGCD 685.

PTurk. ***uja** nest (гнездо): OTurk. *uja* (OUygh.); Karakh. *uja* (MK); Tur. *juwa*; Gag. *juwa*; Az. *juwa*; MTurk. *juwa*, *uja* (AH, Ettuhf.); Uzb. *uja*; Uygh. *uwa*, *uga*; Krm. *juwa*, *uja*; Tat. *oja*; Bashk. *oja*; Kirgh. *uja*; Kaz. *uja*; KKalp. *uja*; Kum. *uja*; Nogh. *uja*; SUygh. *uja*, *oja* 'egg'; Khak. *uja*; Oyr. *uja*; Tv. *uja*; Tof. *uja*; Chuv. *jъ^{w}va*; Yak. *uja*; Dolg. *uja*.

◊ VEWT 511, EDT 267, ЭСТЯ 4, 239, Егоров 73, Stachowski 242.

‖ VEWT 511 (with a dubious Mong. parallel), АПиПЯЯ 286. A Western isogloss. The TM vocalism is not quite clear (we would expect a diphthong *ia). Kor. *pogɨm(čari)* 'nest', compared with TM in SKE 204, cannot be related for phonetic reasons.

✱**pʿi̯òkʿe** pair, couple: Mong. ***(h)ekire**; Turk. ***ẹk(k)i**; Jpn. ***pàká**; Kor. ***pə̀kɨ́-**.

PMong. ***(h)ekire** twins (близнецы): WMong. *ikere*, *ikire* (L 401); Kh. *ixer*; Bur. *exir*; Kalm. *ikr*; Ord. *eker*, *ekir*.

◊ KW 206. Mong. *ikire* 'twins' > Evk. *ikirē* etc., see Doerfer MT 99, Rozycki 115.

PTurk. ***ẹk(k)i** two (два): OTurk. *eki* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *ẹki* (MK); Tur. *iki*; Gag. *iki*; Az. *iki*; Turkm. *iki*; Sal. *išky*; Khal. *äkki*, *äkkị*; MTurk. *iki* (AH, IM); Uzb. *ikki*; Uygh. *ikki*; Krm. *ekɨ*; Tat. *ike*; Bashk. *ike*; Kirgh. *eki*; Kaz. *eki*; KBalk. *eki*; KKalp. *eki*; Kum. *eki*; Nogh. *eki*; SUygh. *šigɨ*; Khak. *eke*; Shr. *igi*; Oyr. *eki*; Tv. *ĩji*; Tof. *i'xi*; Chuv. *ikkə*; Yak. *ikki*; Dolg. *ikki*.

◊ VEWT 39, EDT 100-1, ЭСТЯ 1, 337-339, Егоров 67-68, Stachowski 124.

PJpn. ***pàká** other (другой): OJpn. *p(w)oka*; MJpn. *fòká*; Tok. *hòka*; Kyo. *hòká*; Kag. *hoká*.

◊ JLTT 413. Most dialects (and RJ) point to **pàká*, but Tokyo indicates a variant **pə́ká*.

PKor. ***pə̀kɨ́-** next, following (следующий): MKor. *pə̀kɨ́-*; Mod. *pəgɨm*.

◊ Nam 254, KED 758.

‖ EAS 93, Владимирцов 321, АПиПЯЯ 284. Mong. **(h)ekire* 'twins' = PT **ẹkiŕ* (ЭСТЯ 1, 252-254) (although it is frequently regarded as borrowed from Turk., see TMN 2, 190-191, Щербак 1997, 119-120, Rozycki 115, this is hardly the case; borrowed is Mong. *ikes* 'placenta', see Clark 1980, 39). A different etymology of the Japanese word (: MKor. *pask*) see Martin 238. Kor. has a usual verbal low tone.

✱**pʿi̯ole** blanket, skin (as covering): Tung. ***pul-sa**; Mong. ***hel-de-**; Turk. ***Eltiri**; Jpn. ***pərə**.

PTung. ***pul-sa** blanket, sleeping bag (одеяло, спальный мешок): Evk. *hulla*; Evn. *hụlrъ̄*; Neg. *xola*; Ul. *pụlta*; Ork. *pụlta*; Nan. *polta*; Orch. *xukta*; Ud. *xulaha*; Sol. *ula*.

◊ TMC 2, 345.

PMong. ***hel-de-** to dress, soften, tan (of leather) (дубить, разминать (кожу)): WMong. *elde-* (L 307); Kh. *elde-*; Bur. *elde-*; Kalm. *eld-*; Ord. *elde-*; Bao. *fələ-*; S.-Yugh. *elde-* (< lit.).

◊ KW 119, MGCD 256.

PTurk. ***Eltiri** skin of kid or lamb (шкура козленка или ягненка, каракуль): Karakh. *elri*, *eldiri* (MK); Tur. *elteri* (dial.); Turkm. *elteri*, *elter* (dial.); MTurk. *eltirik* (IM); Uygh. *älterä*; Tat. *iltĭr*; Bashk. *iltĭr*; Kaz. *eltĭrĭ*; KBalk. *eltĭrĭ*, *eltir*; KKalp. *eltiri*; Kum. *eltir*; Nogh. *eltiri*.

◊ EDT 135, ЭСТЯ 1, 269-270.

PJpn. ***pərə** cloak on armour (накидка на доспехах): MJpn. *foro*; Tok. *hóro*; Kyo. *hórò*; Kag. *hóro*.

◊ Accent is not quite clear (both Kyoto and Kagoshima may reflect literary influence).

‖ KW 119.

✱**pʹi̯ŏlge** to pray, sacrifice: Tung. ***pulga-**; Mong. ***(h)ergül**; Turk. ***ạlki-**; Jpn. ***pə(n)k- (~-ua-)**.

PTung. ***pulga-** 1 to sacrifice 2 alms, charity 3 sacrifice (1 приносить жертву 2 дары, милостыня 3 жертва): Evk. *hulga-* 1; Man. *fulexu* 2; Ud. *xula* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 344.

PMong. ***(h)ergül** sacrifice, donation (жертвоприношение, пожертвование): WMong. *ergül* (L 326); Kh. *örgöl*; Bur. *ürgel*.

◊ The word appears to be quite transparently derived from *ergü-*, *örgü-* 'to raise, lift up' (also 'to offer, present') q. v. sub **ŏ́ri*. We suspect, however, that this may be a case of secondary reanalysis: **(h)ergül* would be a quite regular reflex of **(h)elgü-r* or **(h)elgü-l* = Turk. **ạlkɨĺ* 'blessing'. Note that in Lessing's dictionary we find separate entries: *ergül* 'donation, sacrifice' vs. *örgül* 'elevation' (L 641).

PTurk. ***ạlki-** 1 to bless, praise 2 blessing, praise 3 curse (1 благословлять, восхвалять 2 благословение, хвала 3 проклятие, проклинать): OTurk. *alqa-* (OUygh.) 1, *alqiš* (OUygh., Yen.) 2; Karakh. *alqɨš* 2 (MK); Tur. *alkɨš* 2; Az. *alGɨš* 2; Turkm. *alqɨš* 2; MTurk. *alqa-* 1 (Pav. C.); Uzb. *ɔlqiš* 2; Uygh. *alqiš* 2; Krm. *alɣɨš* 2; Tat. *alqɨš* 2; Bashk. *alqɨš* 2; Kirgh. *alqa-* 1, *alqɨš* 2; Kaz. *alɣɨs* 2; *alqa-* 1 (dial.); KBalk. *alɣɨš* 2; KKalp. *alɣɨs* 2; Kum. *alɣɨš* 2; SUygh. *alqɨs* 2; Oyr. *alqa-* 1; Tv. *a'lɣɨš* 3; Chuv. *ɨlɣan* 3; Yak. *alɣā-* 1, *alɣɨ* 2 (< Tuva); Dolg. *algā-* 'to shamanize' (< Tuva).

◊ ЭСТЯ 1, 137-138, EDT 137-138, Егоров 343, Stachowski 31, Мудрак Дисс. 181 (regarding the Yak. form as borrowed < Tuva because of its vocalism).

PJpn. ***pə(n)k- (~-ua-)** to pray (молиться): OJpn. *p(w)ok-*; Tok. *koto-hog-*.

◊ JLTT 691.

‖ An interesting common Altaic religious term.

✱**pʿi̯oli (~ -ĺ-)** fly, midge: Tung. ***pulmi-kte**; Mong. ***hilaɣa-n**; Kor. ***pǎrh**.

PTung. ***pulmi-kte** midge (мошка): Evk. *hunmīkte*; Evn. *humtъčen*; Neg. *xuntuɣekte*; Ul. *pulte*, *pumikte*; Ork. *pulikte*, *pumikte*; Nan. *purmikte*; Orch. *pumikte*; Ud. *xumukte*.

◊ TMC 2, 348. Evk. > Dolg. *hünmükte* (Stachowski 115).

PMong. ***hilaɣa-n** fly (муха): WMong. *ilaɣa* (MXTTT); Kh. *jalān*; Bur. *ilāhan*; Kalm. *iləsṇ* ʿmidge(s)' (PKC); Dag. *xilā* (Тод. Даг.).

PKor. ***pǎrh** fly (муха): MKor. *phǎr*, *phǎrì*; Mod. *phāri*.

◊ Nam 462, KED 1730.

‖ Mong. and Kor. reflect a common derivative **pʿi̯oli-gV*.

✱**pʿi̯ŏlo** way, path; patch, precipice: Tung. ***pile-**; Turk. ***jōl**; Kor. ***pjər-**.

PTung. ***pile-** 1 thawed patch 2 open (ground) (1 проталина 2 открытое место): Evk. *hile*, *hilekē* 1, -kēn 2; Evn. *hileŋe* 1; Neg. *xilexe* 1; Man. *fili-ta-χun* 2; Ud. *sileŋe-gisi-* 'to form (of thawed ground patches)'.

◊ TMC 2, 324.

PTurk. ***jōl** road (дорога): OTurk. *jol* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *jol* (MK, KB); Tur. *jol*; Gag. *jol*; Az. *jol*; Turkm. *jōl*; Sal. *jol*; Khal. *juōl*; MTurk. *jol* (Pav. C., MA); Uzb. *jụl*; Uygh. *jol*; Krm. *jol*; Tat. *jul*; Bashk. *jul*; Kirgh. *ǯol*; Kaz. *žol*; KBalk. *žol*; KKalp. *žol*; Kum. *jol*; Nogh. *jol*; SUygh. *jol*; Khak. *čol*; Shr. *čol*; Oyr. *ḑol*; Tv. *čol* 'fate'; Tof. *čol* 'fate'; Chuv. *śol*; Yak. *suol*; Dolg. *huol*.

◊ VEWT 205-6, EDT 917, ЭСТЯ 4, 29, 217-218, Федотов 2, 131, Лексика 531, Stachowski 112.

PKor. ***pjər-** precipice; road above precipice (обрыв; дорога над обрывом): MKor. *pjəro*, *pjər*; Mod. *pjəraŋ*, *pjəre*, *pjəru*.

◊ Nam 258, KED 775.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 283. Mong. *ǯol* 'luck', usually compared with PT **jōl* (see VEWT 206 etc.), should be rather regarded as a loanword (because of the specific meaning), see TMN 4, 226-227, Щербак 1997, 124. The TM form is compared to Kor. *pəl* 'meadow, plain' (SKE 196), for which another etymology is given in АПиПЯЯ (see **pʿāla*). Note, however, that Kor. *pjər-* may be also derived from PA **pʿi̯āre* 'split, precipice' (q.v.).

✱**pʿi̯ŏĺo** star: Mong. ***hodu**; Turk. ***jul-duŕ (*-diŕ)**; Jpn. ***pə́sí**; Kor. ***pjər**.

PMong. ***hodu** star (звезда): MMong. *xodun* (HY 1, SH), *hudun* (IM), *hudun* (MA); WMong. *odu(n)* (L 600); Kh. *od*; Bur. *odon*; Kalm. *odṇ*; Ord. *udu*; Dag. *xodo*, *xod* (Тод. Даг. 176), *hode* (MD 162); Dong. *xodun*; Bao. *xodoŋ*; S.-Yugh. *hodən*; Mongr. *fōdi* (SM 99).

◊ KW 283. Mong. > Manchu *odontu* 'starred, having stars' (see Rozycki 166).

PTurk. ***jul-duŕ (*-diŕ)** star (звезда): OTurk. *jultuz* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *julduz* (MK); Tur. *jɨldɨz*; Gag. *jɨldɨs*; Az. *ulduz*; Turkm. *jɨldɨz*; Sal. *jyldus*; Khal. *julduz*; MTurk. *julduz* (Pav. C., MA); Uzb. *julduz*; Uygh.

jultuz; Krm. *jɨldɨz*; Tat. *joldɨz*; Bashk. *jondoδ*; Kirgh. *ǯɨldɨz*; Kaz. *žu̱ldɨz*; KBalk. *žulduz*; KKalp. *žuldɨz*; Kum. *julduz*; Nogh. *juldɨz*; SUygh. *juldɨs*; Khak. *čɨltɨs*; Shr. *čɨltɨs*; Oyr. *ďɨldɨs*; Tv. *sɨldɨs*; Tof. *sɨltɨs*; Chuv. *śъʷldъʷr*; Yak. *sulus*; Dolg. *hulus*.

◊ VEWT 210, TMN 3, 260-1, EDT 922-3, ЭСТЯ 4, 279-280, Лексика 53, Stachowski 111.

PJpn. ***pə́sí*** star (звезда): OJpn. *p(w)osi*; MJpn. *fósí*; Tok. *hòshi*; Kyo. *hóshí*; Kag. *hóshi*.

◊ JLTT 415.

PKor. ***pjər*** star (звезда): MKor. *pjər*; Mod. *pjəl*.

◊ Liu 383, HMCH 151, KED 780.

‖ PKE 150, Martin 243, АПиПЯЯ 13, 36, 90, 277. In TM cf. perhaps Evn. *hildenre-* 'to dawn' (TMC 2, 324). In Turkic one would rather expect **juĺ-*, but the root is only used with the suffix *-du-ŕ, and in preconsonantal position *-Í- and *-l- were neutralized ("Helimski's rule"). Note Turk. **jul-du-* = Mong. **ho-du-* (< **hol-du-*) (= Evk. *hil-de-*), with the same affixation throughout the Western Altaic area.

✱**pʹi̯ȍpo (*pʹȍjpo)** to cut through, grind: Tung. ***pībē-***; Mong. ***(h)öb-***; Turk. ***ob-***; Jpn. ***pə̀pur-***; Kor. ***pìpɨ́i-***.

PTung. ***pībē-*** to whet, sharpen (точить): Evk. *hīwē-*; Evn. *hīw-*; Neg. *xīwu-*; Man. *fojfo-*; Ul. *pīwe-*; Ork. *pīwē-*; Nan. *pi̯a-*; Orch. *xīwe* 'whetstone'; Ud. *sue* 'whetstone'; Sol. *īwe* 'whetstone'.

◊ TMC 2, 321-322.

PMong. ***(h)öb-*** 1 to flay, skin 2 small pieces, fragments (1 сдирать кожу, свежевать 2 кусочки, мелкие части): WMong. *öbči-* 1, *öbdel* 2 (L 627); Kh. *övči-* 1, *övdöl* 2; Bur. *übše-* 1, *übdel* 2; Kalm. *övče-* 1 (KPC 411); Ord. *öbči-* 1; Mog. *übči-* 'to cut in pieces' (Weiers).

PTurk. ***ob-*** to crush, mince, grind (давить, крошить, молоть, измельчать): Karakh. *uv-* (*ov-*) (MK, KB); Tur. *ov-*, *oγ-*; Gag. *ū-*; Az. *ov-*; Turkm. *ov-*; Khal. *hu̱v-* 'rub'; Uygh. *uva-*; Krm. *uw-*; Tat. *u(w)-*; Bashk. *ɨw-*; KBalk. *uw-*; Kum. *uw-*; SUygh. *uγ-*; Khak. *uγ-*; Tv. *ū-*; Chuv. *ъʷv-* 'grind'; Yak. *ub-ax*.

◊ VEWT 510, ЭСТЯ 1, 401-403, 560-561, EDT 4-5.

PJpn. ***pə̀pur-*** to cut through (разрезать, зарезать): OJpn. *p(w)opur-*; MJpn. *fòbúr-*.

◊ JLTT 691.

PKor. ***pìpɨ́i-*** to bore through; to rub (сверлить; тереть): MKor. *pìpɨ́i-*; Mod. *pibi-*.

◊ Nam 277, KED 854.

‖ In TM cf. also derived forms: Orok *pīpu*, Ul. *pīpu*, Ud. *siγi* 'drill' (TMC 2, 39) - possibly reflecting a contamination with **pi̯ubi* q.v. In

Turkic one would rather expect *job-, so perhaps we should rather reconstruct *pˈȍjpo.

✱**pˈi̯ŏpˈ[á]** to walk, go away: Tung. ***pupē-**; Mong. ***jabu-**; Turk. ***(j)ēp-**; Jpn. ***pápúr-**.

PTung. ***pupē-** to go away, become separated (отлучаться): Evn. *hupēn-*.

◊ TMC 2, 351. Attested only in Evn., but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***jabu-** to walk (ходить): MMong. *jabu-* (HY 34, SH), *jābu-*, *jabu-* (IM), *jabu-* (MA); WMong. *jabu-* (L 420); Kh. *java-*; Bur. *jaba-*; Kalm. *jow-*; Ord. *jawu-*; Mog. *jobu-*; Dag. *jaw(a)-*, *jau-* (Тод. Даг. 147), *jau-* (MD 169); Dong. *javu-*; Bao. *ju-*; S.-Yugh. *jawə-*; Mongr. *jū-* (SM 494), (MGCD, Minghe *jau-*).

◊ KW 220, MGCD 731, TMN 1, 546. Mong. > Man. *jō-* etc., see Poppe 1966, 196, Doerfer MT 82, Rozycki 222.

PTurk. ***(j)ēp-** 1 be on one's way 2 send (1 быть в пути 2 посылать): Turkm. *īber-* 2; Uzb. *ibɛr-*, *jubɔr-* 2; Uygh. *ebɛr-* 2; Krm. *jeber-*; Tat. *žibɛr-* 2; Bashk. *jebɛr-* 2; Kirgh. *ʒiber-* 2; Kaz. *žiber-* 2; KKalp. *žiber-*; Nogh. *jiber-* 2; Chuv. *jabal-* 1; Yak. *īp-* 1.

◊ ЭСТЯ 1, 322-324, Мудрак Дисс. 198. The explanation < **īd-bar-* 'lead and take' is clearly unsatisfactory.

PJpn. ***pápúr-** 1 to roam, wander 2 to throw away (1 бродить 2 выбрасывать, оставлять): OJpn. *papur-* 2; MJpn. *fáfúra-* 1, *fafur-* 2; Tok. *hȍr-*; Kyo. *hŏr-*; Kag. *hŏr-*.

◊ JLTT 692. MJ *fafi-iri* 'entrance', mod. *hairu* 'to enter' may represent the same root (influenced by **pap-* 'to crawl' q. v. sub **pˈȍba).*

‖ Дыбо 13. The etymology seems convincing, despite some vocalic problems (we would either expect **jāp-* in Turkic or **pəp-* ~ **pup-* in Jpn.).

✱**pˈi̯ȍrí** back, West: Tung. ***perki-n / *purki-n**; Mong. ***hörö-ne**; Turk. ***ār-t**; Jpn. ***pìntárí**.

PTung. ***perki-n / *purki-n** West (запад): Jurch. *fu-ri-si* (591); Ul. *perxi(n)*; Nan. *perxi*.

◊ TMC 2, 48.

PMong. ***hörö-ne** West (запад): MMong. *xorone* (HY 50), *xorene*, *xorone* (SH); WMong. *öröne*, (L 644) *örüne*; Kh. *örnö*; Bur. *ürne*.

PTurk. ***ār-t** 1 back 2 mountain pass (1 спина, задняя сторона; 2 перевал): OTurk. *art* 1, 2 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *art* 1, 2 (MK, KB); Tur. *art* (-dɨ) 1; Gag. *ārd* 1; Az. *ard* 1; Turkm. *ārt* 1; Sal. *ardi* 1; Khal. *hārt* 1; MTurk. *art* 1 (Pav.C), 2 (Бор. Бад.); Uzb. *ɔrt* 1; Uygh. *art* 1; Krm. *art* 1; Tat. *art* 1; Bashk. *art* 1; Kirgh. *art* 1, 2; Kaz. *art* 1; KBalk. *art* 1; KKalp. *art* 1; Kum. *art* 1; Nogh. *art* 1; SUygh. *ard*; *art* 1; Shr. *artɨɣ* 'shoal'; Oyr. *art* 1; Tv. *a'rt* 1; Tof. *a'rt* 1; Yak. *ārtɨk* 2.

◊ EDT 200-201, VEWT 26-27, ЭСТЯ 1, 179-180.

PJpn. ***pìntárí** left (левый): OJpn. *p(j)idari*; MJpn. *fidári*; Tok. *hìdari*; Kyo. *hìdàrí*; Kag. *hidarí*.

◊ JLTT 405.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 12. The Jpn. match is somewhat dubious semantically (possible if one assumes 'left' < 'West') and has an irregular low tone.

✱**pʿi̯ŏŕe (~ *pʿĕŕo)** to screw, carve, scratch: Tung. ***pur- / *per-**; Mong. ***(h)erü-**; Turk. ***ẹŕ-**; Jpn. ***pə̀r-**.

PTung. ***pur- / *per-** 1 screw 2 to engrail 3 bore, drill 4 to gnaw (of mice, rats) 5 notch, scar (1 винт, винтовая нарезка 2 делать винтовую нарезку 3 сверлить 4 грызть (о мышах, крысах) 5 зазубрина): Evk. *huriwūk* 1, *huril-* 2, *herewul* 3; *purul-* 3 (< **Nan.*); Man. *furdan* 5; Nan. *furgi-* 4.

◊ TMC 2, 44, 303, 352.

PMong. ***(h)erü-** to dig, hack (копать, рубить, долбить): WMong. *erü-* (L 332).

PTurk. ***ẹŕ-** 1 to scratch, scrape 2 to knead, press 3 to grind, crush 4 to soak, dilute 5 to rub, smear (1 скрести, царапать 2 разминать, давить 3 толочь, растирать 4 мочить, разжижать 5 растирать, обмазывать): Karakh. *ez-* (MK) 1; Tur. *ez-* 2, 3, 4; Gag. *ez-* 2, 3; Az. *äz-* 2; Turkm. *ez-* 4; Khal. *äz-* 2; MTurk. *ez-* (Бор. Бад., Pav. C.) 5; Uzb. *ez-* 2, 5; Uygh. *äz-* 2, 3; Krm. *ez-* 2, 3; Tat. *iz-* 2; Bashk. *iδ-* 2; Kirgh. *ez-* 2; Kaz. *ez-* 2, 4; KBalk. *ez-* 2, 3; KKalp. *ez-* 2; Kum. *ez-* 3; Nogh. *ez-* 2; Chuv. *ir-* 2, 4.

◊ EDT 279, ЭСТЯ 1, 235-236, Егоров 71, Федотов 1, 170.

PJpn. ***pə̀r-** to dig, carve, engrave (копать, вырезать, гравировать): OJpn. *p(w)or-*; MJpn. *fòr-*; Tok. *hór-*; Kyo. *hór-*; Kag. *hòr-*.

◊ JLTT 693.

‖ Poppe 103. The Jpn. form may reflect a merger with another root > Mong. **bula-* 'to dig, bury'.

✱**pʿi̯ŏtʿe (~ -t-, *pʿi̯ătʿu)** light: Tung. ***puta-**; Turk. ***ạt-**; Kor. ***pjə̀t**.

PTung. ***puta-** 1 to blaze 2 light of fireflies 3 firefly 4 dark red (1 загораться, сверкать, блестеть 2 свет (от светляков) 3 светляк 4 темно-красный): Evk. *huta-l-* 1; Evn. *hutā-l-* 1; Neg. *xotol-xotol* 1; Man. *fataqu* 4; Ul. *pụta-lụ-* 1, *pụta-ǯa(n)* 2; Ork. *pụtamụ* 3; Nan. *potal* 1; Orch. *xuta-rā̆-* 1; Ud. *xuta-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 356. There is also a variant **pude-*, see TMC 1, 475.

PTurk. ***ạt-** to dawn (рассветать): Karakh. *at-* (MK, Tefs.); Tur. *at-*; Gag. *at-*; Turkm. *at-*; MTurk. *at-* (Abush.); Uygh. *at-*; Tat. *at-*; Bashk. *at-*; Kirgh. *at-*; Kaz. *at-*; KBalk. *at-*; KKalp. *at-*; Kum. *at-*; Nogh. *at-*; Khak. *at-*; Shr. *at-*; Oyr. *at-*; Tv. *a't-*; Tof. *a't-*; Yak. *ɨt-*.

◊ Usually confused with **at-* 'to shoot, throw', but certainly distinct.

PKor. ***pjə̀t** light (свет): MKor. *pjə̀t*; Mod. *pjət* [*pjəth*].

◊ Nam 258, KED 786.

‖ SKE 199.

✱**pʹi̯udo (~ pʹi̯odo)** to wake, cause: Tung. ***pidu- (~ -ü-)**; Mong. ***(h)uda-**; Turk. ***od-**.

PTung. ***pidu- (~ -ü-)** to instigate, cause (заставлять, обязывать): Evn. *hidu-*.

◊ TMC 2, 323. Attested only in Evn., with possible parallels in Turkic and Mongolian.

PMong. ***(h)uda-** to conceive, design, instigate (затеять, задумать): WMong. *uda-* (L 861: *udu-*); Kh. *uda-*; Ord. *udu-*.

PTurk. ***od-** 1 awake 2 to wake up (intr.) 3 to wake up (trans.) (1 бодрствующий 2 просыпаться 3 будить): OTurk. *oduɣ* 1, *odun-* 2, *odɣur-* 3 (OUygh.); Karakh. *oδuɣ* 1, *oδun-* 2, *oδɣur-* 3 (MK); Tur. *ujan-* 2, (dial.) *ujar-* 3; Gag. *ujan-* 2; Az. *ojan-* 2; Turkm. *ojan-* 2, *ojar-* 3; MTurk. *ujan-* 2, *ujat-* 3 (Ettuhf.); Uzb. *ujɣɔn-* 2; Uygh. *o(j)ɣan-* 2; Krm. *ojan-*, *ujan-* 2, *ojat-* 3; Tat. *ujan-* 2; Bashk. *ujan-* 2; Kirgh. *ojɣon-* 2; Kaz. *ojan-* 2, *ojat-* 3; KBalk. *ujan-* 2, *ujat-* 3; KKalp. *ojan-* 2, *ojat-* 3; Kum. *ujan-* 2, *ujat-* 3; Nogh. *ujan-* 2, *ujat-* 3; SUygh. *ozɣan-* 2; Khak. *usxun-* 2, *usxur-* 3; Oyr. *ojɣon-*, *ujɣun-* 2, *ujɣus* 3; Tv. *odun-* 2; Chuv. *vъʷran-* 2, *vъʷrat-* 3.

◊ EDT 47, 48, 62, VEWT 357, ЭСТЯ 1, 430-432.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**pʹi̯ùgV** to flay, cut: Tung. ***püg-**; Mong. ***(h)öɣe-le-**; Turk. ***eg-dü**; Jpn. ***pà**; Kor. ***púi-**, ***pó**.

PTung. ***püg-** to flay (свежевать): Evk. *hiɣ-*; Evn. *hiɣ-*; Neg. *xiɣ-*; Ul. *puju-*; Ork. *puji-*; Nan. *puji-*; Orch. *sī-* (Khad.); Ud. *sī-*.

◊ TMC 2, 322.

PMong. ***(h)öɣe-le-** to trim, hack (подрубать, обрубать, долбить, соскребать): WMong. *öɣele-* (L 631); Kh. *ȫle-*; Bur. *ȫle-*; Kalm. *ȫl-*; Ord. *ȫlö-*.

◊ KW 304.

PTurk. ***eg-dü** a curved knife (кривой нож): OTurk. *egdü* (OUygh.); Karakh. *egdü* (MK); Tur. *egdi* (dial.); Turkm. *egdi*; Kirgh. *ijdi*; Chuv. *avdъ*; Yak. *iät*.

◊ EDT 102, VEWT 37. The semantics must have been secondarily influenced by **eg-* 'to bend, curve'.

PJpn. ***pà** blade (лезвие): OJpn. *pa*; MJpn. fa; Tok. *há*; Kyo. *hà̃*; Kag. *hà*.

◊ JLTT 395.

PKor. ***púi-**, ***pó** 1 to reap, mow 2 plough (1 косить, жать 2 плуг): MKor. *púi-* 1, *pó* 2; Mod. *pī-* (dial.); *posip* 'plough, ploughshare'.

◊ Nam 259, 269, KED 792, 850.

‖ Poppe 11 compares the Mong. form with TM **pule-* which is less likely. Jpn. *pà* and MKor. *pó* reflect a contraction < **pi̯ugV-ga*. An ex-

pressive root with not quite clear vocalic correspondences, rather difficult to distinguish from several similar: cf. *pokʹe, *pʹùge, *pʹago.

✱**pʹ[i̯ù]ju** a k. of tree: Tung. ***pōj-, *pōj-ki- (> *piā-kī-)**; Mong. ***hoj**; Turk. ***ɨ, *ɨ-(ń)gač**; Jpn. ***pí**; Kor. ***pə-**.

PTung. ***pōj-, *pōj-ki- (> *piā-kī-)** 1 birch 2 larch 3 swamp, low forest (1 береза 2 лиственница 3 болото, тундра): Evk. *hōj*, dial. *hēj* 3, *hê̄-kī* 2; Evn. *hā̄-kịta* 2; Neg. *xê̄-xi-ta*, *xê̄-nakta* 2; Man. *fá* 1; Ul. *pê̄* 1; Ork. *pê̄* 1; Nan. *pêa* 1; Sol. *oi* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 36, 319-320, 330. Despite Poppe 1972, 99, **pōj* is hardly borrowed < Mong.

PMong. ***hoj** 1 wood, forest 2 mountain (1 лес 2 гора): MMong. *xoi* (HY 2, SH) 1; WMong. *oi* 1; Kh. *oj* 1; Bur. *oj*; Kalm. *ȫ* 1; Ord. *öi* 1; Dag. *oi* (Тод. Даг. 159, MD 200) (< lit.); Dong. *xoj* 1; Bao. *xi* 2; Mongr. *fə̄* (SM 99), *xoj* (Minghe) 1.

◊ KW 303, TMN 1, 541-542.

PTurk. ***ɨ, *ɨ-(ń)gač** tree (1 дерево 2 лес): OTurk. *ɨγač* (Orkh., OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *jɨγač* (MK) 1; Tur. *aγač* 1; Gag. *āč* 1; Az. *aγač* 1; Turkm. *aGač* 1; Sal. *aγač*, -š 1 (ССЯ); Khal. *haγač* 1; MTurk. *aγaǯ* (Pav. C.) 1; Uzb. *jɔγɔč* 1; Uygh. *jaγač* 1; Krm. *aγač*, -c 1; Tat. *aγač* 1; Bashk. *aγas* 1; Kirgh. *ǯɨγač* 1; Kaz. *aγaš* 1, 2; KBalk. *aγač* 1, 2; KKalp. *aγaš* 1; Kum. *aγač* 1, 2; Nogh. *aγas* 1, 2; SUygh. *jiγaš* 1; Khak. *aγas* 1, 2; Shr. *aγaš* 1, 2; Oyr. *aγaš* 1, 2; Tv. *t̄jaš* 1, 2; Tof. *ńɛš* 1; Chuv. *jɨvъś* 1; Yak. *mas* 1; Dolg. *mas* 1.

◊ VEWT 7, ЭСТЯ 1, 71-73, TMN 2, 73f, EDT 79-80, Егоров 83, Лексика 104, Stachowski 176. The form contains perhaps PT **ɨ* 'bush, tree' as the first component (for OT *ɨ* see EDT 1), cf. the OT combination *ɨ ɨγač*; but the second element is yet unclear.

PJpn. ***pí** Japanese cypress (кипарисовик японский): OJpn. *pji*; MJpn. *fí*; Tok. *hìnoki*, *hínoki*.

◊ JLTT 407.

PKor. ***pə-** birch (береза): Mod. *pə-n-nati*.

◊ SKE 199. Cf. also MKor. *phí-nàmò*, mod. *phi-nati* (Nam 465, KED 1772) 'linden tree'.

‖ SKE 199 (Turk.-Tung.-Kor.), Цинциус 1984, 37-38, АПиПЯЯ 284, Дыбо 11, Лексика 104. A rather complicated case, because of contractions and compounds. For the second part of the PT compound cf. perhaps Mong. *gesi-γü(n)* 'branch'. The old compound **pʹi̯ūju-*gVša*, beside Turk. **ɨgač*, may be reflected in OJ *pàjàsi* 'forest', TM **pā(j)k[š]a* 'wood' (TMC 2, 311)).

✱**pʹi̯ukò** a k. of rope, embroidery: Tung. ***püKV-**; Mong. ***(h)ugulǯa**; Turk. ***oka**; Jpn. ***puki**.

PTung. ***püKV-** sealine, rope (of horse hair) (леска, бечевка (из конского волоса)): Evn. *hikъr*; Ork. *pūla*; Nan. *pōr*; Orch. *xū*.

◊ TMC 2, 323.

PMong. ***(h)ugulǯa** spiral embroidery (спиральная вышивка, орнамент): WMong. *uɣulǯa*, *uɣalǯa* (L 864); Kh. *ugalʒ*; Bur. *ugalzatūl-* 'вышивать узоры'; Ord. *ugʷälǯi*, *ugulǯi*.

PTurk. ***oka** gimp (позумент): Tat. *uqa*; Bashk. *uqa*; Kirgh. *oqo*; Kaz. *oqa*; KBalk. *oqa*; KKalp. *oqa*; Nogh. *oqa*.

◊ VEWT 460. A local Kypchak word.

PJpn. ***puki** lapel of lining (отворот подкладки): Tok. *fuki*.

‖ The Mong. form is homonymous with **ugulǯa* 'mountain deer' and may be unrelated ("deer embroidery"?).

✱**pʿi̯ula** ash tree: Tung. ***pula**; Mong. ***hulija-sun**; Jpn. ***pari**.

PTung. ***pula** ash tree, asp tree, poplar (ясень, осина, тополь): Evk. *hula*; Evn. *hụl*; Neg. *xol*; Man. *fulχa*; Jurch. *fulto* 'каштан' (121); Ul. *pụlị*; Ork. *pụlụ*; Nan. polo; Orch. *xulu*; Ud. *xulu*; Sol. *ụlụ*.

◊ TMC 2, 342-343. Evk. *hula*, *hologdan* > Dag. *xolordan* (Тод. Даг. 177).

PMong. ***hulija-sun** ash tree, poplar, aspen (ясень, тополь, осина): WMong. *ulijasu(n)* (L 873); Kh. *ulijas(an)*; Bur. *uĺāha(n)*; Kalm. *ulāsṇ*; Ord. *ulāsu*; Dag. *olēs* (< lit.), *xolordan mōd*; Dong. *xulasun*.

◊ KW 448, MGCD 673.

PJpn. ***pari** black alder (японская ольха): OJpn. *pari*; Tok. *han-no-ki*.

◊ JLTT 399.

‖ EAS 55, KW 448, Цинциус 1984, 54, Rozycki 81. Despite Doerfer MT 23, TM cannot be borrowed from Mong. In Turkic cf. Bashk. *jɨla* 'ash-tree' - although attested only in Bashkir, a perfect semantic and phonetic match for this root.

✱**pʿi̯un[e]** a small wild animal: Tung. ***püń-**; Mong. ***hünegen**; Turk. ***enük (~ *ünek)**.

PTung. ***püń-** 1 jerboa, flying squirrel, mole 2 weasel 3 hedgehog (1 пищуха 2 ласка 3 еж): Evk. *hińekī* 1; Neg. *xińexī* 2; Ul. *puntulče* 3; Nan. *punčilkē* 3 (> Neg. *punčulkēn* id.).

◊ TMC 2, 43, 326.

PMong. ***hünegen** fox (лиса): MMong. *xunegan* (HY 10), *h[o]nägän* (IM), *hunägän* (MA), *hongen* (LH); WMong. *ünege(n)* (L 1008); Kh. *üneg(en)*; Bur. *ünege(n)*; Kalm. *üngṇ* 'female of a wild animal or bird'; Ord. *ünege*; Dag. *xunug(u)* (Тод. Даг. 180), *hunehe* (MD 166); Dong. *funieɣe*; S.-Yugh. *heneɣen*, *henegen*; Mongr. *funige*, *xunige* (SM 108, 183), *funəgə*.

◊ KW 458, MGCD 694.

PTurk. ***enük (~ *ünek)** young of a wild animal, puppy (детеныш дикого животного, щенок): OTurk. *enük* (OUygh.); Karakh. *enük* (MK); Tur. *enik*, *enǯek*; Gag. *jenik*; Az. *änix* (dial.); MTurk. *enük* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *enük* (Chag.); Shr. *ünegeš*; Oyr. *ünegeš*; Tv. *enik*; Chuv. *anǯъk*; Yak. *ünüges*; Dolg. *ünüges*.

◊ EDT 183, VEWT 44, ЭСТЯ 1, 281-283, Егоров 29, Stachowski 251.

‖ A Western isogloss, with not quite secure correspondences: in TM one would rather expect **pun-*. Thus it is not excluded that the Evk. and Evn. forms reflect a vowel metathesis < **puni-ki*.

✱**pʹi̯ŭŋi** other: Tung. ***puŋtu**; Turk. ***öŋi**; Jpn. ***pina**.

PTung. ***puŋte** other, someone else's (другой, чужой): Evk. *huŋtu*; Evn. *hõntъ*; Neg. *xöŋtö*; Orch. *xonto*, *xoŋto*; Ud. *xoŋto*; Sol. *entū*.

◊ TMC 2, 349-350.

PTurk. ***öŋi** other (другой): OTurk. *öŋi* (OUygh.); Karakh. *öŋi* (MK); Turkm. *öŋŋe* 'the rest'; Krm. *öŋge*, *oŋga*; Tat. *üŋgä* (dial.); Kirgh. *öŋgö*; Kaz. *öŋge*; KKalp. *öŋge*; Kum. *oŋge* (dial.); Nogh. *öŋge*.

◊ EDT 170-171, ЭСТЯ 1, 537-538, VEWT 372 (> Kalm. *öŋgēn*, KW 297).

PJpn. ***pina** province, barbarians (провинция, варвары): OJpn. *pjina*; MJpn. *fina*; Tok. *hina*.

◊ JLTT 407.

‖ TMC 2, 350.

✱**pʹi̯ùŋi** to twist, twirl: Tung. ***puŋ-**; Turk. ***eŋir-**; Jpn. ***pìniàr-**.

PTung. ***puŋ-** 1 to graze, brush against 2 to shake (1 задевать, зацеплять, трогать 2 шевелить, качать): Evk. *huŋna-* 1; Evn. *huŋri-* 1, 2.

◊ TMC 2, 349.

PTurk. ***eŋir-** 1 to spin 2 to surround (1 крутить 2 окружать): OTurk. *eŋir-* (OUygh.) 1; MTurk. *eŋir-* (Буд.) 2; Tv. *ẽr-* 1.

◊ EDT 113, VEWT 37.

PJpn. ***pìniàr-** to twist, twirl (крутить, вертеть): MJpn. *fìnèr-*; Tok. *hinér-*; Kyo. *hínér-*; Kag. *hìnèr-*.

◊ JLTT 689.

‖ Delabialization in PT (**öŋir-* would be expected) must be explained by the influence of **egir-* q.v.

✱**pʹi̯ŭri** to be afraid, angry: Tung. ***purkē-**; Mong. ***hurin**; Jpn. ***pìrù-m-**.

PTung. ***purkē-** 1 to be bored 2 to be angry (1 скучать, тосковать 2 сердиться): Evk. *hurkē-* 1; Evn. *hörken-* 1; Man. *fuḱe-*, *fuče-* 2; Orch. *xokkosi-*; Ud. *xokoho* (adv.).

◊ TMC 2, 45, 353.

PMong. ***hurin** anger (гнев): WMong. *urin* (L 884); Kh. *urin*; Bur. *uri gari bološohon* 'to be in bad spirits'; Kalm. *urṅ*; Dong. *xō*; Bao. *hor*.

◊ KW 451.

PJpn. ***pìrù-m-** to retreat frightened, to run away (в страхе отступать перед ч.-л., бежать от ч.-л.): MJpn. *fìrù-m-*; Tok. *hirúm-*; Kyo. *hírúm-*; Kag. *hìrùm-*.

◊ JLTT 690.

‖ Because of the loss of initial *pʹ- in Turk. the root may interfere with **ȍr(e)ke* q.v.

✱**pʿi̯úsa** to take off, scrape off: Tung. ***pusi-**; Mong. ***hisuge**; Jpn. ***pásám-**; Kor. ***pàs-**.

PTung. ***pusi-** to shave, scrape off (состригать, соскабливать): Evk. *hus-*; Evn. *hụs-*; Neg. *xos-*; Man. *fusi-*; Ul. *pụsị-*; Ork. *pụsị-*; Nan. *posị-*; Orch. *xusi-*.

◊ TMC 2, 355.

PMong. ***hisuge** tongs (щипцы): Dag. *šisug*, *xisug* (Тод. Даг. 184), *isū* 'tweezers' (MD 174).

PJpn. ***pásám-** to shear (стричь, состригать): MJpn. *fásám-*; Tok. *hasám-*; Kyo. *hásám-*; Kag. *hàsàm-*.

◊ This tone variant seems to have been originally different from **pàsàm-* < **pĭsa* q.v., but modern dialects have merged the two forms completely.

PKor. ***pàs-** to strip off, take off (clothes); naked (сдирать, снимать (одежду); голый): MKor. *pàs-*; Mod. *pət-* / pat- [-s-].

◊ Nam 249, KED 735, 771.

‖ In Kor. cf. also also *pskə́-tì-* 'to perish, disappear', *pskə̆-* 'to strip off skin, peel', modern *pasjə-ǯida* 'crumble, go to pieces'; see SKE 192, 199, EAS 101-102; Цинциус 1984, 56. The isolated Daghur form could be a borrowing from Tungus (derivatives from this root can also mean 'scissors', 'razor', 'tweezers' - cf. Evk. *husiwun*, Evn. *hụhoŋko*, Orok *pụsị̄qqụ* etc.) - but the immediate source is unclear. On a possible Turkic reflex see under **isV*.

✱**pʿi̯ŭsi** to sprinkle: Tung. ***pisu- / *pusu-**; Mong. ***hösür-**; Turk. ***üskür-**; Kor. ***pòsòi- / *pusɨi-**.

PTung. ***pisu- / *pusu-** to sprinkle (брызгать): Evk. *husu-*; Evn. *hus-*; Neg. *xusi-*; Man. *fisi-*, *fise-*, *fusu-*; SMan. *fusu-* (1658); Ul. *pisuri-*; Ork. *pisitči-*, *possolị-*; Nan. *pisi-*, *fisi-*, *fuksu-*.

◊ TMC 2, 39, 42, 355.

PMong. ***hösür-** 1 to sprinkle 2 to pour (1 брызгать 2 лить): WMong. *ösür-* 1 (L 1014: *üsür-*); Kh. *üsre-* 1; Kalm. *ösr-* 1; Dag. *xesurə-* (Тод. Даг. 176: *xesre-*); Mongr. *fiʒuru-*, *fuʒuru-* (SM 103) 2.

◊ KW 301.

PTurk. ***üskür-** to cough, sprinkle (from mouth) (кашлять, брызгать (ртом)): Tur. *öksür-*; Gag. *ü̈sür-*; Az. *öskür-*; Turkm. *üsgür-*; Khal. *ệsür-*; MTurk. *öksür-* (Houts., Pav. C.); Krm. *öksür-*, *öksir-*; Khak. *üskür-*; Chuv. *üzər-*.

◊ VEWT 376, ЭСТЯ 1, 637-638.

PKor. ***pòsòi- / *pusɨi-** to wash, sprinkle (мыть, брызгать): MKor. *pòsòi- / pusoi-*; Mod. *pusi-*.

◊ Nam 261, 265, KED 816.

‖ EAS 54, 149, KW 301, Poppe 11, 65, ОСНЯ 2, 102, Цинциус 1984, 50. Cf. also an expressive OJ form: *bjisi-bjisi* 'sound of wiping one's nose'.

✱**pʿi̯ùso** carving, sign: Tung. ***pū̃si-ke-**; Kor. ***psɨ́-**.

PTung. ***pū̃si-ke-** 1 tablet for writing 2 tablet for cutting tobacco (1 дощечка для письма 2 доска для резки табака): Evn. *hīsṵq* 2; Man. *fusixen* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 477, 2, 328.

PKor. ***psɨ́-** to write (писать): MKor. *psɨ-*, *ssɨ́-*, *sɨ́-*; Mod. *s:ɨ-*.

◊ Liu 484, KED 1023.

‖ A Tung.-Kor. isogloss.

✱**pʿòba** to crawl, squat: Tung. ***pebi-**; Mong. ***(h)oji-či-**; Jpn. ***pàp-**.

PTung. ***pebi-** to squat (сидеть на корточках, поджав ноги): Evk. *hewič-*, *hewē-*; Evn. *hewdē-*.

◊ TMC 2, 358.

PMong. ***(h)oji-či-** to fall, tumble (падать, спотыкаться): WMong. *ojiči-* (L 604); Kh. *ojči-*.

PJpn. ***pàp-** to crawl (ползти): OJpn. *pap-*; MJpn. *fâf-*; Tok. *há-*; Kyo. *há-*; Kag. *hà-*.

◊ JLTT 686.

‖ In TM we must suppose **pebi-* < **pobi-* (with a frequent confusion of e and o after labials).

✱**pʿòči (~ -e)** spark; to extinguish: Tung. ***pōsi-**; Turk. ***öč-**.

PTung. ***pōsi-** 1 spark 2 glowing or extinguished coal 3 ray (1 искра 2 горящий или потухший уголек 3 луч): Evk. *hōsin* 1; Evn. *hosṵn* 1; Neg. *xosịnčā* 2; Man. *foson* 3; Ul. *posị* 1; Ork. *posị(n)* 1; Nan. *posị̃* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 334-335.

PTurk. ***öč-** to extinguish, go out (of fire) (гаснуть): OTurk. *öč-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *öč-* (MK, KB); Tur. dial. *öč-*; Turkm. *öč-*; Khal. *hič-*; MTurk. *öč-* (Sangl., Pav. C., Abush.); Uzb. *u̧č-*; Uygh. *öč-*; Tat. *üč-*; Kirgh. *öč-*; Kaz. *öš-*; KBalk. *öčül-*; KKalp. *öš-*; Khak. Sag., Koib. *ös-*; Shr. *öč-*; Oyr. *öč-*; Tv. *öš-*; Yak. *ös-*.

◊ VEWT 368, EDT 19-20, ЭСТЯ 1, 559-560.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss; cf. **pʿučV* (on a possible Mong. reflex see under **ōtʿa*).

✱**pʿŏ́gè** to be proud, rejoice: Mong. ***(h)öɣegsi-**; Turk. ***ög-**; Jpn. ***pə́kə́r-**.

PMong. ***öɣegsi-** to develop a taste or liking for; to be importunate (входить во вкус чего-л.; быть настойчивым): WMong. *ögegsi-* (MXTT); Kh. *ŏ̄gši-*; Bur. *ŏ̄gšŏ̄-* 'to encourage'.

PTurk. ***ög-** 1 to praise 2 to rejoice (1 хвалить 2 радоваться): OTurk. *ög-* 1 (Orkh., OUygh.), *ögir-* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *ög-* 1 (MK); Tur. *öɣ-*, *öv-* 1; Turkm. *öw-* 1; Krm. *öv-* 1; Tv. *ȫrü-* 2; Yak. *üör-* 2; Dolg. *üör-* 2.

◊ EDT 100, 113, VEWT 369, ЭСТЯ 1, 494-495, Stachowski 251.

PJpn. ***pə́kə́r-** to be proud (гордиться): OJpn. *p(w)okor-*; MJpn. *fókór-*; Tok. *hokór-*; Kyo. *hókór-*; Kag. *hokór-*.

◊ JLTT 692. The tone in Tokyo is irregular (*hòkor-* would be expected).

‖ Cf. also Evk. *heɣe-* 'to sing and dance'.

✸**pˊ[ò]jamV** snake: Tung. ***püjmur**; Mong. ***jamu**; Turk. ***uman**; Jpn. ***pàim(p)V̍**; Kor. ***pǎ́jàm**.

PTung. ***püjmur** dragon, monster (resembling a constrictor, crocodile or sheat-fish) (дракон, чудовище (напоминающее удава, крокодила или сома)): Neg. *ximu*; Ul. *pujmu(l)*; Ork. *pomoị*; Nan. *pujmur*; Orch. *ximu*, *sīmu*.

◊ TMC 1, 466.

PMong. ***jamu** 1 worm (causing e. g. toothache) 2 farcy, glanders (1 червь (вызывающий, напр., зубную боль) 2 сап): WMong. *jamu*, (L 426) jama; Kh. *jam* 2; Kalm. *jam* 1; Ord. *jamu*, jama 'chancre, cancer'; S.-Yugh. *jam* 2.

◊ KW 214, MGCD 734.

PTurk. ***uman** worm (червь): Chuv. *ъʷman*.

◊ Isolated in Chuvash, but probably archaic.

PJpn. ***pàim(p)V̍** snake (змея): OJpn. *pemji*; MJpn. *fèmí*; Tok. *hébi*; Kyo. *hèbí*; Kag. *héT*.

◊ JLTT 404.

PKor. ***pǎ́jàm** snake (змея): MKor. *pǎ́jàm*; Mod. *pǎ̄m*.

◊ Nam 242, KED 756.

‖ Martin 251, АПиПЯЯ 91, 278. Due to contractions of the sequence *-VjV-, the vowels are somewhat difficult to reconstruct.

✸**pˊoje (~ -i̯u-,-i̯o-, -i)** pain, sore: Tung. ***puje**; Mong. ***höɣe**.

PTung. ***puje** wound, sore (рана, болячка): Evk. *huje*; Evn. *huj*; Neg. *xuje*; Man. *feje*; SMan. *fei* (708); Ul. *puje*; Ork. *puje*; Nan. *puje*; Orch. *xije*, *sije*; Ud. *sie*.

◊ TMC 2, 338.

PMong. ***höɣe** 1 pus, abscess 2 to rot (1 гной, нарыв 2 гнить): MMong. *hu'ugai* (SH) 'es möge stinken, verdorben sein (ondegen)', *hesün* (or *hoesun*) 1 (LH); WMong. *öɣe-ri* 1 (L 632); Kh. *ȫ̄rs* 1; Kalm. *ȫ̄ŕ* 1 (KPC); Dag. *xū-* 2; Dong. *fu-* 2; Bao. *hu-* 2; S.-Yugh. *hū̄-* 2; Mongr. *fū-* 2.

◊ MGCD 408.

‖ Цинциус 1984, 46. A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**pʿojme (~ -o)** trousers, stockings: Tung. ***pe(j)m-**; Mong. ***hojimu-su**; Turk. ***ojma**; Jpn. ***pəmuta**.

PTung. ***pe(j)m-** boots (сапоги, унты): Evk. *hemčurē*; Neg. *xemčira*; Man. *foʒi*, *fomo(či)*; Jurch. *fom-či* (556); Ork. *pêmo-nị* 'top of boots'; Orch. *xebbire*; Sol. *xočoro*.

◊ TMC 2, 36, 365-366. Cf. also Evk. *hêma* 'щетка под копытом оленя; меховая кайма'. Evk. > Dolg., Yak. *ömčürä*, Russ. Siber. *amčurí* (pl.) (Аникин 86).

PMong. ***hojimu-su** stockings (чулки): MMong. *kojimusun* (HY 23) (*khuo-* instead of *xuo-*), *h[o]imāsun* (IM), *imasūn* (LH); WMong. *ojimusu(n)*, *ojimasu(n)* (L 605); Kh. *ojms(on)*; Bur. *ojmho(n)*; Kalm. *ṏmsṇ*; Ord. *öimos(u)*.

◊ KW 304. Mong. > Evk. *oimahun*, *oimusu* (see Doerfer MT 130, Rozycki 78 - but not Man. *fomon!)*.

PTurk. ***ojma** 1 felt out of which boots are made 2 leather or skin bag (1 войлок для сапог 2 кожаный мешок): Karakh. *ojma* (MK); MTurk. *ojma* (Sangl.).

◊ EDT 273 (but derivation from Uj- 'squeeze', supported also by Clark 1977, 159, is highly dubious because of external parallels).

PJpn. ***pəmuta** leather armlet (for bow-shooting) (кожаный нарукавник (для стрельбы из лука)): OJpn. *pomuta*.

‖ KW 304, Владимирцов 268, Poppe 11, 67, Цинциус 1984, 41-42. Borrowing in Mong. from Turk. is quite dubious, despite Щербак 1997, 161. The stem may be derived from **pʿojV* 'to bind' - reflected in PM **huja-* (HY 39 *xuja-*, WMong. *uja-*, Khalkha *uja-*, Mongor *fujā-*) id.

✱**pʿójV** a k. of fruit: Tung. ***puju-**; Kor. ***pǎi**.

PTung. ***puju-** 1 plum 2 a k. of bush (1 слива 2 вид кустарника): Neg. *xujumke* 2; Man. *fojōro* 1; Jurch. *fojow* (107) 1; Nan. *puju* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 475-476, 2, 300.

PKor. ***pǎi** pear (груша): MKor. *pǎi*; Mod. *pä*.

◊ Nam 251, KED 743.

‖ A Tung.-Kor. isogloss.

✱**pʿoktʿo(-rV)** environs: Tung. ***pokta**; Mong. ***hogtorgui**; Turk. ***otar**; Jpn. ***pətəri (~ -ua-)**; Kor. ***pàthàŋ**.

PTung. ***pokta** road (дорога): Evk. *xokto*; Evn. *hōt*; Neg. *xokto*; Ul. *poqto*; Ork. *pokto*; Nan. *foqto*; Orch. *xokto*; Ud. *xokto*.

◊ TMC 2, 331. Evk. > Dolg. *hoktokit* (Stachowski 107).

PMong. ***hogtorgui** empty space, heaven (пустое пространство, небо): MMong. *xoxtorxu* (HY 51), *xoxtorqu* 'empty', *xoxtoru* 'throughout' (SH); WMong. *oγturγui*, *oγtarγui* (L 602); Kh. *ogtorgui* 'universe'; Bur. *ogtorgoj*; Kalm. *oktṛγū*; Ord. *uGturG^{w}ī*.

◊ KW 284.

PTurk. ***otar** 1 pasture 2 far environs 3 (summer) camp, dwelling place, village 4 herd (1 пастбище 2 дальние страны 3 хутор, деревня 4 отара, стадо баранов): Turkm. *otar* 1; Uzb. *ọtɔr* 4; Krm. *otar* 1; Tat. *utar* 3; Bashk. *utar* 3; Kirgh. *otor* 1, 2; Kaz. *otar* 1; KKalp. *otar* 1; Kum. *otar* 3; Nogh. *otar* 1; Oyr. *odor* 1; Tv. *odar* 1; Yak. *otor* 3.

◊ VEWT 367, ЭСТЯ 1, 487-488. Usually derived from **ot* 'grass' but the morphological pattern is unclear; the word might well be archaic despite lack of ancient attestation. Cf. also Balkan words like Hung. *határ* etc., most probably of Turkic origin. Turk. > WMong. *otar*, Kalm. *otr* (KW 291).

PJpn. ***pətəri (~ -ua-)** environs (окрестности): OJpn. *p(w)ot(w)ori*; MJpn. *fòtóri*; Tok. *hotorí* / *hòtori*; Kyo. *hótórí*; Kag. *hotorí*.

◊ JLTT 416. Accent is not quite clear: most forms point to a low tone on the first syllable (except the Kyoto form which is quite irregular).

PKor. ***pàthàŋ** 1 place 2 background, ground, texture (1 место 2 фон, основа): MKor. *pàthàŋ* 1; Mod. *pathaŋ* 2.

◊ Nam 239, KED 710.

‖ Kor. *pathaŋ* is probably < **păthaŋ* through assimilation.

✱**pʿó[k]u** to swell: Tung. ***puk- / *pok-**; Turk. ***okra**; Jpn. ***púkúrà-**; Kor. ***pak- (~ -ă-)**.

PTung. ***puk- / *pok-** 1 to swell, swollen 2 bubble, blister 3 cracks in skin 4 rough (of skin) (1 пухнуть, вспухший 2 пузырь, волдырь 3 трещины (на коже) 4 грубый, загрубевший (о коже)): Evk. *hokoripču* 4; Man. *fuqa* 2; Ul. *pukte-* 1, *poqo* 2; Ork. *puɣju* 1, *puqa* 2; Nan. *pukče-* 1, *poqa* 2, *fo-rini* (Bik.) 3.

◊ TMC 2, 42-43, 331, 335.

PTurk. ***okra** 1 pimple, pustule 2 disease of cattle (1 прыщ 2 болезнь скота): MTurk. *oqra* (Буд.) 1; Tat. *uqra* 2; Bashk. *uqra* 'овод бычачий'; Kaz. *oqra* 1.

◊ VEWT 360.

PJpn. ***púkúrà-** to swell (пухнуть): OJpn. *pukura-*; MJpn. *fúkúrà-*; Tok. *fùkure-*; Kyo. *fúkúré-*; Kag. *fukuré-*.

◊ JLTT 694.

PKor. ***pak- (~ -ă-)** boiling, bubbling (пузырящийся, кипящий): Mod. *pagɨl- / pəgɨl- / pogɨl-*.

◊ KED 703.

‖ Дыбо 14. An expressive and not quite regular root: in Turkic and Korean we probably have to presuppose an assimilative variant **pʿókʿu*, whereas the TM form points rather to **pʿóku*. See also notes to **bŭ̄gà*.

✱**pʿòkʿà (~ -u-, -k-)** a k. of clothing: Tung. ***pokta**; Turk. ***uk**; Jpn. ***pàkàmà**.

PTung. ***pokta** cloth, gown (ткань, халат): Evk. *hokto*; Neg. *xokto*; Man. *foqto*; Ul. *poqto*; Ork. *χoqto*, *poqto*; Nan. *poqto*; Orch. *pokto*.

◊ TMC 2, 331. Cf. also Man. *fakuri* 'trousers' (> Dag. *xakur*, Тод. Даг. 173).

PTurk. ***uk** felt stocking (войлочный чулок): Karakh. *uɣuq* (MK); MTurk. *uq* (Pav. C.); Khak. *ux*; Oyr. *uq*; Tv. *uq*.

◊ EDT 83, ЭСТЯ 1, 581, *Лексика* 481. The form in MK is probably = **uk-ug* (derived from the simple **uk* reflected elsewhere). The root should be distinguished from **ujuk* (v. sub **ujV(kʿV))*.

PJpn. ***pàkàmà** trousers (штаны, мужская юбка): OJpn. *pakama*; MJpn. *fàkàmà*; Tok. *hakamá*; Kyo. *hákàmà*; Kag. *hakamá*.

◊ JLTT 396.

‖ A common Altaic term, denoting probably some sort of trousers or stockings.

✱**pʿokʿe** to fall, lie: Tung. ***pukelē-**; Mong. ***(h)öke-**; Turk. ***ök-**.

PTung. ***pukelē-** 1 lie 2 roll down 3 fall (1 *лежать* 2 *катиться* 3 *падать*): Evk. *huklē-* 1, *hukēl-* 2; Evn. *huklē-* 1, *hukъl-* 2; Neg. *xuɣle-* 1; Man. *fuxese-* 2; Ul. *pulu-* 2, 3; Nan. *fukulgi-* (dial.) 1, *puelin-* 2; Orch. *xukeli-* 3; Sol. *ugĺa-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 340, 342.

PMong. ***(h)öke-** to bow forwards (нагибаться вперед): WMong. *öke-ji-*; Kalm. *ökē-*.

◊ KW 293.

PTurk. ***ök-** to fall down, bow down (падать, склоняться): Oyr. *üküs-* 'to nod, fall asleep sitting'; Chuv. *ük-*; Yak. *ököj-* 'to bow (forwards)'; Dolg. *ököj-* 'to bow (forwards)'.

◊ Stachowski 199.

‖ KW 294, Дыбо 13. A Western isogloss. Very scantily represented in Turkic and Mongolian, thus rather dubious.

✱**pʿŏkʿi (~ -k-, -e)** to trample, kick: Tung. ***peK- / *poK-**; Turk. ***ökče**.

PTung. ***peK- / *poK-** 1 to trample, tread 2 to kick (1 *топтать(ся)* 2 *пинать (ногами)*): Evk. *hek-* 1, *hokči-*, *hekī-*, *hekči-* 2; Evn. *hek-* 1, *hēki-* 2; Neg. *xeɣi-*, *xek-* 1, *xekilē-* 2; Man. *fexu-* 1, *fōqočo-*, *fōqožo-* 2; SMan. *fuxu-* (1610); Orch. *xeki-* 1; Ud. *xeŋde-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 331-332, 361-362.

PTurk. ***ökče** heel (пятка, каблук): Tur. *ökče*; Gag. *jökčä*; Turkm. *ökže*; MTurk. *ökče* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *ọkčä*; Uygh. *ökčä*; Krm. *ökče*; Tat. *ükčä*; Bashk. *üksä*; Kirgh. *ökčö*; Kaz. *ökše*; KKalp. *ökše*; Nogh. *ökše*; Tv. *ēžek*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 1, 520-521.

‖ ЭСТЯ 1, 520-521, *Лексика* 289. A Turk.-Tung. isogloss. Cf. **pʿuske*.

✱**pʿŏkʿi (-ŕV) (~-e)** ox, cow: Tung. ***puKur / *puKun**; Mong. ***hüker**; Turk. ***öküŕ**.

PTung. ***puKur / *puKun** cow (корова): Evk. *hukur*; Evn. *höken*, *hökön*; Sol. *uxur* 'ox' (possibly < Mong.).

◊ TMC 2, 341.

PMong. ***hüker** ox (бык): MMong. *xuker* (SH), *xuger* (HY 10), *ukär* (MA); WMong. *üker* (L 1003); Kh. *üxer*; Bur. *üxer*; Kalm. *ükr̥* 'cow' (KPC); Ord. *üker*; Mog. *ükär* (Weiers), ZM *okär* (20-4); Dag. *xukur* (Тод. Даг. 179), *hukure* (MD 166); Dong. *fugie(r)*; Mongr. *fugor* (SM 104), *xukur* (Minghe).

PTurk. ***ökǘr** ox (бык, вол): OTurk. *öküz* (OUygh.); Karakh. *öküz* (MK); Tur. *öküz*; Gag. *jöküz*; Az. *öküz*; Turkm. *ökiz*, *öküz*; MTurk. *öküz* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *họkiz*; Uygh. *öküz*, *höküz*; Krm. *oküz*, *ögüz*; Tat. *ugĭz*; Bashk. *ugĭδ*; Kirgh. *ögüz*; Kaz. *ögĭz*; KBalk. *ögüz*; KKalp. *ögiz*; Kum. *ögüz*; Nogh. *ögiz*; SUygh. *kus*; Chuv. *vъʷgъʷr*; Yak. *oγus*; Dolg. *ogus*.

◊ EDT 120, VEWT 370, ЭСТЯ 1, 521-523, Лексика 439, Stachowski 190. Clauson 1959 derives the form from Tokh. B *okso* (corrected to Tokh. A in EDT); justly refuted by Doerfer TMN 1, 539 because of original *p-. Turk. (Bulg.) > Hung. *ökör*, see Gombocz 1912, MNyTESz 3, 23.

‖ Владимирцов 322, Poppe 12, 56, ОСНЯ 3, 126-128, Цинциус 1984, 46. Щербак 1997, 131, TMN 1, 539. A Western isogloss. Doerfer MT 67 (following Sinor 1962, Poppe 1966, 198, 1972, 99) would wish Mong. to be borrowed < Turk. and TM < Mong.; phonology, however, speaks plainly against it.

✱**pʿőle** wet, succulent; grass, plant: Tung. ***pul-**; Turk. ***ȫl**; Kor. ***pɨrh-**.

PTung. ***pul-** 1 to grow, blossom 2 shoot, offspring 3 horse-tail (*bot.*) 4 panicle 5 wild grape (1 произрастать, пускать ростки 2 побег, росток 3 хвощ 4 метелка 5 дикий виноград): Evn. *hul* 3; Man. *fulxu-* 1, *fulxun* 2; Nan. *polaŋqa* 4; Orch. *xolomu̯ktA* 5.

◊ TMC 2, 302, 342, Он. 334, Аврорин-Лебедева 246.

PTurk. ***ȫl** 1 moist, wet 2 marsh (1 влажный 2 болото): OTurk. *öl* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *öl* (MK, KB) 1; Tur. *öl* 1, Osm. *öl* 'pool'; Turkm. *ȫl*, dial. *hȫl* 1; Khal. *hệl*, *hẹ̄l*; MTurk. *öl* (Pav. C.) 2, (Sangl.) 1; Uzb. *hụl* 1; Uygh. *höl* 'damp, moist'; Kirgh. *öl* 1; KKalp. *höl* 1; Khak. *öl* 1; Shr. *ȫl* 1; Oyr. *ül* 1; Tv. *öl* 1; Chuv. *vilə* 1; Yak. *üöl* 1.

◊ VEWT 371, Егоров 54, ЭСТЯ 1, 524-525, TMN 2, 161-2. The common Turk. derivative **öleŋ* (ЭСТЯ 1, 527-528, Лексика 119) means 'rich grass' (hence Chuv. *valem*; > MMong. *olaŋ*, *oleŋ* (SH), WMong. *ölüŋ*, Kalm. *ölŋ*, see KW 295, TMN 2, 161, Щербак 1997, 165, 197).

PKor. ***pɨrh-** 1 green 2 grass (1 зеленый 2 трава): MKor. *phɨ̀rí-* 1, *phɨ́r* 2; Mod. *phuri-* 1, *phul* 2.

◊ Nam 464, 465, KED 1761, 1763. Rising tone in *phɨ́r* is probably secondary (due to contraction < **pɨ̀rVh).*

‖ EAS 56, SKE 215, Poppe 110, KW 295, VEWT 371, Цинциус 1984, 47-48. АПиПЯЯ 296. Cf. also Old Koguryo **pä(l)lŏk-* 'green', see Miller 1979, 9. The etymology seems quite satisfactory, despite Doerfer's (TMN 2, 161-162) critical attempts ("semantisch nicht ganz befriedigende Vergleich").

✱**pʿolńe** ashes; grey: Tung. ***pulńe-**; Mong. ***hüne-sü**; Turk. ***oń (~ -j)**.

PTung. ***pulńe-** ashes (зола): Evk. *huleptēn*; Evn. *hultēn*; Neg. *xulēptēn*; Man. *fuleŋgi*; SMan. *filiŋi* (493); Jurch. *fule-ŋi* (65); Ul. *puneqte*; Ork. *punekte*; Nan. *puńektẽ*, (dial.) *xulefte*; Orch. *xulepte*; Ud. *xulepte(n)*; Sol. *uluktẽ*.

◊ TMC 2, 347.

PMong. ***hüne-sü** ashes (пепел): MMong. *xunesu* (SH), *honāsun* (IM), *hunäsun* (MA); WMong. *ünesü(n)* (L 1009); Kh. *üns(en)*; Bur. *ünehe(n)*; Kalm. *ümsṇ*; Ord. *ünisü*, *ünes*; Mog. *ɛnasun*, *unasun* (Weiers), ZM *unäsun* (18-1b); Dag. *xunse* (Тод. Даг. 179), *hunse* (MD 166), *xuns*; Dong. *funiesun*; Bao. *homsoŋ*; S.-Yugh. *henesən*, *nesən*; Mongr. *funēʒə* (SM 107), (MGCD *funēsə*).

◊ KW 458, MGCD 695.

PTurk. ***oń (~ -j)** grey, dun, ash-coloured (of a horse) (серовато-коричневый): Karakh. *oj* (MK); MTurk. Kypch. *oj* (Houts.); Khak. *oj*; Tv. *oj*.

◊ EDT 266, VEWT 358.

‖ Poppe 12, Цинциус 1984, 60. АПиПЯЯ 37, 289, Rozycki 81. A Western isogloss.

✱**pʿòme** breast, part of breast: Tung. ***pum-te**; Mong. ***(h)ün-Külčig**; Turk. ***ömül-dürük**; Kor. ***púmh**.

PTung. ***pum-te** part of body around the heart (околосердечная сумка): Evk. *humte*.

◊ TMC 2, 347. Attested only in Evk., but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***(h)ün-Külčig** part of body around the heart, pericardium (часть тела вокруг сердца): WMong. *öŋgülčei*, *üŋgülčig*, (L 1010) *üŋgülčeg*; Kh. *ünxelceg*; Kalm. *üŋglcəg*; Ord. *üŋgelčik*.

◊ KW 459.

PTurk. ***ömül-dürük** breastplate (нагрудник): Uzb. *ǫmildiriq*; Uygh. *ömüldürük*; Bashk. *ümelderek*; Kirgh. *ömüldürük*; Kaz. *ömildirik*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 1, 530, Лексика 553.

PKor. ***púmh** 1 breast, bosom 2 to carry in one's bosom (1 грудь, пазуха 2 нести за пазухой): MKor. *phum* 1, *phúm-*, *phɨm-* 2; Mod. *phum* 1, *phum-* 2.

◊ Liu 726, 728, KED 1766.

‖ SKE 216, EAS 56.

✱**pʿŏmu** to walk (in a substance): Tung. ***pom-**; Mong. ***homba-**; Turk. ***omač-**; Jpn. ***púm-**.

PTung. ***pom-** 1 to leave a fresh trace 2 to crawl near 3 to wander 4 scoop (1 оставить свежий след 2 подкрадываться 3 бродить 4 черпак): Evk. *homolon-* 2; Evn. *hōm-* 1, *homịn-* 3, *homъqa* 4.

◊ TMC 2, 332.

PMong. ***humba-** to walk submerging into water (snow, grass); to swim, bathe (ходить в воде (снегу, траве); плавать, купаться): MMong. *unba-* 'to swim' (MA); WMong. *umba-*, *ombu-* (L 874); Kh. *umba-*; Bur. *umba-*; Mog. *umbɔm* 'sich waschend' (Weiers); Dag. *xompā-*, (Тод. Даг. 171), *unpā-* (MD 233), *umpa-*, *xumpa-*; Dong. *unba-*, *umba-*; Bao. *mba-*; S.-Yugh. *umba-*, *mbā-*; Mongr. *xumbā-* (SM 182).

◊ MGCD 673.

PTurk. ***omač-** 1 to dive 2 scoop (1 погружаться 2 черпак): Khak. *omač* 2; Shr. *omaš* 2; Tv. *omāš* 2; Yak. *umus-* 1.

◊ VEWT 361, 514.

PJpn. ***púm-** to tread, trample (ступать, топтать): OJpn. *pum-*; MJpn. *fúm-*; Tok. *fùm-*; Kyo. *fúm-*; Kag. *fúm-*.

◊ JLTT 694.

‖ The common meaning may be postulated as 'to move with some difficulty, through some substance (water, grass, snow etc.)'.

✱**pˊońa (~ -e-)** wrinkle, to wrinkle: Tung. ***pońi- / *peńi-**; Mong. ***hani-**.

PTung. ***pońi- / *peńi-** wrinkle, to wrinkle (морщина, морщиться): Evk. *hońi-*, *huńi-*; Ork. *peni-*; Ud. *xeŋiem*; Sol. *xońēsṹ*.

◊ TMC 2, 332.

PMong. ***hani-** 1 to close eyes 2 eyelids (1 закрывать глаза 2 веки): MMong. *xanisqa* (HY 45), *hanisqa* (MA) 2, *hanasqa* 'eyebrows' (Lig.VMI); WMong. *ani-* 1, *anisqa* 2; Kh. *ani-* 1, *anisga* 2; Bur. *ani-* 1; Kalm. *ani-* 1; Ord. *ani-* 1; Dong. *xani-* 1; Bao. *hani-* (MGCD 113); Mongr. (*x*)*ana-* (SM 8), *xani-* (SM 156), *xanə-* (MGCD 113), *xanasGa* (SM 155).

◊ KW 11.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**pˊȍńŋa** to crush, break, tear off: Tung. ***pōnŋa- / *pēnŋa-**; Turk. ***oŋur-, *oŋ-**; Jpn. ***pànà-**; Kor. ***pȁńȁ-**.

PTung. ***pōnŋa- / *pēnŋa-** 1 to crush, crushed 2 to chop (1 расколоть, разбить 2 рубить): Evk. *hōŋna-*, *hōŋnī-*, *hoŋ-* 2; Evn. *hōn-*, *ōnŋa-* 2; Neg. *xoŋnị-* 2; Ul. *peŋ* 1; Ork. *peŋ*, *pem* 1; Nan. *peŋ*, *pēŋ* (adv.) 1; Orch. *xōŋi-* 2; Ud. *xuaŋni-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 47, 329.

PTurk. ***oŋur-, *oŋ-** to crush, break off (ломать, отламывать): Karakh. *oɣur-* (MK); Turkm. *oŋur-*, *omur-*; Tat. *umɨr-*; Bashk. *umɨr-*; Kirgh. *omur-*; Kaz. *omɨr-*; KKalp. *omɨr-*; Nogh. *omɨr-*; Khak. *or-*; Tv. *ōr-*; Yak. *oŋ-* 'to pick out'; Dolg. *oŋ-* 'to pick out'.

◊ EDT 91, ЭСТЯ 1, 461; Stachowski 194. Derived is PT **oŋur-tka* 'spine, backbone' (see ЭСТЯ 1, 463-464).

PJpn. ***pànà-** to chop off (отрубать): OJpn. *pana-*; MJpn. *fànà-*; Tok. *hané-*; Kyo. *háné-*; Kag. *hané-*.

◊ JLTT 684. The accent in Kagoshima is irregular.

PKor. ***pɑ̀ńɑ̀-** to crush, break (ломать, разламывать): MKor. *pɑ̀ńɑ̀-*; Mod. *pasu-*.

◊ Nam 242.

‖ One of the common Altaic "Verba des Schlagens". Korean has a usual low verbal tone.

✸**pʿŏŋe (~ -i)** mildew, slime: Tung. ***puŋ-**; Mong. ***(h)öŋgür**; Turk. ***öŋeŕ**.

PTung. ***puŋ-** mildew (плесень): Evk. *huŋna*; Neg. *xoŋnan-*; Man. *funtan*; SMan. *fəntan* (440); Ul. *pụŋda*; Ork. *pụŋda*; Nan. *poŋdã*; Orch. *xuŋna*.

◊ TMC 2, 349.

PMong. ***(h)öŋgür** scurf, slime (налет, слизь): WMong. *öŋgür*, *öŋger* (L 638); Kh. *öŋgör*; Bur. *üŋger*; Kalm. *öŋgṛ* 'gall, gastric juice'; Ord. *öŋgör*.

◊ KW 297. Mong. > Kirgh., Oyr. *öŋör*, Yak. *öŋür* (VEWT 373, Rona-Tas 1970, 216).

PTurk. ***öŋeŕ** 1 slime (on dishes) 2 mildew (1 налет, слизь (на стенках посуды) 2 плесень): Bashk. *üŋäδ* 2; Kaz. *öŋez* 1; Yak. *öŋüs* 1.

◊ ЭСТЯ 1, 538.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✸**pʿɔ̀re** fire; to burn: Tung. ***puri- / *piri-**; Mong. ***(h)örde-**; Turk. ***ört**; Jpn. ***pə̀-i**; Kor. ***pɨ́r**.

PTung. ***puri- / *piri-** to dry (over fire) (сушить (над огнем)): Evk. *hiriw-*, *huri-*; Neg. *xī-wun* 'woven basket for drying fish or meat over fire'; Man. *fáriŋǵa-*; Orch. *xi* 'shelf over fire for drying fish'.

◊ TMC 2, 327.

PMong. ***(h)örde-** to burn, flame up (пылать): WMong. *örde-*; Kh. *ördö-*; Kalm. *ördə-*; Ord. *ördö-*.

◊ KW 298.

PTurk. ***ört** 1 flame 2 to burn (tr.) 3 steppe fire 4 to get burnt (1 пламя 2 жечь 3 степной пожар 4 обгорать): OTurk. *ört* 1, 3 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *ört* 1, 3 (MK); Turkm. *örte-* 4; MTurk. *ört* 1, 3 (Pav. C.); Tat. *ürt* 1; Kirgh. *ört* 1; Khak. *ört* 3, *örte-* 2; Tv. *örtet-* 2; Tof. *ö'rt* 3; Chuv. *virt* 3; Yak. *ört* 3.

◊ VEWT 375, EDT 201, 208-9, ЭСТЯ 1, 550-551, Лексика 357-358.

PJpn. ***pə̀-i** fire (огонь): OJpn. pi; MJpn. *fì*; Tok. *hí*; Kyo. *hìi*.

◊ JLTT 405.

PKor. ***pɨ́r** fire (огонь): MKor. *pɨ́r*; Mod. *pul*.

◊ Nam 273, KED 832.

‖ EAS 54, 147, KW 300, Martin 232, Menges 1984, 286-287, АПиПЯЯ 73, 93-94, 98, 275, Лексика 358. Mong. *örde-* may be < Turk.; but cf. also Khalkha *ürevse-* 'to flame up'. Jpn. **pə̀-* presupposes a suffixed form **pʿɔ̀r(e)-gV*.

✱**pʿőre** top: Tung. ***pora-n**; Mong. ***horaj, *horgil**; Turk. ***ȫr-**; Jpn. ***pərə**.

PTung. ***pora-n** 1 top (of head), top 2 tuft, forelock (1 макушка, вершина 2 вихор): Evk. *xoron* 1; Neg. *xojo(n)* 1; Man. *foron* 2; SMan. *forən*, *forun* (2068); Ul. *poro(n)* 1; Ork. *poro(n)* 1; Nan. *porõ* 1; Orch. *xō(n)* 'space above'; Ud. *xō(n)* 'above' (postp.); Sol. *orȭ* 'mountain pass'.

◊ TMC 2, 334.

PMong. ***horaj, *horgil** top, top of head (вершина, макушка): MMong. *xorai* (SH), *xorgil* (SH), *hurai* (MA); WMong. *orai* (L 621: *orui*), *orgil* (L 618); Kh. *oroj, orgil*; Bur. *oroj*; Kalm. *orā*; Ord. *orȫ*; Mog. ZM *orei* (1-8a); Dag. *ǒŕē* (MD 203), *xor*; Bao. *xoro*.

◊ KW 287-288, MGCD 531. Mong. > Kirgh., Kaz. *oraj* etc. (VEWT 364, ЭСТЯ 1, 473).

PTurk. ***ȫr-** 1 to rise 2 up, above (1 подниматься 2 верх, наверху): OTurk. *ör-* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *ör-* 1 (MK); Tur. *ör* 2, (dial.) *ör-* 1; Turkm. *ȫr-*; Khal. *här-äk-* 1; MTurk. *ör* 2 (Pav. C.); Uzb. *ọr* 2; Uygh. *ör* 2; Tat. *ür* 2, *ür-* 1; Bashk. *ür* 2, *ür-* 1; Kirgh. *ör* 2; Kaz. *ör* 2, *ör-* 1; KBalk. *ör* 2; KKalp. *ör* 2; Kum. *ör* 2; Nogh. *ör* 2; SUygh. *ür* 2; Yak. *ürüt* 'upper part'; Dolg. *örüt*, *öttü* 'side', *örüte* 'above'.

◊ EDT 195, VEWT 373, ЭСТЯ 1, 542-544, Stachowsi 200, 253. Cf. also OT *örgin* 'throne' (EDT 225), Chag. *örük* 'tent' (ЭСТЯ 1, 546) - which should be kept distinct from the later borrowed (from Mong., see under **ōŕi*) *örge* 'tent', see Clark 1977, 142.

PJpn. ***pərə** top of carriage (верх (экипажа)): Tok. *hóro*; Kyo. *hórò*; Kag. *hórò*.

◊ The Jpn. form can be compared with other Altaic forms if it is historically distinct from **pərə* 'cloak on armour' (< PA **pʿi̯ole* q.v.). Accentologically both words are identical and equally irregular.

‖ Cf. also WMong. *orbaji-* 'in die Höhe stehen, emporragen', MTurk. *orpat-*, *örpet-* id. (KW 290). Despite Doerfer MT 39, TM cannot be borrowed from Mong. Cf. **ȫŕi.*

✱**pʿore (~ -i̯-, -ŕ-)** feather, wing: Tung. ***purakī**; Mong. ***(h)örbelge**; Jpn. ***pərə**.

PTung. ***purakī** 1 wing 2 wing bone 3 feather arista (1 крыло 2 кость крыла 3 ость (пера)): Evk. *hurakī* 1, 2, 3; Evn. *hụrịqị* 2; Neg. *xọjaxī* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 352.

PMong. ***(h)örbelge** feather (перо): WMong. *örbelge*, *örbülge* (L 640); Kh. *örvölgö*; Kalm. *örwḷgə*, *örwələg*; Ord. *örwölgö*.

◊ KW 301.

PJpn. ***pərə** falcon's wings; underwing feathers of a bird (крылья сокола; перья под крыльями): MJpn. *foro*, *foro-fa*.

◊ JLTT 415.

‖ The root is not very widely attested, but seems quite reliable.

✱**pʿȍrV** trace: Tung. ***pōr-da-**; Mong. ***horum /-im**; Turk. ***oruk**; Kor. ***pórám**.

PTung. ***pōr-da-** to make an imprinted drawing on birch bark (делать тисненый рисунок на бересте): Evk. *hōrda-*.

◊ TMC 2, 333. Attested only in Evk., but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***horum /-im** trace (след): MMong. *xorim*, *xorum* (SH) 'path'; WMong. *oru*, *orum* (L 620, 623); Kh. *or, orom*; Bur. *orom*; Kalm. *orṃ*; Ord. *orom*; Mog. *oram* (Ramstedt 1906) 'Platz'.

◊ KW 289. Mong. > Kaz. *oram* etc. (VEWT 364).

PTurk. ***oruk** 1 road 2 path (1 дорога 2 тропа): OTurk. *oruq* 1 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *oruq* 1 (MK, Tefs.); Khak. *oryax* 2; Tv. *oruq* 1; Tof. *oruq* 1; Yak. *orox* 2; Dolg. *orok* 2.

◊ EDT 215, Stachowski 196. Räsänen (VEWT 364; similarly in Лексика 531-532, ЭСТЯ 4, 218) derives this word from **or-* 'to dig', which is rather dubious semantically.

PKor. ***pórám** sign (знак): MKor. *pórám*; Mod. *poram*.

◊ Liu 386, KED 789.

‖ SKE 206, Лексика 532, TMC 2, 333.

✱**pʿȍtʿè** to burn, singe: Tung. ***put-**; Mong. ***hutuɣa**; Turk. ***üt-**; Kor. ***pɨ̀th-, *ptí-, *ptí-**.

PTung. ***put-** to roast, grill (жарить, обжигать, опаливать): Man. *fuči-x́ala-*; SMan. *fičix́alə-* 'to singe' (379).

◊ TMC 2, 304. In Manchu cf. also *fotor* 'curling (of smoke)', *foto* 'stink, stench'. Cf. also Evk. (Kamn.) *petere-* 'to smoke, fume' - because of p-, probably a loan from some South.-Tung. language.

PMong. ***hutuɣa** 1 smoke 2 to smoke, fumigate (1 дым 2 дымить): WMong. *utuɣa(n)*, *utaɣa(n)* (L 889); Kh. *utā(n)* 1, *uta-* 2; Bur. *utā(n)*; Kalm. *utān*; Ord. *utā*; Dag. *xutā* 1 (Тод. Даг. 180), *xoto-* 2; Dong. *fudu-* 2; S.-Yugh. *hdā*, *χdā* 1, *χdu-* 2.

◊ KW 452, MGCD 676, 682, 683.

PTurk. ***üt-** to singe (палить, опаливать): Karakh. *üt-* (MK); Tur. *üt-* (dial.); Az. *üt-*; Turkm. *üt-*; MTurk. *üt-* (IM); Tat. *ŭt-*; Bashk. *ŭt-*; Kaz. *üjt-*; KKalp. *üjt-*; Chuv. *vət-*; Yak. *üt-*.

◊ EDT 40, VEWT 524, ЭСТЯ 1, 640, TMN 2, 9-10.

PKor. ***pɨ̀th-, *ptí-, *ptí-** 1 to burn, catch fire 2 to cauterize 3 to boil, steam (1 гореть, загораться 2 прижигать 3 варить, тушить): MKor. *pɨ̀th-* 1, *ptí-* 2, *ptí-* 3; Mod. *put(h)-* 1, *t:ɨ-* 2, *č:i-* 3.

◊ Nam 173, 180, 275, KED 523, 846, 1528.

‖ SKE 265 (criticized with no reason at all in TMN 2, 10: "unannehmbar").

✱**pʿȍtʿè** hole: Tung. ***putē**; Mong. ***hütü-**; Turk. ***ǖt**; Jpn. ***pətə**; Kor. ***pot**.

PTung. ***putē** 1 hole 2 to break through 3 nostril (1 дыра 2 пробивать 3 ноздря): Man. *feteri* 3; Ork. *putē* 1, *putē-* 2; Nan. *putē-* 2 (Он.).

◊ TMC 2, 43, 305.

PMong. ***hütü-** vulva (vulva): MMong. [*o*]*tkeon* (IM), *hutukun* (MA), *hotugūn* (Lig.VMI); WMong. *ütügü(ü)* (L 1014); Kh. *ütrē*; Kalm. *ütgṇ*; Ord. *ütügü*; Mog. *utkun* (Weiers); ZM *odkun* (3-5a), KT *idkun* (Lig.VMI 35); Mongr. *sdogu* (SM 337).

◊ KW 460.

PTurk. ***ūt** hole (дыра): OTurk. *üt* (OUygh.); Karakh. *üt* (MK); Khal. *hīt*; Kirgh. *üt*; Khak. *üt*; Oyr. *üt*; Tv. *üt*; Yak. *ūt*; Dolg. *ūt*.

◊ EDT 36, VEWT 524, ЭСТЯ 1, 639-640, Stachowski 255.

PJpn. ***pətə** vulva (vulva): OJpn. *p(w)oto*.

◊ JLTT 415.

PKor. ***pot-** vulva (vulva): Mod. *pōʒi*, dial. *podäŋi*.

◊ KED 794.

‖ KW 460, Poppe 112, Poppe 1950, Lee 1958, 109, Ozawa 140-141, Цинциус 1984, 66.

✱**pˊùb(a)gV** broom, stick: Tung. ***pebgure (/*pu-)**; Turk. ***ubɨg**; Jpn. ***pàpákí**; Kor. ***púi**.

PTung. ***pebgure (/*pu-)** ski stick, circle on ski stick (лыжная палка, кружок на лыжной палке): Evk. *hewgurē*; Neg. *xebguje*; Ul. *pegbere(n)*; Ork. *pebgire*; Nan. *fubguru* (Bik.); Orch. *xebbiru* 'hook on walking stick'.

◊ TMC 2, 358.

PTurk. ***ubɨg** sticks supporting the upper rim of a yurt (жерди, поддерживающие верхний край юрты): OTurk. *uɣ* (MK); *ujuɣluɣ* (= *uvuɣluɣ*) 'tent pole' (MK); Tur. *huɣ* 'hut'; Turkm. *ūq*; MTurk. *uɣ* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *ūɣ* (dial.); Alt. *ū* 'das Stangenrippe der Jurte, über welches die Filzdecken ausgebreitet werden' (R - Teleut); Shr. *uɣ*, *ū* 'house, yurt' (R); Uygh. *oq* (dial.); Kirgh. *ūq*; Kaz. *ŭwɨq*; KKalp. *uwɨq*.

◊ EDT 76, 271, VEWT 510, TMN 2, 150-151, ЭСТЯ 1, 583, Лексика 517-518.

PJpn. ***pàpákí** broom (метла): OJpn. *papakji*; MJpn. *fàfákí*; Tok. *hȍki*, *hŏki*; Kyo. *hôkì*; Kag. *hōkí*.

◊ JLTT 414. Dialects show some tonal variation, but all point to a low tone in the first syllable.

PKor. ***púi** broom (метла): MKor. *púi*; Mod. *pi*.

◊ Nam 269, KED 848.

‖ Vocalic reconstruction is not quite certain in a trisyllabic stem. TM **pebgure* probably < **pobgure* (due to frequent variation of *o and *e close to labials).

✱**pˊubá-ktV** sack, bellows: Tung. ***putakān**; Mong. ***huwta**; Jpn. ***pampuki**.

PTung. ***putakān** sack, bag (мешок, сумка): Evk. *hutakān*; Evn. *hụtqan*; Neg. *xotakān*; Man. *fintaχa*; Ul. *pụta(n)*; Ork. *pụta*; Nan. *pōtačã*; Orch. *xuta(ka)*; Ud. *xutaˈa* (Корм. 307); Sol. *ụtxã*.

◊ TMC 2, 356. Evk. > Dolg. *utaka, hutaka* (see Stachowski 247).

PMong. ***huwta** sack (мешок): MMong. *xuxuta* (HY 20, SH), *hutana* (IM), *ută* (MA); WMong. *uɣuta*, *uuta* (L 865); Kh. *ūt*; Bur. *ūta*; Kalm. *ūtə*; Ord. *ūta*; Dong. *fuda*; Bao. *fda*, *fuda*; S.-Yugh. *ūta* (< lit.); Mongr. *fūda* (SM 101).

◊ MGCD 395, 665.

PJpn. ***pampuki** bellows (мехи): OJpn. *pabuk(j)i*.

‖ Poppe 12, Цинциус 1984, 52. Despite Doerfer MT 47, Rozycki 76-77, TM cannot be borrowed from Mong.; but to be related, it has to go back to an earlier form like **pubta-kān*.

✱**pˊučU** wart, pimple, excrescence: Tung. ***pusi(-kV)**; Turk. ***uč-**; Jpn. ***pùsù-mpái**; Kor. ***pə̀čɨ́m**.

PTung. ***pusi(-kV)** 1 excrescence (on a tree) 2 to swell (1 нарост (на дереве) 2 вздуваться, вспухать): Evn. *hōskъn-* 2; Man. *fuqsuxu*, *fusku*, *fusxu* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 45, 335.

PTurk. ***uč-** 1 rash, inflammation, pustules on lips (during cold, fever) 2 catarrh, cold, fever 3 to appear (of rash), catch cold (1 сыпь, воспаление, прыщи на губах (во время простуды, лихорадки) 2 простуда, лихорадка 3 появляться (о прыщах, сыпи), простужаться): Karakh. *učɣuq* (MK) 2; Tur. *učuk* 1; Gag. *učuq* 1; Az. *učuG* 1; Turkm. *učuq* 1; MTurk. *učuq* (Бор. Бад., Pav. C.) 1, 2; Uzb. *učuq* 1, *učun-* 3; Uygh. *učuq* 1; Krm. *učun-* 'to become epileptic'; Bashk. *ŭsŭn-* 3; Kirgh. *učuq* 1; Kaz. *ŭšɨq* 1, *ŭšɨn-* 3; KKalp. *ušɨq* 1, *ušɨn-* 3; Nogh. *ušɨq* 1, *ušɨn-* 3.

◊ EDT 22, 23, ЭСТЯ 1, 616, TMN 2, 139. Turk. > Kalm. *učəg* 'простуда', see TMN ibid.

PJpn. ***pùsù-mpái** wart, excrescence (бородавка, нарост): OJpn. *pusube*; MJpn. *fùsùbé*.

◊ JLTT 419.

PKor. ***pə̀čɨ́m** scab, herpes, ringworm (струп, лишай): MKor. *pə̀čɨ́m*; Mod. *pəžim*.

◊ Nam 255, KED 761.

‖ Irregular accent correspondence between Kor. and Jpn. (besides, the Kor. vowel is aberrant: we would rather expect -u- or -o-, or a vowel reduction).

✱**pˊùčV (~ *p-, -o-)** to blow: Tung. ***pus-**; Jpn. ***pùsù-(m)pur-**; Kor. ***pùčhə́i**.

PTung. ***pus-** 1 to blow, blow out (fire) 2 to fan 3 fan (1 дуть, задувать (огонь) 2 обмахиваться (веером) 2 веер): Evk. *hus-* 1; Man. *fusxe-*, *fisi(xi)-* 2, *fusxe-ku* 3; Jurch. *fu-sxe-ŋu* 3 (221); Nan. *fexse-* 'to shake', *fexseŋku* 'bellows'.

◊ TMC 2, 36, 304, 336.

PJpn. ***pùsù-(m)pur-** to smoke (дымить(ся)): MJpn. *fùsùbór-*; Tok. *fusubur-*.

◊ JLTT 695.

PKor. ***pùčə́i** fan (веер): MKor. *pùčə́i*; Mod. *pučhä*.

◊ Nam 266, KED 821.

‖ SKE 211-212, Lee 1958, 111. An Eastern isogloss; may be actually a variant of **pˊõči* - if the original meaning was 'to blow out (fire)'. Kor. low tone reflects the stem's original verbal nature.

✱**pˊúčˊí (~ -o-)** a k. of willow, blossoming bush: Tung. ***puči-**; Mong. ***hüčije-**; Jpn. ***púntí**.

PTung. ***puči-** red willow (красный тальник): Ul. *pučekte*; Nan. *fučile* (Bik.).

◊ TMC 2, 45.

PMong. ***hüčije-** willow (ива): MMong. *xižesun* (HY 7), *ičesūn* (Lig.VMI), *ičēsun* (MA); Bur. *üšõhe(n)*, *išēhen* (Lig.); Mongr. *śʒōʒə* 'arbre' (SM 390).

◊ There is no difference between the syllables 'če' and 'ʒe' in Sino-Mongolian.

PJpn. ***púntí** Wistaria floribunda DC (Wistaria floribunda DC): OJpn. *pudi*; MJpn. *fúdí*; Tok. *fùji*; Kyo. *fújí*; Kag. *fúji*.

◊ JLTT 420.

‖ Poppe 11, 51; Цинциус 1984, 51.

✱**pˊude (~ -i̯u-)** willow, maple: Tung. ***pode-**; Mong. ***huda**; Turk. ***öd(r)eŋi**; Kor. ***ptə́rkí**.

PTung. ***pode-** 1 willow 2 elm (1 ива, верба 2 вяз): Evk. *hedepte* 2; Man. *fodo* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 45, 360.

PMong. ***huda** willow (ива): MMong. *xutan* (SH); WMong. *uda* (L 860); Kh. *ud*; Kalm. *udən*; Ord. *uda*; Dag. *xudikān* (Тод. Даг. 179); Mongr. *sdoxo* (SM 337).

◊ KW 446.

PTurk. ***öd(r)eŋi** maple (клен): Uygh. *üräŋgi*; Tat. *öjɛŋke*, *örɛŋge*; Bashk. *öjäŋkä*; Kaz. *ujeŋki*; KBalk. *ürge*; Kum. *ürge*; Chuv. *vəʷrene*.

◊ VEWT 522, Дмитриева 1972, 191, Егоров 52, Федотов 1, 118, Bläsing 2001.

PKor. ***ptə́rkí** bush(es) (куст(ы)): MKor. *ptə́rkí*; Mod. *t:əlgi*.

◊ Nam 152, KED 447.

‖ Cf. **pŏtˊo*.

✱**pˊŭdi** to follow: Tung. ***pude-**; Mong. ***hüde-**; Turk. ***ud-**; Kor. ***pti-**.

PTung. ***pude-** 1 to follow along 2 expel an evil spirit (1 провожать, сопровождать 2 прогонять злого духа): Man. *fude-* 1; SMan. *fedə-* (1456); Jurch. *fude-mij* (410) 1; Ul. *pude-či-* 2; Nan. *pude-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 249.

PMong. ***hüde-** follow, see off (провожать): MMong. *xüde-* (HY 36), *xude-* (SH), *hude-* (MA); WMong. *üde-* (L 995); Kh. *üde-*; Bur. *üde-*; Kalm. *üdə-*; Ord. *üde-*; Mongr. *rʒ́ē̆* 'track'.

◊ KW 455. Mong. > Tuva *üde-*, Yak. *ütäi-* etc. (VEWT 519).

PTurk. ***ud-** to follow, conform (следовать, соответствовать, повиноваться): OTurk. *ud-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *uδ-* (MK); Tur. *uj-*; Gag. *uj-*; Az. *uj-*; Turkm. *uj-*; MTurk. *uj-* (Abush.); Uzb. *ujuš-*; Uygh. *ujuš-*; Krm. *uj-*; Tat. *ŭjɨš-*; Bashk. *ŭjŭš-*; Kirgh. *ujuš-*; Kaz. *ŭjɨs-*; KKalp. *ujɨs-*; Nogh. *ujɨs-*; Yak. *utā* 'next'.

◊ EDT 38, ЭСТЯ 1, 573-574.

PKor. ***ptɨ-** to follow a pattern, make like (следовать образцу, имитировать): MKor. *ptɨ-*; Mod. *t:ɨ-*.

◊ Liu 247, KED 523.

‖ EAS 55, KW 455, Poppe 52, 111 (Tung.-Mong.), Цинциус 1984, 58. Despite TMN 1, 537, Doerfer MT 80, TM forms (except Evk. *ude-*) cannot be borrowed from Mong.

✸**pʿǜgé** to tear off, sever: Tung. ***pōg- / *peg-de-**; Mong. ***(h)ug- / *(h)üg-**; Jpn. ***pànk-**; Kor. ***pə̀hí-**.

PTung. ***pōg- / *peg-de-** 1 to cut off 2 to tear off 3 to prick with an awl 4 awl (1 отрезать, обрезать 2 отдирать 3 колоть шилом 4 шило): Evk. *hōɣ-* 1, *hegde-lī-* 2; Evn. *heɣdъk-* 2; Neg. *xegde-l-* 2; Ork. *pū-* 3; Nan. *xoị-* 1 (Kur-Urm.); Orch. *xoị-* 1, *xū-gu* 4, *xegde-* 2; Ud. *xegdeli-* 2 (Корм. 307), *xuai-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 43, 329, 360. Evk. > Dag. *xōglō-* (Тод. Даг. 176).

PMong. ***(h)ug- / *(h)üg-** to tear, tear out (драть, выдирать): WMong. *uɣǯira-*, *ügtege-* (L 998); Kh. *ugʒra-*, *ügtē-*; Bur. *ugzar-*; Kalm. *ugǯər-* KPC 527; Mongr. *sdē-* 'arracher, déraciner' (SM 334).

PJpn. ***pànk-** to tear off (сдирать): OJpn. *pag-*; MJpn. *fàg-*; Tok. *hág-*; Kyo. *hág-*; Kag. *hàg-*.

◊ JLTT 683.

PKor. ***pə̀hí-** to cut, reap, sever (отрезать, отделять, сжинать): MKor. *pə̀hí-*; Mod. *pē-*.

◊ Nam 255, KED 773.

‖ EAS 55, Martin 229. An expressive root (cf. also **pokʿe*, **pʿi̯ùgV*, **pʿago*).

✸**pʿugu (~ -o)** tinder; excrescence: Tung. ***pug(i)ju-**; Mong. ***huɣula**; Turk. ***ugu-**.

PTung. ***pug(i)ju-** 1 tinder, tree excrescence 2 convex (1 нарост (древесный) 2 выпуклый): Evk. *hujulgen* 1; Evn. *pogụra* 2 (< S.-Tung.); Neg. *poɣjụ* 1 (< S.-Tung.); Man. *forǯin* 1; Ork. *pugju* 1; Nan. *porǯị* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 40, 338.

PMong. ***huɣula** tinder (трут): WMong. *uɣula* (L 866: *ujil* 'excrescence on a tree'; ?L 14: *aɣli* id.); Kh. *ūl*; Bur. *ūla* 'пробка'; Dag. *xuāĺ*; S.-Yugh. *χū*; Mongr. *fula* 'amadou' (SM 105).

◊ MGCD 663.

PTurk. ***ugu-** tinder (трут): Chuv. *ъʷvъʷ*.

◊ Мудрак Дисс. 147.

‖ VEWT 508, Мудрак Дисс. 147. A Western isogloss. MMong. *hula*, (IM) *holā*, WMong. *ula*, Mongor *fula* may be a different root, corresponding directly to TM **pula* (TMC 2, 343) id. (see EAS 55, Poppe 12, Цинциус 1984, 53, Doerfer MT 132) - however, in TM **pug(u)la* is also reconstructable, and MMong. *hula* may well be a variant of **huhula*.

✱**pʿŭgV (~ -k-)** to attack, rob: Tung. ***pukču-**; Turk. ***ogrɨ**.

PTung. ***pukču-** to attack (нападать): Evk. *hukču-*; Evn. *höč-*; Neg. *xokčo-*; Ul. *xokčo-*; Ork. *pokče-*; Nan. *xukču-*, *fukču-*; Orch. *xokčo-*; Ud. *xokčo-*; Sol. *ekči-*.

◊ TMC 2, 341-342.

PTurk. ***ogrɨ** thief (вор): OTurk. *oɣrɨ* (OUygh.); Karakh. *oɣrɨ* (MK); Tur. *uuru*; Az. *oɣru*; Turkm. *oɣrɨ*; Sal. *oɣrɨ*; MTurk. *oɣrɨ* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *o̦ɣri*; Uygh. *oɣri*, *oɣur*; Krm. *oɣrɨ*; Kirgh. *ūru*; Kaz. *ŭrɨ*; KKalp. *urɨ*; Kum. *oru*, *uru*; SUygh. *oɣur*; Khak. *oɣɨr*; Shr. *oɣrɨ*; Oyr. *ūr*; Tv. *ōr*; Chuv. *vъʷrъʷ*; Yak. *uor-* 'to steal'; Dolg. *uor-* 'to steal'.

◊ EDT 90, ЭСТЯ 1, 412-414, TMN 2, 77-78, Stachowski 244. Turk. > Mong. **oɣurčak*, see Щербак 1997, 164; Hung. or, *orv* 'mischievous', see Gombocz 1912.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**pʿuje** to whirl, boil: Tung. ***puju-**; Mong. ***hujil-**; Turk. ***üjük**.

PTung. ***puju-** to boil (кипеть): Evk. *huju-*; Evn. *huj-*; Neg. *xuj-*; Man. *fuje-*; SMan. *fei-* (348); Ul. *puju-*; Ork. *puj-*; Nan. *puju-*; Orch. *xuju-si-*; Ud. *xui-hi-*; Sol. *uji-*.

◊ TMC 2, 337-338.

PMong. ***hujil** whirlpool (водоворот): MMong. *xujil* (SH); WMong. *ujil*, (L 604) *ojil*; Kh. *ujl*; Ord. *uil*.

PTurk. ***üjük** 1 quicksand 2 to sink (1 зыбучий песок 2 тонуть, погружаться): Karakh. *üjük* (MK, KB) 1, *üjük-* (MK) 2; Turkm. *üjk* 'slush'; MTurk. (Xwar.) *üjük* 'dregs in wine' (Qutb).

◊ EDT 271, 272.

‖ Poppe 67, Цинциус 1984, 59. A Western isogloss.

✱**pʿūji** to stiffen: Tung. ***pū-**; Mong. ***(h)öje-**; Turk. ***ujɨ-**.

PTung. ***pū-** 1 to stiffen 2 to fade (1 онеметь, затечь (о руках, ногах) 2 выцвести (о ткани)): Evk. *huwun-* 2; Evn. *hū-* 1, *hụ̄b-* 2; Man. *fu-* 1; Ud. *xuwe-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 335-336.

PMong. ***(h)öje-** 1 weak, clumsy 2 (to be) unable to get up (1 слабый, неуклюжий 2 быть истощенным, не в состоянии встать): WMong. *öjügede-* 2 (MXTTT); Kh. *öjõ-dö-* 2; Bur. *üjē* 1, *üjede-* 2; Kalm. *öjē* 1, *öjɛd-* 2 (KPC 413).

PTurk. ***uji-** to stiffen (неметь, цепенеть): OTurk. *ujɨrqan- joqurqan-* (OUygh.); Tur. *ujuš-*; Gag. *ujvaš-*; Az. *ujuš-*; MTurk. *ujuš-* (AH); Uzb. *ujuš-*; Tat. *ŭjɨ-*, *ŭjɨš-*; Bashk. *ŭjŭ-*, *ŭjŭš-*; KKalp. *ujɨ-*; Nogh. *ujɨ-*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 1, 582, ДТС 608.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**pʿujme** to mix: Tung. ***pume- (~ -ü-)**; Mong. ***hüjime-**; Kor. ***pə̀mɨ́r-**.

PTung. ***pume- (~ -ü-)** to mix up (смешивать, перемешивать): Man. *fumere-*; Jurch. *fume* 'to bundle' (856).

◊ TMC 2, 302.

PMong. ***hüjime-** to hustle, be mixed up (толкаться, мешаться): WMong. *üime-* (L 1001); Kh. *üjme-*; Bur. *üjme-*; Kalm. *ūm-* (KPC); Ord. *üjme-*; Dag. *xuimu-*.

◊ MGCD 691.

PKor. ***pə̀mɨ́r-** 1 to bind, tie up 2 to mix (1 связывать 2 смешивать): MKor. *pə̀mɨ́r-* 1; Mod. *pəmul-* 2.

◊ Nam 254, KED 760.

‖ Poppe 12, Lee 1958, 110, Цинциус 1984, 59. The root is somewhat dubious: the older meaning attested in Kor. is 'to bind, tie up', and the root may actually reflect PA **pʿémi* 'twist a thread' (q.v.); the same is true of the TM forms that may in fact (especially because for Jurch. the meaning 'bind' is attested) go back to the same PTM root **pem-*.

✱**pʿujV** to nauseate: Tung. ***puji-**; Mong. ***hoji-**; Jpn. ***pə- (~ -u-)**.

PTung. ***puji-** to nauseate (тошнить): Evn. *hụjɨrqɨt-*; Man. *fuja-*.

◊ TMC 2, 337.

PMong. ***hoji-** 1 to nauseate 2 nausea (1 тошнить 2 тошнота): WMong. *oi* 2 (MXTTT); Kh. *oj* 2; Bur. *oj-* 1; Dag. *xoi-* 1.

◊ MGCD 524.

PJpn. ***pə- (~ -u-)** to sneeze (чихать): OJpn. *pu-*, *pana-pu-* (*pana* 'nose'); MJpn. *fáná-fi-*.

◊ JLTT 690.

‖ An expressive root; correspondences, however, seem to be regular.

✱**pʿukʒi** thigh, rump: Tung. ***pogʒV**; Mong. ***(h)ögʒeg**.

PTung. ***pogʒV** 1 lower part of the back 2 tail (1 нижняя часть спины 2 хвост): Evk. *hogʒō* 1, 2; Evn. *hogʒɨ̨* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 329.

PMong. ***(h)ögǯeg** buttock, hind side of thigh (задница, задняя сторона бедра): WMong. *ögeǯeg* (L 632), *öǯigeneg*; Kh. *ögʒög*; Kalm. *ögzəg*, *öǯəgnnəg*.

◊ KW 293. Mong. > Man. *uča* etc., see TMN 2, 138, Doerfer MT 116.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✸**pʿū́kʿŋi** to rub, wipe off: Tung. ***puŋku**; Mong. ***hüŋgü-**; Turk. ***ṻk-**; Jpn. ***púk-**.

PTung. ***puŋku** kerchief (for wiping off) (платок (для стирания)): Man. *fuŋku*, *fu-* 'to wipe off'; SMan. *fuŋku* 'handkerchief' (246); Ul. *poŋqo*; Ork. *pukku*; Nan. *puŋku*; Sol. *xunku*, *umku*, *uŋku*.

◊ TMC 1, 477.

PMong. ***hüŋgü-** to rub, knead, crumple (тереть, мять пальцами): MMong. *hunku-*, *unku-* (MA 191, 277, 382); WMong. *üŋgü-* (L 1010 *üŋge-*); Kh. *ünge-*; Bur. *ünge-*; Ord. *üŋgü-*; Dong. *fungu-*; Mongr. *fuŋgu-* (SM 109).

◊ MGCD 695, SM 109, Most. DO 759.

PTurk. ***ṻk-** to grind, crush, rub (молоть, крошить, растирать): OTurk. *ögi-* (~ *ü-*) (OUygh.); Karakh. *ögi-* (~ *ü-*) (MK); Tur. *öjüt-*, *övüt-*; Gag. *ṻt-*; Az. *üjüt-* 2; Turkm. *üvi-*, *üvüt-* 2; MTurk. *ügüt-* (AH); Uygh. *ük-* (dial.); Tat. *ük-* (dial.); Kirgh. *ük-*; Kaz. *ük-*; KKalp. *ük-*, *ügi-*.

◊ EDT 101-102, ЭСТЯ 1, 618-619. The root clearly has a *-k-, with a development > *-g- > *-ɣ- in Oghuz pointing to an original long vowel. It should be therefore distinguished from PT **ög-* 'to knead, press' which shows only reflexes of *-g-.

PJpn. ***púk-** to wipe off (стирать, смахивать): Tok. *fùk-*; Kyo. *fúk-*; Kag. *fúk-*.

◊ JLTT 694.

‖ The root means 'to wipe off' in the Eastern area, but rather 'to rub off, crush' in Turkic and Mongolian.

✸**pʿŭle (~ -i)** to be left, surplus: Tung. ***pule-**; Mong. ***hüle-**; Turk. ***üle-**.

PTung. ***pule-** to be left, surplus (оставаться, излишек): Evk. *hele-*, *hule-*; Evn. *hul-*; Neg. *xule-*; Man. *fulu*; Ul. *pule-*; Ork. *pule-*; Nan. *pule-*; Orch. *xule-*; Ud. *xule-*; Sol. *ule-*.

◊ TMC 2, 364-365.

PMong. ***hüle-** 1 surplus, to leave 2 more than 3 remain, get left (1 излишек, оставлять 2 больше чем 3 оставаться (на месте), отставать): MMong. *xule-* (SH) 1, *xüle'u* (SH, HYt), *holu* (IM), *hul(a)u* (MA) 2; WMong. *üle-* 1 (L 1004), *ilegü*, *ilegüü*, *ülegüü* 2 (L 405), *ülde-*, *ülede-* 3; Kh. *üle-* 1, *ilṻ* 2, *ülde-* 3; Bur. *üle-* 1, *ülṻ* 2, *ülde-* 3; Kalm. *ülṻ*, *ilṻ* 2, *ülde* 3; Ord. *üli-*, *üle-* 1, *ilṻ* 2; Mog. ZM *ulou* (16-1a); Dag. *xulu-* 1, *xulū* 2 (Тод. Даг. 179), *hulū* 2, *huledē* 3 (MD 166), *ilū* 'many' <lit.? (MD 171); Dong. *fəiliə-* 1, *śiliu*, *šiliu* 2; Bao. *śilu*, *šilu*, *xelu* (Tungren) 2; S.-Yugh. *helē-* 1, *hölṻ*, *χölṻ* 2; Mongr. *fulē-* (SM 106) 1, *fulṻ* (SM 106), *xoliu*, *šilṻ*, *xilṻ* (Huzu).

◊ KW 456, 457 MGCD 287, 409, 692.

PTurk. ***üle-** 1 to divide, distribute, endow 2 lot, endowment (1 разделять, распределять, наделять 2 доля, надел): OTurk. *üle-*, *üleš-* 1, *ülüg*, *ülüš* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *üle-*, *üleš-* 1, *ülüg*, *ülüš* 2 (MK, KB); Tur. *üleš-* 1, *üleš* 2; Turkm. *üle*, *ülüš* 2, *üle-*, *üleš-* 1; MTurk. *ülü* 2, *üle-* 1 (AH), *üleš-* 1, *üleš* 2 (Pav. C.), *ülüš* 2 (Abush., Pav. C.); Uzb. *ulăš-* 1, *uĺuš* 2; Uygh. *ülăš-* 1, *ülüš* 2; Krm. *üleš-*, *ülüš-* 1, *ülüš* 2; Tat. *ŭlăš-* 1, *ŭlĭš* 2; Bashk. *ŭläš-* 1, *ŭlŭš* 2; Kirgh. *ülöš*, *ülüš* 2; Kaz. *üles-* 1, *üles* 2; KBalk. *üleš-* 1, *üleš*, *ülüš* 2; KKalp. *üles-* 1, *üles* 2; Kum. *üleš-* 1; Nogh. *üles-* 1, *ülis* 2; SUygh. *ülis-* 2; Khak. *üle-* 1, *ülüs* 2; Shr. *üle-*, *üleš-* 1, *üleš*, *ülüš* 2; Oyr. *ülü*, *ülöš* 2, *üle-*, *üleš-*, *ülöš-* 1; Tv. *üle-* 1, *üleš* 2; Chuv. *valeś-* 1.

◊ ЭСТЯ 1, 627-629, EDT 127, 142, 153, 154, Егоров 46, Федотов 1, 98-99, VEWT 520, TMN 2, 120-121.

‖ EAS 55, Владимирцов 187, Poppe 12, 111, Цинциус 1984, 60, Rozycki 82. A Western isogloss. Despite Doerfer MT 23, TM cannot be borrowed from Mong.

✱**pʿŭ̆lgi (~ -o-)** to blow: Tung. ***pul(i)gi-**; Mong. ***hüliɣe-**; Jpn. ***pùk-**; Kor. ***pūr-**.

PTung. ***pul(i)gi-** to blow (дуть): Man. *fulǵe-*; SMan. *filixi-* (2126); Nan. *fulgi-*.

◊ TMC 2, 336.

PMong. ***hüliɣe-** to blow (дуть): MMong. *xüli'ə* (SH), *hulä-*, *huile-* (MA); WMong. *ülije-* (L 1006); Kh. *ülē-*; Bur. *ülē-*; Kalm. *ülē-*; Ord. *ülē-*; Dag. *xūl-*; Dong. *fulie-*, *fəiliə-*; Bao. *file-*, *hilə-*; S.-Yugh. *pīle-*; Mongr. *pīle-* (SM 302), *pūle-*.

◊ KW 457, MGCD 692.

PJpn. ***pùk-** to blow (дуть): OJpn. *puk-*; MJpn. *fùk-*; Tok. *fúk-*; Kyo. *fúk-*; Kag. *fùk-*.

◊ JLTT 694.

PKor. ***pūr-** to blow (дуть): MKor. *pūr-*; Mod. *pūl-*.

◊ Nam 267, KED 835.

‖ EAS 55, KW 457, SKE 209, Lee 1958, 110, Poppe 12, 112, Цинциус 1984, 57, Martin 226. Not borrowed in TM < Mong., despite Rozycki 81. In Turk. the root has probably merged with **uĺV* 'to freeze' q.v. (cf. the meaning 'to blow (of a cold wind)' in Chuv.).

✱**pʿŭ̆li** root, foundation: Tung. ***pule-**; Mong. ***(h)ölmej**; Jpn. ***pú-**; Kor. ***pìrhǎi**.

PTung. ***pule-** root (корень): Man. *fulexe*; SMan. *fuləxə*, *fuluxu* (2145).

◊ TMC 2, 302.

PMong. ***(h)ölmej** sole of foot (подошва, ступня): MMong. *o[li]mi* 'upper part of a foot, metatarsus' (HY 47); WMong. *ölmei* (L 633); Kh.

ölmij; Bur. *ülme*, *ülmɨ* 'плюсна, ступня; подъем (у обуви)'; Kalm. *ölmɛ* 'front part of the foot (folklore)' (KPC 414); Ord. *ölmī*.

◊ Mong. > Ul. *elmi* etc. (see TMC 2, 454).

PJpn. ***pú-** foot (of a mountain), foundation (подножие (горы), основание): OJpn. *pu-m(w)oto*; MJpn. *fú-mótó*, *fú-mótò*; Tok. *fumotó*; Kyo. *fúmótó*; Kag. *fumotó*.

◊ JLTT 418. A compound with **mətə* 'root, foundation'.

PKor. ***pɨrhǎi** root (корень): MKor. *pɨrhǎi*, *pɨrhɨi*, *pùrhói*, *pùrhúi*; Mod. *p:uri*.

◊ Nam 268, 274, KED 814.

‖ SKE 1949, 209, Lee 1958, 109, Цинциус 1984, 61, АПиПЯЯ 291. The Mong. form can belong here only if the attested HY form *o[li]mi* is aberrant, reflecting the stage of language (or dialect) with h- already lost. Otherwise Mong. reflexes are to be separated from this root. On possible Turkic reflexes see under **ula*.

✱**pˊŭlo** cheek: Tung. ***pul-**; Mong. ***hurul**; Jpn. ***pə̀-pə́ (~-ua-)**; Kor. ***pór-**.

PTung. ***pul-** 1 corner (of mouth) 2 cheek 3 inner side of cheek 4 gum 5 cheekbone 6 nose (of animal) (1 уголок (рта) 2 щека 3 внутренняя сторона щеки 4 десна 5 скула 6 нос (зверя)): Evk. *hullir* 6; Evn. *hulrṇn* 3; Neg. *xolịn* 1; Man. *fulǯin* 2; Ul. *pṻlị* (Sch.) 5, *pụltụ(n)* 3; Ork. *pụlčị* 3; Nan. *polpī̃* 3 , (Bik.) *felče* 4.

◊ TMC 2, 346.

PMong. ***hurul** lip (губа): MMong. *xurül* (HY 46), *horol* (IM), *hurul* (MA), *horūl* (LH); WMong. *urul*, *ulur*, *uruɣul* (L 886); Kh. *ural*, *urūl*; Bur. *ural*; Kalm. *urḷ*, *ūrḷ*; Ord. *urūl*; Mog. *urul* (Weiers), *ulur* (Ramstedt 1906); KT *orol* (2-1a); Dag. *xorōl*, *xorol*, *xollo* (Тод. Даг. 178), *horele* (MD 164); Dong. *furuŋ*, *furun*, *furəu*; Mongr. *urōl* (with unclear loss of h-).

◊ KW 451, MGCD 682.

PJpn. ***pə̀-pə́ (~-ua-)** cheek (щека): OJpn. *p(w)op(w)o*; MJpn. *fòfó*; Tok. *hóo*, *hóho*; Kyo. *hóò*; Kag. *hóo*.

◊ JLTT 414. The Kyoto and Kagoshima accent contradicts the old records and the Tokyo evidence: this is probably due to contraction.

PKor. ***pór-** cheek (щека): MKor. *pó-čjókái*; Mod. *pol*.

◊ Nam 261, KED 803.

‖ EAS 55, Цинциус 1984, 53, Lee 1958, 110, АПиПЯЯ 75, Martin 228. Mong. **hurul* regularly < **hulu-r*. As for the Jpn. form, it may be a reduplication (as thought traditionally; in this case **pə-* < **pˊùl(o)-gV*), or reflect an already suffixed form, cf. e. g. Nan. *polpị* (< **pˊùlo-pV*).

✱**pˊulu (~-o) (?)** possessions, estate: Turk. ***ulu-Í**; Kor. ***pùrɨr**.

PTurk. ***ulu-Í** country, city (страна, город): OTurk. *uluš* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *uluš* (MK); Krm. *uluš*.

◊ EDT 152-153, Лексика 317, 494. Turk. > Mong. *ulus* (see TMN 1, 177, Clark 1980, 41, Щербак 1997, 161), whence again modern Turkm., Oyr. etc. *ulus* (ЭСТЯ 1, 592).

PKor. ***pùrɨ̀r** possessions, estate (владения, состояние): MKor. *pùrɨ̀r*.

◊ HMCH 352.

‖ A Turk.-Kor. isogloss; dubious because the Kor. word is very sparsely attested.

✸**pʿŭ̀ĺi** to open up: Tung. ***pule-**; Turk. ***üĺ-**; Kor. ***pɨ́rh-**.

PTung. ***pule-** 1 to open up 2 to burst, break through (1 открывать, раскрывать 2 прокалывать, проламывать): Evk. *hulen-* 1, *hulte-* 2; Evn. *hultъl-* 2; Neg. *xulexet-* 'рыться (в вещах)', *xultejkin-* 2; Man. *fonto-*, *funto-* 2; Nan. *poldolị-* 2; Ud. *xulegde-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 346, 347.

PTurk. ***üĺ-** 1 to perforate, cut a hole in 2 drill, borer (1 прокалывать, буравить 2 бурав): Karakh. *üš-* (MK) 1; Tur. *üš-* 1; Az. *üškü*, *üšgü* 2 (dial.); Turkm. *üšgi* 2 (dial.); Kirgh. *üšü-* 1, *üškü* 2; Kaz. *üskĭ* 2.

◊ EDT 256, ЭСТЯ 1, 643-644, VEWT 523.

PKor. ***pɨ́rh-** to loosen, undo, explain (развязывать, распаковывать, расслаблять): MKor. *phɨ́r-*; Mod. *phul-*.

◊ Nam 465, KED 1763.

‖ SKE 210, 215-216. Cf. also MKor. *pǎrk-* 'to get away or free from'; Bur. *ülxe-* 'to bead, string' (> Evk. *ulge-* etc.). Despite Poppe 1972, 99, the TM forms cannot be borrowed < Mong. *ülte-* (see s.v. **uĺi*).

✸**pʿuma (~ p-, -i̯u-, -e)** a k. of big predator: Tung. ***pomā- / *pume-**; Kor. ***pə̄m**.

PTung. ***pomā- / *pume-** bear (медведь): Evk. *homōtī*, *humej*.

◊ TMC 2, 332, 347.

PKor. ***pə̄m** tiger (тигр): MKor. *pə̄m*; Mod. *pə̄m*.

◊ Nam 256, KED 767.

‖ A Tung.-Kor. isogloss; within TM attested only in Evk., thus somewhat dubious.

✸**pʿŭ̀nte** a k. of insect: Tung. ***pundimi**; Mong. ***hötün**; Jpn. ***pə̀taru (~ -ua-)**; Kor. ***pántó**.

PTung. ***pundimi** midge (мошка): Man. *funǯima*; Nan. *ponǯịmị*.

◊ TMC 2, 41.

PMong. ***hötün** worm, larva (червь, личинка): WMong. *ötü(n)* (L 646); Kh. *öt*; Bur. *üt*; Kalm. *ötṇ*; Ord. *ütü*; Dag. *xudu* (Тод. Даг. 179); Dong. *xodəu*; Bao. *hodəg*; S.-Yugh. *öt* (< lit.).

◊ KW 302, MGCD 550.

PJpn. ***pə̀taru (~ -ua-)** firefly (светляк): OJpn. *p(w)otaru*; MJpn. *fotaru*; Tok. *hótaru*; Kyo. *hótàrù*; Kag. *hotarú*.

◊ JLTT 415. Accent correspondences are not quite clear, but in any case point to a low tone in the first syllable.

PKor. ***pántó** firefly (светляк): MKor. *pántó*, *pántòi*; Mod. *pandi*.

◊ Nam 243, KED 716.

‖ Mergers with **pātˊe* were possible (esp. in Jpn., where otherwise -a- would be expected). Reasons of the loss of -n- in Mong. are not clear.

✸**pˊŭnV** to hit the target: Tung. ***penū- / *punū-**; Mong. ***honu-**; Turk. ***una-**.

PTung. ***penū- / *punū-** to notice, guess (замечать, догадываться): Evk. *henū-*; Evn. *hēn-*; Neg. *xenu-*; Ul. *punu-*; Ork. *xenun-*; Ud. *xōno-*, *xuene-* 'to be surprised'.

◊ TMC 2, 366.

PMong. ***honu-** 1 to hit (target), guess 2 to compete in bow-shooting 3 to shoot over the target 4 gist, essence (1 попадать (в цель), угадывать 2 соревноваться в стрельбе из лука 3 стрелять выше цели 4 сущность): MMong. *xontuča-* 2, 3 (SH), *nu-* (IM); WMong. *onu-* 1, *ontus-* 3, *oni-su(n)* 4 (L 615); Kh. *ono-*, no- 1, *ońs* 4; Bur. *ono-* 1; Kalm. *on-* 1; Ord. *ono-*; Dag. *nō-* 1 (MD 200); Mongr. *nū-* 'regarder; atteindre, le but, toucher' (SM 287)?.

◊ KW 286.

PTurk. ***una-** to agree, be satisfied (соглашаться, быть удовлетворенным): OTurk. *una-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *una-* (MK); Tur. *una-* (dial.); Az. *una-* (dial.); Turkm. *una-*; MTurk. *una-* (Бор. Бад., Abush., Pav. C.); Uzb. *una-*; Uygh. *una-*; Kirgh. *una-*; Kaz. *una-*; KBalk. *una-*; KKalp. *una-*; Nogh. *una-*; Khak. *una-*.

◊ EDT 171, VEWT 514, ЭСТЯ 1, 596-597.

‖ A Western isogloss. ? Cf. Jpn. *pono-mek-* 'to show vaguely, guess' etc. (if not the same as *pono-ka*).

✸**pˊúńe** nose; smell, to smell: Tung. ***puń-**; Mong. ***hünir**; Jpn. ***páná**.

PTung. ***puń-** smell, to smell (запах, нюхать): Evk. *huńŋukte-*; Evn. *hīnemsi*; Neg. *xun*; Man. *fun*, *fuŋsan*, *fuŋšun*; SMan. *fuŋəsən*, *fuŋəsun* 'smelling of an animal, smelling of urine' (435, 2326); Ul. *pū(n)*; Ork. *pū(n)*, *pūniγe*; Nan. *pũ*, dial. *fũ*; Orch. *xū(n)*, *xūń*; Ud. *xu(n)*; Sol. *ṭ̃*.

◊ TMC 2, 349. Length in some languages is compensatory.

PMong. ***hünir** 1 smell 2 to smell (1 запах 2 пахнуть): MMong. *xunir*, *xunor*, *xuŋši'ut* (pl.) (SH), *xunir* (HYt), *hujir* (IM), *hunir* (MA) 1, *hunir* 1, *hunis-* 2 (MA); WMong. *ünür* (L 1010), *ünir* 1; Kh. *üner* 1; Bur. *üner* 1; Kalm. *ünṛ* 1; Ord. *ünir* 1; Dag. *xūnu-* 1 (Тод. Даг. 179); Dong. *funi* 1; Bao. *hun-de-* 2; S.-Yugh. *honər*, *honor* 1; Mongr. *funir* 1, *funis-* 2 (SM 108).

◊ KW 458, MGCD 695.

PJpn. ***páná** nose (нос): OJpn. *pana*; MJpn. *fáná*; Tok. *hàna*; Kyo. *háná*; Kag. *hána*.

◊ JLTT 397.

‖ EAS 55, Цинциус 1984, 61, АПиПЯЯ 78, 277, Rozycki 82. Despite Doerfer MT 80, TM cannot be borrowed from Mong. Initial *pʿ- (not *p-) is reconstructed because of *h- in Mong. and high pitch in Jpn. Cf. **póńe*.

✱**pʿúńe** hair; feather: Tung. ***puńe-**; Mong. ***hü-sü**; Jpn. ***pánái**.

PTung. ***puńe-** hair (волос(ы)): Evk. *heńekte* 'пыжик (мех молочного олененка)'; Man. *fuńexe*; SMan. *fenixə* 'hair, fur'(2, 143, 2282), *funiɣe*; Jurch. *fun-ir-xie* (497).

◊ TMC 2, 303, 367. A possible derivative is **punu-ktV* 'young horns of deer' reflected in Man. *funtu*, Nan. *puntu*, dial. *fuŋku* (TMC 2, 47); cf. also Man. *fuŋGala* 'feather', *fen* 'arrow feathers'.

PMong. ***hü-sü** hair (волос): MMong. *xüsun* (HY 45, SH), *häson* (IM), *usun* (MA); WMong. *üsü(n)* (L 1013); Kh. *üs(en)*; Bur. *ühen*; Kalm. *üsn̥*; Ord. *üsü*; Mog. *üsün*; ZM *oṣu*; Dag. *xusu* (Тод. Даг. 180), *huse* (MD 167), *xus*; Dong. *usuŋ, usun*; Bao. *suŋ*; S.-Yugh. *həsun*; Mongr. *fuʒə* (SM 102), (Huzu) *sʒə* (MGCD *šʒu*).

◊ KW 460, MGCD 697.

PJpn. ***pánái** feather (перо): OJpn. pane; MJpn. *fáné*; Tok. *hàne*; Kyo. *hánè*; Kag. *háne*.

◊ JLTT 398.

‖ ОСНЯ 3, 83-84, Цинциус 1984, 61-62, АПиПЯЯ 29-30, 112, 275, KW 460 (Mong. ~ TM); an alternative etymology of Poppe (Poppe 70: linking the TM form with Mong. *ünegen* 'fox' and Yak. *ünügäs* 'puppy') is obviously untenable. Cf. also Mong. **hö-dün* 'feather' (< **hön-dün* ?).

✱**pʿùŋké** fade, exuviate: Tung. ***puŋk- / *peŋk-**; Mong. ***(h)oŋgu-**; Turk. ***oŋ- / *öŋ-**; Jpn. ***pànká-**; Kor. ***pòŋkɨ́r-**.

PTung. ***puŋk- / *peŋk-** 1 to fade, exuviate 2 to fall off 3 pale, faded, dark (1 линять 2 осыпаться, падать 3 бледный, неясный, темный): Evn. *heŋkъl-* 1,2; Man. *fundexun* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 319, 367.

PMong. ***(h)oŋgu-** to fade, exuviate (линять): WMong. *oŋgu-* (L 613); Kh. *ongo-*; Bur. *ongo-*.

PTurk. ***oŋ- / *öŋ-** to fade, become pale (линять, блекнуть): OTurk. *öŋ-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *oŋ-* (MK); Uzb. *o̦ŋ-*; Uygh. *oŋ-*, *öŋ-*; Tat. *uŋ-*; Bashk. *uŋ-*; Kirgh. *oŋ-*; Kaz. *oŋ-*; KBalk. *oŋ-*; KKalp. *oŋ-*, *öŋ-*; Kum. *oŋ-*; Nogh. *oŋ-*; Khak. *oŋ-*; Oyr. *oŋ-*; Tv. *oŋ-*; Chuv. *ъʷn-* 'ohne Flamme brennen'.

◊ EDT 169, VEWT 362, 372, ЭСТЯ 1, 460-461.

PJpn. ***pànká-** to fade, become bald (сходить (о краске); лысеть): Tok. *hagé-*; Kyo. *hàgè-*; Kag. *hàgè-*.

◊ JLTT 683. The word is attested late, but seems to be different from **pànk-* 'to tear (off)'.

PKor. ***pə̀ŋkɨ́r-** to take off clothes; to fade, exuviate (снимать одежду; линять): MKor. *pə̀ŋkɨ́r-*.

◊ Nam 257.

‖ In Turk. **üŋ* would be expected; the vocalism was probably influenced by the homonymous **oŋ* / **öŋ* 'colour, exterior'. Kor. has a usual verbal low tone.

✱**pʿŭri** seed: Tung. ***pur-**; Mong. ***hüre**; Turk. ***urug (~ *or-)**; Jpn. ***pú**; Kor. ***pòrì**.

PTung. ***pur-** 1 young (boy, child) 2 children 3 family 4 breed (1 молодой 2 дети 3 семья 4 приплод, выводок): Evk. *hur-kēn* 1, *hurū* 3, *huril* 2; Evn. *hur-ken* 1, *hurъl* 2; Neg. *xujil* 2; Man. *fur-sun* 4; Ul. *purul* 2; Ork. *puriɣe* 1, *puril* 2; Nan. *puri* 3, *puril* 2; Orch. *xī* 2; Sol. *ukkēxẽ*, *urkēxẽ* 1, *uril* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 353-354, 357-358, АПиПЯЯ 45.

PMong. ***hüre** seed, child, descendant (семя): MMong. *xüre* (HY 7), *huran*, *hurun* (MA); WMong. *üre* (L 1011); Kh. *ür*; Bur. *üri*; Kalm. *ürṇ*; Ord. *ür*, *üre*; Dag. *xur* (Тод. Даг. 180), *hure* (MD 167); Dong. *fure*; Bao. *fure*, *fərɛ*; S.-Yugh. *hure*; Mongr. *furē* (SM 110), *xurē* (Minghe).

◊ KW 459, MGCD 696. Mong. > Sol. *ur* (see Doerfer MT 137; but not Man. *fur-sun*, despite Doerfer ibid. and Rozycki 83).

PTurk. ***urug (~ *or-)** 1 seed 2 child, girl 3 kin, kind 4 relatives (1 семя 2 ребенок, девочка 3 род, племя 4 родственники): OTurk. *uruɣ* (OUygh.) 1, 3; Karakh. *uruɣ* (MK, KB) 1, 3; Turkm. *uruG* 3; MTurk. *uruɣ* (Sangl.) 4; Uzb. *uruɣ* 1; Uygh. *uruq* 1; Tat. *orlɨq* 1; Bashk. *orloq* 1; Kirgh. *uruq* 3; Kaz. *u̱rɨq* 1; KBalk. *urluq* 1; KKalp. *urɨq* 1; Nogh. *urlɨq* 1; Tv. *uruɣ* 2; Tof. *uruɣ* 2; Chuv. *vъʷrъʷ* 1; Yak. *urū* 4; Dolg. *urū* 4.

◊ VEWT 516, TMN 2, 47, EDT 214-5, ЭСТЯ 1, 604-606, Лексика 115-116, 307, 323-324, Stachowski 246. Deriving the word from **ur-* 'beat, hit' (VEWT) is of course incorrect. Some forms reflect a variant form **uru-lɨk*. Turk. > Mong. *uruɣ* (see TMN 2, 51, Щербак 1997, 162).

PJpn. ***pú** growth (поросль): OJpn. *pu*; Tok. *fù*; Kyo. *fū̃*; Kag. *fú*.

◊ JLTT 416.

PKor. ***pòrì** barley (ячмень): MKor. *pòrì*; Mod. *pori*.

◊ Nam 260, KED 790.

‖ KW 459, Poppe 111, Цинциус 1972a, 52-59, 1984a, 62-63, АПиПЯЯ 47-48, 286, Лексика 116, Doerfer MT 137. Jpn. **pú* < **pʿúr(i)-gV* (= Turk. **urug* etc.)

✱**pʿŭ̈ri** to shake: Tung. ***por-**; Mong. ***(h)üre-**; Turk. ***ur-**; Jpn. ***púrú-p-**.

PTung. ***por-** to hit, strike (бить, ударять): Man. *fori-*; SMan. *fóri-* 'to pound, to beat' (1582).

◊ TMC 2, 301. Attested only in Manchu, but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***(h)üre-** to strew, scatter (рассыпать; устранять, разрушать): WMong. *üre-* (L 1011); Kh. *üre-*; Bur. *üri-*; Kalm. *ürē-* 'demolish'; Ord. *ürē-* 'faire subir une perte'.

◊ KW 459.

PTurk. ***ur-** 1 to beat, hit 2 to pour, strew (1 бить, ударять 2 сыпать): OTurk. *ur-* (Orkh., OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *ur-* (MK, KB) 1; Tur. *vur-* 1; Gag. *ur-* 1; Az. *vur-* 1; Turkm. *ur-* 1; Khal. *hur-* 1; MTurk. *ur-* (Abush., Pav. C.) 1; Uzb. *ur-* 1; Uygh. *ur-* 1; Krm. *ur-* 1; Tat. *ŭr-* 1; Bashk. *ŭr-* 1; Kirgh. *ur-* 1; Kaz. *ŭr-* 1; KBalk. *ur-* 1; KKalp. *ur-* 1; Kum. *ur-* 1; Nogh. *ur-* 1; Khak. *ur-* 2; Shr. *ur-* 2; Oyr. *ur-* 2; Tv. *ur-* 2; Chuv. *vъ^{w}r-* 1.

◊ EDT 194-195, VEWT 515, ЭСТЯ 1, 599-600.

PJpn. ***púrú-p-** to shake; to sieve (трясти; просеивать): OJpn. *puru-p-*; MJpn. *fúrú-f-*; Tok. *fùru-*; Kyo. *fúrú-*; Kag. *furú-*.

◊ JLTT 695.

‖ Mong. also has a back variant **(h)uri-*, reflected in **(h)uri-ldu-* 'to contest, fight' (WMong. *urildu-*, *uraldu-*, Khalkha *uralda-*) = PT **uru-l̂č-* id.

✱**pʿŭ̀ri (~ -e)** to blow: Tung. ***pū-**; Mong. ***(h)uri-**; Turk. ***ür-**.

PTung. ***pū-** to blow (дуть): Evk. *huw-*; Evn. *hū-*; Neg. *xūw-*; Ul. *pū-*; Ork. *pū-*; Nan. *pū-*; Orch. *xū-*; Sol. *ū-gū-*.

◊ TMC 2, 336.

PMong. ***(h)uri-** to blow (in one's face) (дуть (в лицо)): WMong. *uri-* (MXTTT); Kh. *uri-*; Bur. *uŕā-* 'to eddy (of dust)'; Ord. *uri-*.

PTurk. ***ür-** to blow (дуть): OTurk. *ür-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *ür-* (MK); Tur. *ür-* (dial.); MTurk. *ür-* (Pav. C., AH, Houts.), *hür-* (R.); Krm. *ür-*; Tat. *ör-*; Bashk. *ör-*; Kaz. *ür-*; KKalp. *ür-*; Nogh. *ür-*; Khak. *ür-*; Oyr. *ür-*; Tv. *ür-*; Chuv. *və^{w}r-*; Yak. *ür-*; Dolg. *ür-*.

◊ EDT 195-196, ЭСТЯ 1, 635-636, Stachowski 253.

‖ EAS 55, 149. A Western isogloss.

✱**pʿŭrV** forest: Tung. ***pure**; Turk. ***orman**.

PTung. ***pure** thicket, forest (тайга, лес): Evk. *hur*, *hure*; Neg. *xujēn*; Ul. *pure(n)*; Ork. *pure(n)*; Nan. *purẽ*; Orch. *xue(n)*; Ud. *xuenče-* 'to go hunting'.

◊ TMC 2, 351-352. TM > Dag. *xurežē* (Тод. Даг. 180).

PTurk. ***orman** forest (лес): OTurk. *orman* (OUygh. late); Tur. *orman*; Turkm. *ormon* (dial.); Sal. *ormän*; MTurk. *orman* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *o̦rman*; Krm. *orman*; Tat. *urman*; Bashk. *urman*; Kirgh. *ormon*; Kaz. *orman*; KBalk. *orman*; KKalp. *orman*; Kum. *orman*; Nogh. *orman*; Chuv. *vъ^{w}rman*.

◊ ДТС 371, ЭСТЯ 1, 472-473.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**pʿŭrVkʿV** rope, lasso: Tung. ***purka**; Mong. ***huraka**; Turk. ***uruk**.

PTung. ***purka** lasso (петля, силок, аркан): Evk. *hurka*; Evn. *hụrqъ̣*; Neg. *xojka*; Ul. *puča*; Ork. *pụta*; Nan. *pojqa*; Orch. *xukka*; Ud. *xuka*.

◊ TMC 2, 352-353.

PMong. ***huraka** lasso, bird net (аркан, сеть для ловли птиц): MMong. *xuraqa* (SH), *uruqa* (MA 367); WMong. *uriqa*, *uraqa(n)* (L 880); Kh. *urxi(n)*; Bur. *uŕxa*; Kalm. *urxə*; Ord. *uraxa*; Dag. *xuarkə* (*urga* Тод. Дar. 171 < lit.), *uarehe* (MD 230).

◊ KW 451, MGCD 681. Mong. > Manchu *urgan* 'lasso' (see Rozycki 219).

PTurk. ***uruk** 1 rope 2 lasso (1 веревка, бечева, канат 2 аркан): OTurk. *uruq* (OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *uruq* (MK) 1; Tur. *urɣan*, *urgan* 1; Gag. *urɣan* 2; Turkm. *urGan* 1; Sal. *urχan*, *orχan* 1; MTurk. *orɣan* (AH) 1; KKalp. *urqan* 1; SUygh. *uruq* 2; Khak. *urux* 2; Shr. *uruq* 2; Oyr. *uruq* 2; Tv. *uruq* 2.

◊ EDT 215, VEWT 516, ЭСТЯ 1, 585 (confused with **ukruk*), 602-603. Some modern forms reflect a secondary derivative **urkan*.

‖ EAS 53, 125, Poppe 101, Цинциус 1984, 55. A Western isogloss. Despite TMN 2, 87, Щербак 1997, 162, Mong. cannot be borrowed < Turkic; again, despite Doerfer MT 18, TM cannot be < Mong. (all because of archaic *p- preservation both in Mong. and TM). Quite enigmatic is the relationship of this root to synonymous **ukʿurkV* q.v.

✱**pʿŭŕi (~ -e)** to crush: Tung. ***puru-, purgu-**; Mong. ***hürü-**; Turk. ***üŕ-**; Kor. ***pɨr-**.

PTung. ***puru-, purgu-** to crush (толочь, дробить): Evk. *huru-*, *hurgu-*, *horo-*; Evn. *huruŋ-*, *hor-ča-*; Man. *furu-*; SMan. *furu-* 'to chop, to cleave' (1730); Ul. *pori-*; Nan. *purtu* 'crumbs'.

◊ TMC 2, 333, 352, 354. Cf. also Man. *furdexe* 'fur', Nan. *furde*, *ferde* id. (TMC 2, 303; see Doerfer MT 143: Mong. *hürte-sün* = Man. *furdexe).*

PMong. ***hürü-** to rub, grate, file (тереть): MMong. *xuru-* (SH); WMong. *ürü-* (L 1013); Kh. *üre-*; Bur. *üre-*; Kalm. *ür-* 'to brake, comb (wool)' (KPC); Ord. *ürē-*, *ürü-*.

◊ Cf. also **(h)ürte-sün* 'лоскутья, обрезки'; WMong. *uru-* 'to tear, rip'.

PTurk. ***üŕ-** to break, tear, demolish (ломать, рвать, уничтожать): OTurk. *üz-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *üz-* (MK); Tur. *üz-* (dial.); Az. *üz-*; Turkm. *üz-*; Khal. *hüs-gün-*, *hiz-* (*üzgün-* < Az.); MTurk. *üz-* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *uz-*; Uygh. *üz-*; Krm. *uź-*, *iz-*; Tat. *ŭz-*; Bashk. *ŭδ-*; Kirgh. *üz-*; Kaz. *üz-*; KBalk. *üz-*; KKalp. *üz-*; Kum. *üz-*; Nogh. *üz-*; SUygh. *jüz-*, *juz-*; Khak. *üs-*; Oyr. *üs-*; Tv. *üs-*.

◊ EDT 279-280, VEWT 524, ЭСТЯ 1, 621-622.

PKor. ***pɨr-** in pieces, in crumbs (на куски, в крошку): MKor. *pɨrə-*; Mod. *purə* 1.

◊ Liu 404, KED 812.

‖ EAS 54, 56, 149, Poppe 12, 111, SKE 210, ОСНЯ 2, 101, Цинциус 1984, 63-64. Despite Rozycki 83, TM cannot be borrowed < Mong.

✱**pʿŭsa** plan, reason: Tung. ***puse**; Mong. ***hasaɣu-**; Turk. ***us**; Jpn. ***pánsú**; Kor. ***psɨ́-**.

PTung. ***puse** reason (причина, повод): Evk. *hohut-*, *hošut-* (dial.) 'to be smb.'s equal'; Evn. *huse*.

◊ TMC 2, 335, 355.

PMong. ***hasaɣu-** to ask (спрашивать): MMong. *asax* (HY 34), *xasax-*, *asax-* (SH), *hasox-*, *haṣoɣ-* (IM), *asaɣ-*, *asaq-* (MA), *hasaq* (Lig.VMI); WMong. *asaɣu-* (L 55); Kh. *asū-*; Bur. *asū-*; Ord. *asū-*; Mog. *asuɣu-*; ZM *asaɣ* (23-3b); Dag. *xasō-* (Тод. Даг. 174), *asō* (MD 115), *hasō* (MD 157); Dong. *asa-* (< lit.); Bao. *asGə-*, *asxə-* (< lit.); Mongr. *saGa-* (SM 318).

◊ MGCD 122.

PTurk. ***us** 1 mind, reason 2 way of using smth. (1 ум, рассудок 2 способ использования чего-л.): OTurk. *usuɣ* (~ o-) 2; Karakh. *usuɣ* (~ o-) 2 (MK), *us* 1 (MK - Oghuz); Tur. *us* 1; Turkm. *os* 1, *os-* 'to think'; MTurk. *us* 1 (Pav. C.); Krm. *us* 1; Chuv. *ъʷs* 1.

◊ EDT 240, 245, ЭСТЯ 1, 606-607.

PJpn. ***pánsú** plan, intention (план, намерение): MJpn. *fázú*; Tok. *hàzu*; Kyo. *házú*; Kag. *házu*.

◊ JLTT 403.

PKor. ***psɨ́-** to use (употреблять, использовать): MKor. *psɨ́-*; Mod. *sːɨ-*.

◊ Nam 319, KED 1023.

‖ An interesting common Altaic abstract term (although voicing in Jpn. is not quite clear).

✱**pʿŭske** to kick, knock: Tung. ***poske-**; Mong. ***(h)öskil-**; Jpn. ***pànsìk-**.

PTung. ***poske-** to kick (пинать, лягать): Man. *fesxule-*; Ork. *poskolo-*; Nan. *puskule-*.

◊ TMC 2, 990. TM > Dag. *peškule-* (Тод. Даг. 160).

PMong. ***(h)öskil-** to kick (пинать): WMong. *öskül-*, *öskil-* (L 417: *iskül-*, *öskele-*, *ösküle-*); Kh. *öšgil-*; Bur. *üšxel-*; Kalm. *öškḷ-*; Ord. *ösköl-*; Mongr. *sgor* 'coup de pied', *sgorda-* (SM 349).

◊ KW 302.

PJpn. ***pànsìk-** to knock away (with a finger) (отталкивать щелчком пальца): OJpn. *pazik-*; MJpn. *fàzìk-*; Tok. *hajík-*; Kyo. *hájík-*; Kag. *hàjìk-*.

◊ JLTT 686.

‖ Poppe 11, 65, 90, Цинциус 1984, 50-51; TM cannot be borrowed < Mong., despite Rozycki 76. Cf. **pˊŏkˊi.*

✱**pˊútˊà (~ -o-)** rope; woof, yarn: Tung. ***put-**; Mong. ***huta**; Turk. ***otgun**; Jpn. ***pátà**; Kor. ***patak (~ -ă-)**.

PTung. ***put-** 1 lap 2 thread, rope (1 подол 2 нить, веревка): Man. *futa* 2 (Захаров 1079); SMan. *fətā* 2 (661); Ul. *putu(n)* 1; Nan. *putũ* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 45. The Manchu form is certainly not < Mong., despite Rozycki 83.

PMong. ***huta** thread (нить): MMong. *xudasun* (HY 23), *heiṭosun* (IM), *utasun* (MA), *hūtāsūn* (Lig.VMI); WMong. *utasu(n)* (L 888); Kh. *utas*, *utsan*; Bur. *utaha(n)*; Kalm. *utsṇ*; Ord. *utasu*; Dong. *udasun*; Bao. *ndasoŋ*; S.-Yugh. *šdāsən*; Mongr. *sdāʒə* (SM 332), (MGCD *šdāsə*).

◊ KW 453, MGCD 685. Mong. > Evk. *utasun* (but not Man. *futa*!), see Doerfer MT 132.

PTurk. ***otgun** a broad strap on the left side of the saddle to which the buckle of the girth is fastened and secured with its tongue (широкий ремень, к которому прикрепляется подпруга): Karakh. *otɣun* (*utɣun*) (MK).

◊ EDT 47.

PJpn. ***pátà** loom; cloth (ткацкий станок; ткань): OJpn. *pata*; MJpn. *fátà*; Tok. *hatá*; Kyo. *hátà*; Kag. *háta*.

◊ JLTT 401.

PKor. ***patak (~ -ă-)** cloth, weave, texture (ткань): Mod. *padak*.

◊ KED 703.

‖ Poppe 12, 51; Цинциус 1984, 56-57; UAJ 1995, 88 (Kor.-Jpn.).

✱**pˊVbV** many, ten / hundred (an auxiliary stem): Tung. ***poba**; Mong. ***ha-**; Turk. ***ōn**; Jpn. ***-pə ~ *-pua**.

PTung. ***poba** 1 ten (a bundle of ten squirrels) 2 collection, gathering (1 десяток (связка белок) 2 собрание): Ork. *pōwo* 1; Nan. *poã* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 40.

PMong. ***ha-** 1 ten 2 all (1 десять 2 весь, все): MMong. *xarban* (HY 43, SH), *ḥarbān* (IM), *hărban* (MA) 1; WMong. *arban* 1; Kh. *arav*, *arvan* 1; Bur. *arba(n)* 1; Kalm. *arwṇ* 1; Ord. *arwa* 1; Mog. *arbōn*; ZM *arbɔ̄n* (25-3a); Dag. *xarab* (MGCD), *xarba(n)* (Тод. Даг. 174), *harebe* (MD 157) 1; Dong. *haran*, *haruan* 1; Bao. *harwaŋ* (MGCD), *habran* (Tungren) 1, *hane* 2; S.-Yugh. *harwan* 1; Mongr. *xar(w)an* (SM 165), *xarwan* 1 (MGCD), *xana* 2.

◊ KW 15, MGCD 114.

PTurk. ***ōn** ten (десять): OTurk. *on* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *on* (MK); Tur. *on*; Gag. *uon*, *on*; Az. *on*; Turkm. *ōn*; Khal. *ọ̊n*; MTurk. *on* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *ọn*; Uygh. *on*; Krm. *on*; Tat. *un*; Bashk. *un*; Kirgh. *on*; Kaz. *on*; KBalk. *on*; KKalp. *on*; Kum. *on*; Nogh. *on*; SUygh. *on*, *un*; Khak. *on*; Oyr. *on*; Tv. *on*; Chuv. *vonъ*; Yak. *uon*; Dolg. *uon*.

◊ EDT 166, VEWT 362, TMN 2, 163, ЭСТЯ 1, 455-456, Лексика 573, Федотов 1, 130-131, Stachowski 244.

PJpn. ***-pə ~ *-pua** hundred (in names of hundreds) (сто (в назв. сотен)): OJpn. *-p(w)o*.

‖ The original root structure is not quite clear: perhaps one has to suppose a monosyllabic root **pˊō-*, with suffixed *-ba(n) or *-n.

S

✸**sa** to buy, sell: Turk. ***sat-**; Jpn. ***sirə**; Kor. ***sà-**.

PTurk. ***sat-** to sell (продавать): OTurk. *sat-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *sat-* (MK); Tur. *sat-*; Gag. *sat-*; Az. *sat-*; Turkm. *sat-*; Sal. *sat-*; Khal. *sat-*; MTurk. *sat-* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *sɔt-*; Uygh. *sat-*; Krm. *sat-*; Tat. *sat-*; Bashk. *hat-*; Kirgh. *sat-*; Kaz. *sat-*; KBalk. *sat-*; KKalp. *sat-*; Kum. *sat-*; Nogh. *sat-*; SUygh. *sat-*; Khak. *sat-*; Shr. *sat-*; Oyr. *sat-*; Tv. *sat-*; Chuv. *sot-*; Yak. *at-*; Dolg. *at-* (in *atī*, *atastas-*).

◊ EDT 798-799, VEWT 405, Лексика 335, ЭСТЯ 7, Федотов 2, 67, Stachowski 38, 39. Turk. > Hung. *szatócz* 'salesman' (< **satɨɣ-čɨ*), see Gombocz 1912.

PJpn. ***sirə** price; material (цена; товар, вещь): OJpn. *siro*.

◊ JLTT 526.

PKor. ***sà-** to buy (покупать, торговать): MKor. *sà-*; Mod. *sa-*.

◊ Nam 282, KED 869.

‖ Лексика 335. The match is acceptable (as one of the Common Altaic monosyllabic verbal roots) if -rə in Jpn. is a historical suffix. Cf. perhaps also TM **sali-* 'esteem; price' - which may reflect a merger of this root with **sáĺo* 'love' q.v.

✸**sábà** to hinder, obstruct: Mong. ***saɣa-**; Turk. ***sab-**; Jpn. ***sápár-**.

PMong. ***saɣa-** to be detained, stopped, linger (задерживаться, останавливаться, медлить): MMong. *sa'ara-* (SH); WMong. *saɣara-*, *saɣata-* (L 657, 658); Kh. *sār-*, *sāt-*; Bur. *hār-* 'ослабевать', *hāt-*; Kalm. *sātə-*; Ord. *sāta-*; Dag. *sāta-* (Тод. Даг. 162), *sāte-* (MD 204); Bao. *sāGe-* 'to wait' (Тод. Бн.); S.-Yugh. *sād* 'obstacle', *sādūl-*.

◊ Mong. > Oyr. *sāt-*, *sara-* etc., KW 318, MGCD 583, 584, VEWT 405; > Yak. *sārat*, Dolg. *hārat-* (Kał. MEJ 28, Stachowski 100) > Evk. *sāta-*, Man. *sarta-*, TMC 2, 67).

PTurk. ***sab-** 1 to be stopped, hindered, discontinued 2 to stop, finish 3 to turn off (the road) 4 to get rid of 5 to turn downwards, decline 6 to pass, pass away (1 кончаться, останавливаться 2 переставать, прекращаться 3 сворачивать (с пути) 4 избавляться 5 склоняться книзу, удаляться, устраняться 6 проходить, исчезать): Karakh. *savra-* 1, *savɨl-* 5 (MK); Tur. *sav-* 4, *savuš-* 6; Gag. *sauš-* 6; Az. *sovul-* 2, *sovuš-* 6; Turkm. *sow-* 3, *sowul-* 2, 3; MTurk. *sav-* 3, 4 (AH, Pav. C.); Uzb. *sɔw-*, *sū-*, *sɔwul-*, *suwul-* (dial.) 2; Krm. *savuš-* 6.

◊ EDT 788-789, 791, ЭСТЯ 7.

PJpn. ***sápár-** to hinder, obstruct (препятствовать, задерживать): OJpn. *sapar-*; Tok. *sàwar-*; Kyo. *sáwár-*; Kag. *sawár-*.

◊ JLTT 748.

‖ Ozawa 215-216.

✱**sāba** sign: Tung. ***sab(i)-**; Mong. ***saɣam**; Turk. ***sāb-**; Jpn. ***sàmpàk-**.

PTung. ***sab(i)-** 1 sign, omen 2 to plan 3 to mark, make notches (1 знак, предзнаменование 2 планировать 3 помечать, делать зарубки): Man. *sabi* 1; Jurch. *sabi-biar* (861) 2; Ork. *sawị-* 3; Nan. *sowōča* 'веха'; Orch. *sawi-* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 51, 54.

PMong. ***saɣam** ruse, dodge, pretext (предлог, уловка): WMong. *saɣam* (MXTTT); Kh. *sām* (Gomb. 429); Kalm. *sām*.

◊ KW 317. The word is not listed in Lessing's dictionary, which includes, however, a WMong. *sobin* 'omen, sign' (< Manchu?).

PTurk. ***sāb** word, speech (слово, речь): OTurk. *sab* (Orkh.), *sav* (OUygh.); Karakh. *sav* (MK); Tur. *sav*; Turkm. *sāv-čɨ* 'matchmaker', dial. *sāw*; Sal. *sōǰi* 'matchmaker' (ССЯ); MTurk. *sav* (AH); Oyr. *sabɨr* (*bičig*) 'богатырское письмо'; Chuv. *sъ^{w}vъ^{w}* 'verse, poem'.

◊ VEWT 391, EDT 782-783, ЭСТЯ 7, Федотов 2, 20.

PJpn. ***sàmpàk-** to discern, judge (разрешать, судить): MJpn. *sabak-*; Tok. *sabák-*; Kyo. *sábák-*; Kag. *sàbàk-*.

◊ JLTT 744.

‖ Japanese has an irregular low tone.

✱**sā́bí** a k. of big fish: Tung. ***sabu-**; Turk. ***sEbrük**; Jpn. ***símpí**.

PTung. ***sabu-** white-fish (сиг): Evk. *sawčān*; Neg. *sawčān*; Ul. *sawụ*; Nan. *sao*; Orch. *saū*.

◊ TMC 2, 52.

PTurk. ***sEbrük** sturgeon (севрюга): Turkm. *süjrik*; Tat. *söjrök*; Kum. *süjrük*; Nogh. *süjrik*.

◊ VEWT 438, TMN 3, 291, Лексика 178, ЭСТЯ 7. Cf. also Chuv. *šəvər sъmsa* lit. 'sharp nose' (a contamination). Turk. > Hung. *sőreg*, see MNyTESz 3, 581.

PJpn. ***símpí** tuna fish (тунец): OJpn. *sibji*; MJpn. *síbí*; Tok. *shibi*.

◊ JLTT 522.

‖ Лексика 179.

✱**sábó** service: Tung. ***sab-**; Mong. ***sibe-gčin**; Turk. ***sab-**; Jpn. ***sámpúrap-**.

PTung. ***sab-** 1 to present gifts 2 to get accustomed (1 предлагать дары, угощать 2 привыкать): Evk. *sawka-* 2; Evn. *hawqъ-* 2; Neg. *sawlị-* 1; Man. *soli-* 'to call guests; to propose a position'; SMan. *šioli-*, *sioli-* (1438) 'to invite'; Ul. *saụlị-* 1; Nan. *saolị-* 1; Orch. *sawli-*, *sauli-* 1; Ud. *sauli-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 51-52. TM > Dag. *soli-* (Тод. Даг. 163).

PMong. ***sibe-*** female servant (служанка): MMong. *šibekčin* (MA), *səbəkčin* (LH); WMong. *sibegčin* (L 694); Kh. *šivegč*; Kalm. *šiwəkčn*; Ord. *šīwegčin*.

◊ KW 362. Mong. > Evk. *čiwekčin* (see Poppe 1972, 102). It is interesting to note Evk. *čiwek*, *čawak* 'male servant' (TMC 2, 375) which may witness an unattested Mong. **sibeg* id.

PTurk. ***sab-*** 1 gift 2 booty 3 regale 4 wedding gifts 5 part of booty (1 подарок 2 добыча 3 угощение 4 свадебные гостинцы 5 часть добычи): Tur. *savɣa* 3 (dial.), (Osm.) *savɣat* 1; Az. *savɣat* 1; Turkm. *sovɣat* 1; Khal. *sav-* 'bewirten'; MTurk. *sauɣat* (R.) 1, (CCum.) *sajɣat* 2; Uzb. *sɔwɣa* 1; Uygh. *soɣa* 1; Krm. *sawɣa* 1; Tat. *sawɨm*, *sawɨn* (dial.) 4; Kirgh. *sōɣa* 1, *sōrun* 5; Kaz. *sawɣa* 1; KBalk. *sawɣa* 1; Kum. *savɣat* 1; Nogh. *sawɣa* 1; SUygh. *savra* 'пирожок, который едят при богослужении'.

◊ Turk. > WMong. *sauqa*, *sauɣa*, *sauɣad* (L 677) (VEWT 406, Лексика 349-350; Щербак 1997, 165; Doerfer TMN 1, 345-346, ЭСТЯ 7). An attempt of a Turkic etymology for Mong. **saw-ga*, hardly satisfactory (< **sab-* 'hit' or 'obstruct') see in Eren 1972; the Late Avestan origin of the Mong. word (suggested by Doerfer in TMN and supported by Менгес 1979, 135-136) is quite dubious.

PJpn. ***sámpúrap-*** to be hired, serve as samurai (быть на службе): OJpn. *saburap-*; MJpn. *sábúraf-*; Tok. *samurai* (n.).

◊ JLTT 747 (but the assertion that the form with -b- is Heian and later, is wrong; it is certainly attested earlier and precedes the later attested variant *samuraf- / sauraf-).*

‖ Дыбо 15 compares Tung. with Turk. **sep-* 'to equip, fit out; dowry', but this is phonetically less plausible because of voiceless *-p- in Turkic; see on this root under **si̯apʿu*.

✸**sa̗čʿi** wise, careful: Tung. ***sāče-***; Mong. ***seče-n***; Turk. ***sEč-***; Jpn. ***sita-ta-***.

PTung. ***sāče-*** to be careful (остерегаться, быть осторожным): Evk. *sāče-*.

◊ TMC 2, 68.

PMong. ***seče-n*** wise, clever (мудрый, умный): MMong. *sečen* (SH, HYt), *čečen* (IM); WMong. *sečen*, *čečen* (L 680); Kh. *secen*, *cecen*; Bur. *sesen*; Kalm. *cecn̥* (KPC); Ord. *sečin*, *ǯičin*; Dag. *sečin* (Тод. Даг. 163, MD 204).

◊ Mong. > Evk. *sečen* etc., see TMN 1, 333, Doerfer MT 51.

PTurk. ***sEč-*** to choose, select (выбирать): OTurk. *seč-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *seč-* (MK); Tur. *seč-*; Gag. *seč-*; Az. *seč-*; Turkm. *seč-*; MTurk. *seč-* (IM, Pav. C.); Krm. *seč-*; Yak. *es-* ʿto drag out the netʿ.

◊ EDT 794-795, VEWT 407, ЭСТЯ 7.

PJpn. ***sita-ta-*** 1 certainly, definitely 2 to acknowledge, admit, recognize, determine (1 точно, надежно 2 признавать, распознавать): OJpn. *sitata* 1; MJpn. *sitatam-* 2.

◊ Cf. also OJ *sita* 'heart, mind' - if etymologically different from *sita* 'below' (which seems rather probable).

‖ АПиПЯЯ 76 (with a wrong inclusion of Jpn. **sátó-*, see **sŏra*)

✱**sagè** to cry, shout: Tung. ***sag-**; Mong. ***siɣu-g-**; Turk. ***sıgıt-**; Jpn. ***sakai(m)p-**.

PTung. ***sag-** 1 to shout, cry 2 to sigh 3 to pity 4 noise, sound (1 кричать 2 вздыхать 3 жалеть 4 шум, звук): Evk. *saγisō-* 1, *saγinā-* 2; Evn. *sag-* 2 (Arm.), *hagor* 4 (Sakk.); Ork. *saGdan-* 3; Orch. *saγiki* 4.

◊ TMC 2, 52, 54.

PMong. ***siɣu-** to be noisy (шуметь): WMong. *siγu-*, (L 758) *šuugi-*, *siγugi-*, *šougina-*; Kh. *šūgi-*; Bur. *šūjā-*; Kalm. *šūǵə-*; Ord. *šūgi-*; Mongr. *šoGʒinā-* (SM 381).

◊ KW 369.

PTurk. ***sıgıt-** 1 to cry, weep 2 weeping (1 плакать, рыдать 2 плач): OTurk. *sıγıt* (Orkh.) 2; Karakh. *sıγıt* (MK) 2; MTurk. *sıγıt* 2 (IM); Krm. *sıγıt* 2; Nogh. *sıjt* 2; Khak. *sīt* 2; Oyr. *sıγıt* 2; Yak. *ıtā-* 1; Dolg. *ıtā-* 1.

◊ EDT 806, VEWT 415, ЭСТЯ 7, Stachowski 262.

PJpn. ***sakai(m)p-** to cry, shout (кричать): OJpn. *sakeb-*; MJpn. *sákéb-*; Tok. *sakéb-*; Kyo. *sákéb-*; Kag. *sàkèb-*.

◊ JLTT 746. Accent not quite clear: modern dialects point rather to **sàkài(m)p-*.

‖ An expressive root; in Jpn. we must assume a vowel assimilation (*-ə- would be expected).

✱**sago (~ z-)** old, age: Tung. ***sag-d-**; Mong. ***seɣü-der**; Kor. ***sǎ-n**.

PTung. ***sag-da-** 1 senior 2 old 3 old man (1 старший 2 старый 3 старик): Evk. *sagda-γī* 1; Evn. *haγdъγ* 1; Neg. *sagdị* 2; Man. *saqda* 3; SMan. *sahədə* 2, 3 (848); Ul. *saGdi*. 2; Ork. *saGda* 2; Nan. *saGʒị* 3; Orch. *sagdi* 1, 2; Ud. *sagdi* 'big'; Sol. *sagdī*, *saddī* 1, 3.

◊ TMC 2, 53. TM > Dag. *sagdī*, *sardī* (Тод. Даг. 161).

PMong. ***seɣü-der** age (возраст): WMong. *seγü-der* (L 683); Kh. *sǖder*; Kalm. *sǖdr*.

◊ KW 341.

PKor. ***sǎ́-n** grown-up (взрослый): MKor. *sǎ̀n*.

◊ Nam 289.

‖ Mong. and TM reflect the common derivative **sago-dV*.

✱**ságú** a k. of coniferous tree: Tung. ***sak-si-**; Turk. ***sagır, *sagrı**; Jpn. ***súnkúi**.

PTung. ***sak-si-** juniper (можжевельник): Man. *saqsin*.

◊ TMC 2, 57. Attested only in Manchu, but having probable external parallels.

PTurk. ***sagır, *sagrı** thuja (туя): OTurk. *saγrı* 'a k. of plant' (OUygh. - Suv.); Uzb. *sawir*; Tat. *sawır*; Bashk. *sawır*.

◊ ДТС 481, Дмитриева 208.

PJpn. ***súnkúi** cryptomeria (криптомерия): OJpn. *sugi*; MJpn. *súgí*; Tok. *sùgi*; Kyo. *súgí*; Kag. *súgi*.

◊ JLTT 532.

‖ The root is poorly attested in TM, but the Turkic and Japanese words appear to form a good match.

✱**sagu** a k. of vessel: Mong. ***sag-su**; Turk. ***sAgut**; Kor. ***sòth**.

PMong. ***sag-su** a k. of basket made from bamboo (вид корзины): WMong. *saɣsu* (L 658); Kh. *sags*.

◊ Mong. > Neg. *saksa* 'coffin', Man. *saqsu* 'basket' (see Rozycki 173).

PTurk. ***sAgut** dishes, vessel; instrument (посуда, сосуд; орудие, инструмент, утварь, сбруя): Tur. *savut* 'weapon'; Turkm. *sowut* (arch., dial.); MTurk. *sawut*, *saut* (R.), *saqɨt* (MA); Uzb. *sɔwut*; Uygh. *sawut*; Krm. *sawut*, *saɣɨt*; Tat. *sawɨt*; Bashk. *hawɨt*; Kirgh. *sōt*; Kaz. *sawɨt*; KBalk. *sawut*; KKalp. *sawɨt*; Kum. *sawut*; Nogh. *sawɨt*.

◊ VEWT 393-394. It may be possible to follow Räsänen and to derive the form **sagu-t* from **sagu* 'corn measure; pail' (see VEWT ibid., ЭСТЯ ibid., EDT 805), which would speak in favour of PT *-g-. On the other hand, cf. Karakh. *savdɨč* 'a basket plaited from twigs' (EDT 785). The specific synonymy 'vessel, dishes' : 'instrument, gear' and even 'weapon' (cf. KBalk. *sawut* 'weapon', MTurk. (Zenker) *sawut* 'arrow with long sharp end', Bashk. dial. *ϑawɨt* 'hunting knife') may in fact reflect a contamination with a quite different root, see **sAg[u]n* 'arrow, arrow head'.

PKor. ***sòth** kettle (котел): MKor. *sòt*, *sòth*; Mod. *sot* [*soth*].

◊ Nam 310, KED 994.

‖ Cf. also PT **sagɨr* 'kettle' (VEWT 393).

✱**sǎja (~ z-)** clear, dawn: Tung. ***saj-**; Jpn. ***sàjà-**; Kor. ***sāi-**.

PTung. ***saj-** 1 dawn 2 to dawn 3 light 4 clear, bright (1 рассвет, заря 2 рассветать 3 свет 4 светлый, светловатый): Evk. *sajirūl-* 2, *sajirūlǯarī* 1, (dial.) *šajama* 3, *hājeme* 4.

◊ TMC 2, 55, 309, 423. Attested only in Evk., with probable parallels in Kor. and Jpn.

PJpn. ***sàjà-** clear, light (светлый, ясный): OJpn. *saja*, *saja-ke-*; MJpn. *sàjà*, *sàjà-ke-*; Tok. *sáyaka*; Kyo. *sàyákà*; Kag. *sayaká*.

◊ JLTT 520.

PKor. ***sāi-** to dawn (рассветать): MKor. *sāi-*; Mod. *sɑ̃-*.

◊ Nam 295, KED 921.

‖ An Eastern isogloss. Dag. *sajarin* 'dawn' is probably < Tung.

✱**sàjbo** sound: Tung. ***sabu-da-**; Turk. ***seb-**; Jpn. ***sàwàk-**.

PTung. ***sabu-** 1 to rustle, sound 2 noise, splash (1 шуршать, звучать 2 шум, плеск): Evk. *sawuda-* 1; Nan. *saoGĩ* 2; Ud. *safuta-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 52, 65.

PTurk. ***seb-** to speak (говорить): Tur. *söjle-*, dial. *sövle-*; Gag. *sõle-*; Az. *söjlä-*; Turkm. *söjle-*; MTurk. *söjle-* (Ettuhf.); Uzb. *sǫjla-*, dial. *sävlä-*; Tat. *süjlä-*, dial. *sövle-*, *sevle-*; Bashk. *hüjlä-*; Kirgh. *söjlö-*, *süle-*; Kaz. *söjle-*;

KBalk. *söle-*; KKalp. *söjle-*; Kum. *söjle-*; Khak. *söle-*; Oyr. *sǖle-*; Tv. *sögle-*; Chuv. *sujlaš-*, *sol'a-*; Yak. *ülä-*.

◊ VEWT 429, Федотов 2, 54-55, ЭСТЯ 7.

PJpn. ***sàwàk-*** to sound, make a noise (звучать, шуметь): OJpn. *sawak-*; MJpn. *sàwàk-*; Tok. *sawág-*; Kyo. *sáwág-*; Kag. *sawág-*.

◊ JLTT 748. Accent in Kagoshima is irregular.

‖ An expressive and rather insecure root: the Turkic form are late attested and irregular.

✸**săjgo** to filter, ooze: Tung. ***saji-ʒa (~-g-)***; Mong. ***saɣa-***; Turk. ***sag-***; Jpn. ***sú***; Kor. ***sǎi-***.

PTung. ***saji-ʒa (~-g-)*** sieve (сито): Ul. *sajʒa*; Nan. *sajʒa*.

◊ TMC 2, 55.

PMong. ***saɣa-*** to milk (доить): MMong. *sa'a-* (SH), *sa-* (MA 319); WMong. *saɣa-* (L 656); Kh. *sā-*; Bur. *hā-*; Kalm. *sā-*; Ord. *sā-*; Mog. *sɔ-* (Weiers); ZM *sā-* (23-5b); Dag. *sā-* (Тод. Даг. 161, MD 204); Dong. *sa-*; Bao. *sā-*; S.-Yugh. *sā-*; Mongr. *s(w)ā-* (SM 356), *sāli* 'animal qu'on trait, femelle (brebis, chèvre)' (SM 321).

◊ KW 317, MGCD 585. Mong. > Sol. *saga-* 'to milk', see Poppe 1961, 191.

PTurk. ***sag-*** to milk (доить): OTurk. *saɣ-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *saɣ-* (MK); Tur. *sā-*, dial. *saɣ-*; Gag. *sā-*; Az. *saɣ-*; Turkm. *saG-*; Sal. *sax-*; Khal. *sa:ɣ-*; MTurk. *saɣ-* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *sɔɣ-*; Uygh. *saɣ-*; Krm. *sav-*; Tat. *saw-*; Kirgh. *sā-*; Kaz. *saw-*; KKalp. *saw-*; Kum. *sav-*; Nogh. *saw-*; SUygh. *saɣ-*; Khak. *saɣ-*; Oyr. *sā-*; Tv. *saɣ-*; Chuv. *sъ^{w}v-*; Yak. *ɨa-*.

◊ VEWT 393, EDT 804, ЭСТЯ 7.

PJpn. ***sú*** bamboo sieve, mat (бамбуковое сито, циновка): MJpn. *sú*; Tok. *su*.

◊ JLTT 531.

PKor. ***sǎi-*** to leak, ooze (сочиться, протекать): MKor. *sǎi-*; Mod. *sǎ̄-*.

◊ Nam 296, KED 921.

‖ EAS 85, KW 317, Владимирцов 194. Poppe 29, 59 (Turk.-Mong.), АПиПЯЯ 15. Mong. is hardly borrowed from Turk., despite Щербак 1997, 144. *-jg- is probable because of the TM reflex and loss of *-g- in Jpn.; Korean high tone (rather untypical for a verb) is also possibly due to contraction (see also **sǎ̄jV* 'shallow place' - a possible source of contamination).

✸**saji** to notch, pierce: Tung. ***saji-***; Mong. ***seji-***; Turk. ***sAj-***.

PTung. ***saji-*** to make notches (делать зарубку): Neg. *saj-*; Ul. *saị-*; Nan. *saị-*; Ud. *sai-*.

◊ TMC 2, 54.

PMong. ***seji-** to carve, engrave, make a notch (вырезать, делать зарубку): WMong. *sejile-*, *sejiči-le-* (L 684); Kh. *sijle-*; Bur. *hīle-*; Kalm. *sīl-*, *sīčə-*; Ord. *sīl-*, *sīle-*; Dag. *seile-* (MD 207), *seile-*; S.-Yugh. *sīl-*.

◊ KW 328, 329, MGCD 603. Mong. > Man. *seči-*.

PTurk. ***sAj-** to pierce (прокалывать, вонзать): OTurk. *saj-* (OUygh.); Uygh. *saj-*; Kirgh. *saj-*; Shr. *saj-*; Oyr. *saj-*.

◊ VEWT 400, ЭСТЯ 7.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**sajkʿV** knucklebone: Tung. ***sajKa**; Turk. ***siaka**.

PTung. ***sajKa** shin-bone (голень, берцовая кость): Man. *sajχa*.

◊ TMC 2, 56. The word is hardly borrowed from Mong. *siγai*, Khalkha *šagaj*, despite Doerfer MT 138 (however, Sol. *sāxa* 'knucklebone' is quite possibly < Mong.).

PTurk. ***siaka** knucklebone (бабка, косточка): Tur. *saka* (dial.); Turkm. *saqa* (dial.); Uzb. *sɔqa*; Uygh. *saqa*; Tat. *saγa*; Bashk. *haqa*, *haγa*; Kirgh. *saqa*; Kaz. *saqa*; KKalp. *saqa*; Kum. *saqa*; Nogh. *saqa*; Khak. *soγa* (dial.); Tv. *saGa*; Chuv. *šok* 'жох'.

◊ ЭСТЯ 7, TMN 3, 254, Ашм. XVII, 214, Дыбо 1993. Turk. > WMong. *saqa*, Kalm. *saxə* (KW 308).

‖ Дыбо 1993. A Turk.-Tung. isogloss. Not quite reliable because of poor attestation in TM. Note, however, that PM **sigaji* 'knucklebone' would be a good match - if it were not derived (or secondarily contaminated?) from **siγa*, see under PA **siŋu*.

✱**sajo** interval, space between: Tung. ***saja**; Mong. ***söγem**; Turk. ***saja-**; Jpn. ***sai (~ sia)**.

PTung. ***saja** interval (between fingers) (промежуток (между пальцами)): Evk. *saja*; Evn. *hajāldo* 'fingers'; Ul. *saja(n)*; Ork. *saja(n)*; Nan. *sajã*.

◊ TMC 2, 55.

PMong. ***söγem** small span (малая пядь): WMong. *sögem*, *sögüm* (L 731); Kh. *sȫm*; Bur. *hȫm* 'span'; Kalm. *sȫm*; Ord. *sȫm*; S.-Yugh. *sōm*.

◊ KW 335, MGCD 608. Mong. > Evk. *sūm* etc., see Doerfer MT 109.

PTurk. ***saja-** to be rare, thinned out (быть редким, прореженным): Tat. *sajɨq-* (dial.) 'to become rare', *sajaq* 'rare'; Bashk. *hajaq* 'rare' (dial.); Khak. *saja-*; Oyr. *saja-*; Chuv. *sojak* 'bastard'.

◊ VEWT 395, TMN 3, 306, ЭСТЯ 7. The root is not widely attested, but its likely derivative is **saja-k* 'young male horses separated from the herd; lonely man, wanderer', spread much wider (see ЭСТЯ 7). Chuv. *sojak* definitely reflects the same form and is not borrowed from Mar. *sajak*, but rather vice versa, despite Федотов 2, 53.

PJpn. ***sai (~ sia)** a measure of land (99 m²) (мера земли (99 m²)): MJpn. *se*; Tok. *se*.

‖ EAS 153. The Jpn. word may be related if one assumes an original meaning 'interval (in general)'. Mong. **söγem* < **seγöm* (with a frequent labialization transfer).

✸**sajri** to stick out, protrude, stand: Tung. ***sara-**; Mong. ***sar(b)aji-**; Turk. ***ser-**; Kor. ***sjə́-**.

PTung. ***sara-** to spread out (расстилать, раскрывать): Man. *sara-*.

◊ TMC 2, 64. Attested only in Manchu, but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***sar(b)aji-** to spread out (распростираться, быть вытянутым): WMong. *sarbaji-* (L 675); Kh. *sarvaj-*; Bur. *harbaj-*, *haraj-*; Kalm. *sarwā̄-*; Ord. *sarwā̄-* 'to have a great number of ramifications (of a tree branch)'.

◊ KW 314. Mong. *sarbaji-* > Oyr. *sarbai-*, Yak. *sarbaj-*, Dolg. *harbaj-* (Stachowski 97); > Manchu *sarbaxun* 'lying spread-eagled on the back' (see Rozycki 174).

PTurk. ***ser-** 1 to endure, be patient; to stay immobile, linger 2 to spread (1 быть терпеливым; задерживаться, оставаться в одном положении 2 растягивать): OTurk. *ser-*, *seril-* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *ser-* 1, *seril-* 'to sway and almost fall down' (MK); Tur. *ser-* 2; Gag. *ser-* 2; Az. *sär-* 2; Turkm. *ser-* 2; Sal. *ser-* 2; MTurk. *ser-* 2 (Ettuhf.); Uzb. *sär-* 2 (dial.); Krm. *ser-* 2; SUygh. *sär-* 2; Chuv. *sar-* 2.

◊ VEWT 411, EDT 843, 851, ЭСТЯ 7. Some authors express doubt as to the compatibility of OT and modern Turkic forms; it seems, however, that the meanings are unitable within a trans.-intrans. opposition ("spread" - "to be spread > remain".

PKor. ***sjə́-** stand (стоять): MKor. *sjə́-*; Mod. *si-*, *sə-*.

◊ Nam 303, KED 1023.

‖ KW 314, SKE 225, PKE 173, Дыбо 12, АПиПЯЯ 297. The unexpected -b- in Mong. may be due to a mixture with **serbe-* 'bristle, stand on end', see under **sirpʿa*. Medial *-j- is to be reconstructed to account for the loss of *-r- in Kor.

✸**sǎ́jV** shallow, stony place: Tung. ***saj-**; Mong. ***sajir**; Turk. ***saj**; Jpn. ***sái** ~ ***siá**; Kor. ***sǎi-m**.

PTung. ***saj-** sandbank (песчаная насыпь): Evk. *sajaŋ* 'забереги' (water above ice along the bank); Neg. *saị-čaụ*; Ul. *sija(n)* 'sand'; Nan. *sijã* 'sand'.

◊ TMC 2, 54, 55.

PMong. ***sajir** stony riverbed, pebbles (каменистое русло реки, галька): WMong. *sajir* (L 660); Kh. *sajr*; Bur. *hajir*; Kalm. *sā̄rə*; Ord. *sā̄r*.

◊ KW 319, 320. Mong. > Tuva *sajir*.

PTurk. ***saj** 1 area covered with stones, stony desert, stony riverbed 2 shallow place, shallow (1 каменистое место, каменистая пустыня, каменистое русло реки 2 мелкое место, мелкий): OTurk. *saj* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *saj* 1 (MK); Tur. *saj* 1 (dial.); Az. *saj* 1; Turkm. *saj* 1; MTurk. *saj* 1 (Pav. C.); Uzb. *sɔj* 1, *sajɔz* 2; Uygh. *saj* 1; Krm. *saj* 1; Tat. *saj* 1, *saj-iq-* 'be shallow'; Bashk. *haj* 1; Kirgh. *saj* 1; Kaz. *saj* 1, *sajɨz*, *sajaz* 2; KBalk. *saj* 1; KKalp. *saj* 1, *sajɨz* 2; Kum. *saj* 1; Nogh. *saj* 1; Khak. *saj* 1, 2;

Shr. *saj* 1; Oyr. *saj* 1; Tv. *saarɨɣ*; Chuv. *sujъr čulə* (Anatri) 'pebble, rubble'; Yak. *ajān* 'старица'.

◊ VEWT 394, Лексика 93, EDT 858, ЭСТЯ 7, Ашм. XI, 162. Yak. > Evk., Evn. *ajān* TMS 1, 21; > Russ. Siber. *aján* (Аникин 104).

PJpn. ***sái** ~ ***siá** shallow place (отмель): OJpn. se; MJpn. *sé*; Tok. *sè*; Kyo. *sé*; Kag. *sé*.

◊ JLTT 520.

PKor. ***sǟi-m** spring, shallow well (источник, мелкий колодец): MKor. *sǟim*, *săi'om*; Mod. *sǟm*.

◊ Nam 296, 297, KED 926.

‖ KW 320, Владимирцов 284, Poppe 29, 67, TMN 3, 236 ("möglich"). In Korean the original root may have interacted with **sǟi-* 'leak, ooze' < **săjgo* (q.v.).

✸**sȁkà** heap, pile, hill: Tung. ***saK-**; Turk. ***saka**; Jpn. ***sàkà**; Kor. ***sàh-**.

PTung. ***saK-** 1 icedrift 2 pile, stack 3 foot of a mountain, base of a pillar (1 торос (ледяной) 2 штабель 3 основание (горы, столбов в жилище)): Neg. *saksị̄* 1; Man. *saqsaχun* 2, *saqsan* 1, 2; *saχa-* 'to pile, accumulate' (Lee 1958, 116); Ul. *saqsị* 1; Nan. *saqsị*, dial. (with unclear vocalism) *sōqsị* 1; Orch. *saksi* 1; Ud. *sakta(n)* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 57.

PTurk. ***saka** foot of the mountain (подножье горы): Karakh. *saqa* (MK); Kaz. *saɣa*.

◊ VEWT 396, EDT 805, ЭСТЯ 7.

PJpn. ***sàkà** slope, hill (склон, холм): OJpn. *saka*; MJpn. *sàkà*; Tok. *saká*; Kyo. *sákà*; Kag. *saká*.

◊ JLTT 516.

PKor. ***sàh-** to pile up, to prop (накладывать, подпирать): MKor. *sàh-*; Mod. *s:a-* [*s:ah-*].

◊ Nam 285, 294, KED 919.

‖ Lee 1958, 116 (Kor.-TM). Korean has a verbal low tone.

✸**sā́ki** to jump, shake: Tung. ***saka-**; Mong. ***sege-**; Turk. ***sēk-**.

PTung. ***saka-** to shake (of ground) (дрожать (о земле)): Nan. *saqa-*.

◊ TMC 2, 56. Attested only in Nan., with possible Turkic and Mong. parallels.

PMong. ***sege-** 1 to trot 2 to shake from side to side (1 бежать рысью 2 раскачиваться из стороны в сторону при ходьбе): WMong. *sege-* 1 (L 681); Kh. *sege-* 'скакать' (БАМРС); Kalm. *segelǯ-* 2; Ord. *sege-* 1.

◊ KW 321.

PTurk. ***sēk-** to jump (прыгать, скакать): Karakh. *sekri-* (MK); Tur. *sek-*, *sejir-*; Az. *säk-*, *säjri-*; Turkm. *segre-* (arch.), *sǟkdir-* 'to gallop'; MTurk. *sek-*, *segri-* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *säkrä-*; Uygh. *säkrä-*; Krm. *säkir-*; Tat. *siker-*; Bashk. *hiker-*; Kirgh. *sekir-*; Kaz. *sekir-*; KBalk. *sekir-*; KKalp. *sekir-*;

Khak. *segir-*; Shr. *segri-*; Oyr. *sekir-*, *segir-*; Chuv. *sik-*; Yak. *ekkirie-*; Dolg. *ekkirē-*.

◊ VEWT 408, EDT 822, ЭСТЯ 7, Федотов 2, 48-49, Stachowski 44. Closed reflex in Chuv. is unclear.

‖ KW 321. A Western isogloss.

✱**sakosako** magpie: Tung. ***saksa(ki)**; Mong. ***siɣaʒigaj**; Turk. ***sagɨsgan**; Jpn. ***kàsàsákì**.

PTung. ***saksa(ki)** magpie (сорока): Evk. *saksa* 'утка-саксан; кулик'; Neg. *saksa* 'утка-саксан'; Man. *saqsaχa*, *čaqsaχa*; Ul. *saqsi̇*; Ork. *saqsan*; Nan. *saqsī*; Orch. *saqsan*.

◊ TMC 2, 56.

PMong. ***siɣaʒigaj** magpie (сорока): MMong. *saʒixai* (HY 14), *saʒiqaj* (MA), *sāʒiɣaj* (Lig.VMI); WMong. *siɣaʒigai*, *siɣaʒaɣai*, *šaɣaʒaɣai* (L 748); Kh. *šāʒgaj*; Bur. *šāzgaj*; Kalm. *šāzəɣā*, *šāzəɣā̆*; Ord. *šāʒaGā̆*; Dag. *sāʒig* (Тод. Дar. 161), *sāʒihe* (MD 204); Dong. *saʒəGi*, *saʒɨɣəi*; Bao. *saʒiGi*; S.-Yugh. *saʒiGai*; Mongr. *saʒaGə* (SM 317), (MGCD *šaʒiGai*).

◊ KW 354, MGCD 699.

PTurk. ***sagɨsgan** magpie (сорока): Karakh. *saɣɨzɣan* (MK); Tur. *saksaɣan*; Gag. *saqsan*, *saqsān*; Az. *saɣsaɣan*; Turkm. *saqasGan*; Sal. *sɨxsɨɣan*; MTurk. *saqɨzɣan* (Abush., Pav. C.), *saqsaɣan* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *zaɣizɣɔn*; Uygh. *seɣizɣan*; Krm. *sawusqan*; Tat. *sawɨsqan*, *sajɨsqan*; Bashk. *hajɨϑqan*; Kirgh. *saɣɨzɣan*; Kaz. *sawɨsqan*; KKalp. *sawɨsqan*; Kum. *sawusɣan*; Nogh. *sawɨsqan*; SUygh. *saqɨsqan*; Khak. *sāsxan*; Shr. *saɣisqan*; Oyr. *saŋɨsqan*; Tv. *sāsqan*.

◊ VEWT 396, Лексика 175, EDT 818, ЭСТЯ 7.

PJpn. ***kàsàsákì** magpie (сорока): OJpn. *kasasak(j)i*; MJpn. *kasasaki*; Tok. *kàsasagi*, *kasásagi*; Kyo. *kàsàságì*; Kag. *kasasagí*.

◊ JLTT 441.

‖ KW 354, Дыбо 8, Лексика 175. An onomatopoeic reduplicated root. Cf. other similar bird names: MKor. *kāčhí* id. (Martin 236), *koskori* 'oriole'; OJ *sazaki* (mod. *miso-sazai*) "японский крапивник"; Karakh. *čekik* 'lark', TM **čukčeŋē* 'кулик'. Ozawa (99-101) compares Mong. (Altan Tobči) *čaɣčaɣai*, Khalkha *cagcxaj* 'a k. of small bird' ('чекан, каменка').

✱**sákʿa (~ -k-)** edge, end (of a stick, pole): Tung. ***saku-**; Turk. ***sakanak**; Jpn. ***sákí**.

PTung. ***saku-** a prop (for a kettle) (подставка, тренога (для подвешивания котла над огнем)): Man. *saqura*; Nan. *saqora*.

◊ TMC 2, 54.

PTurk. ***sakanak** ends of sticks in tent framework (концы палочек, составляющих решетку юрты): Kirgh. *saqanaq*; Kaz. *saɣanaq*; KKalp. *saɣanaq*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 7, Лексика 505 (Turk. > Kalm. *sayənəG* id.). Cf. also Tuva *saq* 'end of bow', Old Turk. *saq* id. (ЭСТЯ 7).

PJpn. ***sákí** edge (конец, край): OJpn. *sakji*; MJpn. *sákí*; Tok. *sàki*; Kyo. *sákí*; Kag. *sáki*.

◊ JLTT 517.

‖ The meaning in Japanese ('edge') must be a generalization of the more concrete earlier 'end (of a stick, pole)'.

✱**sákʿa (~ -k-, -o)** luck in hunting: Tung. ***saKa**; Jpn. ***sáki**.

PTung. ***saKa** hunt, hunting (охота): Man. *saχa*; Jurch. *saxa-da-mij* (481).

◊ TMC 2, 56.

PJpn. ***sáki** fortune, luck (счастье, удача): OJpn. *sakji*.

◊ JLTT 517. Cf. also **saki-pap-*, **sákár-* 'flourish', **sakaja-* 'prosper': these all may be derived from the same root **sak-*, but mergers with the root **sák-* 'to blossom' were also possible.

‖ A not quite secure Tung.-Jpn. isogloss. Since words for 'hunt' often go back to names of hunted animals, one can think of comparing PT **sajkak* (~ **sajgak*) 'antelope' (attested since Chag., see VEWT 395, ЭСТЯ 7), with the resulting correction of the PA reconstruction to **sajkʿa*. Cf. also **sǐgò* and **sŭku*.

✱**sàkʿa (~ z-)** sharp instrument, to cut, split: Tung. ***sak-pi**; Jpn. ***sàk-**; Kor. ***sàkí-**.

PTung. ***sak-pi** axe (топор): Ul. *saqpi*.

◊ TMC 2, 56. Attested only in Ul., with parallels in Kor. and Jpn.

PJpn. ***sàk-** to rip, split (расщеплять, раздирать): OJpn. *sak-*; MJpn. *sàk-*; Tok. *sák-*; Kyo. *sàk-*.

◊ JLTT 746.

PKor. ***sàkí-** to carve, engrave (вырезать, гравировать): MKor. *sàkí-*; Mod. *sägi-*.

◊ Nam 282, KED 920.

‖ An Eastern isogloss.

✱**sàkʿò (~ z-)** a k. of fish: Tung. ***sakan-**; Jpn. ***sàkâi (~-ia)**; Kor. ***sòkóarí**.

PTung. ***sakan-** 1 pike 2 taimen (1 щука 2 таймень): Evk. *sakanan* 1; Neg. *saxanan* 2; Ul. *sakanu* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 56.

PJpn. ***sàkâi (~-ia)** salmon, white-fish (кета, сиг): MJpn. *sàkè*; Tok. *sáke*; Kyo. *sàkê*; Kag. *sáke*.

◊ JLTT 517. Accent in Kagoshima is irregular.

PKor. ***sòkóarí** perch, (KED) a mandarin fish (Siniperca scherzeri) (окунь): MKor. *sòkóarí*; Mod. *s:ogari*.

◊ Nam 307, KED 969.

‖ An Eastern isogloss; cf. perhaps also Oyr. *sagalak* 'рыбка-урюп', Mong. (L 657) *sayamqa* 'salt water fish, perch(?)'. Like in many fish names, details are not clear: note that the TM forms may be actually borrowed from Jpn. *sakana* ˊfish' (originally 'wine-side dish'). Cf. also **suku*.

✱**sakʿo (~ z-, -u)** salt: Tung. ***saKV**; Kor. ***sòkòm**.

PTung. ***saKV** 1 dried (of meat, fish) 2 salt (1 вяленый (о мясе, рыбе) 2 соль): Man. *saqa* 1; Ud. *saʿi* 2 (Корм. 280).

◊ TMC 2, 54, 55.

PKor. ***sòkòm** salt (соль): MKor. *sòkòm*; Mod. *sogɨm*.

◊ Nam 306, KED 970.

‖ A rather dubious Tung.-Kor. isogloss; perhaps a variant of the root **sakʿV* 'to ferment' q.v.

✱**sakʿu(rV)** a k. of stinging insect: Mong. ***sag**; Turk. ***sakɨrtka**; Jpn. ***su(n)karu**.

PMong. ***sag** insect eggs, nits (яйца насекомых, гниды): WMong. *sayγ* (L 656); Kh. *sag*; Bur. *haga-* 'to swarm (of insects)'.

PTurk. ***sakɨrtka** tick (клещ): Karakh. *saqɨrqu* (MK); Tur. *sakɨrγa*, dial. *sayra*; Gag. *saqɨrγa*; Turkm. *saqɨrtGa*; MTurk. *saqurγa* (AH); Kum. *qasartqɨ*; Nogh. *qasartqɨ*; SUygh. *saqɨrtqɨ*, *saqartqɨ*, *saqatqɨ*; Khak. *sayartxɨ*; Shr. *sartqa*; Oyr. *sartqa*; Tv. *sarγɨ*; Yak. *saχsɨrγa* 'fly'.

◊ VEWT 396, Лексика 183, EDT 816.

PJpn. ***su(n)karu** digger wasp, Ammophila infesta Smith. (оса-пескорой, Ammophila infesta Smith.): OJpn. *sugaru*; MJpn. *sugaru*.

◊ JLTT 594.

‖ Лексика 183.

✱**săkʿV** to ferment: Tung. ***saku**; Mong. ***saga- / *saka-**; Turk. ***sakɨŕ / *sagɨŕ**; Kor. ***sàk- / sə̀k-**.

PTung. ***saku** 1 stale water, muddy water 2 to become turbid, make turbid (of water) (1 застоявшаяся, ржавая вода 2 мутнеть, мутить (воду)): Evk. *šaka-* (Kamn.) 2; Evn. *saq* 1, *saqab-* 2 (Arm.); Nan. *saqo* / *saqu̇* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 56, 80-81.

PMong. ***saga- / *saka-** to ferment, to trickle (бродить, сочиться): WMong. *sayа-*; Kh. *saga-*; Bur. *haxaj-* 'to become covered with mud' (?); Kalm. *saxə-*.

◊ KW 308.

PTurk. ***sakɨŕ / *sagɨŕ** gum, resin (смола, мастика): Karakh. *sayɨz*, *saqɨz* (MK); Tur. *sakɨz*; Gag. *saqɨz*; Az. *sayγɨz*; Turkm. *saqɨz*; MTurk. *saqɨz* (IM, Pav. C.); Uzb. *sayiz*; Uygh. *seγiz*; Krm. *saqɨz*; Tat. *sayɨz*; Bashk. *hayɨz*;

Kirgh. *saɣɨz*; Kaz. *saɣɨz*; KKalp. *saɣɨz*; Kum. *saɣɨz*; Nogh. *saɣɨz*; Khak. *sās*; Oyr. *saŋɨs*; Tv. *sāt*; Chuv. *soɣъr*; Yak. *ɨas*; Dolg. *ɨas*.

◊ EDT 817-818, VEWT 396, Лексика 117-118, ЭСТЯ 7, Федотов 2, 70, Stachowski 258. Cf. also **sakɨŕ* 'clay' (Лексика 375, ЭСТЯ 7 ibid.). MK glosses *saɣɨz* as 'gum, resin', and *saqɨz* as 'any viscous substance', so a merger of two original roots is not excluded.

PKor. ***sàk- / *sə̀k-** 1 to exude, effervesce, ferment 2 to rot, become spoiled 3 ferment, yeast (1 киснуть, бродить, выделяться (о поте, пузырьках из воды etc.) 2 гнить, портиться 3 фермент, закваска): MKor. *sàk-* 1, *sə̀k-* 2, *sə̀kím* 3; Mod. *sak-* 1, *s:ək-* 2, *səgim* 3.

◊ Liu 435, 448, 450, KED 888, 940.

‖ EAS 91, KW 308, SKE 220 (Doerfer's skepticism in TMN 3, 255 is hardly justified). The variation of *-g- and *-k- in Turkic and Mongolian is suspicious (cf. also the Nanai form pointing rather to *-k-), perhaps indicating that we are dealing with a merger of two different roots - cf. also the variety of reflexes in Korean; cf. also **sakʿo* and **zi̯úko*.

✸**sali** to dislike, neglect: Tung. ***sali- / *sel-**; Turk. ***sal-**; Jpn. ***sira-**; Kor. ***sirh-**.

PTung. ***sali- / *sel-** 1 to slight, disregard, neglect 2 to be angry (1 пренебрегать 2 сердиться): Evk. *sel-* 1; Evn. *hel-* 1; Neg. *sel-* 1; Ork. *sali-* 2; Nan. *sali-* 1 (Он.).

◊ TMC 2, 58, 139-140. The vowel -e- in North. Tung. is unclear.

PTurk. ***sal-** 1 to quarrel, dislike, swear 2 bad influence, bad consequence (1 ссориться, ругаться 2 дурное влияние, плохие последствия): Karakh. *salɣa* 'a restive horse' (MK); Kirgh. *saldar* 2; Kaz. *sal* 'a quarrelsome person', *salɨs-* 1, *saldar* 2; KKalp. *saldar* 2; Khak. *salčɨ-* 1; Tv. *saldar* 2; Chuv. *sol-* 'to damn'.

◊ EDT 826, Федотов 2, 57, ЭСТЯ 7.

PJpn. ***sira-** to go mad, become foolish (сходить с ума, быть идиотом): MJpn. *sira-*; Tok. *shire-*.

◊ JLTT 752 (united with 'get known', probably by mistake).

PKor. ***sirh-** to dislike, feel repugnance for; be unpleasant (не любить; быть неприятным): Mod. *sil-* [*silh-*].

◊ KED 1060.

‖ SKE 234.

✸**salkV** a k. of board, frame: Tung. ***salk-**; Mong. ***salga**; Turk. ***sāl**.

PTung. ***salk-** 1 pole, post 2 frame of a loom 3 paddle on a ski stick (1 столб, жерди 2 рамка (у ткацкого берда) 3 лопатка (нп лыжной палке)): Evk. *salkamča* 1; Evn. *halqъ̣mča* 1; Man. *salχu* 2; Ork. *saltịnqo* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 58, 59.

PMong. ***salga** stretcher, litter (носилки): WMong. *salɣa* (L 665); Kh. *salga*.

PTurk. ***sāl** rafter (плот): Karakh. *sal* (MK); Tur. *sal*; Az. *sal*; Turkm. *sāl*; Sal. *sal*; MTurk. *sal* (AH, Pav. C., Abush.); Uzb. *sɔl*; Uygh. *sal*; Krm. *sal*; Tat. *sal*; Bashk. *hal*; Kirgh. *sal*; Kaz. *sal*; KKalp. *sal*; Kum. *sal*; Nogh. *sal*; Khak. *sal*; Shr. *sal*; Oyr. *sal*; Tv. *sal*; Chuv. *solъ*; Yak. *āl*.

◊ EDT 824, VEWT 397, Лексика 537, Федотов 2, 59, ЭСТЯ 7. Turk. > MMong. (SH) *sal*, WMong. *sal*, Kalm. *sal* (KW 309; TMN 3, 231, Щербак 1997, 144).

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**sálo (~ *z-)** to be separated: Tung. ***salga-**; Mong. ***sal(u)-**; Jpn. ***sár-**; Kor. ***sǎr-**.

PTung. ***salga-** 1 interval between legs 2 cross-road 3 to distribute (1 промежность 2 разветвление дорог 3 раздавать, распределять): Evk. *salgan* 1; Evn. *hālgъ* 1; Neg. *salga* 1; Man. *salǯa* 2, *sarǵa* 1, *sala-* 3; SMan. *śarixi*, *šarixi* 'crotch' (134); Ork. *salda(n)* 1; Nan. *salGã* 1; Orch. *sāga* 1; Ud. *saga* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 58. Manchu cannot be < Mong., despite Rozycki 173.

PMong. ***sal(u)-** to become separated; to branch off (отделяться; ответвляться): MMong. *salqaxda-* 'zugeteilt werden' (HYt); WMong. *sal(u)-* (L 663); Kh. *sala-*; Bur. *hala-*; Kalm. *sal-*; Ord. *sal-*; Dag. *sala-*; *salā* 'branch' (Тод. Даг. 161); *sale* (MD 205); Dong. *sala* 'branch'; S.-Yugh. *sal-*, *sala* 'branch'; Mongr. *sal-*, *sala* 'branch'.

◊ KW 309-310, MGCD 590, TMN 1, 334. Mong. > Kirgh. *salā* etc.; Evk. *salu-* etc., see Doerfer MT 26, ЭСТЯ 7.

PJpn. ***sár-** to go away (уходить): OJpn. *sar-*; MJpn. *sár-*; Tok. *sár-*; Kyo. *sár-*; Kag. *sár-*.

◊ JLTT 747. The accent in Tokyo is irregular.

PKor. ***sǎr-** to disappear, vanish (пропадать, исчезать): MKor. *sǎr-*; Mod. *sara-ǯi-*.

◊ Nam 291, KED 871.

‖ KW 309, Martin 245, Martin 1996, 76, Street 1985, 640.

✱**saĺ(b)i** loose: Tung. ***sala-**; Mong. ***sel(b)-**, ***salb-**; Turk. ***seĺ-**; Kor. ***sər-**.

PTung. ***sala-** to become loose (становиться свободным, расшатываться): Orch. *sala-*.

◊ TMC 2, 57; perhaps also Man. *sala-* 'to give away, distribute'.

PMong. ***sel(b)-**, ***salb-** to be untied; untied, free (развязываться, расслабляться; развязанный, свободный): WMong. *selbeji-*, *salbaji-* (L 664); Kh. *selǖn*; Bur. *helen xatarxa* 'бить баклуши'; Kalm. *selwē̆-*, *salwā̆-*.

◊ KW 323. Also WMong. *solbaji-*, Kalm. *solwā̆-* (KW 330); WMong. *salaji-*, Kalm. *salā̆-*; *saldai-* (L 665), Kalm. *saldā̆-* (KW 309). Mong. *salbaji-* > Oyr. *salbai-*, Kirgh. *salpī-* (see ЭСТЯ 7).

PTurk. ***seĺ-** to untie (развязывать): OTurk. *säš-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *säš-* (MK); MTurk. *jäš-* (Sangl.), *säš-* (MKypch. - Houts.); Tat. *čiš-*; Bashk.

sis-; Kirgh. *čeč-*; Kaz. *šeš-*; KKalp. *šeš-*; Kum. *čeč-*; Nogh. *šeš-*; Khak. *sis-*; Shr. *šeš-*; Oyr. *čeč-*; Tv. *češ-*; Tof. *če'š-*; Chuv. *sal-t-*; Yak. *es-*.

◊ VEWT 413, EDT 857, Егоров 177, Федотов 2, 10.

PKor. ***sər-** to fit loosely, to treat lightly, handle carelessly (плохо подходить, небрежно выполнять): Mod. *səl-dari-*.

◊ KED 951.

‖ KW 323, SKE 227, EAS 72, Street 1980, 296. Cf. also Mong. *salaŋ* 'negligent, careless' (> Kirgh. *salaq* etc., see ЭСТЯ 7, VEWT 397).

✱**sáĺo (~ z-)** to love: Tung. ***sali-**; Jpn. ***sású-p-**; Kor. ***sǎràŋ**.

PTung. ***sali-** to esteem, appreciate (уважать, ценить): Man. *sali-*; *sali-n* 'price'; Ul. *salu̯-*; Ork. *salị-*; Nan. *salị-*; Orch. *sāli-*.

◊ TMC 2, 58. Cf. also Orok *salda-* 'be merry, joke' (ibid.).

PJpn. ***sású-p-** to lure, seduce, entice (соблазнять): OJpn. *sasup-*; MJpn. *sásóf-*; Tok. *sàso-*; Kyo. *sásó-*; Kag. *sasó-*.

◊ JLTT 748.

PKor. ***sǎràŋ** love (любовь): MKor. *sǎràŋ*; Mod. *saraŋ*.

◊ Nam 286, KED 871.

‖ An Eastern isogloss; but cf. perhaps also Turk.: Chuv. *šъldъr* 'beautiful' (Ашм. XVII 289), Yak. *ɨllar-* 'сильно увлекаться'. Cf. also notes to **sa*.

✱**sāmo** shape, appearance: Tung. ***sāma**; Turk. ***som**; Jpn. ***sámà**.

PTung. ***sāma** sign (знак, метка): Evk. *sāme*; Evn. *hām*; Man. *samχa*; Ork. *sama-lkị*; Nan. *sāmogdã̄* 'a talisman placed on the breast of the deceased so that the shaman can recognize him when taking his soul to the other world' (On.)

◊ TMC 2, 60-61.

PTurk. ***som** 1 number; honour 2 shape, silhouette (1 число, счет; почет 2 форма, вид): Khal. *soma* 2; Khak. *som* 2; Oyr. *som* 2; Tv. *soma* 2; Chuv. *som* 1; Yak. *omoon* 2.

◊ VEWT 427, Федотов 2, 61-62, ЭСТЯ 7. The relationship to **sōm* 'whole (piece)' (see ibid.) is not quite clear.

PJpn. ***sámà** form, shape (форма, вид): OJpn. *sama*; MJpn. *sama*; Tok. *samá*; Kyo. *sámà*; Kag. *sáma*.

◊ JLTT 517.

‖ The comparison seems probable, despite tonal incongruence between TM and Jpn. Ramstedt (SKE 222) compares Manchu forms with Kor. *sam* 'a speck or mote in the eye' (that may rather belong to **sḗmi* q.v.).

✱**sǎmpi** quick, short time: Tung. ***sampa-**; Mong. ***samba-ga(n)**; Turk. ***sAp (~ -b)**; Jpn. ***sìmpà-raku**; Kor. ***spǎrǎ-**.

PTung. ***sampa-** quick (быстрый): Ul. *sap, sapa-lị*; Nan. *sampar*; Orch. *sapa*; Ud. *saŋmu*; Sol. *sampal*.

◊ TMC 2, 60.

PMong. ***samba-ga(n)** readiness, resourcefulness; convenient time (готовность, находчивость; удобный момент): WMong. *sambaɣa* (L 667); Kh. *sambān*; Bur. *hambān*; Kalm. *sambān* (KW: < Tib.?).

◊ Various loan theories had been put forward: Ramstedt (KW) - from an unknown Tibetan source; Sukhebaatar < Sanskr. **sambhaga* (very dubious semantically); however, the word may well be genuine.

PTurk. ***sAp (~ -b)** a turn (to do smth.) (очередь (что-нибудь делать)): OTurk. *sab* (OUygh.); Karakh. *sab* (MK).

◊ EDT 782, VEWT 401 (erroneously united with *sap* 'handle').

PJpn. ***sìmpa-raku** for a short time (на (короткое) время): MJpn. *sìbà-raku*, *sìbá-raku*; Tok. *shibáraku*; Kyo. *shìbáràkù*; Kag. *shibarakú*.

◊ JLTT 522.

PKor. ***spǎrǎ-** quick, swift (быстрый): MKor. *spǎrǎ-*; Mod. *p:ari-*.

◊ Nam 242, KED 706.

‖ Kor. has a usual vowel reduction between a fricative and a stop.

✱**sǎmù** tar, soot, fumigation: Tung. ***samŋī-n**; Turk. ***samala ?**; Jpn. ***sùmì**.

PTung. ***samŋī-** fumigation, to fumigate (дымокур, окуривать (дымокуром)): Evk. *samŋī-*; Evn. *hamŋi̇-*; Neg. *samŋī-*; Ork. *samŋi̇*; Nan. *samŋi̇či̇-*.

◊ TMC 2, 60. Evk. > Dolg. *hamńıt, hamŋıt* 'Rauchabzug' (see Stachowski 95).

PTurk. ***samala ?** tar (деготь): MTurk. *samla*, *samala* (MA, AH, CCum.); Chuv. *sъ^{w}mala*.

◊ VEWT 399. It is also worth noting Bashk. *humalaq* 'lump of clay' and Tat. *sumala* 'tar' (possibly < Chuv.). Федотов 2, 23-24. The word is attested quite late and is usually regarded as borrowed < Russ. смола. This might be true, but let us note that no other Russian words were hitherto discovered in Chagatai.

PJpn. ***sùmì** charcoal; ink (уголь; чернила): OJpn. *sumji*; MJpn. *sùmì*; Tok. *sumí*; Kyo. *súmì*; Kag. *sumí*.

◊ JLTT 533.

‖ Phonetically a good match, but otherwise not quite reliable: if the Turkic parallel is to be removed as a late loanword, the semantic match between 'fumigation' in TM and 'charcoal' in Japanese becomes less convincing.

✱**sám[u]** shaman: Tung. ***samā-n**; Mong. ***süme**; Jpn. ***súmiá-**.

PTung. ***samā-n** shaman (шаман): Evk. *samān*; Evn. *hamān*; Neg. *samān*; Man. *sama(n)*; SMan. *samən* (1090); Ul. *samā(n)*; Ork. *sama(n)*; Nan. *samã*; Orch. *sama(n)*; Ud. *sama(n)*; Sol. *samẽ*.

◊ TMC 2, 59. TM > Dag. *samān* (Тод. Даг. 161).

PMong. ***süme** temple, joss-house (храм, кумирня): MMong. *sume ger* (HY 17), *sume* (SH); WMong. *süme* (L 743); Kh. *süm*; Bur. *hüme*; Kalm. *sümə* (KPC); Ord. *süme*; Dag. *sum* (Тод. Даг. 164), *sume* (MD. 213); Mongr. *səmēn* (SM 343), *smēn*.

◊ MGCD 617.

PJpn. ***súmiá-** emperor (император): OJpn. *sumjera-*, *sumje*; MJpn. *súméra-*; Tok. *sumera-gi*.

◊ JLTT 533.

‖ Ozawa 117-118, JOAL 68. The parallel seems interesting, but front vocalism in Mong. demands some special explanation.

✱**sámV** a k. of fish: Jpn. ***sámpá**; Kor. ***sam-**.

PJpn. ***sámpá** mackerel (макрель): OJpn. *saba*; MJpn. *sábá*; Tok. *sàba*; Kyo. *sábá*; Kag. *sába*.

◊ JLTT 515.

PKor. ***sam-** mackerel (макрель): Mod. *sam-čhi*.

◊ KED 905.

‖ Martin 236. Basically a Kor.-Jpn. isogloss, and the precise reconstruction is not quite clear (if *-mp- is to be reconstructed, cf. Man. *sampa* 'crayfish, crab'?). From other languages one could link a quite isolated Turkish form *semek* 'fish' (used as a synonym for *balıq*).

✱**sanʒV (~ z-)** to hang down, lower: Tung. ***sanʒika**; Mong. ***sanʒi-**.

PTung. ***sanʒika** nose ring (серьга, кольцо, кляп (в носу)): Man. *sančiχa*; Ul. *sanʒaχa*; Nan. *sanʒaχa*; Orch. *sanʒaχa*, *sanʒiχa*; Ud. *sanʒehä*.

◊ TMC 2, 61.

PMong. ***sanʒi-** to hang down (свисать): WMong. *sanʒi-* (L 673); Kh. *sanʒi-*; Bur. *hanža-*; Kalm. *sanʒə-*; Ord. *sanʒik sanʒik ge-*.

◊ KW 312. Mong. > Yak. *sanʒij-* 'hang down, dangle'.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss. Note also Tar. *saŋgila-* 'herabhängen (von den Ohren)' (KW 312, VEWT 400) - hardly a loanword from Mong, but phonetically strange (why -g-?).

✱**sáńo (~ z-)** hole, interval: Tung. ***saŋa-**; Kor. ***sa̋ńí**.

PTung. ***saŋa-** hole, crack (дыра, отверстие): Evk. *saŋār*; Evn. *haŋār*; Neg. *saŋā*; Man. *saŋGa*; SMan. *saŋə* 'cave' (2361); Ul. *saŋGaḷi*; Ork. *saŋGa*; Nan. *saŋGar*; Orch. *saŋa*; Ud. *saŋa*; Sol. *saŋār*.

◊ TMC 2, 62.

PKor. ***sa̋ńí** space between, interval (промежуток): MKor. *sa̋ńí*; Mod. *sai*.

◊ Nam 288, KED 881.

‖ A Tung.-Kor. isogloss; valid if TM **saŋa-* < **sań-ga-*.

✱**sańV(-kʹV)** bird dung: Tung. ***sańa**; Mong. ***saŋga-**; Turk. ***saŋk**.

PTung. ***sańa** bird dung (птичий помет): Neg. *sańan*; Ud. *sańa*.

◊ TMC 2, 61.

PMong. ***saŋga-** bird dung (птичий помет): MMong. *sanqa-* 'to defecate (of birds and insects)' (MA); WMong. *saŋga-su(n)* (L 672); Kh. *saŋgas*; Kalm. *saŋγəsn*.

◊ KW 313.

PTurk. ***saŋk** bird dung (птичий помет): Karakh. *saŋ* (MK); Tur. sank; MTurk. *saŋq* (B); Kirgh. *zaŋ*; *saŋɣɨt-* 'to defecate'; Kaz. *saŋɣɨ-* 'to defecate'.

◊ EDT 831, VEWT 401, Лексика 150-151, ЭСТЯ 7.

‖ KW 313, Лексика 151, ЭСТЯ 7. A Western isogloss.

✱**saŋe (~ z-)** to envy: Tung. ***saŋgu-**; Jpn. ***sənia-m-**; Kor. ***sài'ó-**.

PTung. ***saŋgu-** to enjoy other people's grief (радоваться (чужой беде)): Man. *saŋgu-*.

◊ TMC 2, 62. Attested only in Manchu, but having probable external parallels.

PJpn. ***sənia-m-** to grudge, envy (испытывать недоброе чувство, завидовать): OJpn. *sonem-*; MJpn. *sóném-*; Tok. *soném-*; Kyo. *sóném-*; Kag. *sònèm-*.

◊ JLTT 755. Original accent is not quite clear: modern dialects reflect rather **sə̀niàm-*.

PKor. ***sài'ó-** to be jealous (ревновать): MKor. *sài'ó-*; Mod. *säu-*.

◊ Nam 296, KED 924.

‖ An Eastern isogloss; Mong. **sinu-* 'to covet' would fit semantically, but phonetically rather continues PA **si̯ā́ńi* q.v.; cf. also **sĭni*.

✱**sǎŋo (~ *z-)** cold, cool: Tung. ***saŋu-n, *saŋu-ksa**; Mong. ***seɣü-**; Jpn. ***sàmù-**.

PTung. ***saŋu-n,*saŋu-ksa** 1 cool 2 hoar-frost (1 прохладный, прохлада 2 иней): Evk. *saŋun* 1, *saŋuksa* 2; Evn. *haŋụt-* 'be covered with hoar-frost'; Neg. *saŋun* 1, *saksa* 2; Ul. *saqsa*, *saŋaqsa* 2; Ork. *saŋnụ* 1, *saŋe* 2; Nan. *sāqsa* 2; Ud. *saŋuhä* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 62-63.

PMong. ***seɣü-** 1 shadow 2 shaded, dark (1 тень 2 затененный, темный): MMong. *seu'uder* (HY 42), *se'uder* 1 (SH), *seuder* (IM, MA 267, Lig.VMI); WMong. *seɣü-der* 1 (L 683), *seɣü-müg* 2; Kh. *sṻder* 1, *sṻmelʒe-* 'shimmer'; Bur. *hṻder* 1 *hṻmeger* 'shimmer'; Kalm. *sṻdr* 1, *sṻmē*, *sṻməɣ* 2; Ord. *sṻder* 1; Dag. *seuder*, *suidur* (Тод. Даг. 164) 1; S.-Yugh. *sūder* 1; Mongr. *sūdər* 1.

◊ KW 341-342, MGCD 615. Mong. > Neg. *sewdele-*, Man. *sebderi* etc. (TMC 2, 134).

PJpn. ***sàmù-** cold (холодный): OJpn. *samu-*; MJpn. *sàmù-*; Tok. *samú-*; Kyo. *sábù-*; Kag. *samí*.

◊ JLTT 839.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 112, 274.

✱**saŋu(ńV) (~ z-)** smoke: Tung. ***saŋńan**; Mong. ***suwnag**.

PTung. ***saŋńan** smoke (дым): Evk. *saŋńan*; Evn. *hāń*; Neg. *saŋńan*; Man. *šaŋǵan*; SMan. *šiaŋən* (491); Jurch. *ĉaŋ-gian* (619); Ul. *saŋńa(n)*; Ork. *saŋna(n)*; Nan. *saŋńa(n)*; Orch. *saŋńa(n)*; Ud. *saŋńa(n)*; Sol. *saŋa*.

◊ TMC 2, 63.

PMong. ***suwnag** column of smoke (столб дыма): WMong. *suγunaγ*, *suunaγ* (L 735); Kh. *sūnag*; Bur. *hūnagta-* 'to stretch, extend (of smoke)'.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**sápa** brace, vice: Tung. ***sabga**; Mong. ***sabsalga**; Turk. ***sabak**; Kor. ***sàpók**.

PTung. ***sabga** 1 bough, stick (for drying fish) 2 a k. of vice (1 сучок (на котором сушат рыбу) 2 зажим (палка с расщепом для укрепления бересты при лучении рыбы)): Nan. *sabGa* 1; Orch. *sabba* 2; Ud. *sagba* 2 (Корм. 280).

◊ TMC 2, 51.

PMong. ***sabsalga** vice (тиски, зажим): WMong. *sabsalγa* (L 654); Kh. *savsalga*; Ord. *sabsalGa*.

PTurk. ***sabak ?** vice (тиски): Tur. ? *savak* 'water chute'; Tv. *sāk*.

◊ Phonetically a good match pointing to PT **sabak* - but very poorly represented and dubious semantically (the meaning 'water chute' in Turkic - because of the shape of the object?).

PKor. ***sàpók** brace, pivot pin (скоба, шкворень): MKor. *sàpók*; Mod. *sabuk*.

◊ Liu 433, KED 876.

‖ A common derivative **sápa-kV* is reflected in Turkic, TM and Korean.

✱**sapV (~ -e-)** to hit, throw: Mong. ***saba-**; Turk. ***saba-**.

PMong. ***saba-** to throw, hit against smth. (бросать, ударять о что-л.): MMong. *saba-* (MA); WMong. *saba-* (L 653); Kh. *sava-*; Bur. *haba-*; Kalm. saw- (KPC); Ord. *sawa-*; Mog. *saba-* (Ramstedt 1906).

PTurk. ***saba-** to beat, hit, fight (бить, драться): Karakh. *savaš-* 'to fight' (MK); Tur. *savaš-*; Gag. *savaš-*; Turkm. dial. *savaš*; MTurk. *savaš-* (Houts., Ettuhf.); Uzb. *savaš-*; Krm. *savaš-*.

◊ VEWT 391, EDT 793, ЭСТЯ 7.

‖ A Turk.-Mong. isogloss; may be just a specialization of **sĕpo* q.v.

✱**sa̋pˊí** stick, pole: Tung. ***sap-kun**; Mong. ***sibeγe**; Jpn. ***sìmpá ~ *símpá**; Kor. ***sə̀p**.

PTung. ***sap-kun** root (корень): Evn. *hopkon*; Neg. *sapkun*.

◊ TMC 2, 64, 333.

PMong. ***sibeγe** stick, pole, rod; fence (палка, шест; забор): MMong. *šibe'e* (HY 3); WMong. *sibeγe(n)*, *sibei* (L 694); Kh. *šivē*; Bur. *šebē*; Kalm. *šiwē* 'fortress, citadel' (KPC); Ord. *šiwē*.

PJpn. ***sìmpá ~ *símpá** firewood (дрова, хворост): OJpn. *siba*; MJpn. *sìbà*, *sìbá*; Tok. *shìba*, *shíba*; Kyo. *shìbá*; Kag. *shibá*.

◊ JLTT 522. Most forms point to **sì(m)pá*, although a variant **sí(m)pá* may be also postulated on the basis of Tokyo *shìba*.

PKor. ***sə̀p** firewood (дрова, хворост): MKor. *sə̀p*; Mod. *səp* [*səph*].

◊ Nam 301, KED 961.

‖ PKE 177, Martin 227 (Kor.-Jpn.). The accent variants in Jpn. are due to a confusion of PA **sápʿi* 'stick' and **sì̀pe* 'swamp vegetation' q. v. As opposed to **sèpʿu* 'long twig, rod' (q. v.) this root must have denoted twigs and branches used as firewood and also suitable for making fences (cf. Mong. *sibeɣe* 'fence' and OJ *siba-gakji* 'twig fence').

✸**sǎ̀pʿí** long hair: Tung. ***sap-**; Mong. ***sabaga**; Turk. ***sapak**; Jpn. ***sìmpái**; Kor. ***sap-**.

PTung. ***sap-** 1 beard, moustache 2 pubic hair (1 борода, усы 2 волосы на лобке): Man. *sabula* 2; Nan. *sapsoqta* 1 (Kur-Urm.), *safala* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 64.

PMong. ***sabaga** yak wool (шерсть яка): WMong. *sabaɣa*; Kh. *savga*; Bur. *habagša* 'thick thread made of sinew', *habiga* 'bride's small braid'; Kalm. *sawəg* 'long and thick hair'.

◊ KW 315 (but Kalm. may be < Turk.)

PTurk. ***sapak** branch, bunch (ветвь, кисть): Turkm. *sapaq*; Kaz. *sabaq*; Oyr. *sabaq*.

◊ VEWT 391. The stem is usually regarded as derived from **sạp* 'handle' (see e.g. ЭСТЯ 7); the latter indeed also means 'stalk' and has a derivative **sạpak* 'handle, stalk'.

PJpn. ***sìmpái** pistils, stamens (пестики, тычинки): MJpn. *sìbé*; Tok. *shíbe*; Kyo. *shíbè*; Kag. *shibé*.

◊ JLTT 522. The Kyoto accent is aberrant.

PKor. ***sap-** long-haired dog (лохматая собака): MKor. *sapsări*, *sàpsár-kàhí*; Mod. *sapsari*, *sapsal* kā̄.

◊ Liu 439, KED 906.

‖ TMC 2, 64.

✸**săpʿí** to sprinkle, scatter: Tung. ***sabda-**; Mong. ***sabir- / *sibere-**; Turk. ***sep-**; Jpn. ***simpuki**; Kor. ***sp-**.

PTung. ***sabda-** to trickle, ooze (капать, сочиться, стекать): Evk. *sawda-*; Evn. *habdъ̣-*; Neg. *sabda-*; Man. *sabda-*; SMan. *savədə* (2022, 2021); Jurch. *sada-ra*; Ul. *sabda-*; Ork. *sabda-*; Nan. *sabda-*; Ud. *sabda-*.

◊ TMC 2, 51.

PMong. ***sabir- / *sibere-** to sprinkle, trickle (моросить, брызгать, цедить(ся)): WMong. *sabira-*, *sibere-*, *sibsi-* (L 695); Kh. *savira-*, *šivre-*, *šavši-*; Kalm. *säwr-* 'to sprinkle, scatter'.

◊ KW 319. The Mong. form seems to be borrowed in a number of TM expressive forms: Orok *sêpēr* 'морося', *sepitči-* / *seputči-* 'брызгать, выплескивать', Man. *šufur se-* 'рассыпаться', *sabara-* 'разливать, разбрасывать'.

PTurk. ***sep-** to scatter, sprinkle (рассыпать, брызгать): Tur. *sep-*; Az. *säp-*; Turkm. *sep-*; Khal. *säp-*; MTurk. *sep-* (IM, AH); Uzb. *sep-*; Uygh. *säp-*; Krm. *sep-*; Tat. *sip-*; Bashk. *hip-*; Kirgh. *sep-*; Kaz. *sep-*; KKalp. *sep-*; Kum. *sep-*; Nogh. *sep-*; Oyr. *sep-*; Chuv. *sap-*.

◊ VEWT 410, Лексика 26, ЭСТЯ 7.

PJpn. ***simpuki** splash, spray (брызги): Tok. *shibuki*.

PKor. ***sp-** 1 to wet, soak 2 to wash 3 to scatter, sow (1 мокнуть 2 мыть 3 разбрасывать, сеять): MKor. *spɨrí-* 1, *spǎr-* 2, *spìh-* 3; Mod. *p:uri-* 1,3, *p:al-* 2.

◊ HMCH 312, Nam 247, 272, 279, 280, KED 725, 814.

‖ An expressive root, but nevertheless with satisfactory correspondences. Korean has a usual vowel reduction in two of the root's derivatives. Mong. **sabir-* may be a result of partial contamination with **sěpo* 'throw, scatter' q.v.

✸**sàp´ì** shore: Tung. ***sapsV**; Turk. ***sEp**; Jpn. ***sìpə̀**.

PTung. ***sapsV** bank, shore (берег, берег у самой воды): Ul. *sapsị*; Nan. *sapsị*; Orch. *sapsa*.

◊ TMC 2, 64.

PTurk. ***sEp** duct, river branch, bay (приток, залив, боковой рукав реки): Khak. *sip*; Oyr. *sep*; Tv. *sep*.

◊ VEWT 410, ЭСТЯ 7.

PJpn. ***sìpə̀** tide (прилив): OJpn. *sip(w)o*; MJpn. *sìfò*; Tok. *shió*; Kyo. *shíò*; Kag. *shió*.

◊ JLTT 525.

‖ A good common Altaic root, although not very widely represented.

✸**sara (~ *sero, *sura, *s̯iora, *z-)** monkey: Mong. ***sar-magčin, *sar-bačin**; Jpn. ***sàrû**.

PMong. ***sar-magčin, *sar-bačin** monkey (обезьяна): MMong. *sor-məči* (IM); WMong. *sarmaɣčin*, *sarbačin* (L 675, 676); Kh. *sarmagčin*; Bur. *harmagšan*; Kalm. *sar-möčn̥* (KPC); Ord. *sarmaGčin*.

◊ A somewhat distorted compound with **mečin* (v. sub **měča*) in the second part. The restructuring occurred under the influence of other animal names with a frequent female suffix -gčin.

PJpn. ***sàrû** monkey (обезьяна): OJpn. *saru*; MJpn. *sàrú*; Tok. *sáru*; Kyo. *sàrû*; Kag. *sarú*.

◊ JLTT 518.

‖ Ozawa 96-99. A Mong.-Jpn. isogloss. ?Cf. perhaps Turk. **sarsal* 'weasel' (EDT 854 etc.)

✸**sarču (~ *š-)** locust, dragon-fly: Tung. ***čačaraku**; Mong. ***čarča-**; Turk. ***sarɨnčga**; Jpn. ***sunsu-musi**; Kor. ***čǎ̀nčárí**.

PTung. ***čačaraku** a k. of locust (вид саранчи): Man. *čačaraqu*.

◊ TMC 2, 386. An isolated Manchu form, and borrowing < Mong. (see Rozycki 42) cannot be entirely excluded.

PMong. ***čarča-** locust, grasshopper (саранча, кузнечик): WMong. *čarča*, *čarčaɣa(i)*, *čarčaxai* (L 165); Kh. *carcā(n)*, *carcāxaj*; Bur. *sarsā*; Kalm.

carcə, *carcā*, *carcāxā̄*; Ord. *ʒarčā*; Dag. *čārčān* (Тод. Даг. 180); Bao. *ʒaGʒaG*; S.-Yugh. *čarčaGī*; Mongr. *ćārʒaG* (SM 443), *čārʒaG*.

◊ KW 422, MGCD 563.

PTurk. ***sarɨnčga*** locust (саранча): Karakh. *sarɨčγa* (MK); MTurk. *sarɨnčqan* (AH); Khak. *sarɨsxa*, *sarɨnčqa* 'a k. of dragonfly'; Oyr. *sarɨšqa*, *sarɨsqa*.

◊ EDT 845, VEWT 404, ЭСТЯ 7, Лексика 187 (confused with **siarɨγ* 'yellow').

PJpn. ***sunsu-musi*** a k. of cricket (вид сверчка): MJpn. *suzumusi*; Tok. *suzúmushi*; Kyo. *súzúmùshì*; Kag. *suzumúshi*.

◊ Original accent unclear.

PKor. ***čǎ̀nčárí*** dragon-fly (стрекоза): MKor. *čǎ̀nčárí*; Mod. *čamčari*.

◊ Nam 416, KED 1396.

‖ KW 422, Лексика 187. An onomatopoeic insect name, with usual in such a case assimilations.

✱**sarkʿV** to drip, splatter: Tung. ***sargi-***; Mong. ***sark-***; Turk. ***sark-***.

PTung. ***sargi-*** to splatter (of water, rain) (журчать, шуметь (о ручье, дожде)): Evk. *sargi-*; Evn. *hargъ̣-* 'to snort, pant'; Nan. *sarGị-* (Naikh.).

◊ TMC 2, 65.

PMong. ***sark-*** to sprinkle, drip (брызгать, капать): WMong. *sarkira-*, *sarqaji-*; Kh. *sarxij-* 'звукоподражание плеску, журчанию, шороху'; Kalm. *sarkr-*, *sarkl-*; Ord. *sarχira-* 'to murmur'.

◊ KW 313.

PTurk. ***sark-*** to drip, ooze (капать, стекать по капле, сочиться): Karakh. *sarq-* (MK); Turkm. *sar(ɨ)q-*; MTurk. *sarq-* (AH); Uzb. *sa(r)qi-*; Krm. *sarq-*, *sarx-*; Tat. *sarqɨ-*; Bashk. *harqɨ-*; Kirgh. *sarɨq-*; Kaz. *sarɨq-*, *sarqɨ-*; KKalp. *sarɨq-*; Kum. *sarq-*; Nogh. *sarq-*; Khak. *sarɨx-*; Tv. *sarɨq-*; Chuv. *sərγən-*.

◊ VEWT 404, EDT 847-848, ЭСТЯ 7.

‖ A Western isogloss. Note some of the Turkic derivatives (Kum. *sarqɨm* 'thin flow', Tat. dial. *sarqɨm* 'thick whey left after pressing curds' etc., see ЭСТЯ 7) which may speak in favour of the original meaning 'to ooze, be filtered'. In this case the root may actually be derived from **sǎ̀rV* 'to be rare, thinned out' (q.v.) (assuming that length in TM was secondarily shortened); cf. especially the common Western derivative **sār-kʿV* 'maw used for filtering / fermenting'.

✱**sáro** a k. of blossoming plant: Tung. ***sara-ča***; Mong. ***sere- / serke-***; Turk. ***sarga-***; Jpn. ***sátúkí***.

PTung. ***sara-ča*** a k. of plant (mountain barberry?) (назв. растения (горный барбарис?)): Man. *sarača*.

◊ TMC 2, 65. Attested only in Manchu, with possible external parallels.

PMong. ***sere- / *serke-** a k. of blossoming plant (вид цветущего растения: 1 багульник болотный, 2 патриния сибирская, 3 люцерна, 4 мимоза): WMong. *ser(k)eγeg*, (L 691) *serkelig* 2; Kh. *sereleg* 1, *serkeleg* 2; Bur. *herxēneg* 3, *herhen* 4; Kalm. *serkənəg* 3 (KPC).

◊ Cf. also Khalkha *sarnaj* 'rose'.

PTurk. ***sarga-** 1 a plant which grows in damp places 1 a plant growing in saline grounds (1 растение, живущее во влажных местах 2 растение, живущее на солончаках): OTurk. *sarγan* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *sarγan*, *sarγan qamɨš* 2 (MK); Az. *saraGan* 'скумпия (кустарник)'; Chuv. ? *surъx səlli* 'овсяника овечья' (? Дмитриева 1988, 42; lit. 'sheep oats').

◊ EDT 849, VEWT 403. Cf. also **siaŕ* 'reed' (in Oghuz languages, see under **siaŕ* 'marsh' - perhaps a contamination), as well as some forms dealt with under **sarɨmsak* (v. sub *sera).

PJpn. ***sátúkí** a k. of rhododendron (вид рододендрона): MJpn. *satuki*; Tok. *sàtsuki*; Kyo. *sátsúkí*; Kag. *satsúki*.

‖ Cf. **s[é]rko*, with a possibility of contaminations.

✱**sàrpa (~ -pʹ-)** weak, exhausted: Mong. ***sarba-γa**; Turk. ***sarp**; Jpn. ***sàmpù-**.

PMong. ***sarba-γa** 1 to be exhausted, weak 2 fever (1 быть истощенным, слабым 2 лихорадка): WMong. *sarbaγa-da-* 1 (БАМРС); Kh. *sarvāda-* 1; Bur. *harig*, *harmaj* 1; Mongr. *sarbā* 2.

◊ For Bur. *harig* 'weak, exhausted' cf. WMong. (L 675) *sariγ* 'impatient; light-minded'.

PTurk. ***sarp** difficult (трудный): OTurk. *sarp* (OUygh.); Karakh. *sarp* (KB); Tur. *sarp*; Az. *sarp*; Turkm. *sarp*; MTurk. (MKypch.) *sarp* (CCum., Houts.).

◊ VEWT 404, EDT 845.

PJpn. ***sàmpù-** grieved, cheerless, lonesome (унылый, грустный, одинокий): OJpn. *sabu-si*; MJpn. *sabu-si*; Tok. *sabishí-*; Kyo. *sábíshì-*; Kag. *sabishí-*.

◊ JLTT 839.

‖ Some evidence from Mong. (Bur. *harig*) seems to indicate that the root may be just **sara*, with the old derivative **sar(a)-pʹV* reflected in most languages.

✱**sàrpʹa** a k. of tool: Tung. ***sarpukī**; Mong. ***sorbi**; Turk. ***sa(r)pan**; Jpn. ***sàpí**; Kor. ***sárp**.

PTung. ***sarpukī** chopsticks (палочки, щипцы (для еды)): Neg. *sapkī*; Man. *sabka*; SMan. *safəqə* (570); Jurch. *sabu(n)xa* (257); Ul. *salbụ*; Ork. *sabū*; Nan. *sarbī*; Orch. *sappui*; Ud. *safugu*; Sol. *sarpa*, *sarpo*.

◊ TMC 2, 66-67. TM > Dag. *sarpa* (Тод. Даг. 162); WMong. *sabqa(n)* (L 654), Khalkha *savx*, Kalm. *sawxə* (KW 315), Dag. *sabehe*, *sabeke* (MD 204).

PMong. ***sorbi** staff, stick (палка, посох): MMong. *sorbi* (HY 20); WMong. *sorbi* (БАМРС); Kh. *sorvi* 'shamanʹs staff' (БАМРС); Bur. *horbo*.

PTurk. ***sa(r)pan** plough (плуг): Karakh. *saban* (MK); Tur. *saban*; Gag. *saban*; Az. *sapan*; Sal. *sovan* 'coxa' (ССЯ); MTurk. *saban* (IM, AH), *sapan* (Pav. C.); Uygh. *sapan*; Krm. *saban*; Tat. *saban*; Bashk. *haban*; Kaz. *saban*; KBalk. *saban*; Kum. *saban*, *sarapan* 'plough breast'; Nogh. *saban*; Chuv. *sorban* 'plough breast'.

◊ VEWT 402, Лексика 468, Ашм. XI, 205, ЭСТЯ 7, Molnár 2001. Turkm. dial. *sāvan* 'ploughfield' may point to length, but is not quite clear because of -v-. The root may have been influenced by PT **sạp* 'handle' (v. sub **sèpʹù).*

PJpn. ***sàpí** a k. of hoe (вид мотыги): OJpn. *sapji*; MJpn. *sàfí*.

◊ JLTT 516 (but the hypothesis of Jpn. < Kor. < Chin. is groundless).

PKor. ***sárp** spade, shovel (лопата): MKor. *sárp*; Mod. *sap*.

◊ Nam 292, KED 906.

‖ Martin 242, АПиПЯЯ 73, Doerfer MT 82. The root must have denoted a k. of stick used in agriculture, most probably digging stick or hoe, with a later transition to "plough", and in TM, exotically, to "eating stick" or "chopsticks". Mong. *sabqa*, because of the absent -r-, is most probably < Manchu, whereas the original root is preserved as *sorbi 'stick, staff' (although the -o-vowel here is a bit strange - **sarb-* would be expected; perhaps we are actually dealing with a suffixed form like **sorbuji*, with a secondary labialization < **sarbuji*).

✱**sarpʹe** colt, foal: Mong. ***sarbaɣa**; Turk. ***sɨp**.

PMong. ***sarbaɣa** 2-year-old colt (двухлетний жеребенок): WMong. *sarbaɣa*; Kh. *sarwā*; Kalm. *sarwā*.

◊ KW 314 (> Oyr. *sarbaɣa* etc., see ЭСТЯ 7).

PTurk. ***sɨp** 2-year-old colt; donkey colt (двухгодовалый жеребенок; осленок): Karakh. *sɨp* (MK); Tur. *sɨpa*; Az. *sɨpa*; Khal. *supa*; MTurk. *sɨpa* (Houts.); SUygh. *sɨp*.

◊ EDT 783, ЭСТЯ 7. Note also Osm. (R.) *sɨrpa* id.

‖ A Turk.-Mong. isogloss.

✱**sarpʹi (~-e)** a k. of needle: Tung. ***sarpu-**; Turk. ***sạp-**.

PTung. ***sarpu-** needle for weaving nets (игла (для вязания сетей)): Neg. *sapkī*; Man. *sarba*, *sarfu*, *surafu*; Ul. *sarpụ(n)*; Ork. *salpị* ~ *sarpị*; Nan. *sarpol*; Orch. *saptu*; *sapsaŋki* 'a k. of needle'.

◊ TMC 2, 64, 129.

PTurk. ***sạp-** 1 to thread a needle 2 needle (вдевать нитку, протыкать): OTurk. *sap-* (OUygh.) 'to graft'; Karakh. *sap-* (MK) 1; Az. *sap* 2; Turkm. *sap-* 1, *sap* 2; Khal. *sap* 2; MTurk. *sap-* (R) 1, *sap* (Pav. C.) 2; Uzb. *sap-* (dial.); Uygh. *sap-*; Krm. *sap-*; Tat. *sap-*; Bashk. *hap-*; Kaz. *sap-*; Chuv. *sɨp-*.

◊ EDT 784, VEWT 401-402. Turk. > Bur. *hab* 'sinew thread' (unattested Mong. *sab* > Yak. *sap* 'thread').

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**saru** to be worn out, torn: Mong. ***sar-ni-**; Turk. ***saran**; Jpn. ***sutar-**.

PMong. ***sar-ni-** 1 to stray, disperse 2 lose powers (1 расходиться, рассеиваться, разламываться 2 терять силы): WMong. *sarni-* 1,2 (L 676); Kh. *sarni-* 1; Bur. *harni-* 2; Kalm. *sarni-* 1; Ord. *sarni-* 1.

◊ KW 314.

PTurk. ***saran** miser, miserly (скупой, скряга): OTurk. *saran* (OUygh.); Karakh. *saran* (MK); Uzb. *saraŋ*; Uygh. *saraŋ*; Krm. *saran*, *saraŋ*; Tat. *saran*; Bashk. *haran*; Kaz. *saraŋ*; KKalp. *saraŋ*; SUygh. *saran*; Oyr. *saran*, *saram*; Yak. *araŋ*.

◊ VEWT 403, EDT 853-854, ЭСТЯ 7. Cf. Chuv. *soran* 'wound, loss, damage'.

PJpn. ***sutar-** to become unfashionable, deteriorate (выйти из употребления, быть в упадке): OJpn. *sutar-*; MJpn. *sútár-*; Tok. *sùtare-*; Kyo. *sútáré-*; Kag. *sùtàrè-*.

◊ JLTT 759. The verb is usually regarded as a passive (intransitive) of **sútá-* 'throw out, discard', and it was certainly influenced by the latter accentologically. But the accent in Kagoshima (*suté-* vs. *sùtàrè-*) as well as the external parallels show that it is originally a distinct root, probably with low tone (**sùtàr-*).

‖ ЭСТЯ 7.

✱**sàru (~ -e-)** a bird of prey: Mong. ***sar**; Turk. ***sar(ɨ)**; Kor. ***súrí**.

PMong. ***sar** 1 bird of prey 2 snipe (1 хищная птица 2 бекас): MMong. *sar* (HY 14) 'duck-hawk, harrier'; WMong. *sar* (L 674); Kh. *sar* 1, *sarālǰin* 2; Bur. *harālža(n)* 2; Kalm. *sar* 'big kite'; Mongr. *sār* (SM 326).

◊ KW 313. Mong. > Oyr. *sɨrāldin* etc. (ЭСТЯ 7).

PTurk. ***sar(ɨ)** 1 bird of prey, kite 2 a k. of falcon 3 starling 4 siskin (1 хищная птица, коршун 2 сарыч 3 скворец 4 чиж): Tur. *sarɨ-ǰa* 4; Az. *sar* 2; Turkm. *sar* 3; MTurk. *sar*, *sariča* 1 (Pav. C.); Uzb. *sɔr* 2; Uygh. *sa(r)* 1; Tat. *sarɨč* 2; Bashk. *har* 2; Kirgh. *sarɨ* 1; SUygh. *sar* 1; Tv. *sarɨ* 2.

◊ VEWT 402b, Лексика 170, ЭСТЯ 7.

PKor. ***súrí** eagle, hawk (орел, ястреб): MKor. *súrí*; Mod. *suri*.

◊ HMCH 180, Liu 474, KED 1002.

‖ KW 313, VEWT 402, TMC 2,64 (Evk. *sar* < Mong.), KW 313. Cf. also Jurch. *siel* (< **siar-*) 'hawk'.

✱**sarumV (~ z-, -ŕ-)** eyelash, eyebrow: Tung. ***sarimi-**; Mong. ***sormu-**; Kor. ***sə̀m**.

PTung. ***sarimī-** 1 to wink 2 eyelash, eyebrow (1 моргать 2 ресница, бровь): Evk. *sarimī-* 1, *sarimikta* 2; Evn. *harъm-* 1, *harъmtъ* 2; Neg. *sajịmta* 2; Man. *solmin* 2; SMan. *śulimin* 2 (17); Ul. *sarumta* 2; Ork. *sịr(ụ)mụqta* 2; Nan. *sarmaqta* 2; Orch. *sāmikta* 2; Ud. *sāmikta* 2; Sol. *sammikta*, *sarmilta*, *sarmitta* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 66. TM > Dag. *sarmilta* 'eyebrow' (Тод. Даг. 162).

PMong. ***sormu-** eyelash (ресница): MMong. *sormue* (HY 45), *surimusun* ('body hair') (SH), *ṣormoṣu* 'eyelid' (IM), *surbisun* (MA), *sarmasūn* (Lig.VMI); WMong. *sormu(u)su(n)* (L 729); Kh. *sormos(on)*, *sormūs(an)*; Bur. *hoŕmoho(n)*; Kalm. *sorṃsṇ*; Ord. *sormūs*, *sormūsu*; Dong. *somosun*.

◊ KW 332, MGCD 607.

PKor. ***sə̀m** eyebrow (бровь): MKor. *nún-sə̀m*.

◊ Nam 115.

‖ KW 332, Rozycki 186.

✸**sarV** song, feast: Tung. ***sari**; Turk. ***sarɨn**.

PTung. ***sari-n** feast (пир, праздник): Man. *sarin*; SMan. *sarin*, *s̊arin*, *śarin* (960); Nan. *sarī*.

◊ TMC 2, 66. TM > Dag. *sarše-* 'to have a feast'.

PTurk. ***sarɨn** song, sad song (песня, заунывная песня): MTurk. *sarna-* (R) 'to sing'; Kaz. *sarɨn*; Kum. *sarɨn*; Khak. *sarɨn*; Shr. *sarɨn*; Oyr. *sarɨn*; Tv. *sɨrɨn*.

◊ VEWT 404, ЭСТЯ 7.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss.

✸**sȁrV** to be rare, thinned out: Tung. ***sār-**; Mong. ***sar-**; Turk. ***sAr-**.

PTung. ***sār-** 1 crumbly 2 small, split 3 to rarefy, to weed (1 рыхлый 2 мелкий, раздробленный 3 разрежать, полоть): Evn. *sarkama* 1; Neg. *saj* 2; Man. *sarḱa-* 3; Ul. *sar* (bi) 2; Ork. *sār* (bī) 2; Nan. *sār* (bī) 2; Orch. *sar* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 66.

PMong. ***sar-** to be rare, net-like (быть редким, прореженным): WMong. *sarčiγar* 'thin and crispy' (L 675); Kh. *sarʒaj-*; Bur. *harsaj-*.

PTurk. ***sAr-** 1 to filter, separate 2 to be filtered, separated 3 sieve for filtering liquids (1 процеживать, отделять 2 процеживаться, отстаиваться 3 сито для процеживания жидкостей): Karakh. *sarma-* 2, *sarɨm* 3 (MK; EDT 852-853: *serme-*, *serim*); Turkm. *sarGan* 'milk product made of boiled milk together with the contents of the stomach of a newborn lamb'; MTurk. *sar-* 1 (Diz.).

◊ ЭСТЯ 7.

‖ A Western isogloss. It is interesting to note the Turkm. form *sarGan*, which may reflect an old derivative **sār-kV* 'maw, paunch and its products' (reflecting the role played by the maw, ventriculus in the filtering and fermenting process) : cf. PT **sarkɨńuk* 'maw, paunch' (EDT 849-850, ЭСТЯ 7), WMong. *sarkinaγ* 'ventriculus, second stomach' (L 676; possibly < Turkic); Evk. *sargākte* 'upper coverage of the stomach'. See also notes to **sarkV*.

✱**saŕi** to get cold, freeze: Mong. ***ser-**; Turk. ***sAŕak / *sArk-**.

PMong. ***ser-** cool, fresh (прохладный, свежий): MMong. *seri'un* (HY 5), *seri'ut-* (SH); WMong. *serigün* (L 691); Kh. *serṻn*; Bur. *heŕūn*; Kalm. *serṻn*; Ord. *serṻn*; Dag. *serūn* (Тод. Даг. 163, MD 211); S.-Yugh. *sörṻn*; Mongr. *sarin* (SM 328), *sarəŋ*.

◊ KW 326, MGCD 601. Mong. **seriγün* 'fresh, cool' > Evk. *serun*, Man. *serguwen* etc. (see Doerfer MT 119, Rozycki 178); > Turk. *serin*, MTurk. *serövün* etc., see Лексика 16, ЭСТЯ 17; Yak. *serīn*, *sörṻn*, Dolg. *herṻn*, *hörṻn* (Kał. MEJ 17, Stachowski 102).

PTurk. ***sAŕak / *sArk-** 1 to become numb 2 hoar-frost 3 cold wind (1 неметь, цепенеть 2 иней 3 холодный ветер): Karakh. *sarq-* 1, *sarqɨm* 2 (MK); Tur. (dial.) *sazaq*, *sazaγan* 3; Az. *sazaG* 3; MTurk. (Xwar., MKypch.) *sarq-* 1 (Qutb, AH); Kaz. *sazar-* 1; Nogh. *sazar-* 'to be bored'; Khak. *sarnax* 3 (Kach.); Tv. *sarγɨ-* 'to nag, feel pain'.

◊ EDT 848, 849. Лексика 42, 43. Despite EDT 847, the basic meaning is not "weak downward movement with no force behind it": in fact we have here a confusion of several originally different roots (see **sark-* 'overflow, drip'; **sal-* 'put down, lower', with the derivative **salk-* which has influenced the meaning of **sark-* in some languages).

‖ A Turk.-Mong. isogloss. In Kor. and Jpn. the reflex of this root may have merged with **sílgu* q.v. (cf. PKE 175).

✱**sā́ŕi** to know; beware, feel: Tung. ***sā-**; Mong. ***seri-**; Turk. ***sEŕ- (~-ē-)**; Jpn. ***sír-**; Kor. ***sari-**.

PTung. ***sā-** to know (знать): Evk. *sā-*; Evn. *hā-*; Neg. *sā-*; Man. *sa-*; SMan. *sa-* (1856); Jurch. *ĉaŋ-xi* (353); Ul. *sāwu̯*; Ork. *sā-*; Nan. *sā-*; Orch. *sā-*; Ud. *sā-*; Sol. *sā-*.

◊ TMC 2, 49-51.

PMong. ***seri-** to wake; notice (просыпаться; замечать): MMong. *seri-* (HY 35, SH), *sere-ba* 'to feel, sense' (HY 33), *sere-* (SH), *siri-*, *sǎri-* (MA), *sīr-* (IM); WMong. *sere-*, *seri-* (L 689); Kh. *sere-*; Bur. *heri-*; Kalm. *ser-*; Ord. *sere-*; Mog. *serä-*; Dag. *sere-* (Тод. Даг. 163, MD 211); Dong. *šieri-*; Bao. *sere-*; S.-Yugh. *ser-*; Mongr. sari- (SM 327), (MGCD *serə-*).

◊ KW 325, MGCD 600. Mong. > Evk. *seri-* etc. (see Doerfer MT 38, Rozycki 178).

PTurk. ***sEŕ- (~-ē-)** 1 to feel, understand 2 doubt (1 чувствовать, понимать, воспринимать 2 сомнение): Karakh. *sez-* (MK) 1; Tur. *sez-* 1; Az. *sez-* 1; Turkm. *seza(wār)*; MTurk. *sez-* 1 (Pav. C., Abush.); Uzb. *sez-* 1; Uygh. *säz-* 1; Krm. *sez-* 1; Tat. *siz-* 1; Bashk. *hiδ-* 1; Kirgh. *sez-* 1, *sez* 'feeling'; Kaz. *sez-* 1; KBalk. *sez-* 1; KKalp. *sez-* 1; Kum. *sez-* 1; Nogh. *sez-* 1; Khak. *sis-* 1; Oyr. *ses-* 1, *ses* 'understanding'; Tv. *sezik* 2; Tof. *sezik* 2.

◊ VEWT 413, EDT 860-861, ЭСТЯ 7. Turk. *sezik* > WMong. *sesig* (but *sežig* is probably genuine, see under **sàžV)*.

PJpn. ***sír-** to know (знать): OJpn. sir-; MJpn. *sír-*; Tok. *shìr-*; Kyo. *shír-*; Kag. *shír-*.

◊ JLTT 752.

PKor. ***sari-** 1 to beware, be careful, spare oneself 2 wisdom (1 быть осторожным, беречься 2 мудрость): MKor. *sirkii* 2; Mod. *sari-* 1, *silgi* 2.

◊ Nam 321, KED 873, 1027. The -i-vowel in *sirkii* is probably a secondary result of assimilation.

‖ EAS 71, KW 325, Poppe 29, 82 (Turc-Mong.), Murayama 1962, 111, 1978, 277-278, Miller 1981, 852, ОСНЯ 2, 107-108, Ozawa 228-229, АПиПЯЯ 74, 91, 276, Дыбо 14, Martin 234. TM preserves length in a monosyllabic root after loss of the resonant. Mong. cannot be explained as a loanword, despite Щербак 1997, 144.

✱**sáŕo** fence, village: Tung. ***saru**; Mong. ***siröge**; Turk. ***soŕak**; Jpn. ***sátuá**.

PTung. ***saru-** 1 a sit in boat made like a tent 2 fence (1 сиденье (в лодке, в виде беседки) 2 забор, изгородь): Ul. *sārụ(n)* 1; Ork. *sarị(n)* 1, *sarụqa* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 67.

PMong. ***siröge** fence, barrier made of pointed sticks (забор): WMong. *sirüge*, (L 757) *šörge*; Kh. *šörög*; Bur. *šürge*; Kalm. *šörgə*.

◊ KW 366.

PTurk. ***soŕak** village (деревня): OTurk. *sozaq* (~ -u-) (OUygh.).

◊ EDT 861, VEWT 429.

PJpn. ***sátuá** village (деревня): OJpn. *satwo*; MJpn. *sátó*; Tok. *sàto*; Kyo. *sátó*; Kag. *sáto*.

◊ JLTT 519.

‖ A common derivative **sáŕo-kV* is reflected in OT *sozaq*, PM **sirö-ge* and Orok *sarụqa*.

✱**sā́ŕo(-gV)** a k. of big fish: Tung. ***sarga-**; Mong. ***siröge**; Turk. ***sāŕV-gan**.

PTung. ***sarga-** 1 perch 2 grayling 3 white-fish 4 herring (1 окунь 2 хариус 3 сиг 4 сельдь): Evk. *sargaka* 1; Neg. *sajgatị* 2; Man. *sarGa nimaχa* 3; Ul. *sarGadị* 2; Ork. *sarụkki* 4; Orch. *sagati* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 65, 67.

PMong. ***siröge** ruff (fish) (ерш): WMong. *sirüge*; Kalm. *šörgə zaγəsn*.

◊ KW 366. Cf. also Shor *šaraγan* < Mong. **siraγan*. See Mudrak D 195-196.

PTurk. ***sāŕV-gan** 1 carp 2 snake, dragon (1 сазан 2 змей, дракон): Tur. *sazan* 1; Gag. *sazan* 1; Az. *sazan* 1; Turkm. *sāzan* (VEWT); MTurk. *sazγan* 2 (> Tur. *sazγan*); Uzb. *sazan* 1 (dial.); Bashk. *hazan*, *saδan* 1 (dial.); Kirgh. *sazan* 1; Kaz. *sazan* 1; Kum. *sazan* 1; Khak. *sazan* 1; Tv. *sazan* 1.

◊ VEWT 406, Лексика 179, ЭСТЯ 7. Bulg. > Hung. *sárkány* 'dragon', see Gombocz 1912, MNyTESz 3, 493-494.

‖ Лексика 179, Miller 2000, 61-62. A Western isogloss. Cf. also Kor. *salgi* 'Amur grayling', perhaps borrowed from TM.

✱**sàʒV** to slander, condemn: Tung. ***saʒī-**; Mong. ***seʒig**; Turk. ***saj-**; Jpn. ***sài-r- (~ *sià-r-)**.

PTung. ***saʒī-** to condemn (осуждать, порицать): Evk. *saʒī-ča-*; Sol. *sāʒilā-*.

◊ TMC 2, 54.

PMong. ***seʒig** doubt (сомнение, недоверие): WMong. *seʒig* (L 692); Kh. *seʒig*; Bur. *heʒeg*; Kalm. *seʒəg* (KPC); Ord. *seʒik*.

PTurk. ***saj-** 1 to slander, lie 2 slander, lie (1 клеветать, лгать 2 клевета, ложь): Uzb. *sajiɣ* 'delirium'; KKalp. *saj-* 1; Khak. *sajɣa-* 1, *sajɣax* 2; Oyr. *sajɣaq* 2; Chuv. *soj-* 1, *soj* 2.

◊ VEWT 395, ЭСТЯ 7, Ашм. XI, 160.

PJpn. ***sài-r- (~ *sià-r-)** to urge; to contest (побуждать; соперничать): MJpn. *ser-*; Tok. *sér-*; Kyo. *sér-*; Kag. *sèr-*.

◊ JLTT 749.

‖ Mong. is usually regarded as < Turk. **seŕik*, see **sā́ŕi* (see VEWT 413, Clark 1980, 40; cf. also WMong. *sesig* id.).

✱**sebe** to love, have fun: Tung. ***sebʒe-**; Mong. ***sebki-**; Turk. ***seb-**; Jpn. ***sua(m)pa-p-**; Kor. ***sipɨ-**.

PTung. ***sebʒe-** fun, to have fun (веселье, веселиться): Evk. *sebʒen*; Evn. *hebʒēk-*; Neg. *sebʒen-*; Man. *sebʒen*, *sebʒele-*; SMan. *sevəʒən* 'pleasure, enjoyment' (1941), *sevəʒəŋə* 'enjoyable' (1942), *sevəʒələ* 'to enjoy' (1943); Ul. *sebʒeni*; Ork. *sebʒen*; Nan. *sebʒeni*; Orch. *sebʒen-*; Ud. *sebʒeŋke*, *sebu* 'interesting'.

◊ TMC 2, 133-134. Man. > Dag. *sebʒile-* (Тод. Даг. 162).

PMong. ***sebki-** to rest, refresh oneself, relax (отдыхать, освежаться, расслабляться): WMong. *seb* (*ge-*), *sebki-*, *sebkire-* (L 678, 679); Kh. *sevxij-*; Bur. *heb ge-*; Kalm. *sew ge-*.

◊ KW 327. Mong. > Man. *sebi-*, *sebki-*.

PTurk. ***seb-** to love, like (любить): OTurk. *sev-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *sev-* (MK); Tur. *sev-*; Gag. *sev-*; Az. *sev-*; Turkm. *söj-*; Khal. *säv-*; MTurk. *sev-* (IM, Pav. C.); Uzb. *sev-*, *sɔj-*; Uygh. *söj-*; Krm. *sev-*, *süj-*; Tat. *sŭj-*; Bashk. *hŭj-*; Kirgh. *süj-*; Kaz. *süj-*; KBalk. *süj-*; KKalp. *süj-*; Kum. *süj-*; Nogh. *süj-*; Oyr. *sū-*; Chuv. *sav-*; Yak. *iäj-*.

◊ EDT 784, VEWT 406-407, ЭСТЯ 7.

PJpn. ***sua(m)pa-p-** to recreate, have fun (развлекаться, веселиться): OJpn. *swobap-*.

◊ JLTT 754.

PKor. ***sipɨ-** to wish, want (желать, хотеть): MKor. *sipɨ-*; Mod. *sip-* [*siph-*], *siphɨ-*.

◊ Nam 325, KED 1043, 1066.

‖ EAS 71, Doerfer MT 240, Дыбо 14. Despite Doerfer's (TMN 3, 316) doubts, the root is common Altaic. The Jpn. vowel is quite irregular:

perhaps in Jpn. and Kor. we should presuppose a suffixed form **sebV-p-* (> Kor. *sipɨ-*, PJ **sua-p-*, with further suffixation **sua-p-ap-*). Cf. also WMong. (L 653) *sabla-ldu-* 'to show favour, be gracious'.

✱**sebV(nV) (~ z-)** strange, supernatural: Tung. ***seben**; Mong. ***sebe-ɣün**; Kor. ***sòn (< *sVbVn)**.

PTung. ***sebe-** 1 ghost (shaman's aid) 2 idol 3 God (1 дух (помощник шамана) 2 идол 3 бог): Evk. *sewũ* 1; Evn. *hewki* 3; Neg. *sewen*; Ul. *sewo(n)* ~ *sewe(n)*; Ork. *sewe*; Nan. *sewẽ*; Orch. *sewē(n)*, *seweru* 1, *seweki* 2; Ud. *sewe(n)* 1, *sewexi* 2; Sol. *sewũ* 1, 2.

◊ TMC 2, 135 (also **sebe-ki).*

PMong. ***sebe-ɣün** strange (странный, необычный): WMong. *sebegün* (L 678); Kh. *sevǖn*.

PKor. ***sòn** guest (гость): MKor. *sòn*; Mod. *son*.

◊ Nam 308, KED 985.

‖ Лексика 266.

✱**sèdá (~ z-)** to think, determine: Mong. ***sede-, *sed-ki-**; Jpn. ***sàntàmà-**.

PMong. ***sede-, *sed-ki-** to think of, to intend (думать, намереваться): MMong. *setki-* (HY 33, SH), *sītki-* (IM), *sitkǎl* 'angry' (MA); WMong. *sede-*, *sedki-* (L 680); Kh. *setge-*; Bur. *hede-*; Kalm. *sed-*, *setkə-*; Ord. *sedχil* 'conscience, thought, feeling'; Dag. *serkin* (Тод. Даг. 163); Bao. *səgtə-*; S.-Yugh. *sedgel* 'thought'; Mongr. *sgir* (SM 347), (MGCD *sgəl* 'thought').

◊ KW 327, MGCD 593, 601.

PJpn. ***sàntàmà-** to determine (решать, определять): OJpn. *sadama-*; MJpn. *sàdàmà-*; Tok. *sadamé-*; Kyo. *sádámé-*; Kag. *sàdàmè-*.

◊ JLTT 745.

‖ A Mong.-Jpn. isogloss.

✱**sedurkʹV (~ z-)** nose bone: Tung. ***serge-**; Mong. ***sadurkaj**.

PTung. ***serge-** 1 gills 2 nose bone (1 жабры 2 кость (носовая)): Evk. *sergekte* 1; Nan. *seǯurẽ* 2 (Kur-Urm.).

◊ TMC 2, 143, 145.

PMong. ***sadurkaj** nose bones (кости, хрящи носа): WMong. *sadurqai*, (L 656) *sadarqai*; Kalm. *sadrxǎ*; Ord. *sadarxǎ*.

◊ KW 307.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss, with a typical loss of *-d- before *-r- in TM.

✱**ségì (~ z-)** to litter, mat: Tung. ***seg-**; Mong. ***seg-l-**; Jpn. ***sík-**; Kor. ***skǎr-**.

PTung. ***seg-** 1 to litter 2 litter, mat (1 подстилать 2 подстилка, циновка): Evk. *seɣī-* 1, *sekte* 2; Evn. *heɣ-* 1, *heɣtъ* 2; Neg. *sek-* 1, *sekte* 2; Man. *sekte-* 1, *sekǯi* 2; Ul. *segdi-* 1, *segdi* 2; Ork. *seji-* 1, *segǯi(n)* 2; Nan. *segǯi* 2; Orch. *segdi* 2; Ud. *soktou(n)* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 136-137. Evk. > Dolg. *hekte* (see Stachowski 101).

PMong. ***seg-l-** mat (циновка): MMong. *segu'ul-* 'to roll up (as a mat)' (SH); WMong. *segel*, *seglei* (L 682: *segli*); Kh. *segel*, *seglij*.

PJpn. ***sík-** to litter, strew (расстилать): OJpn. *sik-*; MJpn. *sík-*; Tok. *shìk-*; Kyo. *shík-*; Kag. *shík-*.

◊ JLTT 751.

PKor. ***skǎr-** to spread out (as mat) (расстилать (напр. циновку)): MKor. *skǎr-*; Mod. *k:al-*.

◊ Nam 22, KED 44.

‖ Cf. **sík'e*.

✱**segsV** nape, back of head: Tung. ***sekse-**; Mong. ***segseji- / *sogsoji-**; Turk. ***sügsün**.

PTung. ***sekse-** back of head (затылок): Man. *seksexe*.

◊ TMC 2, 139. Attested only in Manchu, but having probable Turk. and Mong. parallels.

PMong. ***segseji- / *sogsoji-** to bristle, stick out (торчать (о волосах)): WMong. *segsüi-*, *segseji-*, *soγsuji-* (L 682, 723); Kh. *segsij-*, *sogsoj-*; Bur. *hagsagar/hegseger* 'легкий, воздушный, пушистый (о хорошем мехе)' *hegselze-* 'пушиться о мехе'; Kalm. *seksi-*; Ord. *segsī-*.

◊ KW 322.

PTurk. ***sügsün** nape (затылок): OTurk. *süsgün* (OUygh.) 'backside, rump'; Tur. *sügsün*, *süjsün* (dial.); Az. *süjsün*; MTurk. (MKypch.) *süksün* (AH); Oyr. *süskenek*.

◊ EDT 856, Лексика 234-235, ЭСТЯ 7.

‖ Лексика 235. A Western isogloss. Turk. **sügsün* < **segsün* through vowel assimilation.

✱**segu** a k. of small fur animal: Tung. ***segep(ke)**; Mong. ***sowsar**; Turk. ***sogur (~ -a-)**.

PTung. ***segep(ke)** sable (соболь): Evk. *seγep*; Evn. *heγъp*; Neg. *seγep*; Man. *seke*; Jurch. *sep-ke* (191); Ul. *sēpe*; Ork. *seppe*; Nan. *sēpe*; Sol. *segeŋi*.

◊ TMC 2, 137.

PMong. ***sowsar** marten (куница): WMong. *sowsar*, (L 741, DO 595) *suusar*; Kh. *sūsar*; Kalm. *suwsṛ* (KPC); Ord. *sūsar*.

◊ Mong. > Turk. *sawsar* etc. (not vice versa, despite TMN 3, 297-298, Clark 1980, 39, ЭСТЯ 7; Khalkha > Bur. (Okin., Tunk.) *sūsari* 'помесь куницы и соболя'.

PTurk. ***sogur (~ -a-)** a small fur animal (marmot) (вид грызуна (сурок)): Karakh. *soγur* (MK); Tat. *suwir*; Bashk. *hiwir*; Oyr. *siγirγan* 'a small rodent'; Chuv. *sъ^{w}vъ^{w}r*.

◊ EDT 815, VEWT 416, 425, ЭСТЯ 7.

‖ A Western isogloss. Mong. **sowsar* < **saγu-sar*, with labial attraction.

✱**sèǵù** healthy; blood: Tung. ***sēgV-**; Mong. ***saji(n)**; Turk. ***sạg**; Jpn. ***sùkù-jaka**; Kor. ***sà'ó-náb-**.

PTung. ***sēgV-** 1 blood 2 red (1 кровь 2 красный (**sēgǯe-*)): Evk. *sēkse* 1, (dial.) *segǯen* 2; Evn. *hēs* 1; Neg. *sēkse* 1; Man. *seŋgi* 1; SMan. *šiŋə* 1 (165); Jurch. *sei̯ŋ-ŋi* (512) 1; Ul. *sēkse* 1, *segǯe(n)* 2; Ork. *sekse* 1, *sēgde(n)* 2; Nan. *sēkse* 1, *sēgǯẽ* 2; Orch. *sēkse* 1, *segǯe* 2; Ud. *sakeä* 1; Sol. *sēkče* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 136, 138-139. The pure root is preserved in Evk. *sēγī-*, Neg. *sē-* 'to bleed, flow (of blood)'.

PMong. ***saji(n)** 1 good 2 beautiful (1 хороший 2 красивый): MMong. *sajin* (HY 55, SH), *ṣājn* 'healthy' (IM), *sajn* (MA); WMong. *sajin* 1 (L 660), *sajiqan* 2 (L 661); Kh. *sajn* 1, *sajxan* 2; Bur. *hajn* 1 *hajxa(n)* 2; Kalm. *sǟn* 1; Ord. *sǟn*; Mog. *sōīn*; Dag. *sain* 1, *saixan* (*saikan*) 2 (Тод. Даг. 161, (MD 204, 205); Dong. *sain* 1, *saiGan* 2; Bao. *saŋ* 1, *sexaŋ* 2; S.-Yugh. *sain* 1, *saiχGan* 2; Mongr. *sən* (SM 343), (MGCD: *sain*) 1; *səGan* (SM 341) (MGCD *saixan*) 2.

◊ KW 319, MGCD 588, 589, TMN 1, 371. Mong. > Manchu, Jurchen *sain* (see Rozycki 173); > Chuv. *sajъ* (Róna-Tas 1973-1974).

PTurk. ***sạg** healthy (здоровый): OTurk. *saγ* (OUygh.); Karakh. *saγ* (MK); Tur. *saγ*, *sā*; Gag. *sā*; Az. *saγ*; Turkm. *saG*; Sal. *sax* 'right' (ССЯ); Khal. *sāγ*; MTurk. *saγ* (Pav. C., AH); Uzb. *sɔγ*; Uygh. *saγ*; Krm. *saw*; Tat. *saw*; Bashk. *haw*; Kirgh. *sō*; Kaz. *saw*; KBalk. *sav*, *sau*; KKalp. *saw*; Kum. *saw*; Nogh. *saw; sawlaj* 'whole, all'; SUygh. *saγ*; Shr. *saγ*; Oyr. *sū, su*; Chuv. *sɨvъ*.

◊ TMN 3, 334-5, EDT 803, ЭСТЯ 7.

PJpn. ***sùkù-jaka** healthy (здоровый): MJpn. *sukujaka*, *sùkùjókà*; Tok. *sukóyaka*; Kyo. *sùkóyákà*; Kag. *sukoyaká*.

◊ JLTT 533.

PKor. ***sà'ó-náb-** strong, tough (сильный, крепкий): MKor. *sà'ó-náp-* (-b-); Mod. *sānap-* (-w-) 'rough, fierce, violent'.

◊ Nam 284, KED 869.

‖ EAS 85, KW 319, Владимирцов 266-267, Poppe 29 (Turk.-Mong.; Doerfer TMN 1, 372 refutes the match for absolutely unclear reasons), АПиПЯЯ 289, Мудрак Дисс. 182. The semantic correlation 'blood': 'health, healthy' is rather usual, thus the TM form belongs here with great probability. Kor. has a usual verbal low tone.

✱**sejŋi** relative by marriage: Tung. ***seŋgi**; Turk. ***siŋil**; Jpn. ***sai (~ sia)**; Kor. ***sjā'òŋ**.

PTung. ***seŋgi** relative by marriage (свойственник): Neg. *seŋgi*; Jurch. *sei̯ŋ-ŋi-ŋ* (328); Ul. *seŋgi*; Ork. *śeŋgi*; Nan. *seŋgi* (On.).

◊ TMC 2, 138-9 (to be distinguished from 'blood'!).

PTurk. ***siŋil** 1 younger sister 2 younger brother (1 младшая сестра 2 младший брат): OTurk. *siŋil* 1 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *siŋil* 1 (MK);

Turkm. *siŋli* 1 (dial.); Sal. *siŋil*, *siŋni*, *siŋne* 1; MTurk. *siŋil* 1 (Abush., Pav. C.); Uzb. *siŋil* 1; Uygh. *siŋil* 1; Krm. *siŋli* 1; Tat. *sĭŋĭl* 1; Bashk. *hĭŋlĭ* 1; Kirgh. *siŋdi* 1; Kaz. *siŋli* 1; KKalp. *siŋli* 1; Nogh. *siŋli* 1; SUygh. *sɨŋnɨ* 1; Shr. *siŋnim* (Chul.) 2; Chuv. *šъll-ъm* 2.

◊ EDT 839, Лексика 311, ЭСТЯ 7. The original meaning was probably "younger sister of husband" (still observable in Old Turkic); note also the meaning "younger brother" in Chuv. and in Chul. *siŋnim.*

PJpn. ***sai (~ sia)** beloved one (возлюбленный): OJpn. *se*.

◊ JLTT 521.

PKor. ***sjā'òŋ** husband (муж): MKor. *sjā'òŋ*.

◊ Nam 297.

‖ KW 328. MKo also has *sjā'ór* 'bastard' which may be related to the same root. The Jpn. form presupposes a suffixed **sejŋ(i)-gV* (= TM **seŋgi*).

✱**séjra (~ z-)** three, a three-part object: Mong. ***sereɣe**; Jpn. ***sárápí**; Kor. ***sə̄ih**.

PMong. ***sereɣe** trident, pitchfork (трезубец, вилы): WMong. *serege*, *serige*, *serije* (L 689); Kh. *serē*; Bur. *herē*; Kalm. *serɛ̄*; Ord. *serē* 'tête de flèche à plusieurs pointes'; Dag. *serē* (Тод. Даг. 163, MD 211).

◊ KW 325, MGCD 599. Mong. > Oyr. *särä.*

PJpn. ***sárápí** rake, pitchfork (грабли, вилы): MJpn. *sáráfí*.

◊ JLTT 518.

PKor. ***sə̄ih** three (три): MKor. *sə̄i* (*sə̄ih-*); Mod. *sēt* [*sēs*].

◊ Nam 302, KED 968.

‖ SKE 225, PKE 171. Medial *-j- is reconstructed to account for loss of *-r- in Kor. Cf. perhaps also Man. *sertej* 'three-lipped, having a hare-lip'; MKor. *sə̀hɨ̀rə̀i*, mod. *s:əre* 'rake, harrow' (= Mong. **sereɣe*).

✱**sèjV** thin, rare: Tung. ***sēr**; Mong. ***seji-**; Turk. ***sedre- (< *sej-re-)**; Jpn. ***sài- (~ *sià-)**; Kor. ***sə́ri**.

PTung. ***sēr** thin, rare (тонкий, редкий): Man. *seri*; Ul. *ser* bi; Nan. *sēr*.

◊ TMC 2, 144.

PMong. ***seji-, *sejire-** to be rare, thinned (быть редким, прореженным): WMong. *seji-*, *sejire-* (L 684); Kh. *sij-*, *sijre-*; Bur. *hijre-*; Kalm. *sīr-*; Ord. *sīre-*.

◊ KW 328.

PTurk. ***sedre-** 1 to be rare, have wide intervals 2 gappy, rare, perforated (1 быть редким, с широкими промежутками 2 редкий, дырявый): OTurk. *sedrek* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *seδre-* 1, *seδrek* 2 (MK); Tur. *sejrek* 2; Gag. *sīrek* 2; Az. *sejräk* 2; Turkm. *sejrek* 2; Sal. *serex* 2; MTurk. *sejrek* 2 (AH); Uzb. *sijräk* 2; Uygh. *siräk* 2; Krm. *serek* 2; Tat. *sirä-* 1 (dial.) ,

siräk 2; Bashk. *hiräk* 2; Kirgh. *sejrek* 2; Kaz. *sĭre-* 1, *sĭjrek* 2; KKalp. *sĭjrek* 2; Kum. *sijrek* 2; Nogh. *sĭjrek* 2; Chuv. *sajra* 2.

◊ EDT 802, VEWT 407.

PJpn. ***sài- (~ *sià-)** narrow (узкий): OJpn. *se-*, *seba-*; MJpn. *sèbà-*; Tok. *semá-*; Kyo. *sémà-*; Kag. *semá-*.

◊ JLTT 839, 840.

PKor. ***sə́ri** interval, space (интервал, промежуток): MKor. *sə́rì*; Mod. *səri* (arch.).

◊ Nam 299, KED 936.

‖ Владимирцов 282, Мудрак Дисс. 101, ЭСТЯ 7, TMN 3, 308-309. Despite Щербак 1997, 144 not borrowed in Mong. < Turk.

✸**sèkʿu** to preserve, be aware: Tung. ***sexu-**; Mong. ***saki-**; Turk. ***sạk(ɨ)-**; Jpn. ***sùk-**; Kor. ***sàkí-**.

PTung. ***sexu-** sensitive, responsive (чуткий): Ul. *sexuli*; Nan. *sexur*.

◊ TMC 2, 139.

PMong. ***saki-** to protect, guard (охранять, наблюдать, следить за): MMong. *saqi-* (MA), *saki-* (SH, HYt); WMong. *saki-* (L 662); Kh. *saxi-*; Bur. *haxi-*; Kalm. *säkə-*, *sakə-*; Ord. *saχi-*; Dag. *sagi-* (Тод. Даг. 161), *sahi-* (MD 204) ; *sagī-*; Dong. *saGi-*, *saɣəi-*; Bao. *sǎGe-*; S.-Yugh. *sāɣə-*; Mongr. *sagi-* (SM 319), (MGCD *sgə-*).

◊ KW 308, 318, MGCD 596.

PTurk. ***sạk(ɨ)-** 1 aware 2 be aware, protect (1 осторожный, бдительный 2 быть осторожным, беречь(ся)): Karakh. *saq* 1, *saqɨn-* 2 (MK); Tur. *sak*, sax 1 (dial.), *sakɨn-* 2; Gag. *saq* 1, *saqɨn-* 2; Turkm. *saq* 1,2; MTurk. *saqɨn-* 2 (Houts.) , *saqin-* 2 (Pav. C.); Uzb. *sɔɣ* 1 (dial.); Krm. *saqɨn-* 2; Tat. *saq* 1; Bashk. *haq* 1; Kirgh. *saq* 1; KBalk. *saq* 1; KKalp. *saq* 1; Kum. *saq* 1; Nogh. *saq* 1; SUygh. *saqa* 1, *saq-*, *saqɨ-* 2; Khak. *sax* 1, *saɣɨ-* 'to wait'; Oyr. *saqɨ-* 2; Tv. *sa'ɣɨ-* 2; Chuv. *sɨɣъ* 'guard'.

◊ VEWT 395-6. Turk. > WMong. *saɣ*, Kalm. *sag* (KW 307).

PJpn. ***sùk-** to like (любить, нравиться): MJpn. *suk-*; Tok. *súk-* 'to like', *sùk-as-* 'to quieten'; Kyo. *sùk-*, *súkás-*; Kag. *sùk-*, *sukás-*.

◊ JLTT 758. The causative differs in tone from **sùk-* and may actually reflect a different original root.

PKor. ***sàkí-** 1 to read characters, interpret 2 to know each other (1 читать знаки, переводить 2 знать друг друга, знакомиться): MKor. *sàkí-* 1, *sàkói-* 2; Mod. *sägi-* 1, *sagwi-* 2.

◊ Nam 282, KED 868, 920.

‖ KW 318. Mong. is hardly borrowed from Turk., despite TMN 3, 218-219, Щербак 1997, 144. Korean has a usual "verbal" low tone. Cf. *si̯ā́kʿa.

✸**sela (~ -o)** bolt, hinge: Tung. ***selu-(mi)-**; Mong. ***silbi-**; Turk. ***salma / *salŋu**; Jpn. ***saru**.

PTung. ***selu-(mi)-** 1 cross-bow 2 arrow (1 самострел 2 стрела): Evk. *selu*, *sele* 2; Evn. *helike* 2; Neg. *senmu* 1, 2; Man. *selmin*, *selḿen* (also "cock in bird-trap"); Nan. *sermi* 1, 2; Orch. *semmi* 1, 2; Ud. *seŋmi* 1, 2.

◊ TMC 2, 143.

PMong. ***silbi-** button loop (пуговичная петля): WMong. *silbi* (L 705); Kh. *šilbe*; Bur. *šelbe*; Kalm. *šilwə*; Ord. *šilbe* (*šilbi*).

◊ KW 357. Mong. > Oyr. *šilbi.*

PTurk. ***salma / *salŋu** 1 sling 2 horse noose 3 snare 4 button hole (1 праща 2 аркан 3 силок 4 петля для пуговицы): Karakh. *salŋu* (MK) 1; Khal. *salɣọ* 1; MTurk. *salma* 3 (Pav. C.); Uygh. *salma* 4; Bashk. *halmawɨr* 1; Kirgh. *salmōr* 1; Kaz. *salma* 'ornamental bands in a yurt'; Khak. *salba* 1 (Sag.); Chuv. *solъ* 'bracelet'.

◊ VEWT 399, EDT 827, Ашм. XI, 174. Usually derived from **sal-* 'put' or **sal-ɨn-* 'hang, droop' - all very dubious semantically. With other suffixes cf. perhaps Uzb. *sɔldɔw* 'tug', Tuva *saldɨrɨk* 'belt shaped as a loop'

PJpn. ***saru** door lock, bolt (дверной засов, болт): MJpn. *saru*; Tok. *saru*.

‖ A common Altaic derivative **sela-mV* is reflected in PTM **selu-mi-*, PT **sal-ma* and possibly (with denasalization) in Mong. **sil-bi-*.

✸**séle (~ z-)** mutually: Mong. ***selü-**; Jpn. ***sə́rə́-p-**; Kor. ***sə̀rɨ̀**.

PMong. ***selü-** to alternate (чередоваться, меняться): MMong. *silgi-* 'to billow, welter' (MA) (?); WMong. *selü-*, (L 686) *selgü-*; Kh. *sele-*; Bur. *helge-*; Kalm. *sel-*.

◊ KW 322. Mong. (with a secondary semantic development: "to repair") > Khak. *seli-* 'to repair' etc. (VEWT 409).

PJpn. ***sə́rə́-p-** to fit each other, be adjusted (подходить друг к другу, быть прилаженным): OJpn. *s(w)or(w)opa-* 'to fit, adjust' (tr.); MJpn. *sorof-*, *sórób-*; Tok. *soró-*; Kyo. *sóró-*; Kag. *sòrò-*.

◊ JLTT 756. Accent in Tokyo and Kagoshima is aberrant.

PKor. ***sə̀rɨ̀** each other, mutually (друг друга, взаимно): MKor. *sə̀rɨ̀*, *sə̀rù*, *sə̀rǎ̀*; Mod. *səro*.

◊ Nam 299, KED 935.

‖ KW 322.

✸**sèĺbò (~ z-)** oar, spoon: Mong. ***selbi-ɣür**; Jpn. ***sànsì**; Kor. ***súr**.

PMong. ***selbi-** 1 oar 2 to row (1 весло 2 грести): WMong. *selbigür* 1, *selbi-* 2 (L 686); Kh. *selbū̃r* 1, *selbe-* 2; Bur. *heĺū̃r*, *heĺbū̃r*, *helbe* 1; Dag. *seliḃ* (Тод. Даг. 162: *selbe*), *selebe-* 2 (MD 207).

◊ MGCD 598. Mong. > Man. *selbi* 'oar; to row' (see Rozycki 177).

PJpn. ***sànsì** spoon (ложка): MJpn. *sazi*; Tok. *sají*, *sáji*; Kyo. *sájì*; Kag. *sají*.

◊ JLTT 520 (but the theory of borrowing from Chinese *ḍạ-ʒe* 'teaspoon' is quite improbable: *chaji* would be expected in Jpn.).

PKor. ***súr** spoon (ложка): MKor. *súr*; Mod. *sul* (dial.).

◊ Nam 315, KED 1018.

‖ A Chinese origin of Kor. *súr*, suggested in Martin 1996, 92, is quite improbable.

✱**sēma** to get lost, deviate: Tung. ***sēm-**; Mong. ***samur-**; Turk. ***sAm-**; Jpn. ***sámá-**.

PTung. ***sēm-** to be lost (теряться): Evk. *sēm-*.

◊ TMC 2, 141.

PMong. ***samur-** 1 to stir, mix smth., make a disorder 2 disorder (1 помешивать, приводить в беспорядок 2 беспорядок): MMong. *sama'ura-* 1, *sama'u(i)* 2 (SH), *samao'u* 'rebellion' (HYt); WMong. *samura-* 1 (L 668), *samaγun* 2 (L 667); Kh. *samra-* 1, *samūn* 2; Bur. *hamar-* 1; Kalm. *samūr-*, *samr-* 1; Ord. *samur-* 'to stir tea'; Dag. *samra-* (Тод. Даг. 161), *samarə-* 1; S.-Yugh. *samər-* 1, *samūn* 2; Mongr. *samurā-* 'être en désordre, se révolter' (SM 322), *samuri-* 'mêler en remuant, remuer avec une cuiller' (SM 323); *samurō* 2.

◊ KW 311, MGCD 592. Mong. > Man. samara- etc., see Doerfer MT 122, Rozycki 174.

PTurk. ***sAm-** 1 a complicated affair with no obvious way out 2 to be sad, tired 3 to rave 4 fool (1 затруднительное дело, положение 2 быть печальным, усталым 3 бредить 4 глупец): Karakh. *samurtuγ* 1 (MK); Turkm. *samra-* 3, *samsɨq* 4; Oyr. *samzɨl-* 2.

◊ EDT 830.

PJpn. ***sámá-** to wander, falter (бродить, шататься): OJpn. *sama-jwop-*; MJpn. *sámá-jof-*; Tok. *samayó-*; Kyo. *sámáyó-*; Kag. *samayó-*.

◊ JLTT 747.

‖ High tone in Jpn. is irregular.

✱**sĕme (-a)** fat: Tung. ***semesik**; Mong. ***semʒi**; Turk. ***semiŕ**; Kor. ***sam**.

PTung. ***semesik** inner fat (нутряной жир, сальник): Evk. *semesik*; Evn. *hemehъk*; Neg. *semesix*; Man. *semsu*.

◊ TMC 2, 142.

PMong. ***semʒi** inner fat, fat on liver (внутренний жир, жир на печени): MMong. *simeʒi* (MA 320); WMong. *semʒi* (L 687: *semeʒe*, *semeʒi(n)*); Kh. *semʒ*; Bur. *hemže*; Kalm. *semʒṇ*; Ord. *semeʒi(n)*.

◊ KW 323. Mong. > Man. *semeʒen*, see Rozycki 178 (but not > *semsu*, TM **semesik).*

PTurk. ***semiŕ** 1 fat (adj.) 2 fat (n.) 3 fatten (1 жирный 2 жир 3 жирнеть, тучнеть): OTurk. *semiz* 1 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *semiz* (MK) 1; Tur. *semiz* 1; Az. *sämiz-* 3; Turkm. *semiz* 1; Sal. *semüs* 2; MTurk. *semiz* 1 (Pav. C.); Uzb. *semiz* 1; Uygh. *semiz* 1; Krm. *semiz* 1; Tat. *simɨz* 1; Bashk. *himiz* 1; Kirgh. *semiz* 1; Kaz. *semiz*; KBalk. *semiz* 1, 2; KKalp. *semiz* 1;

Kum. *semiz* 1, 2; Nogh. *semiz* 1; SUygh. *semiz* 1; Khak. *simis* 1; Oyr. *semis* 1; Tv. *semis* 1; Tof. *semis* 1; Chuv. *samъr* 1; Yak. *emis* 1; Dolg. *emis* 1.

◊ EDT 830, VEWT 409, ЭСТЯ 7, Stachowski 45. A common Turkic derivative is **semri-* / **semir-* 'to become fat', see EDT ibid., ЭСТЯ 7.

PKor. ***sam** placenta, caul (плацента, оболочка плода): Mod. *sam*.

◊ KED 901.

‖ EAS 71, KW 323, Poppe 29, Дыбо 14. It is interesting to note OJ *same-nuri* 'a way of applying varnish' (if same- here is not = *sama-* 'to fade'). Despite Poppe 1974, 120, *-ʒi in Mong. is a quite common suffix (see Poppe 1973, 234) and the Mong. form can hardly be regarded as borrowed < Turkic (Clark 1980, 39 says that the case "defies explanation" (as a borrowing); likewise, the TM forms are difficult to explain as borrowed < Mong.

✱**sə́mi** scar, pock-mark, stain: Tung. ***semke**; Mong. ***seme-**; Turk. ***sēm (~-ī-)**; Jpn. ***símí**; Kor. ***sām**.

PTung. ***semke** 1 callus 2 to get a callus, wear out 3 rough, rare (of cloth) 4 holey 5 skimmer (1 мозоль 2 натереть мозоль, износиться 3 грубый, редкий (о ткани) 4 дырявый 5 шумовка): Evk. *semke* 1, *semke-* 2; Neg. *semeriŋgu* 5; Man. *semejen*, *semexun* 3; Ul. *semm* bi 4; Ork. *sempeke* 4; Nan. *semm* bī 4; Orch. *semteke* 4; Ud. *sempe-* 4.

◊ TMC 2, 141, 142.

PMong. ***seme-** 1 to become worn out, torn (of cloth) 2 caus. 3 pocked, holey (1 снашиваться, раздираться 2 снашивать, раздирать 3 дырявый, щербатый): WMong. *semere-* 1, *semele-* 2 (L 687), *semeger* 3; Kh. *semre-* 1, *semle-* 2, *semger* 3; Bur. *heberi-*; Kalm. *semṛ-* 1, *semḷ-* 2; Ord. *semere-* 1; Dag. *seme-* 2 (Тод. Даг. 162).

◊ KW 323.

PTurk. ***sēm (~-ī-)** 1 inflammation 2 pimple (on face) (1 воспаление 2 прыщ (на лице)): Az. *sim* 'blood-poisoning'; Turkm. *sīm* 1; KKalp. *semik* 'mark, mole on body'; Khak. *simiske* 2.

◊ The Oghuz form may reflect a contamination with the borrowed Arab. word for 'poison' (Tur. *sem).*

PJpn. ***símí** pock-mark; stain (оспина, веснушка; пятно): OJpn. *simji*; Tok. *shìmi*; Kyo. *shímí*; Kag. *shími*.

◊ JLTT 524.

PKor. ***sām** 1 spot (in the eye) 2 wart, mole (1 пятно (в глазу) 2 бородавка, родинка): MKor. *sāmákói* 2; Mod. *sam* 1, *sāmagwi* 2.

◊ Liu 433, KED 873, 901.

‖ See also notes under **sāmo.*

✱**sȅmi (~ z-)** caution, attention: Tung. ***sēme-**; Jpn. ***símìas-**; Kor. ***sàm-**.

PTung. ***sēme-** 1 to get used 2 to accustom, habituate 3 to guess, be suspicious (1 привыкать 2 приучать 3 догадываться, подозревать): Evk. *sēme-* 1; Evn. *hēmgi-* 2; Man. *semki-* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 141, 142.

PJpn. ***símìas-** to show (показывать): OJpn. *simjes-*; MJpn. *símès-*; Tok. *shimés-*, *shìmes-*; Kyo. *shímés-*; Kag. *shimés-*.

◊ JLTT 751. The accent in RJ and PJ is exceptional, showing that the word is treated as a compound **sí-* 'make' + **mi-as-* 'show, cause to see'. One may suppose that original **sìmà-s-* (causative from the attested **sìmà-*, OJ *sìmà-*, Tokyo *shimé-* "mark, mark out as one's territory") was restructured under the influence of **mì-as-* 'show'.

PKor. ***sàm-** to take care, use caution (быть осторожным): MKor. *sàm-ká-*; Mod. *samga-*.

◊ Nam 293, KED 901.

‖ SKE 222-223. An Eastern isogloss; on Jpn. tone see note above.

✱**sèmpa (~ z-, -o)** rust: Tung. ***septu / * semtu**; Jpn. ***sàmp(u)ì**.

PTung. ***septu / * semtu** rust (ржавчина): Evk. *semtu*; Neg. *semti*; Man. *sebden*; Ul. *septu-če*; Ork. *septu*; Nan. *septu-če*; Orch. *semtu*; Ud. *semtu-*.

◊ TMC 2, 141-142.

PJpn. ***sàmp(u)ì** rust, mould (ржавчина, плесень): OJpn. *sab(j)i*; MJpn. *sàbì*; Tok. *sabí*; Kyo. *sábì*; Kag. *sabí*.

◊ JLTT 515.

‖ Miller 1985, 151. A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss.

✱**sȅni** heel, ankle: Tung. ***seńu-**; Turk. ***sinčök (~ -e-)**; Kor. ***sín**.

PTung. ***seńu-** 1 front (of footwear) 2 footwear 3 heel (1 носок (обуви) 2 обувь 3 пятка): Evk. *senteme* 2, *suńukī* 1; Evn. *hönki* 1; Neg. *seńočhi* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 127, 143.

PTurk. ***sinčök (~ -e-)** 1 ankle-bone 2 shin-bone (1 лодыжка 2 голень): Tur. *sinǯik* 1 (dial.); Bashk. *sensek* (dial.) 2; Tv. *šünčük* 'hip joint'; Tof. *šüŋǯük* 'hip joint'; Yak. *sünjüöx* 2.

◊ Дыбо 1989 (but not < Perm.).

PKor. ***sín** footwear (обувь): MKor. *sín*; Mod. *sin*.

◊ Liu 498, KED 1047.

‖ In Mong. cf. *siγaqai* 'slippers' (if not < *siγa* 'knuckle bone').

✱**sȅnV** hole: Tung. ***sēn**; Mong. ***sen-**.

PTung. ***sēn** needle hole (иголочное ушко): Evk. *sēn*; Evn. *hē(n)*; Neg. *sēn*; Man. *sen*; Ul. *se(n)*; Ork. *se*; Nan. *sẽ*; Ud. *sie*.

◊ TMC 2, 142.

PMong. ***sen-** hole, handle with hole (дырка, ручка с дыркой): WMong. *senǯi*; Kh. *senǯ*; Bur. *henže*; Kalm. *senǯi*; Ord. *senǯi*; Dag. *senǯi*; S.-Yugh. *senǯi*.

◊ KW 324, MGCD 599.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**seŋa (~ -o, -u)** fringe, hair lock: Tung. ***seŋne**; Mong. ***saŋ-**; Turk. ***sAŋak / -at**.

PTung. ***seŋne** 1 gill 2 fringe 3 cock's comb (1 жабры 2 бахрома 3 петушиный гребень): Evk. *senŋen* 1; Evn. *heŋne* 1, *heŋnen* 2; Neg. *sēńŋe* 1; Man. *seŋgele* 3,2; SMan. *səŋələ* 'mane; comb, crest' (2280); Ul. *sene* / *seńe* 1, *senem* bi 'bearded'; Ork. *sene* 1; Nan. *sejŋe* 1; Orch. *sene* 1; Ud. *seŋe* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 143.

PMong. ***saŋ-** 1 hair on temples 2 forelock of a horse 3 bang, fringe (1 волосы на висках 2 конский чуб 3 челка): WMong. *saŋmai* 1; (L 672) *saŋna* 2; Kh. *saŋgas* 'bushy or tousled hair'; Bur. *hanšag* 1; Kalm. *saŋmā̄*, *sāməg* 2; Ord. *saŋmā̄*, *saŋnā̄* 2,3.

◊ KW 313, 317. Mong. > Shor *sanmī*, Kirgh. *sāmaj* etc. (see ЭСТЯ 7).

PTurk. ***sAŋak / -at** 1 gills 2 place on neck where the jaw ends 3 beard, barb (of axe) (1 жабры 2 место на шее, где заканчивается челюсть 3 бородка (топора)): Tat. *saŋaq* 1, (dial.) 3; Bashk. *haŋaq* (dial.) 3; Nogh. *saŋɣaq* 1; Oyr. *saŋat*, *saŋɨt* 2; Tv. *sã̄t* 2.

◊ ЭСТЯ 7, Лексика 222. There is some confusion between this root and **sakak* q. v. sub **šek'a*.

‖ Лексика 222. A Western isogloss.

✱**sĕpo** to throw, scatter: Tung. ***sebu-**; Mong. ***sib-**; Turk. ***sabur-**; Kor. ***supuk-**.

PTung. ***sebu-** to scatter (e. g. hay for drying) (разбрасывать (напр. сено для просушки)): Man. *so-*, *sō-* 'to scatter, sprinkle'; Ul. *seuseli-*; Nan. *seuseli-*.

◊ TMC 2, 102, 147. With *-p- cf. also Orok *sepitči-* 'to spill', *sepkedu-* 'to scatter (of deer)' (TMC 2, 144) – but cf. also **sāp'í*.

PMong. ***sib-** 1 to hit, beat 2 to throw (1 бить 2 бросать): WMong. *sibqa(či)-* 1 (L 696), *sib(e)-* 2; Kh. *šavxra-* 1; Kalm. *šiwə-* 2.

◊ KW 362.

PTurk. ***sabur-** to winnow, scatter (веять, рассеивать, разбрасывать): Karakh. *savur-* (MK); Tur. *savur-*; Az. *sowur-*; Turkm. *sowur-*; Khal. *savur-*; MTurk. *savur-* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *sawur-*; Uygh. *sowu(r)-*; Krm. *savur-*; Tat. *suwɨr-*, *sɨwɨr-* (dial.); Kaz. *suwɨr-*; KBalk. *suwur-*; KKalp. *suwɨr-*; Kum. *suwur-*; Nogh. *suwɨr-*; Khak. *sobɨr-*; Shr. *sabɨr-*; Oyr. *sobɨr-*; Tv. *sār-*; Chuv. *sъʷvъʷr-*.

◊ VEWT 391, EDT 791, ЭСТЯ 7.

PKor. ***supuk-** to heap up, heaping up (нагромождать, накладывать с верхом): MKor. *supuk-*; Mod. *subuk-ha-*, *sobok-ha-*.

◊ Liu 474, KED 1003.

‖ Cf. **săpˊí*, **sapV* (with a possibility of partial mergers).

✱**sepV** inner fat, entrails: Tung. ***sebe**; Mong. ***sebe-sü**.

PTung. ***sebe** 1 inner fat (of animals) 2 to melt fat (1 внутренний жир (животных) 2 вытапливать жир): Evk. *sewen* 1, *sewe-* 2; Evn. *hewje* 'one of bear's names'; Ork. *seɣine* 1; Orch. *sewe-* 2; Ud. *sewesi-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 135.

PMong. ***sebe-sü** entrails of animals; cud; spittle of camels (содержимое кишок жвачных животных; жвачка; плевок верблюда): WMong. *sebesü(n)*, *sebüsü(n)* (L 679); Kh. *sevs*; Bur. *hebhe(n)*; Kalm. *sewsn̥*; Ord. *sewesu(n)*; S.-Yugh. *səwēsən*.

◊ KW 327, MGCD 596.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss. Cf. perhaps mod. Turkic forms like Turk. *suʒuq* 'entrail' etc. - perhaps < PT **sab-čuk*.

✱**sépˊà** to grip: Tung. ***sepe-**; Mong. ***siɣü(re)-**; Jpn. ***sápár-**.

PTung. ***sepe-** 1 handful 2 to pinch, take a handful 3 to clutch (1 горсть 2 брать горстью 3 хватать, зажимать): Man. *sefere* 1, *sefere-* 2; SMan. *sefərə-*, *sevərə-* 'to grip, to grasp' (1542); *sevərəkə* 'handful, fistful' (2830); Nan. *sefele-* 3 (Bik.).

◊ TMC 2, 402 (confused with **šopa-*).

PMong. ***siɣü(re)-** to grip, seize (хватать): WMong. *sigür(e)-* (L 703); Kh. *šṻre-*; Bur. *šṻre-*; Kalm. *šṻr-*, *šṻ-*; Ord. *šṻr-*; Dag. *šūr-*; S.-Yugh. *šṻr-*; Mongr. *šū-* 'gagner (jeu, procès)', *šūri-* 'insérer' (SM 386), *šūr* 'bâtonnets dont on se sert pour manger' (SM 385), *śūrda-*.

◊ KW 372, MGCD 727.

PJpn. ***sápár-** to touch (трогать): MJpn. *sáfár-*; Tok. *sàwar-*; Kyo. *sáwár-*; Kag. *sawár-*.

◊ JLTT 748.

‖ Мудрак Дисс. 41. Cf. **šio̯pˊa*.

✱**sepˊa (~ -o)** to wave, sway: Tung. ***sep-**; Mong. ***sebe-**; Turk. ***sapɨ-**.

PTung. ***sep-** to sway, shake (branches) (качать (ветвями)): Evk. *sepine-*.

◊ TMC 2, 144. Attested only in Evk., but having probable Turk. and Mong. parallels.

PMong. ***sebe-** to wave, sway (махать): WMong. *sebe-*, *sebi-* (L 679); Kh. *seve-*; Bur. *hebi-*; Kalm. *sewə-* (KPC); Ord. *sewe-*.

PTurk. ***sapɨ-** to sway, wave, shake up (махать, развеивать, взбалтывать): Karakh. *sabɨ-* (MK); Kirgh. *sapɨr-*; Kaz. *sapɨr-*; KKalp. *sapɨr-*; Nogh. *sapɨr-*; Shr. *sabɨr-* 'to blow (of wind)'.

◊ EDT 785. A possible derivative is *sapan* 'sling' (see ЭСТЯ 7).

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**sèpˊó** side, inner side: Mong. ***saba**; Jpn. ***sə̀mpá**; Kor. ***sōp**.

PMong. ***saba** frontier, limit; any container, internal organs (границы; любое вместилище, внутренние органы): MMong. *saba* 'vessel, dish' (HY 20); WMong. *sab*, *saba* (L 653); Kh. *sav*; Bur. *haba*; Kalm. *sawə*.

◊ KW 315. Mong. > Kaz. *saba* etc. (ЭСТЯ 7).

PJpn. ***sə̀npá** side (бок, сторона): MJpn. *sòbá*; Tok. *sóba*; Kyo. *sòbá*; Kag. *sobá*.

◊ JLTT 529.

PKor. ***sōp** inner side (внутренняя сторона): MKor. *sōp*.

◊ Nam 310.

‖ The etymology seems to be satisfactory both phonetically and semantically.

✱**sèpˊù (~ š-)** stick, rod: Mong. ***sibsi-rga**; Turk. ***sạp**; Jpn. ***sùpà-dai**.

PMong. ***sibsi-rga, *sib-ka-** 1 stick, rod (used for punishment); cudgel 2 to hit, beat with a switch (1 палка, прут (для наказаний); дубина 2 бить палкой, прутом): WMong. *sibsirγa* 1, *sibsiγurda-*, *sibqači-*, *sibqaγurda-* (2) (L 695, 696); Kh. *šavšraga* 1; Kalm. *šiwšṛγə* 1; Ord. *šiwx^{w}ada-* 2.

◊ KW 362. Mong. > Man. *sibsiqa*. Manchu also has *šuwarǵan*, *šuwarǵan* 'rod, whip', probably also borrowed from Mong. **sibkaγur(ga)* (cf. also *šuwaršaǵa-* 'to punish with sticks' < *sibsiγur-).*

PTurk. ***sạp** handle (рукоятка, ручка): Karakh. *sap* (MK); Tur. *sap*; Gag. *sap*; Az. *sap*; Turkm. *sap*; MTurk. *sap* (AH, Pav. C.); Uzb. *sɔp*; Uygh. *sap*; Krm. *sap*; Tat. *sap*; Bashk. *hap*; Kirgh. *sap*; Kaz. *sap*; KBalk. *sap*; KKalp. *sap*; Kum. *sap*; Nogh. *sap*; SUygh. *sap*; Khak. *sap*; Oyr. *sap*; Tv. *sɨ'p*; Chuv. *sɨbъ*; Yak. *up*; Dolg. *up*.

◊ EDT 782, Лексика 119, ЭСТЯ 7, Stachowski 245.

PJpn. ***sùpà-dai** a long straight twig, switch (длинная ветка, прут): OJpn. *supa-je*; MJpn. *sùfà-jè*.

◊ JLTT 535.

‖ Originally opposed to **sǎpˊi* (q.v.) as a long twig or stick with a handle (used for punishment etc.).

✱**sera (~ -u, -o)** a k. of garlic: Tung. ***sergu- (~ -ʒ-)**; Mong. ***sar-**; Turk. ***sarɨmsak**.

PTung. ***sergu- (~ -ʒ-)** wild garlic (дикий чеснок): Man. *seʒulen*.

◊ TMC 2, 137. Attested only in Manchu, with probable cognates in Turk. and Mong.

PMong. ***sar-** 1 Lilium tenuifolium 2 turnip (1 сарана 2 репа): WMong. *sarana* 1, *sarmug* 2 (L 675, 676); Kh. *sarāna* 1, *sarmag* 2; Bur. *harāna* 1; Ord. *sarānaG* 1.

◊ Mong. > Russ. *saraná*, see Аникин 484.

PTurk. ***sarɨmsak** 1 garlic 2 rhubarb (1 чеснок 2 ревень): Karakh. *sarmusaq*, *samursaq* 1 (MK); Tur. *sarmɨsak* 1; Gag. *sarmusaq* 1; Az.

sarɨmsaG 1; Turkm. *sarɨmsaq* 1; Sal. *samsax* 1; Khal. *sarɨmsaq* 1; MTurk. *sarɨmsaq* 1 (Pav. C.); Uzb. *sarimsɔq* 1; Uygh. *samsaq* 1; Krm. *sarɨmsaq* 1; Tat. *sarɨmsaq* 1; Bashk. *harɨmhaq* 1; Kirgh. *sarɨmsaq* 1; Kaz. *sarɨmsaq* 1; KBalk. *sarɨsmax* 1; KKalp. *sarɨmsaq* 1; Kum. *samursaq* 1; Nogh. *sarɨmsaq* 1; SUygh. *samsaq* 1; Tv. *sarapsa* 2.

◊ VEWT 404, EDT 853, Лексика 144, ЭСТЯ 7. Turk. > Mong. *sarimsaɣ* (see TMN 3, 248, Щербак 1997, 144). Cf. also Khak., Oyr. *sarɣaj* 'саранка', Kirgh. *sargaldak* 'a k. of plant with yellow flowers', Kaz. *sarɣaldaq* 'tulip'.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✸**seri** table, prop: Tung. ***seri**; Mong. ***sireɣe**; Turk. ***serü**; Jpn. ***sì(n)tí**; Kor. ***sìr'ə́i**.

PTung. ***seri** decking, covering (настил (из досок)): Man. *sarχu* 'shelf'; Ul. *seri*; Nan. *seri*.

◊ TMC 2, 66, 145.

PMong. ***sireɣe** table (стол): MMong. *širă̆* (MA); WMong. *sirege(n)* (L 716); Kh. *širē*; Bur. *šerē*; Kalm. *širɛ̄*; Ord. *širē(n)*; Dag. *širē* (Тод. Даг. 184); Dong. *šəre*, *šɨrə* / *śirə*; Bao. *šele*, *śilɛ*; S.-Yugh. *šere*; Mongr. *śirē* (SM 399).

◊ KW 359, MGCD 719. Mong. > Chag. *širä* etc. (see TMN 1, 367-368, Щербак 1997, 210); > Evk. *širē* (see Doerfer MT 128).

PTurk. ***serü** shelf in the house (полка в доме): Karakh. *serü* (MK); Tur. *seri* (dial.); Kirgh. *sere* 'shelf, penthouse'; Khak. *sīr* (Kyz.); Oyr. *seri* (Leb.) 'a box for storing nuts'; Tv. *seri* 'shed, penthouse'.

◊ EDT 844 (read as *saru* which is hardly the case), Лексика 520. Turk. > WMong. *sörü* 'support, prop' (L 732).

PJpn. ***sì(n)tí** a k. of table, prop (вид столика, подставки): MJpn. *sìdí*.

◊ JLTT 528.

PKor. ***sìr'ə́i** a prop, canterbury, shelf (подставка, этажерка, полка): MKor. *sìr'ə́i*; Mod. *sirəŋ*.

◊ Nam 327, KED 1036.

‖ Lee 1958, 116 (Kor.-TM), Лексика 520. The Kor.-Jpn. tones are irregular, perhaps because of some interaction between this root and **si̯ṓru*, **ši̯ȍri* q.v.

✸**sēri (~ z-, -ŕ-)** thread, embroidery: Tung. ***serē-**; Kor. ***sīr**.

PTung. ***serē-** 1 to embroider 2 threads (for embroidering) 3 embroidery (1 вышивать 2 нитки (для вышивания) 3 вышивание): Evk. *serē-* 1, *serē* 3; Evn. *herē-* 3; Man. *sereme* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 146.

PKor. ***sīr** thread, silk thread (нить, шелковая нить): MKor. *sīr*; Mod. *sil*.

◊ Liu 499, KED 1055.

‖ A Tung.-Kor. isogloss. It resembles the 'silk' / 'China' *ser-/sen-* Wanderwort, so it can actually go back to OC 纖 **sen* (MC *sjen*) - but rendering MC -n with Kor. -r is extremely strange.

✱**s[é]rko** a k. of blossoming bush: Tung. ***seŋkürē**; Mong. ***surgar**; Jpn. ***sákúra**; Kor. ***sə̀rkó**.

PTung. ***seŋkürē** a k. of bush, багульник (багульник): Evk. *seŋkirē*; Evn. *heŋkъje*; Neg. *seŋkijē*; Man. *seŋkiri x́an* 'назв. растения'; Ul. *seŋkure*; Ork. *sekkure*; Nan. *sēŋkure*; Orch. *seŋki*; Ud. *seŋkie*.

◊ TMC 2, 143.

PMong. ***surgar** ledum, Labrador tea (ledum; багульник болотный): WMong. *surɣar* (MXTTT 491); Kh. *surgar*.

PJpn. ***sákúra** sakura (сакура): OJpn. *sakura*; MJpn. *sákúrà*; Tok. *sàkura*; Kyo. *sákúrá*; Kag. *sakúra*.

◊ JLTT 517. Modern dialects point rather to **sákúrá*, but RJ has a low tone on the final syllable. The word can hardly be separated from **sák-* 'to blossom' (OJ *sak-*, Tokyo *sàk-*, Kyoto *sák-*, Kagoshima - with an irregular tone - *sàk-*).

PKor. ***sə̀rkó** peach, apricot (персик, абрикос): MKor. *sə̀rkó*; Mod. *salgu*.

◊ Nam 291, KED 896.

‖ The etymology seems plausible, despite some phonetic problems, both explainable as metatheses in an expressive plant name: Mong. *surgar* instead of an expected **sargur*, and TM **seŋkürē* instead of an expected **serkü-(ŋē*?). Cf. **sáro*, with a possibility of contaminations.

✱**sero** to be curved, coiled: Mong. ***sariwu**; Turk. ***sạr-**; Jpn. ***sər- (~ -ua-)**; Kor. ***sàrí- / *sərí-**.

PMong. ***sariwu** curved, winding (кривой, изгибающийся): WMong. *sariɣu*, *sariu* (L 676); Kh. *sariu*; Bur. *haŕū*; Kalm. *sarū*, *sarǖ*; Mongr. *sarī* (: *murī* ~) 'tortueux' (SM 328).

◊ KW 314.

PTurk. ***sạr-** to wind around (обматывать, завертывать): Karakh. *saru-* (MK); Tur. *sar-*; Gag. *sar-*; Az. *sarɨ-*; Turkm. *sara-*; MTurk. *sar-* (AH, Pav. C.); Krm. *sar-*, *sarɨ-*; Tat. *sar-*; Khak. *sarɨ-*; Chuv. *sɨr-*.

◊ EDT 844, VEWT 402, ЭСТЯ 7. Turk. **sarɨ-k* > WMong. *sariɣ*, Kalm. *säriɣ* 'ring for binding a horse' (cf. Chag. *sar-ča*, Khak. *sar-čin* id.), see KW 318-319, VEWT 403.

PJpn. ***sər- (~ -ua-)** to be curved, bent (изгибаться): MJpn. *sor-*; Tok. *sór-*; Kyo. *sór-*; Kag. *sór-*.

◊ JLTT 756. Accent is not quite clear: Tokyo points to **sòr-*, Kagoshima - to **sór-*.

PKor. ***sàrí- / *sərí-** to coil, curl, wind (извиваться, загибаться): MKor. *sàrí-*, *sərí-*; Mod. sari-, *səri-*.

◊ Liu 432, 449, KED 873, 936.

‖ SKE 224. The vowel in Kor. is aberrant (one would expect **ă*); otherwise quite regular.

✱**seru(kˊV) (~ z-)** a k. of box or bag: Tung. ***seruk**; Mong. ***sarku**; Jpn. ***sùr(u)ì**; Kor. ***sə̀rk**.

PTung. ***seruk** 1 bag 2 dish made of birch bark (1 сума 2 берестяная посуда): Evk. *seruk* 1; Evn. *hēruk* 1,2; Neg. *sējux* 1; Ork. *seruku* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 146.

PMong. ***sarku** vessel, kitchen dish (сосуд, кухонная посуда): WMong. *sarqu*; Kalm. *sarxə*.

◊ KW 313. Mong. > Man. *sarχu*.

PJpn. ***sùr(u)ì** a bamboo box for travelling (бамбуковая коробка для путешествий): OJpn. *suri*; MJpn. *sùrì*.

◊ JLTT 534.

PKor. ***sə̀rk** a k. of box (вид ящика): MKor. *sə̀rk*; Mod. *səlgi*.

◊ Nam 301, KED 950.

‖ Tone correspondences are not quite clear; the Kor. word is alternatively compared (see Lee 1958, 117) with Manchu *šulχu* 'basket'. Cf. **sóra*.

✱**sèrV̀** buttock, to defecate: Tung. ***seri(gi)**; Mong. ***sari-**; Turk. ***sɨri- ~ *sari-**; Jpn. ***sìrì**.

PTung. ***seri(gi)** 1 buttocks 2 coccyx, waist vertebra (1 ягодицы, зад 2 копчик, поясничные позвонки): Evk. *sergi* 2, *sirgin* (Uchur) 2; Evn. *heri* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 145.

PMong. ***sari-** to urinate (of a dog) (мочиться (о собаке)): WMong. *sari-* (L 675: 'to urinate in an irregular manner'); Kh. *sari-* (Gomb.); Bur. *hari-*; Kalm. *säŕ-*; Ord. *sari-*.

◊ KW 319. Mong. > Kirgh. *sari-* id.

PTurk. ***sɨri- ~ *sari-** to defecate (of a dog) (испражняться (о собаке)): OTurk. *sɨri- ~ sari-* (MK).

◊ EDT 845.

PJpn. ***sìrì** buttock (ягодицы): OJpn. *siri*; MJpn. *sìrì*; Tok. *shirí*; Kyo. *shírì*; Kag. *shirí*.

◊ JLTT 526.

‖ Because of the uncertainty of Turkic vowel the vocalic reconstruction is not quite certain.

✱**sése** to order, threaten, incite: Tung. ***sesu-**; Turk. ***ses**; Jpn. ***sə́sə́-**; Kor. ***sìskú-**.

PTung. ***sesu-** to order, ask to do smth. (заказывать, поручать, просить что-л. сделать): Ul. *sesu-*; Ork. *sesu-*; Nan. *sesu-*.

◊ TMC 2, 144.

PTurk. ***ses** 1 threat 2 to threaten (1 угроза 2 угрожать): Tur. *seksen-*, *segsen-* (dial.); Az. *säksän-* 2; MTurk. *sesken-* 2 (Pav. C., AH); Uzb. *seskän-* 2; Uygh. *säskin-* 2; Krm. *sesken-* 2; Tat. *siskän-* 2; Bashk. *hiθkän-* 2;

Kirgh. *ses* 1; Kaz. *ses* 1, *sesken-* 2; KKalp. *sesken-* 2; Nogh. *sesken-* 2; Oyr. *seste-* 2; Chuv. *sъzъr-lan-dъr-* 2.

◊ ЭСТЯ 7.

PJpn. ***sə́sə́-*** to allure, incite (возбуждать, подстрекать): MJpn. *sosor-* 'to be excited, nervous'; *sosonokas-*; Tok. *sosór-* / *sòsor-*, *sosonokás-*; Kyo. *sósór-*, *sósónókás-*; Kag. *sosór-*, *sosonokás-*.

◊ JLTT 756.

PKor. ***sìskú-*** 1 to contest, contend 2 to quarrel, be annoying (1 соревноваться, состязаться 2 ссориться, досаждать): MKor. *sìskú-* 1; Mod. *sik:ɨrəp-* 2.

◊ HMCH 333, Nam 327.

‖ A suffixed form **sése-kʹV* is reflected in PT **ses-ke-n-* and PK **sìs-kú-*.

✱**sési** deer, wild animal: Tung. ***sesi-n***; Turk. ***sạs-na- (?)***; Jpn. ***sisi***; Kor. ***sàsa̋m***.

PTung. ***sesi-n*** herd (of deer, wild animals) (стадо (оленей, диких животных)): Evk. *sesin*; Evn. *hesъn*; Neg. *sesin*; Man. *sesi-le-ŋge*; Ork. *sesi(n)*; Nan. *sesĩ*.

◊ TMC 2, 146.

PTurk. ***sạs-na-*** pig (свинья): Chuv. *sɨsna*.

◊Федотов 2, 77.

PJpn. ***sisi*** deer (олень): OJpn. *sisi*.

◊ JLTT 527.

PKor. ***sàsa̋m*** deer (олень): MKor. *sàsa̋m*; Mod. *sasɨm*.

◊ Nam 284, KED 878.

‖ EAS 102, АПиПЯЯ 79. For the Turk. semantics cf. OJ *wi-no-sisi* 'pig, swine'. The Turkic reflex, however, is not quite secure: there is only an isolated Chuvash word and the vowel reflex seems aberrant; also unclear is the phonology of the Hung. (< Bulg.) loanword *disznó* (presupposing **ǰisnaɣ*, see MNyTESz 1, 646-647).

✱**si** thou: Tung. ***si***; Turk. ***sẹ-***; Jpn. ***si***.

PTung. ***si; sū*** 1 thou 2 you (your, yours) (pl.) (1 ты 2 вы (ваш)): Evk. *si* 1, sū (*su-n*) 2; Evn. *hī* 1, *hū* (*hu-n*) 2; Neg. *sī* 1, *sū* (*su-n*) 2; Man. *si* 1, *suwe* (*suweni*) 2; SMan. *šī* (2873) 1, *sō, soń* (2874) 2; Ul. *si* 1, *sue (sun)* 2; Ork. *si* 1, *sū* (*su-n*) 2; Nan. *śi* 1, *sue (sun)* 2; Orch. *si* 1, *su* (*su-n*) 2; Ud. *si* 1, *sū* (*su-n*) 2; Sol. *ś̆i* 1, *sū* (*su-n*) 2.

◊ TMC 2, 72-73, 115.

PTurk. ***sẹ-*** thou (ты): OTurk. *sen* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *sen* (MK); Tur. *sen*; Gag. *sän*; Az. *sän*; Turkm. *sen*; Sal. *sẕ̄(n)*; MTurk. *sen* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *sen*; Uygh. *sän*; Krm. *sɨn*; Tat. *sin*; Bashk. *hin*; Kirgh. *sen*; Kaz. *sen*; KBalk. *sen*; KKalp. *sen*; Kum. *sen*; Nogh. *sen*; SUygh. *sen*; Khak. *sin*; Shr. *sen*; Oyr. *sen*; Tv. *sen*; Tof. *sen*; Chuv. *ezə*; Yak. *en*; Dolg. *en*.

◊ VEWT 409, EDT 831-832, Stachowski 45, ЭСТЯ 7. See ibid the reflexes of PT **siŕ* 'you' (pl.).

PJpn. ***si** thou (2d p. pron.) (ты): OJpn. *si*.

◊ OJ *si* is not frequent and is sometimes hard to distinguish from the deictic / emphatic particle *si;* however, there are several text examples firmly identifying its function as a 2d p. pronoun. It is used parallelly with the far more frequent *na,* but never occurs in compounds or with suffixes -re or -no; it is thus probable that it originally functioned as the direct stem as opposed to *na* as the oblique stem in a suppletive paradigm. See more detailed discussion in Murayama 1950, Miller JOAL and Itabashi 1998 (pace the latter author, however, we must say that the coincidence of *si* 'thou' and *si* ´deictic / emphatic pronoun and particle' must be just a coincidence).

‖ EAS 72, АПиПЯЯ 52, 284.

✱**sìbi** bitter, bitter plant: Tung. ***sipa (~ -b-)**; Mong. ***sibag**; Turk. ***sibüt**; Jpn. ***sìmpù- / *sìpà-**; Kor. ***psɨ́-**.

PTung. ***sipa (~ -b-)** garlic (чеснок): Man. *sifa mača*; SMan. *suandā* (317).

◊ TMC 2, 100. Attested only in Manchu, but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***sibag** Artemisia (полынь): WMong. *sibaγ* (L 693); Kh. *šawag*; Kalm. *šawəg* 'чабрец, тимьян' (KPC); Ord. *šawaG* 'artemisia campestris'.

◊ Mong. > Chag. *šibag* 'a k. of plant'.

PTurk. ***sibüt** dill, coriander (укроп, кориандр): Karakh. *sibüt* (MK).

◊ EDT 785. (If not < Pers.)

PJpn. ***sìmpù- / *sìpà** 1 astringent, tart 2 salt (1 вяжущий, терпкий 2 соль): OJpn. *sibu-* 1, *sip(w)o* 2; MJpn. *sìbù-* 1, *sìfò* 2; Tok. *shibú-* 1, *shió* 2; Kyo. *shíbù-* 1, *shíjo* 2; Kag. *shibú-* 1, *shió* 2.

◊ JLTT 522, 525, 840. The words seem to be related, but the reason for voicing in *sìbù-* is not quite clear.

PKor. ***psɨ́-** 1 liver (KED: gall-bladder, gall) 2 bitter (1 печень 2 горький): MKor. *psɨ́rkɔ́i* 1, *psɨ́-* 2; Mod. *s:ɨlgä* 1, *s:ɨ-* 2.

◊ Nam 319, 321, KED 1024, 1027.

‖ For the usage of the root to denote bitter plants cf. also OJ *sibu-kusa* 'sorrel'; perhaps also MKor. *psúk* 'Artemisia' (which is tempting to identify with Mong. *sibag*). In Kor. we have a secondary metathesis < **spɨ-*, like *psɨ́r-* < **spɨr-* < **šĭpˊV* 'sweep' q.v.

✱**sǐbi** to tuck up, tie up: Tung. ***sib-**; Mong. ***siɣu-**; Turk. ***sib- (*süb-)**; Jpn. ***sìmpàr-**.

PTung. ***sib-** 1 to turn up (sleeves) 2 to spin, twist 3 to wrap (1 засучивать (рукава, штанины) 2 сучить, вить 3 оборачивать, подворачивать): Evk. *sipku-* 3; Evn. *hipku-* 3; Man. *sibere-* 2; Ul. *ṣibarụ-* 1; Ork. *sipku-* 3; Nan. *ṣibịrị-* 1; Orch. *sibari-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 74, 92.

PMong. ***siɣu-** to tuck up (засучивать): WMong. *siɣu-*, *šuɣu-* (L 700); Kh. *šū-*; Bur. *šū-*; Kalm. *šūrd-* (KPC); Ord. *šū-*; Dag. *sū-*; Bao. *śurə-*; Mongr. *śū-*.

◊ MGCD 725.

PTurk. ***sib- (*süb-)** 1 to spin (thread) 2 to pull out fibre 3 thread, fibre (1 прясть (нитку) 2 вытягивать волокно 3 нить, волокно): Tur. *süj-*, *süv-* (dial.) 1, 2, *sümek*, *süjüm* 3; Gag. *sümek* 3; Az. *sümäx* (dial.) 3; Turkm. *süj-* 2, *sümek*, *süjüm* 3; Chuv. *səvem* (*sĕvem*) 3.

◊ ЭСТЯ 7.

PJpn. ***sìmpàr-** to tie, bind (завязывать): OJpn. *sibar-*; MJpn. *sìbàr-*; Tok. *shibár-*; Kyo. *shíbár-*; Kag. *shìbàr-*.

◊ JLTT 749.

‖ The Jpn. form may be actually a combined reflex of PA **sȉ̀bi*, **suba* and **ši̯ȕpo*, all distinguished only in the Western Altaic branch.

✸**sibo (~ z-)** wedge, to wedge: Tung. ***siba-**; Mong. ***sibaga**; Kor. ***sobija-ki**.

PTung. ***siba-** 1 to beat a wedge in 2 wedge (1 вбивать клин 2 клин): Evk. *siwa-* 1, *siwakī* 2; Neg. *sịwaxị̄* 2; Man. *sib́a* 2; SMan. *šivā* (683) 'wedge, peg, plug'; Ul. *sịwal* 2; Ork. *sụwal* 2; Nan. *sịwar* 2; Ud. *soaʿi* 2 (Корм. 286).

◊ TMC 2, 75.

PMong. ***sibaga** wedge; lot (клин; жребий): WMong. *sibaɣa(n)* (L 693); Kh. *šavga* 'lot'; Bur. *šabxa* 'gun's cock'; Kalm. *šawxə*.

◊ KW 352. Mong > Kirgh. *sɨbaɣa* etc.

PKor. ***sobija-ki** wedge, sharp stick (клин, острая палочка): MKor. *sòi'jàkí*, *sojaki*; Mod. *s:wā̄gi*.

◊ Nam 311, KED 995.

‖ Despite Doerfer MT 69 hardly a loan in TM from Mong.

✸**sìča (~ *š-)** nut, cone: Tung. ***sisi**; Turk. ***s[ɨ]ča-kaj**; Kor. ***čə́s / *čās**.

PTung. ***sisi** nut (орех): Man. *sisi*, *sisiri*; Jurch. *sisi* (128); Nan. *sịsịqta*; Sol. *š́īš́ikta*.

◊ TMC 2, 426-427. Cf. also Sol. *sučū* 'cedar nut' (TMC 2, 132).

PTurk. ***s[ɨ]ča-kaj** 1 cone 2 nut tree (1 шишка 2 орешник): Oyr. *čočoɣoj* 1; Chuv. *šъʷškъʷ* 2.

◊ VEWT 113, Дмитриева 1972, 174. Cf. perhaps Yak. *sihik*, Dolg. *sisik* 'alder' (Stachowski 210).

PKor. ***čə̄s** 1 fir tree, Chamaecyparis obtusa Endl. 2 cone, pine nuts (1 вид пихты 2 шишка, сосновые семена): MKor. *čə́s-namo* 1, *čās* 2; Mod. *čə̄n-namu* 1, *čāt* [*čās*] 2.

◊ Liu 646, 653, KED 1400, 1430.

‖ Because of assimilations the original initial consonant is not quite clear.

✱**sidí (~ š-)** to suspend: Mong. ***sidur-**; Turk. ***südre-**; Jpn. ***sinta-r-**; Kor. ***sīd-**.

PMong. ***sidur-** 1 to pull the reins by stretching the head forward or downward (of a horse); to straighten 2 straight, honest (1 натягивать вожжи; выпрямлять 2 прямой, честный): MMong. *šidurxu* (HY 54) 2, *šidurγu* 2 (MA); WMong. *sidur-* (L 698) 1; Kh. *šudra-* 1, *šudraga* 2; Kalm. *šudṛγə* 2 (KPC); Ord. *šudurGa* 2.

PTurk. ***südre-** 1 to pull, tug 2 belt for fastening loads (1 тащить, тянуть 2 ремень для привязывания ноши): Tur. *sürü-*; Turkm. *süjre-*; Sal. *sure-*; MTurk. *sṻre-* (Bud.), *söjre-* (Ettuhf.), *südrä-* (R.); Uzb. *sudrä-*; Uygh. *sörä-*; Tat. *süjrä-*; Bashk. *hŭjrä-*; Kirgh. *süjrö-*; Kaz. *süjre-*; KBalk. *süjre-*; KKalp. *süjre-*; Kum. *süjre-*; Nogh. *süjre-*; Khak. *sözər-*; Tv. *södürt-* 1, *södürge* 2; Chuv. *sədər-*; Yak. *ötū* 2; Dolg. *ötū* 2.

◊ VEWT 435, ЭСТЯ 7, Stachowski 202.

PJpn. ***sintar-** to droop, hang down (свешиваться): OJpn. *sida-r-*, tr. *sida-*; MJpn. *sida-r-*.

◊ JLTT 750.

PKor. ***sīd-** to load (нагружать): MKor. *sīt-* (-r-); Mod. *sīt-* (*sīr-*).

◊ Nam 327, KED 1055.

‖ The Turk. form must go back to **sidüre-* (= Mong. *sidur-*). In TM cf. perhaps Man. *sidara-* 'to stretch, straighten', *siǯi(r)χun* 'straight' (TMC 2, 79), if not < Mong., as suggested by Rozycki 181).

✱**sido (~ -u, *si̯udu, š-)** tassel, string: Mong. ***siǯim, *sidem-**; Turk. ***sɨd-**; Kor. ***stɨ́i**.

PMong. ***siǯim, *side-** 1 thin string, rope 2 to sew with wide stitches (1 тонкая веревка 2 шить крупными стежками): WMong. *siǯim*, *sideme-sü(n)* (L 697, 722) 1; Kh. *šiǯim* 1, *šid-* 2; Bur. *šežem* 1; Kalm. *šiǯṃ*, *šidṃsṇ* 1, *šidə-* 2; Ord. *šiǯim* 1; Dag. *šiǯi-* 2 (Тод. Даг. 183); Dong. *šiǯie-* 2.

◊ KW 355. Mong. > Turk. *siǯim* etc. (ЭСТЯ 7), Man. *siǯin* (Doerfer MT 138, Rozycki 180); Oyr. *šidä-*; Yak. *sitim*, Dolg. *hitim* (Kał. VIII 82, Stachowski 105).

PTurk. ***sɨd-** 1 skirt, lap 2 to tuck up (sleeves, skirts) (1 пола, подол 2 подворачивать (рукава, полы)): Karakh. *sɨδɨγ* 1, *sɨtγa-* 2 (MK); Tur. *siγ*, *sij*, *siji* (dial.) 1, *sɨa-*, dial. *sɨγa-* 2; Gag. *suva-*, *sua-* 2; Turkm. *sɨj* 1; Tat. *sɨjɨr-* 2 (dial.); Khak. *sɨzɨm* 'band on a shaman's beater'; Chuv. *šъraś* 'tassel (on the end of belt); coating (on skirt edges)'.

◊ EDT 799-800, ЭСТЯ 7.

PKor. ***stɨ́i** belt (ремень): MKor. *stɨ́i*; Mod. *t:i*.

◊ Nam 177, KED 550.

‖ SKE 239. Note Khak. *sɨzɨm* = PM **siǯim*, but hardly a loan from Mongolian, and pointing to a common derivative **sido-mV*.

✱**sidu (~ -o, -a)** to rub off, peel off: Tung. ***sidu-**; Mong. ***sidur-**; Turk. ***sıdır-**.

PTung. ***sidu-** to rub off, peel off (соскабливать): Evk. *sidi-*; Evn. *sīd-*; Neg. *sidu-*; Man. *sidu-*, *šudu-*; Ul. *sịdụ-*; Nan. *sịdo-*; Orch. *sīdi-*.

◊ TMC 2, 79.

PMong. ***sidur-** to rub off (стирать, скрести, скоблить): WMong. *sidur-*; Kh. *šudar-*; Bur. *šudar-*; Kalm. *šudṛ-*.

◊ KW 367. Mong. > Kirgh. *sıdır-* etc., see ЭСТЯ 7.

PTurk. ***sıdır-** to rub off, peel off (сдирать, стирать): Karakh. *sıδır-* (MK); Tur. *sijir-*; Gag. *sijir-*; Az. *sijir-*; Turkm. *sīr-*; Khal. *sıdur-*, *sızır-*; MTurk. *sijir-* (AH); Tat. *sijir-* (dial.); Kirgh. *sijir-*; Kaz. *sijir-*; KBalk. *sijir-*; Nogh. *sijir-*; SUygh. *sızır-*; Khak. *sızır-*; Shr. *sızır-*; Oyr. *sijir-*, *sır-*; Chuv. *šъjъr-*.

◊ EDT 802, VEWT 414, Лексика 380, ЭСТЯ 7. The Turk. derivative **sıdrım* > (MK) *sıδrım*, Ogh. *sırım* was probably probably borrowed in Mong. *sirin* 'unworked leather'.

‖ KW 367, Лексика 380-381, Doerfer MT 50-51, Rozycki 180 (but hardly borrowed in TM < Mong.). A Western isogloss.

✱**sidV (~ z-, -i̯a-)** young boy or girl: Tung. ***sida-**; Kor. ***stǎr**.

PTung. ***sida-** 1 young boy 2 young (of a bear, tiger) (1 подросток 2 медвежонок, тигренок (до года)): Man. *sidan* 1; Ud. *sīǯ'a* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 79.

PKor. ***stǎr** girl, daughter (девочка, дочь): MKor. *stǎr*; Mod. *t:al*.

◊ Nam 142, KED 401.

‖ A Tung.-Kor. isogloss.

✱**sǐgà** border, interval: Tung. ***sig-**; Turk. ***sıgra**; Jpn. ***sàkàpì**.

PTung. ***sig-** interval (промежуток): Evk. *sigdilē*; Evn. *hidla*; Neg. *sigle*; Man. *si, sidu*; SMan. *šidən* (2575); Sol. *šigdē*.

◊ TMC 2, 76.

PTurk. ***sıgra** 1 valley 2 interval between two fingers (1 долина 2 промежуток между пальцами): Karakh. *sıγra* 1 (MK - Oghuz), *sıγraq* (AH) 2.

◊ VEWT 415, EDT 815.

PJpn. ***sàkàpì** border (граница): OJpn. *sakapji*; MJpn. *sàkàfi*; Tok. *sakái*; Kyo. *sákàì*; Kag. *sakaí*.

◊ JLTT 516.

‖ The root is very sparsely attested in Turkic, but the attestations are archaic and the root seems generally reliable.

✱**sǐgà (~ z-)** sigh, holding breath: Tung. ***sigu-**; Mong. ***seγüre-sü**; Jpn. ***sàkùrì**.

PTung. ***sigu-** 1 to become silent (stop breathing or talking) 2 to stop crying 3 to breathe loudly (of a dog) (1 замолкать (задерживать дыха-

ние, голос) 2 переставать плакать 3 громко дышать (о собаке)): Evk. *siɣuna-* 1, 3; Evn. *hiɣ-* 2; Nan. *siŋčien-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 78.

PMong. ***seɣüre-sü*** 1 sigh 2 to pant (1 вздох 2 часто дышать, задыхаться): MMong. *se'urel-* 2 (SH); WMong. *sigüresü(n)*, *següresü(n)* 1 (L 703); Kh. *sūrs*, *šūrs* 1; Kalm. *šūkṛ-* (KPC); Dag. *sūrese* 1 (MD 213); Mongr. *surēzə* (SM 365).

PJpn. ***sàkùrì*** hiccough (икота): MJpn. *sàkùrì*; Tok. *shakkuri*.

◊ JLTT 517.

‖ Cf. **soge*.

✱**sígá (~ z-)** to look, search: Tung. ***sig-***; Mong. ***sigiɣa-***; Jpn. ***sánk-***; Kor. ***čhǎč-***.

PTung. ***sig-*** 1 to peep, look out, spy 2 to appear (1 подсматривать, выглядывать 2 появляться): Evk. *siɣin-* 1; Evn. *hiē-* 2; Neg. *siɣin-* 1; Man. *ša-* 1; Ul. *si-len-* 2; Ork. *sigbadda-* 'to frown'; Ud. *sikpesi-*, *sīsi-* 1; Sol. *šigī-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 76, 77-78. The Manchu form, despite Rozycki 192, is hardly borrowed from Mong. *siɣa-* (actually *sigiɣa-* with a stable -g-).

PMong. ***sigiɣa-*** to look, spy (смотреть, подсматривать): MMong. *šixaǯəu'uǯe* 'a spy' (HY 32); WMong. *sigiɣa-* (L 721: *siɣa-*, *siqaɣa-*); Kh. *šagā-*; Bur. *šagā-*; Kalm. *šaɣā-*; Dag. *šigē-* (Тод. Даг. 183); Mongr. *sge-* (SM 346), *sGe-*.

◊ KW 344, TMN 1, 355 (although derivation from *sika-* 'to press' is of course impossible).

PJpn. ***sánk-*** to search (искать): OJpn. *sagur-*; MJpn. *ságúr-*; Tok. *sàgur-*, *sàgas-*; Kyo. *ságúr-*, *ságás-*; Kag. *sagúr-*, *sagás-*.

◊ JLTT 745.

PKor. ***čhǎč-*** to search, look for (искать): MKor. *čhǎč-*; Mod. *čhat-* [*čhač-*].

◊ Nam 449, KED 1576.

‖ TMC 2, 78, Martin 236, Martin 1996, 27. Kor. **čhǎč-* is an assimilation < **sVhǎč-* = PJ **sá(n)kas-*.

✱**sigí (~ z-, -e, -o)** rain, (snow) storm: Tung. ***sig-***; Mong. ***siɣurga***; Jpn. ***sinkúrai***.

PTung. ***sig-*** 1 deep fog, mist 2 to cover (of fog, mist) 3 autumn (1 туман (густой) 2 застилать (туманом) 3 осень): Evk. *siglamāt-* 2, *siɣelese(nī)* 3; Man. *siGan* 1; Ud. *siga-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 78, 79.

PMong. ***siɣur-*** 1 to blow (of snow storm) 2 snow storm (1 бушевать (о метели) 2 метель): MMong. *ši'urɣan* 2; WMong. *siɣur-* 1, *siɣurɣa(n)* 2 (L 701); Kh. *šūra-* 1, *šūrga* 2; Bur. *šūrga* 2; Kalm. *šūr-* 1, *šūrɣṇ* 2 (KPC); Ord. *šūrGan* 2; Dag. *šōrgə* 2; S.-Yugh. *šūrGa* 2; Mongr. *śūrGa* 2.

◊ MGCD 724. Mong. is the probable source of Turkm. *sirɣin*, Oyr. *sirɣin*, Tat. *siraw* etc. (see Лексика 49), as well as of Man. *šurga-* (see Rozycki 196).

PJpn. ***sinkúrai*** drizzling rain (in autumn) (моросящий дождь (осенний)): OJpn. *sigure*; MJpn. *sìgúrè*; Tok. *shìgure*; Kyo. *shígúré*; Kag. *shiguré*.

◊ JLTT 523. Accent is not quite clear: RJ and Kagoshima suggest **sì(n)kúràì*, but Kyoto and Tokyo - rather **sí(n)kúrái.*

‖ Miller 1976, 378; 1985, 149.

✱**sĭ̌gó** thick growth: Tung. ***sigū̃***; Mong. ***siguj***; Jpn. ***sìnkài-***.

PTung. ***sigū̃*** thick growth (чаща): Evk. *siɣī*; Evn. *hiɣi*; Neg. *siwū*; Man. *ša*, *šuwa*; Ul. *sêu*; Ork. *sīɣi*; Nan. *sio*; Orch. *sižai*; Ud. *sižaˀi*, *sižampaˀi* (Корм. 284).

◊ TMC 2, 77.

PMong. ***siguj*** thick growth (чаща, заросли): MMong. *šikui* (SH); WMong. *siɣui* (L 700); Kh. *šuguj*; Bur. *šugi*; Kalm. *šuɣū*; Ord. *šux^{w}ī*; Dag. *šigē* (Тод. Даг. 163: *sigī*).

◊ KW 367, MGCD 726. Mong. > Evk. *čiɣī*, see Poppe 1972, 102.

PJpn. ***sìnkài-*** thick growth, grow thickly (чаща, заросли, густо расти): OJpn. *sige-r-*, *sige-* (adj.); MJpn. *sige-r-*, *sìgè-* (adj.); Tok. *shigér-*, *shìgemi* / *shigemí*; Kyo. *shígér-*, *shígémí*; Kag. *shìgèr-*, *shigemí*.

◊ JLTT 750, 840. The noun **si(n)kai-mi* reveals unclear accent variation in Kyoto and Tokyo.

‖ KW 367, Poppe 30, 58, АПиПЯЯ 79, Rozycki 197. The TM form is classified as a borrowing from Mong. by Doerfer MT 47, which cannot be excluded.

✱**sĭgò** deer, horned animal: Tung. ***sig- / *seg-***; Mong. ***seɣenek (~ -i-)***; Turk. ***sig-***; Jpn. ***sika***.

PTung. ***sig- / seg-*** wild deer (дикий олень): Evk. *segžen*, dial. *sekserge*; Nan. *segži* 'herd of wild swine'; Ud. *sigisa* 'годовалый изюбр'.

◊ TMC 1, 325, 327; 2, 136.

PMong. ***seɣenek (~ -i-)*** he-goat (2 years old) (козел (2 лет)): WMong. *segenek* (L 684: *sejinüg*); Kh. *sijneg*; Bur. *hīneg* 'castrated he-goat; ox'; Kalm. *sīnək*.

◊ KW 328.

PTurk. ***sig-*** 1 deer, male maral 2 large bovine (1 олень, марал 2 корова, крупный рогатый скот): OTurk. *siɣun* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *siɣun* 1, *siɣir* 2 (MK); Tur. *sīn* 1, *sīr* 2; Gag. *sīr* 2; Az. *siɣin* 1, *siɣir* 2; Turkm. *sūɣun* 1, *siɣir* 2; Sal. *sixir* 2; Khal. *siɣir* 2; MTurk. *suɣun*, *sojɣun* (Pav. C.), *siɣin* (AH), *sijin* (Ettuhf.) 1, *siɣir* (AH) 2; Uzb. *sujɣun* 1 (dial.), *sigir* 2; Uygh. *sigir*, *sijir* 2; Krm. *suvun* 1, *sijir* 2; Tat. *sijir* 2; Bashk. *hijir* 2; Kirgh. *sijir* 2 (dial.); Kaz. *sijir* 2; KKalp. *suwin* 1, *sijir* 2; Kum. *siɣir*, *sijir* 2; Nogh.

sɨjɨr 2; SUygh. *suɣun*, *soɣun* 1; Khak. *sɨ̄n* 1; Shr. *sɨ̄n* 1; Oyr. *sūn*, *sɨɣɨn* 1; Tv. *sɨ̄n* 1.

◊ EDT 811, 814-815, VEWT 414, 415, Лексика 152-153, 435, ЭСТЯ 7. The forms of the *sɨɣun* type most probably go back to **sɨgɨ-gun* - which may explain both the Turkm. length (*sūɣun*) and forms like Chag. *sojɣun*.

PJpn. ***sika** deer (олень): OJpn. *sika*; Tok. *shìka*, *shíka*; Kyo. *shíkà*; Kag. *shiká*.

◊ JLTT 523. Significant accent variation in dialects does not allow to reconstruct a common accent pattern.

‖ KW 329, Лексика 153, Miller 1985, 146, 1986, 49. Cf. **sákʿa* and **sū́ku*.

✸**sĭ́gú (~ *š-)** to insert: Mong. ***siɣa-**; Turk. ***sɨg-**; Jpn. ***súnká-**.

PMong. ***siɣa-** to beat in (a nail, peg etc.) (вбивать (гвоздь, кол и т.п.)): WMong. *siɣa-* (L 699); Kh. *šā-*; Bur. *šā-*; Kalm. *šā-*; Ord. *šā-*; Dag. *šā-* (MD 213); Mongr. *šiGā-*.

◊ KW 353, MGCD 701.

PTurk. ***sɨg-** to enter, fit into (вмещаться): OTurk. *sɨɣ-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *sɨɣ-* (MK); Tur. *sɨɣ-*, *sɨ̄-*; Gag. *sɨ̄-*; Az. *sɨɣ-*; Turkm. *sɨɣ-*; Sal. *sɨx-*; MTurk. *sɨɣ-* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *siɣ-*; Uygh. *siɣ-*; Krm. *sɨɣ-*; Tat. *sɨj-*; Bashk. *hɨj-*; Kirgh. *sɨj-*; Kaz. *sɨj-*; KKalp. *sɨj-*; Kum. *sɨj-*; SUygh. *sɨɣ-*; Oyr. *sɨj-*.

◊ EDT 804, ЭСТЯ 7.

PJpn. ***súnká-** to insert, fasten into a hole (вставлять, продевать): MJpn. *súgá-*; Tok. *sùge-*; Kyo. *súgé-*; Kag. *sugé-*.

◊ JLTT 757.

‖ VEWT 418. Cf. **si̯ókʿu*. Mong. has also *sige-*, *siged-* 'to get stuck, become inserted' - which is compared in KW 356 with PT **sik-* 'coire'.

✸**sȉjŋò** gift, offer: Tung. ***siŋu-**; Mong. ***süj**; Turk. ***sɨjŋ**; Jpn. ***sə̀nàpà-**.

PTung. ***siŋu-** 1 gift 2 to present (1 подарок 2 дарить): Ul. *sị̄ŋna(n)-* 2, *sị̣ŋnaqụ* 1; Nan. *siŋle-*, *suŋle-* (Bik.) 2, *suŋle-ku* (Naikh.) 1; Ud. *suŋula-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 119, 128.

PMong. ***süj** tax, marriage price (выкуп за невесту): WMong. *süi* (L 741); Kh. *süj*; Bur. *hüjte*: *hüjte xubita* 'intended (bride)'; Kalm. *sū̃*, *sī*; Ord. *süj*.

◊ KW 328. Mong. > Tuva *suj*.

PTurk. ***sɨjŋ** gift (from an inferior to a superior) (подарок (от нижестоящего вышестоящему); почет): Karakh. *siŋüt* (MK) ʿa gift without a return gift'; Tur. *sɨj-lɨ* 'respected' (dial.); Turkm. *sɨ̄-la-* 'to respect'; MTurk. *sɨj-la-* 'to pay respect' (CCum.); Uzb. *sɨj* (dial.); Krm. *sɨj*; Tat. *sɨj*; Bashk. *hɨj*; Kirgh. *sɨj*; Kaz. *sɨj*; KBalk. *sɨj*; KKalp. *sɨj*; Kum. *sɨj*; Nogh. *sɨj*; SUygh. *si-la-* 'to treat, entertain' (ЯЖУ), *su-luk*; Khak. *sɨj*, *sɨjɨx*; *sɨj-la-* 'to treat, entertain'; Shr. *sɨj*; Oyr. *sɨj*; Tv. *sɨ-ɣa-* 'to treat, entertain'; Tof. *sɨ-ɣa-* 'to treat, entertain'; Chuv. (*sъj* < Tat.).

◊ EDT 836, VEWT 415, Лексика 350, ЭСТЯ 7.

PJpn. ***sènàpà-** to present, offer (to gods etc.) (предоставлять, приносить жертвоприношения): OJpn. *sonapa-*; MJpn. *sònàfà-*; Tok. *sonaé-*, *sonáe-*; Kyo. *sónáé-*; Kag. *sònàè-*.

◊ JLTT 755.

‖ Mong. **süj* probably (with a rather usual vowel interaction) < **sijü*.

✱**sìjpʹó** to press, knead: Tung. ***sip-**; Mong. ***sibka(r)-**; Turk. ***sɨjpa-**; Jpn. ***sìmpò-r-**; Kor. ***spù-pɨ́i-**.

PTung. ***sip-** 1 to knead, squeeze, press 2 to bend under a heavy load (1 месить, валять (тесто); мять, сжимать 2 согнуться под тяжестью): Evk. *sipčarga-* 2; Man. *sibere-* 1; Ork. *siperu-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 74, 93. In Manchu the root has merged with *sibere-* 'spin, roll' < *sip- (v. sub **si̯ŏpʹu).*

PMong. ***sibka(r)-** to squeeze out, press (выдавливать, выжимать): WMong. *sibqar-* (L 696); Kh. *šavxra-*; Bur. *šavxa-*; Kalm. *šawxər-*, *šowxər-*; Ord. *šiwχʷara-*; Bao. *šiχa-*; Mongr. *šGurā-* (SM 378).

◊ KW 352-353, 366, MGCD 702.

PTurk. ***sɨjpa-** to knead, caress (растирать, гладить, ласкать): Turkm. *sīpa-* (*sɨjpa-*); MTurk. *sipa-* (R.); Uzb. *sijpa-*; Uygh. *sipa-*; Krm. *sɨpa-*; Tat. *sijpa-*, *sɨpɨr-*; Bashk. *hɨjpa-*, *hɨpɨr-*; Kirgh. *sijpa-*; Kaz. *sɨjpa-*; KBalk. *sijpa-*; KKalp. *sɨjpa-*; Kum. *sɨjpa-*; Nogh. *sɨjpa-*; Khak. *sɨjba-*; Shr. *sība-*, *sɨba-*; Oyr. *sɨjma-*; Tv. *sujba-*.

◊ VEWT 415, ЭСТЯ 7.

PJpn. ***sìmpà-r-** to press, squeeze (давить, выжимать): MJpn. *sìbòr-*; Tok. *shibór-*; Kyo. *shíbór-*; Kag. *shìbòr-*.

◊ JLTT 749.

PKor. ***spù-pɨ́i-** to rub, squeeze (тереть, давить): MKor. *spùpɨ́i-*.

◊ Nam 267.

‖ Ozawa 220-221. Kor. has a usual vowel reduction between a fricative and a stop.

✱**siju** ear-ring: Tung. ***sia-kan**; Mong. ***süji-ken**; Turk. ***sɨrga**.

PTung. ***sia-kan** pendants on ear-ring (подвески (у серьги)): Neg. *sêxan*; Ork. *sêγa*; Nan. *sɨqa(n)*.

◊ TMC 2, 69.

PMong. ***süj-ken** ear-ring (ушная серьга): MMong. *sūjke* (IM), *sujke* (MA); WMong. *süiken*, (L 742) *süike*, *süikü*; Kh. *süjx*; Bur. *hīxe*; Kalm. *sīkə*; Ord. *süjχe*; Dag. *sujhe* (MD 212); Mongr. *sūge* (SM 357).

◊ KW 328. Mong. > Man. *suiχun* (see Rozycki 189).

PTurk. ***sɨrga** ear-ring (серьга): Tur. *sɨrγa* (dial.); Az. *sɨrγa*; Turkm. *ɨsɨrγa*; Sal. *sɨrγa*; MTurk. *sɨrγa* (AH), *ɨsɨrγa* (IM, Pav. C.), *asɨrγa* (Houts.); Uzb. *isɨrγa*; Krm. *sɨrγa*; Tat. *sɨrγa*; Bashk. *hɨrγa*; Kirgh. *sɨrγa*; Kaz. *sɨrγa*;

KBalk. *sırγa*; KKalp. *sırγa*; Kum. *sırγa*; Nogh. *sırγa*; SUygh. *sırqa*; Khak. *ızırγa*; Shr. *sırγa*; Oyr. *sırγa*; Tv. *sırγa*; Yak. *ıtırγa*.

◊ VEWT 419, ЭСТЯ 7. The word is attested late and presents some problems. Most forms point to **sırga* which may reflect an original suffixed form **sı(j)-rga* (= Mong. *süji-ke-*); but some forms reflect **ısırga* or **asırga* - perhaps under a secondary influence of **as-* 'to hang'. Turk. > Russ. *исерга, серьга* (attested since XIVth c.)

‖ A Western isogloss. It looks as if it were derived from **sī́ju* 'bite, break' q.v. - lit. 'an ear-biter' (?).

✱**sī́ju (~ -o)** to bite, break: Tung. ***sia-**; Mong. ***süji-**; Turk. ***sī-**.

PTung. ***sia-** 1 to chew 2 to bite (1 жевать 2 кусать): Evk. *sê̂-* 1; Evn. *hā̂-*; Neg. *sê̂-* 1; Man. *saj-* 2; SMan. *šia-* 2 (1533); Ul. *sê̂-* 1; Ork. *sê̂-* 1; Nan. *śā̂-* 2; Orch. *sā̂-* 1; Ud. *sa-* 1.

◊ TMC 2,69.

PMong. ***süji-** to be destroyed, broken (разрушаться, ломаться): WMong. *süi-d-*, *süi-re-* (L 741, 742); Kh. *süjde-*, *süjre-*; Bur. *hüjd* 'harm, ruin'; Ord. *süjd-*; Dag. *sujte-* (MD 212).

PTurk. ***sī-** 1 to break, damage, harm 2 to be broken (1 ломать, нарушать, портить 2 ломаться): OTurk. *sı-* (Orkh., OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *sı-* (MK, KB) 1; Tur. *sı-* 1; Gag. *sın-* 'to be defeated'; Az. *sın-* 2; Turkm. *sī-n-* 2; Sal. *sun-* 2; *sındır-* 1 (ССЯ); Khal. *si-* 1; MTurk. (MKypch.) *sı-* (AH) 1; Uzb. *sin-* 2; Uygh. *sin-* 2; Krm. *sın-* 2; Tat. *sı-n-dır-* 1; Bashk. *hın-* 2; Kirgh. *sın-* 2; Kaz. *sın-* 2; KBalk. *sın-* 2; KKalp. *sın-* 2; Kum. *sın-* 2; Nogh. *sın-* 2; Khak. *sın-* 2; Shr. *sın-* 2; Oyr. *sın-* 2; Tv. *sın-* 2; Tof. *sın-* 2; Yak. ? *īr-* 'to tear'.

◊ VEWT 413-414, EDT 782.

‖ A Western isogloss. Mong. **süji-* is a usual metathesis < **sijü-*. Cf. also **siju* 'ear-ring'.

✱**sík´e (~ -k-)** a detail of the house entrance: Tung. ***siK-**; Mong. ***seg**; Turk. ***sekü**; Jpn. ***síkímí**.

PTung. ***siK-** 1 penthouse 2 a bar (under threshhold, into which the door heel is inserted) (1 навес, терраса 2 брус (под порогом, в котором вращается дверная пятка)): Man. *sixin* 1, *sixaqu* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 80-81. Attested only in Manchu, but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***seg** tent (шатер): WMong. *seg*; Kh. *seg* (БАМРС); Kalm. *seg*.

◊ KW 321.

PTurk. ***sekü** stone bench, pedestal (каменное или глинобитное сиденье, лежанка, помост): Karakh. *sekü* (MK); Tur. *seki*; Az. *säki*; Turkm. *seki*; Tat. *säki*; Bashk. *hikĭ*; Kirgh. *seki*; Chuv. *sagъ*; Yak. *eγe* 'knolls'.

◊ VEWT 408, TMN 3, 262, EDT 819, Лексика 519. Turk. > Pers. *sakū* id. (despite EDT, not vice versa); > Hung. *szék* 'chair' (Gombocz 1912).

PJpn. ***síkímí** threshold (порог): OJpn. *sikjimji*; MJpn. *síkímí*; Tok. *shìkii*; Kyo. *shíkíi*; Kag. *shikíi*.

◊ JLTT 523. Modern *shikii* is actually a merger of OJ *síkjímjí* 'threshhold' and *sikiwi* (attested only in MJ) 'rush plant'.

‖ Cf. **ségi.*

✱**síkʿè (~ š-, *sékʿì)** a plant with specific smell or taste: Mong. ***sikür**; Jpn. ***síkími**.

PMong. ***sikür** names of plants with specific taste (1 лапчатка кустарниковая или курильский чай 2 солодка, лакричник): WMong. *sikür* (MXTTT) 1; Kh. *süxer* 1; Bur. *süxer*, *šexer* 2.

◊ Mong. > Chuv. *śüxre* ʿfern', see Дмитриева 2000.

PJpn. ***síkími** Illicium anisatum (a tree with poisonous fruits) (вид аниса): OJpn. *sikjimji*; MJpn. *síkímí*; Tok. *shikimi*.

◊ JLTT 523.

‖ Cf. Kor. *siktä* 'Pleioblastus Simoni'. The root also means "umbrella" in Mong., and as such may be actually identical to *síkʿe ʿdetail of the house' (perhaps as an old name of some umbellate plant?).

✱**sḯkʿù (~ š-)** to press: Mong. ***sika-**; Turk. ***sɨk-**; Jpn. ***súkú-má-**; Kor. ***skǎ-**.

PMong. ***sika-** to press (жать, давить): MMong. *šiqa-* (SH, HYt); WMong. *siqa-* (L 721); Kh. *šaxa-*; Bur. *šaxa-*; Kalm. *šaxə-*; Ord. *šaxa-*; Dag. *šaga-* (Тод. Даг. 182); Dong. *šɨGa-*; S.-Yugh. *šəGa-*; Mongr. *šGā-* (SM 377), *šiGā-*.

◊ KW 344, MGCD 711. Mong. > Man. *sixa-*, see Doerfer MT 136, Rozycki 180.

PTurk. ***sɨk-** to press (давить, жать): OTurk. *sɨq-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *sɨq-* (MK); Tur. *sɨk-*; Gag. *sɨq-*; Az. *sɨx-*; Turkm. *sɨq-*; Khal. *sɨq-*; MTurk. *sɨq-* (AH, Pav. C.); Uzb. *siq-*; Uygh. *siq-*; Krm. *sɨq-*; Tat. *sɨq-*; Bashk. *hɨq-*; Kirgh. *sɨq-*; Kaz. *sɨq-*; KBalk. *sɨq-*; KKalp. *sɨq-*; Kum. *sɨq-*; Nogh. *sɨq-*; SUygh. *sɨq-*; Khak. *sɨq-*; Oyr. *sɨq-*; Tv. *sɨq-*; Yak. *ɨk-*; Dolg. *ɨk-* 'to milk'.

◊ EDT 804-805, VEWT 415-416, ЭСТЯ 7, Stachowski 259.

PJpn. ***súkú-má-** to press, shrink (сжимать): MJpn. *súkúmá-*; Tok. *sukume-*.

◊ JLTT 758.

PKor. ***skǎ-** to get thin, diminish (уменьшаться, утончаться): MKor. *skǎ-*; Mod. *k:a-*.

◊ Nam 17, KED 6.

‖ EAS 154, KW 344, Владимирцов 324, Poppe 30, 55. Mong. is hardly a borrowing, despite Щербак 1997, 147. The Jpn. form is a partial contamination with **sḯlgu* q. v.

✱**sikˈV (~ z-, -k-)** evening, dream: Tung. ***sikse**; Kor. ***skú-m**.

PTung. ***sikse** evening (вечер, вечером): Evk. *sikse*; Evn. *hīsъr*; Neg. *sikse*; Man. *sikse* 'yesterday'; SMan. *čikəsē*, *čekəsē* (2712); Jurch. *sih-ser* (84); Ul. *sikse*; Ork. *šeksše*; Nan. *sikse*; Orch. *sikse*; Ud. *sikie*.

◊ TMC 2, 81.

PKor. ***skú-m** dream (сон): MKor. *skú-m*; Mod. *k:um*.

◊ Nam 63, KED 219.

‖ A Tung.-Kor. isogloss.

✱**sìlá** (almost) completely, additionally: Tung. ***sila**; Mong. ***sila**; Turk. ***sil ?**; Jpn. ***sàrá**.

PTung. ***sila** scarcely (едва, еле): Neg. *sịla*; Man. *saĺan*; Ul. *sịla*; Nan. *sịlã*; Orch. *sīla*; Ud. *sīla*.

◊ TMC 2, 82.

PMong. ***sila** completely, utterly (полностью, целиком): WMong. *sila* (L 748: *šal*); Kh. *šal*; Bur. *šal*; Kalm. *šalə* (KPC); Ord. *šal*; Dag. *šal* (Тод. Даг. 182).

PTurk. ***sil** horse that eats too little food (слишком мало едящая лошадь): OTurk. *sil* at (MK); *sil kiši* 'abstemious person'.

◊ OT = Mong. *sila buli ideku* 'to eat without appetite'

PJpn. ***sàrá** additionally, also, newly (еще, к тому же, снова): OJpn. *sara-sara*; MJpn. *sàrá*; Tok. *sára*; Kyo. *sàrá*.

◊ JLTT 518.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 276. Martin (1966, 237) compares the Jpn. form with Kor. *sái* 'new', but this word has probably a different origin (see **zèjńa*). The Turkic form is very poorly attested (only in MK's phrase) and somewhat dubious.

✱**sila** dew, liquid; hoar-frost: Tung. ***sile-**; Mong. ***sil-**; Turk. ***sil-**; Kor. ***sə̀rí**.

PTung. ***sile-** dew (роса): Evk. *sile-kse*; Evn. *hīli*; Neg. *sile-kse*; Man. *sile-ŋgi*; Jurch. *sie-le-un* (10), cf. *siel-hi* 'spring' (48) (2-431); Ul. *silemse*; Ork. *śile-śke*; Nan. *sile-mse*; Orch. *sileŋse*; Ud. *silihe*; Sol. *šilikši*.

◊ See TMC 2, 85-86.

PMong. ***sil-** 1 slime 2 saliva 3 to get wet 4 slobbery (1 слизь 2 слюна 3 мокнуть 4 слюнявый): WMong. *silaj* 1 (L 749: *šalai* 'watery stool, diarrhea'), *silö-sü(n)* 2 (L 708), *sil-boji-* 3, *silükei* 4 (L 708); Kh. *šalaj* 1, *šüls* 2, *šolboj-* 3, *šülxij* 4; Bur. *šülhe(n)* 2; Kalm. *šülsṇ* 2 , *šülkē* 4 (KPC); Ord. *šölösü*, *šölös* 2; Dag. *šuls* 2 (Тод. Даг. 184: *šulse*, *šille*), *šulese* (MD 218); Mongr. *śorgo* 'salive, bave' (SM 397).

◊ MGCD 729. Mong. *silükej* > Turk. (Turkm. *sülekej* etc.).

PTurk. ***sil-** 1 spittle, saliva 2 slime (1 слюна, плевок 2 слизь): Tur. *sel*, *selik* (dial.) 1; Az. *selik* 1; MTurk. *silik* (Ettuhf.) 1; Uzb. *šilik* 2; Uygh. *šilim*, *šillik* 2; Kirgh. *silämägäj* (R.) 1; Kaz. *sĭlemej* 1.

◊ See ЭСТЯ 7. Most of the Turkic words for 'saliva' are attested late and look like borrowings < Mong. *silü-kej*; Yak. *sil* must also be borrowed (because of initial s-), perhaps from Mong. *silö-sü* (with secondary loss of suffix?). The above forms, however, can be hardly explained as mongolisms.

PKor. ***sə̀rí*** frost (иней): MKor. *sə̀rí*; Mod. *sərí*.

◊ Nam 299, KED 936.

‖ SKE 230, EAS 71-72, VEWT 435. Cf. also Old Koguryo **salgan* 'frost' (Miller 1979, 8).

✱**sī́la** to rub, clean: Tung. ***silkü-***; Mong. ***silu-***; Turk. ***sīl- / *sīla-***; Jpn. ***sárá-***; Kor. ***sə̀r-***.

PTung. ***silkü-*** to wash, clean (стирать, мыть): Evk. *silki-*; Evn. *hilqъ-*; Neg. *sịlkị-*; Man. *silǵa-*; Ul. *silču-*; Ork. *siltu-*; Nan. *sịlqo-*; Orch. *sikki-*; Ud. *siki-*.

◊ TMC 2, 84.

PMong. ***silu-*** to rub off, peel (соскребать, сдирать): WMong. *silu-*, *šulu-* (L 757); Kh. *šula-*; Bur. *šula-*; Kalm. *šul-*; Ord. *šulu-*; Mongr. *šuli-* (SM 385), (MGCD *śulə-*).

◊ KW 367, MGCD 727. Mong. > Oyr. *šili-* etc.

PTurk. ***sīl- / *sīla-*** 1 to wipe, rub 2 clean (1 тереть, стирать, чистить 2 чистый): OTurk. *sil-* 1, *silig* 2 (OUygh.), *silik* 2 (Orkh.); Karakh. *silig* 2 (MK); Tur. *sil-* 1, *sili* 2; Gag. *sil-* 1; Az. *sil-* 1; Turkm. *sīl-* 1; Khal. *sīl-* 1; MTurk. *sil-* 1 (IM), *sīla-* 1 (Abush.), *silä-* 1 (Pav. C.); Uzb. *silä-* 1; Uygh. *sila-* 1; Krm. *sil-*, *sıla-* 1; Tat. *sıla-* 1; Bashk. *hıla-* 1; Kirgh. *sıla-* 1; Kaz. *sıla-* 1; KBalk. *sıla-* 1; KKalp. *sıla-* 1; Kum. *sıla-* 1; Nogh. *sıla-* 1; Tv. *sili-* 'to become clean'; Chuv. *šъl-* 1.

◊ EDT 824-825, 826-827, VEWT 416, 421, TMN 3, 265, ЭСТЯ 7. Turk. > Kalm. *šilə-* 'kick or sweep away with one's foot' (KW 357). Turk. **silig* / **sılıg* 'clean, clear' (see ЭСТЯ 7) > Mong. *siluγun* 'plain, simple, pure' (> Evk. *šilun* id.).

PJpn. ***sárá-*** 1 to whiten, bleach 2 to clean (bottom of smth.) (1 отбеливать 2 отчищать): OJpn. *saras-* 1; MJpn. *sárás-* 1; Tok. *sàras-* 1, *sàra-* 2; Kyo. *sárás-* 1, *sárá-* 2; Kag. *sarás-* 1, *sará-* 2.

◊ JLTT 747.

PKor. ***sə̀r-*** to wash, clean (мыть, очищать): MKor. *sə̀r-*; Mod. *səl-gət-* (-č-).

◊ Liu 450, KED 950.

‖ EAS 72, 124, 150, SKE 230, Мудрак Дисс. 42.

✱**sī́lgù** to tremble, quiver, be benumbed: Tung. ***silgü-***; Mong. ***silgeγe-***; Turk. ***silk-***; Jpn. ***súkúm-***; Kor. ***sir-***.

PTung. ***silgü-*** to tremble, shake (from fever, cold etc.) (дрожать (от холода, страха), чувствовать озноб): Evk. *silgin-*; Evn. *hilgъn-*; Neg. *silgin-*; Man. *šurge-*; Ul. *silǯun-*; Ork. *sildun-*; Nan. *sirgun-*; Orch. *siggina-*.

◊ TMC 2, 83, 430.

PMong. ***silgeɣe-** to shake, tremble (дрожать): MMong. *šilgut-* (SH); WMong. *silgege-*, *silge-* (L 706); Kh. *šilgē-*; Bur. *šelgē-*; Kalm. *šilgē-*; Ord. *šilgē-*; S.-Yugh. *šögō̃-*; Mongr. *śirgō-*, *śurgō-* 'se secouer pour faire tomber lapoussière ou l'eau qui adhère aux poils (animaux), branler violemment (tête)' (SM 398).

◊ KW 357, MGCD 717.

PTurk. ***silk-** to shake (трясти, встряхивать): OTurk. *silk-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *silk-* (MK); Tur. *silk-*; Gag. *silk-*; Az. *silk-*; Turkm. *silk-*; Khal. *silk-*; MTurk. *silk-* (AH, Pav. C.); Uzb. *silki-*; Uygh. *silki-*; Krm. *silk-*; Tat. *sĭlk-*; Bashk. *hĭlk-*; Kirgh. *silk-*; Kaz. *silki-*; KBalk. *silk-*; KKalp. *silki-*; Kum. *silk-*; Nogh. *silk-*; Khak. *sĭlĭk-*; Oyr. *silki-*; Tv. *silki-*; Yak. *ilk-*.

◊ EDT 826, VEWT 422, ЭСТЯ 7.

PJpn. ***súkúm-** to become numb (цепенеть): MJpn. *súkúm-*; Tok. *sùkum-*, *sukúm-*; Kyo. *súkúm-*; Kag. *sukúm-*.

◊ JLTT 758.

PKor. ***sir(h)-** 1 to be cold (of hands, feet etc.) 2 to quiver, shake (1 замерзать (о конечностях) 2 дрожать, трястись): Mod. *siri-* 1, *silluk* ha- 2.

◊ KED 1036, 1056.

‖ EAS 71, 122, KW 357, SKE 233, 235, Poppe 30, 76. Mong. is hardly borrowed from Turkic, despite Щербак 1997, 144; Tung. is hardly borrowed from Mong., despite Doerfer MT 46. The meaning in Kor. and Jpn. may reflect the influence of another root, PA **saŕi* q.v.; in Jpn. there is an additional contamination with **sĭk'u* 'press' q.v.

✱**silV (~ z-, -Í-)** strap, yoke, dewlap: Tung. ***sil-**; Mong. ***silaŋ**.

PTung. ***sil-** 1 yoke belt 2 breakwater 3 dewlap 4 chock-boot 5 breast ornament (1 ремень ярма 2 волнорез 3 подгрудок 4 шейная колодка 5 нагрудное украшение): Evk. *šiliptin* 'boot straps' (dial.); Neg. *siliptin* 2; Man. *selxe* 3, *selxen* 4; Ul. *selče* 5; Nan. *siliptun* 1 (Он.); Orch. *silipke* 2; *siliktauka* 'interlacement of sledge straps'.

◊ TMC 2, 84, 140, 426.

PMong. ***silaŋ** hip strap and breeching in harness, harness, yoke, dewlap (шлея; подгрудок): WMong. *šalaŋ* (L 749); Kh. *šalan*; Kalm. *šalŋ*.

◊ KW 347.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**sílV (~ z-, -Í-)** a k. of vessel: Tung. ***silV**; Kor. ***sìrɨ̀**.

PTung. ***silV** 1 plate 2 k. of basket (1 тарелка 2 вид корзины): Nan. *sịlịa* 1, (Bik.) *silfo* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 84.

PKor. ***sìrɨ̀** earthenware jug (глиняный кувшин): MKor. *sìrɨ̀*; Mod. *siru*.

◊ Nam 325, KED 1036.

‖ A Tung.-Kor. isogloss. The root is poorly attested and rather dubious.

✱**sīĺa** sharp stick; tooth: Tung. ***sila(-bun)**; Mong. ***sidü**; Turk. ***sīĺ / *sīĺ**; Jpn. ***sàs-, *sàsì**; Kor. ***sár**.

PTung. ***sila(-bun)** spit (вертел): Evk. *silawun*; Evn. *hịlụn*; Neg. *sịlawụn*; Man. *šolon*; Ul. *sịlopụ(n)*; Ork. *sịlopụ(n)*; Nan. *sịlpõ*; Orch. *silō(n)*; Ud. *silou(n)*; Sol. *šĭla-* 'to roast'.

◊ TMC 2, 82. Most languages also reflect the verb **sila-* 'to roast on a spit, to put on a spit'.

PMong. ***sidü** tooth (зуб): MMong. *šidun* (HY 45), *šidu*, *sudu* (SH), *sidon* (IM), *šidun*, *sidun* (MA), *sidūn* (LH); WMong. *sidü(n)* (L 698); Kh. *šüd(en)*; Bur. *šüde(n)*; Kalm. *šüdṇ*; Ord. *šüdü*; Mog. *südün*; Dag. *šide* (Тод. Даг. 183, MD 215), *šid*; Dong. *šədun*; Bao. (*š*)*doŋ*, *hdoŋ*; S.-Yugh. *šdən*, *šədən*; Mongr. *šdi* (SM 371).

◊ KW 370, MGCD 728.

PTurk. ***sīĺ / *sɨĺ** 1 tooth 2 sharp stick (1 зуб 2 вертел, острый колышек): OTurk. *sɨš* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *sɨš* 2 (MK); Tur. *šiš* 2; Az. *šiš* 2; Turkm. *čīš* 2; MTurk. *sɨš* 2 (Sangl.); Uygh. *šiš* 2; Krm. *šiš* 2; Tat. *šeš* 2; Bashk. *šeš* 2; Kirgh. *šiš* 2; Kaz. *is* 2; KBalk. *šiš* 2; KKalp. *is* 2; Kum. *čiš* 2; Khak. *səs* 2; Shr. *šɨš* 2; Oyr. *šiš* 2; Tv. *šiš* 2; Tof. *šiš* 2; Chuv. *šъl* 1.

◊ VEWT 424, TMN 3, 324, EDT 856-7. Turk. > Kalm. *čiš*, *šiš* (KW 442). An interesting common Turkic derivative is **sīĺ-le* > **sīle* 'судак' (fish name), as "fish with teeth" (Turkm. *sīle*, Chuv. *šъla* etc., see ЭСТЯ 7; Turk. > Hung. *süllő*, see MNyTESz 3, 628): such derivation may be postulated on analogy with KKalp. *tĭsli*, Uzb. *tišli* (*baliq*) 'судак', lit. 'fish with teeth'.

PJpn. ***sàs-, *sàsì** to prick, stab; sharp stick (вонзать, колоть; острая палочка): OJpn. *sas-*, *sasi*; MJpn. *sàs-*, *sasi*; Tok. *sás-*, *sashí*; Kyo. *sás-*; Kag. *sàs-*.

◊ JLTT 748.

PKor. ***sár** arrow; sting (стрела; жало): MKor. *sár*; Mod. *sal*.

◊ Liu 436, HMCH 277, KED 895.

‖ EAS 108, VEWT 424, Doerfer TMN 3, 325-326 (with quite unjustified doubts), MT 240 (Turk.-Tung.), Miller 1970, 129, Street 1980, 300, АПиПЯЯ 288, Дыбо 13, Мудрак Дисс. 41-42, Лексика 228. The comparison with Kor. and Jpn. seems very probable, although here we have a rather rare case of tonal irregularity: one would expect a low tone in Kor. and a high tone in Japanese. In Jpn. the tonal irregularity could be explained by a contamination with some different root - e.g., with the root reflected in PT **sanč-* 'to pierce' (ЭСТЯ 7); but the Kor. high tone is still unexplained. It is interesting to note the common Turkic-Mongolian derivative meaning "2-year-old sheep or camel": Turkic **sĭĺek* / **dĭĺek* (see VEWT 424), MMong. *šilegu*, Khalkha *šilbe*, Bur.

šülge (certainly not a loan in Mong. < Turk., despite Rona-Tas 1970, 215 with a detailed analysis of the words, see Poppe 1974, 123). The variant **diĺek* (attested in MK *tišek* and in Yak. *tisege*, see EDT 563) is an obvious innovation in a part of Old Turkic dialects, following the replacement of **siĺ* 'tooth' by **diĺ* q.v., just like WMong. *sidüleŋ* "2-year-old sheep" is an innovation following the replacement of original **sil* 'tooth' by the suffixed formation **sil-dü* > *sidü*.

✱**sìmò** a k. of bird: Tung. ***sim-**; Mong. ***similʒen**; Turk. ***sɨm**; Jpn. ***sìmài (~ -ià)**.

PTung. ***sim-** 1 kingfisher 2 a k. of woodpecker 3 a k. of titmouse 4 eagle-owl (1 зимородок 2 вид дятла 3 вид синицы 4 филин): Evk. *sennekūn*, dial. *sendekūn* 2; Man. *simari*, *simatun* 3; Ul. *sindi* 1; Ork. *simiktu* 4.

◊ TMC 2, 86, 88, 143.

PMong. ***similʒen** a k. of bird of prey (вид хищной птицы): WMong. *similʒen* (MXTTT); Kh. *šimelʒen* 'a dark bird of prey with a white head'.

◊ Cf. also *somaraŋ* 'titmouse'.

PTurk. ***sɨm** grouse (рябчик): Karakh. *sinič* (KB) (? = *simnič*) 'a k. of songbird'; Khak. *sɨm*; Shr. *sɨnma*; Oyr. *sɨmda*; Chuv. *šъngъrč* 'starling'; Yak. *ɨmī* 'crossbill', *sɨlgī ɨmīta* 'wagtail'.

◊ ДТС 500, VEWT 416.

PJpn. ***sìmài (~ -ià)** a k. of hawfinch, Coccothraustes coccothraustes japonicus (вид дубоноса): MJpn. *sìmè*; Tok. *shimé*; Kyo. *shímè*; Kag. *shimé*.

◊ JLTT 524.

‖ It is hard to determine the original meaning of the root - some kind of middle-sized bird, probably with a big beak.

✱**simo (~ -u)** to be silent, whisper: Tung. ***sim-**; Turk. ***sɨm-**.

PTung. ***sim-** to be silent, whisper (молчать, шептать): Evk. *simūlā-*; Evn. *hịmụn-*; Neg. *sịmụ-*; Ul. *sim-*; Ork. *sịmụ-*; Nan. *simu-*; Ud. *sim-sim*; Sol. *sin-gadá* 'silently'.

◊ TMC 2, 88.

PTurk. ***sɨm-** 1 to talk unintelligibly 2 to whisper (1 говорить невнятно 2 шептать): Karakh. *sumlɨ-* (MK, KB) 1; Turkm. *sɨm-sɨm* 2; Khak. *sɨm* 'silence'; Tv. *sɨmɨran-* 2; Tof. *sɨmɨra-* 2 (ФиЛ); Chuv. *səmpəltet-* 'лопотать'.

◊ EDT 829.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**símta** to meet an obstacle: Mong. ***simda-**; Turk. ***sɨmta-**; Jpn. ***sámáta-**.

PMong. ***simda-** 1 to endeavour, make effort 2 to rush, hurry (1 стараться, прилагать усилия 2 торопиться): WMong. *simda-* 1, 2 (L 709); Kh. *šamda-* 1, 2; Bur. *šamda-* 2; Kalm. *šamdə-* 2 (KPC).

PTurk. ***sɨmta-** to neglect, be careless about (smth.) (пренебрегать, быть неосторожным): OTurk. *sɨmta-* (OUygh.).

◊ EDT 828.

PJpn. ***sámáta-** to hinder (препятствовать): OJpn. *sama-taga-*; MJpn. *sámá-taga-*; Tok. *sàmatage-*, *samatagé-*; Kyo. *sámátágé-*; Kag. *samatagé-*.

◊ JLTT 747 (Reasons for accent vacillation in Tokyo are unclear).

‖ Despite EDT 828, the Mong. verb cannot be < Turkic.

✱**s̍ini (~ -e, -o)** to suffer, endure: Tung. ***sinŋi-**; Mong. ***sinal-**; Jpn. ***sìnə̀-(m)p-**, ***sìnuà-(n)k-**.

PTung. ***sinŋi-** 1 to be sorry 2 to offend, do wrong 3 to be poor, distressed 4 mourning 5 sad (1 жалеть 2 обижать, желать зла 3 быть бедным, мучиться 4 траур 5 печальный): Evk. *siŋni-* 1, *sini-* 3; Neg. *sińŋin-* 1, *sińŋije-* 2; Man. *siŋgira-* 2, *sinaGan* 4; Jurch. *sin-na-lar* 5 (375); Ul. *siŋgere-* 2, *sineǯu-*, *sinewli-* 3; Ork. *siŋgere-* 2, *sīnedu-* 3; Nan. *siŋgere-* 2, *sineǯi-* 3; Orch. *siŋgere-* 2, *sineǯi-* 3; Ud. *sunǯuge-si-* 2, *sinehä* 4.

◊ TMC 2, 89, 90, 91.

PMong. ***sinal-** to be sad, bothered (печалиться, расстраиваться): WMong. *sinal(a)-* (L 710); Kh. *šanal-*; Bur. *šanal-*; Kalm. *šanl-*; Ord. *šinalga-* (causative); Mongr. *šənāli-* (SM 374).

◊ KW 348.

PJpn. ***sìnə̀-(m)p-**, ***sìnuà-(n)k-** to endure (терпеть, страдать): OJpn. *sinob-*, *sinwog-*; MJpn. *sìnòg-*; Tok. *shinóg-*; Kyo. *shínóg-*; Kag. *shìnòg-*.

◊ JLTT 751, 752. On the distinction between **sìnuà-* and **sínuá-* see under **sínuá-p-* (v. sub **si̯ā́ńi*).

‖ The root is rather difficult to distinguish from **si̯ā́ńi* and **saŋe* q.v.

✱**siŋra** double bone (of animals): Tung. ***sire-**; Mong. ***siɣira**; Turk. ***siŋir-**.

PTung. ***sire-** 1 elbow bone 2 shin bone (1 локтевая кость 2 берцовая кость): Evk. *sirēk*, *sirēkē* 1; Evn. *hirъmtъ* 1; Neg. *sijimte* 1; Man. *sira* 2; Ork. *simuse* 'calf of leg'; Nan. *sireme* 1; Orch. *simikte* 'shoulder bone'; Ud. *simikta*, *simukta* 1; Sol. *širmū* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 94, 97.

PMong. ***siɣira** double bone (of animals) (двойная кость, бедро (животных)): MMong. *šijira* 'hoof' (SH); WMong. *sigira*, *sigere* (L 702); Kh. *šijr*; Bur. *šīre*; Kalm. *šīrə*; Ord. *šīra*; Dag. *širem*; Dong. *šəGara* 'foot' (Тод. Дн.); S.-Yugh. *šīra*; Mongr. *śirā* (SM 397).

◊ KW 363, MGCD 713.

PTurk. ***siŋɨr** 1 double shin bone (1 кости голени 2 парное копыто): Tur. *sɨrnak* (dial.) 2; Az. *sɨŋɨr* (dial.) 1; Turkm. *sɨŋraq*, *sɨrnaq* 2; MTurk. *saŋraq* (Pav. C.), *sɨɣraq* (AH) 2; Krm. *sɨrča* 'бедро'; Tat. *sɨjraq* 2, (KCTT) *sɨrɨsxan* 1; Bashk. *sɨraq* 2; Kirgh. *sɨjra* 'пятка'; Kaz. *sɨjraq* 2; KKalp. *sɨjraq* 2; Kum. *sɨjraq* 2; Nogh. *sɨjraq* 2; Khak. *sɨrsax* 1; Tv. *sār* 'верх ступни', *sɨrɨ* 'копыто', *sīrɣaq* 2; Yak. *ɨrāx* 2.

◊ EDT 803, ЭСТЯ 7, Лексика 147-148, 287. In some languages the reflex may have merged with **sɨdɨr-gak* (v. sub **sɨ̯udu)*.

‖ EAS 120, Дыбо 313-314, Лексика 287. A Western isogloss, but cf. **siŋu*: the form may be an archaic derivative.

✸**síŋri** sinew: Tung. ***sire-**; Mong. ***sinda-su**; Turk. ***siŋir**; Kor. ***sì'úr**.

PTung. ***sire-** sinew, thread (сухожилие, нить): Evk. *sirekte*; Evn. *siren* (Arm.); Neg. *sijekte*, *sijēn*; Man. *sirge* / *sirxe*, *siren*; SMan. *širəxē* 'fiber' (269); Ul. *siri*, *sirekte*; Ork. *sirekte*; Nan. *sirikte* (Kur-Urm.), *sīrẽ*; Orch. *sije*, *sijekte*; Ud. *sie*, *siekte*; Sol. *ši̊rikte*, *ši̊ritte*.

◊ TMC 2, 97. Despite superficial resemblance and Doerfer MT 26, the word has nothing to do with Mong. **sirmö-* / **sirbö-* 'sinew' (which is = TM **sumu-*, see under **sɨ̯orme)*.

PMong. ***sinda-su** sinew (жила, сухожилие): WMong. *sindasu(n)* (L 710); Kh. *šandas*; Bur. *šandāha*; Kalm. *šandəsṇ* (KPC); Ord. *šindasu*.

PTurk. ***siŋir** sinew (сухожилие, жила): OTurk. *siŋir* (OUygh.); Karakh. *siŋir* (MK); Tur. *sinir*; Gag. *sinir*; Turkm. *siŋir*; MTurk. *siŋir* (AH, Pav. C.); Uzb. *siŋir*; Krm. *sinir*; Tat. *seŋer*; Bashk. *hĭŋĭr*; Kaz. *siŋir*; KBalk. *siŋir*; KKalp. *siŋir*; Kum. *siŋir*; Nogh. *siŋir*; Khak. *sīr*; Oyr. *siŋir*; Tv. *sīr*; Chuv. *šъпъr*; Yak. *iŋīr*; Dolg. *iŋīr*.

◊ EDT 841, VEWT 423, Лексика 264, ЭСТЯ 7, Stachowski 127.

PKor. ***sì'úr** string, sinew; bow string (веревка, жила; тетива): MKor. *sì'úr*; Mod. *siwi*.

◊ Nam 326, KED 1040.

‖ EAS 120, Мудрак Дисс. 43, Лексика 264.

✸**sìŋù** bone; shin bone: Tung. ***siŋa-**; Mong. ***siɣa**; Turk. ***siŋök / *siŋok**; Jpn. ***sùnài**; Kor. ***sɨin**.

PTung. ***siŋa-** 1 pelvis, pelvis bone 2 swelling of deer's joints (1 таз, тазовая кость 2 опухоль суставов у оленя): Evk. *šaŋalran* (Sym.) 1, *siŋargažaran* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 90, 424. The forms are attested only in several Evk. dialects, but have rather plausible external parallels.

PMong. ***siɣa** knucklebone, anklebone (бабка, щиколотка): MMong. *ši'a* (HY 48, SH), *šīɣai* (LH), *šīɣa* (Lig.VMI); WMong. *siɣa(n)*, *šaɣa(n)*, *siɣai* (L 747); Kh. *šā*, *šagai*; Bur. *šagaj*; *šagabša*, *šagajbša* 'stockings, socks'; Kalm. *šā* 'bones for divination', *šaɣā* (KPC); Ord. *šā*; Mongr. *śā* (SM 393) 'cheville du pied, osselets avec lesquels jouent les enfants', *šGə̄* 'jambe (de l'homme ou des animaux)' (SM 378).

◊ Cf. also WMong. *siγu*, Kalm. *šō* (Mongor *šōr*, MGCD 721) 'ein Knochen im Handgelenk; Würfelknochen' (KW 366). Mong. > Man. *santu* (= Mong. *šagantu*), see Doerfer MT 138.

PTurk. ***siŋök** bone (кость): OTurk. *süŋök* (Orkh.), *süŋük* (OUygh.); Karakh. *süŋük* (MK, KB); Tur. *süŋük*, *söŋek*, *sümük* (dial.); Az. *sümük*; Turkm. *süŋk*, *süjek*; Sal. *senix*; Khal. *simik*; MTurk. *süŋek* (Abush., Sangl.); Uzb. *sujak*; Uygh. *söŋäk*; Tat. *söjɛk*; Bashk. *höjäk*; Kirgh. *söök*; Kaz. *sujek*; KBalk. *süjek*; KKalp. *süjek*; Kum. *süjek*; Nogh. *süjek*; SUygh. *sɨmɨk*; Khak. *sȫk*; Shr. *sȫk*; Oyr. *sȫk*; Tv. *sȫk*; Tof. *sȫk*; Chuv. *šъ^{w}mъ^{w}*; Yak. *иŋиоχ*; Dolg. *оŋиок*.

◊ VEWT 437, EDT 838-839, Лексика 260-261, ЭСТЯ 7, Stachowski 195. With different suffixation cf. Uygh. *söŋgäč* 'thigh, hip, thigh bone'; Yak., Dolg. *öŋürges* 'cartilage' (Stachowski 200).

PJpn. ***sùnài** 1 shin 2 marrow (1 голень 2 костный мозг): OJpn. *sune* 2; MJpn. *sune* 1, 2; Tok. *suné* 1; Kyo. *súnè* 1; Kag. *suné* 1.

◊ JLTT 534.

PKor. ***sɨin** shin, thigh (голень, бедро): MKor. *sɨin-tàrì*.

◊ Nam 323.

‖ KW 440, АПиПЯЯ 285, Дыбо 314-315, Мудрак Дисс. 42. Cf. **siŋri*.

✱**sípa** clay, to smear: Tung. ***siba-**; Mong. ***siba-**; Turk. ***sɨba-**; Jpn. ***sápá**.

PTung. ***siba-** 1 to smear (with clay) 2 bog, marsh 3 to poultice (1 мазать (глиной) 2 топь, болото 3 класть припарки): Evk. *siwa-* 1; Evn. *hiwtaγ* 2; Man. *šabarGan gida-* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 74. Cf. also Oroch *sibiki-* 'to scrape, plane' (?).

PMong. ***siba-** 1 to smear (with clay) 2 clay (1 мазать (глиной) 2 глина): MMong. *šibar* (HY 3, SH), *šibar* (IM), *šibar* (MA) 2; WMong. *siba-* 1; *sibar* 2 (L 693, 694); Kh. *šava-* 1, *šavar* 2; Bur. *šaba-* 1, *šabar* 2; Kalm. *šaw-* 1, *šawr* 2; Ord. *šawa-* 1, *šawar* 2; Mog. ZM *šəbə-* (5-1b); Dag. *šawar* (Тод. Даг. 182), *šaure* (MD 214), *šaur* 2; Dong. *šuva-* 1, *šuva* 2; Bao. *šbar*, *hbar* 2; S.-Yugh. *šəbar* 2; Mongr. *šawar* (SM 369), *šəura* 2.

◊ KW 352, 353, MGCD 701, 722. Mong. > Kirgh. *sabɨr* 'dirt'.

PTurk. ***sɨba-** to smear (мазать): OTurk. *suva-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *suva-*, *suval-*, *suvaš-* (MK); Tur. *sɨva-*; Gag. *suwa-*; Az. *sua-* (dial.); Turkm. *suwa-*; Sal. *suva-*, *sova-*; Khal. *sɨva-*; MTurk. *suwa-* (Ettuhf.); Uzb. *suwa-*; Uygh. *suwa-*.

◊ EDT 785, 789, 793, VEWT 414, ЭСТЯ 7. Cf. also the toponym Sɨvaš. The root is somewhat confused with **sɨba-* 'to water, irrigate' (a derivative of **sɨb* 'water' q.v. sub **si̯uba*), but they should be certainly kept distinct.

PJpn. ***sápa** 1 bog, marsh 2 to dip; to smear with lacquer (1 болото 2 окунать; мазать лаком): OJpn. *safa* 1; MJpn. *sáfá* 1, *safa-s-* 2; Tok. *sawá* 1, *sawas-* 2; Kyo. *sáwà* 1; Kag. *sáwa* 1.

◊ JLTT 520, 748. Modern dialects point unanimously to **sápà*, but RJ shows high tone in the 2d syllable.

‖ KW 352, Poppe 30, 46. Correspondences are quite regular, and there is hardly any need in assuming (despite Poppe 1966, 198, Doerfer MT 123) Tung. < Mong. However, Mong. may be borrowed from Turkic (see Щербак 1997, 148-150), in which case a reconstruction **síba* is also possible.

✱**sipa (~ š-, -u, -o)** worm, insect: Mong. ***sibaǯi**; Turk. ***sıbuĺgan**.

PMong. ***sibaǯi** insect (насекомое): WMong. *šabaǯi*, *sibaǯi* (L 747); Kh. *šaə́ǯ*; Bur. *šabxaj* 'worm'; Kalm. *šivǯə*.

◊ KW 361.

PTurk. ***sıbuĺgan** earth-worm (червь, дождевой червь): Karakh. *sovušɣan* (MK); Tur. *soluǯan*; Gag. *soluǯan*; Az. *soxulǯan*; Turkm. *soɣulǯan*; Sal. *suɣulǯun*; MTurk. *soɣulǯan* (AH, Pav. C.), *solunǯan* (AH); Uzb. *čuwalčaŋ*; Uygh. *čuwalčaŋ*; Krm. *suwalčan*, *swalcan*; Tat. *sualčan*; Bashk. *sĭläwsĭn*; Kirgh. *sõlǯan*, *söjülǯan*; KBalk. *suwalčan*; Kum. *suwalčan*; Nogh. *šılawšan*; Khak. *sōsxan* (dial.), *somısxan*; Oyr. *čojlošqon*; Tv. *šıjlašqın*; Chuv. *šъʷvъʷrъʷlǯan*, *śölźen*, *śəʷvəʷlźen*.

◊ VEWT 425, EDT 793-794. The PT form can be reconstructed despite numerous expressive irregularities.

‖ A Turko-Mongolian isogloss.

✱**sì̀pe** swamped ground, swamp vegetation: Tung. ***sībe**; Mong. ***siber**; Turk. ***seb-**; Jpn. ***símpà / *sìmpá**.

PTung. ***sībe** horse-tail, swamped ground where it grows (хвощ, заболоченная почва, где растет хвощ): Evk. *sīwēɣ*; Evn. *hīweɣ*; Neg. *siwu-kte*; Man. *sı́ba* / *sibe*; Ul. *siu-kte*; Nan. *siu-kte*.

◊ TMC 2, 76.

PMong. ***siber** swamped forest (заболоченный лес): WMong. *siber*, *sibir* (L 695); Kh. *šiver*; Bur. *šeber*; Kalm. *šiwṛ*; Ord. *šiwer* 'terrain humide et où il y a du gazon touffu'.

◊ KW 362. Cf. also Khalkha *šivers* 'Lycopodium'.

PTurk. ***seb-** spurge, euphorbia (молочай): Turkm. *söv-dek*.

◊ Attested only in Turkm., but having probable external parallels.

PJpn. ***símpà / *sìmpá** turf (дерн): MJpn. *síbà*; Tok. *shìba* / *shíbà*; Kyo. *shìbá*; Kag. *shíba*.

◊ JLTT 522. RJ has *síbà*, but modern dialects show variation between **síbà* and **sìbá* (> Tok. *shíba*, Kyo. *shìbá)*.

‖ TMC 2, 76, АПиПЯЯ 79. Despite Poppe 1966, 198, Doerfer MT 52, TM cannot be borrowed from Mong. The irregular voicing in Jpn. (< PA *-p-) must be due to a confusion with a very similar root, **sìmpá* ~ **símpá* 'firewood' < PA **sa̋p´í*; Jpn. dialects show a great deal of confusion between these two roots.

✸**sȉpi (~ z-, -o)** to whisper, cough: Tung. ***sibu-**; Mong. ***sibi-**; Jpn. ***sìpa-**.

PTung. ***sibu-** to whisper (шептать): Evk. *siwutā-*; Evn. *hịwụlṭn-*; Neg. *sịwụtā-*; Man. *šu-sina-*; Ul. *sịwčụ-*.

◊ TMC 2, 75-76.

PMong. ***sibi-** 1 to whisper 2 whispering (1 шептать 2 шепот): WMong. *sibine-*, *sibene-*, *sibegene-* 1, *sibir*, *siber*, *sibenel* 2 (L 694, 695); Kh. *šivne-* 1, *šiver*, *šivnel* 2; Bur. *šebene-* 1 *šeber* 2; Kalm. *šiwṛ* 2 (KPC); Ord. *šiwene-* 1, *šiwer* 2; Dag. *šabkālči-* 1; S.-Yugh. *šabrā-* 1.

◊ MGCD 714. Mong. > Kirgh. *sɨbɨr.*

PJpn. ***sìpa-** to cough (кашлять): OJpn. *sipa-buk-*; MJpn. *sìfa-búk-*; Tok. *shiwabuk-*.

◊ JLTT 753.

‖ Poppe 46. An expressive root, cf. **si̯ȕbi.*

✸**sìpò (~ *z-)** a k. of tree: Tung. ***sibu-**; Mong. ***sibür**; Jpn. ***sìpì**; Kor. ***súp(h), *sùphɨ́r**.

PTung. ***sibu-** 1 nut tree 2 cone (1 орешник 2 шишка): Evk. *suwukičī* 1; Nan. *siučixĩ* 2; Ud. *seutigi* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 117, 147.

PMong. ***sibür** bush-oak, Quercus (вид дуба): WMong. *sibür* (L 697).

PJpn. ***sìpì** a k. of beech-like eternally green tree, Lithocarpus Sieboldii Makino (вид вечнозеленого дерева): OJpn. *sipji*; MJpn. *sìfi*; Tok. *shíi*; Kyo. *shíì*; Kag. *shií*.

◊ JLTT 523. The Tokyo form has an irregular accent (probably due to contraction).

PKor. ***súp(h), *sùphɨ́r** wood, forest, thicket (лес, заросли): MKor. *súp(h)*, *sùphɨ́r*; Mod. sup [*suph*], *suphul*.

◊ Liu 476, 479, Nam 314, KED 1011, 1022.

‖ Korean reflects a suffixed form like **sipo-kV*. Cf. perhaps Nan. *čịGbora* 'black birch' (which would change the reconstruction to **š-*).

✸**sipV (~ z-, -b-)** a k. of small bird: Tung. ***sibi**; Mong. ***sibawu**.

PTung. ***sibi** swallow (ласточка): Man. *sibirGan*; Jurch. *sih-biar-xun* (183).

◊ TMC 2, 398 - the root should be distinguished from **čipi-* q. v. sub **čʻĭ̀pʻ[ú]* (although with some difficulty).

PMong. ***sibawu** bird (птица): MMong. *šiba'un* (HY 13, SH), *šibān* (IM), *šibawun* (MA); WMong. *sibaɣu(n)*, *sibau* (L 693); Kh. *šuvū*; Bur. *šubū(n)*; Kalm. *šowūn*; Ord. *šiwū*, *šuwū*; Dag. *šowō*; S.-Yugh. *šūn*; Mongr. *šū* (SM 383), (MGCD *śau*).

◊ KW 366, MGCD 725. Mong. > Chag. *šibaɣun* (Щербак 1997, 209).

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss; a Turkic parallel could be found in Russ. *сапсан* 'peregrin' (considered to be Turkic [Шипова 278], but the source is actually unknown). Cf. **čʻĭ̀pʻ[u]*.

✸**sī́pʿí** a k. of pipe: Mong. ***sib-**; Turk. ***sīpek**; Jpn. ***simpai**.

PMong. ***sib-** 1 to perforate 2 tattooing needle, perforator 3 smoking pipe (1 протыкать 2 игла для татуировки, протыкания 3 курительная трубка): WMong. *sibe-* 1, *sibegür* 2, *sibsiɣür* 3 (L 694, 695), *sibsirɣa* 'l'extrémité d'une baguette de correction'; Kh. *šive-* 1, *šivū̄r* 2, *šivšū̄r* 3; Bur. *šebšū̄r*; Ord. *šive-* 1; Mongr. *śiśur* 'mèche de fouet' (SM 401).

PTurk. ***sīpek** 1 infant's urinal in a cradle 2 pivot (of a hand-mill etc.) 3 corn-cob (1 мочеотводная трубочка в люльке 2 стержень, шкворень (ручной мельницы и т.п.) 3 початок кукурузы): Karakh. *sibek* 1, 2 (MK); Tur. *sübek* 1, 2, 3; Uzb. *sübäk* 3 (dial.).

◊ EDT 788, ЭСТЯ 7. Modern languages reveal some very irregular reflexes like Kaz., KKalp. *sobɨq* 3, Tur. *sümek*, *sömek* 1, 2, 3 (with -m- also in Kum. *sümek*, Nogh. *simek*, Uzb. *sumak* 1, 2 etc.; some languages have variants with *č-* or *š-* like Kirgh. *čömök* 3, *šimek* 1, 2). These all can be either irregular expressive variants with secondary diffusion or reflect contaminations with some other (not quite clear) roots.

PJpn. ***simpai** heart of rice straw (сердцевина стебля риса): MJpn. *sibe*; Tok. *shibe*.

‖ Cf. also PT **sīpɨŕgu* 'flute' (ЭСТЯ 7). In TM one may note Neg. *sịwsaxawụn* 'wire (for pipe cleaning'), Nan. *sịosaqo* 'wire (for burning a hole), sịosan- 'to burn (a hole with a wire)', Oroch *siapti* 'mouthpiece (of a tobacco pipe)' (TMC 2, 74, 75). These words are hardly borrowed from Mong. *sibsiɣür*, but are rather reflexes of original **sibe-* 'pull out, pick out' (see **zi̯upi*) influenced by the Mong. word.

✸**sì̀pʿi (~ z-, -p-)** to spy; slander: Tung. ***sipki-**; Mong. ***sibsi-**; Jpn. ***sìpù-**.

PTung. ***sipki-** 1 to spy, peep 2 to slander (1 подсматривать 2 клеветать, сплетничать, подстрекать): Evk. *sipkit-* 1, *sipku-* 2; Evn. *hịpqъ̣-* 1; Neg. *sịpkịt-* 1; Man. *sibki-* 1; SMan. *šifə́ka-* 'to study' (1853); Ork. *sipkiči-* 'hide'; Orch. *sippiči-* 1; Sol. *śirkiśī-* 'listen, hearken'.

◊ TMC 2, 92, 93.

PMong. ***sibsi-** to blemish, defame (позорить, клеветать): WMong. *sibsi-* (L 695); Kh. *šivšig* (Gomb. 808) 'shame, disgrace'; Kalm. *šiwšə-*.

◊ KW 362.

PJpn. ***sìpù-** to slander (клеветать): OJpn. *sipu-*; MJpn. *sìfu-*; Tok. *shií-*; Kyo. *shíí-*; Kag. *shií-*.

◊ JLTT 750. Accent in Kagoshima is irregular.

‖ A good Mong.-Tung.-Jpn. verbal match.

✸**sira (~ -u)** hill, high mountain: Tung. ***sirk-**; Mong. ***siru- / *siro-**; Turk. ***sɨrt**.

PTung. ***sirk-** 1 a small hillock 2 cape (1 холмик, кучка 2 мыс): Evk. *sirkun* (Uchur) 2; Nan. *sirge* 1 (Он.).

◊ TMC 2, 95.

PMong. ***siru- / *siro-** 1 rock, cliff 2 high mountain (1 скала, мыс 2 высокая гора): WMong. *siruɣ* 1, *šoroŋ* 2 (MXTTT); Kh. *šurag* 1, *šoron* 2.

PTurk. ***sɨrt** 1 back, spine (of animal) 2 tableland, mountain ridge (1 спина, позвоночник (животного) 2 горный хребет): Karakh. *sɨrt-la-* 'to climb up a small valley' (MK); Tur. *sɨrt* 1, 2; Az. *sɨrt* (dial.) 2; Turkm. *sɨrt* 2; MTurk. *sɨrt* (AH) 2, *sirt* (Pav. C.) 1; Uzb. *sirt* 1, 2; Uygh. *sirt* 1; Krm. *sɨrt* 1; Tat. *sɨrt* 1, 2; Bashk. *hɨrt* 1, 2; Kirgh. *sɨrt* 2; Kaz. *sɨrt* 2; KBalk. *sɨrt* 1; KKalp. *sɨrt*; Kum. *sɨrt* 1, 2; Nogh. *sɨrt* 'back part'; Khak. *sɨrt* 1; Oyr. *sɨrt* 1; Tv. *sirt* 1, 2; Tof. *sɨ'rt* 1, 2; Chuv. *šъrt* 1, 2.

◊ VEWT 419, EDT 847, Лексика 268, ЭСТЯ 7. Turk. > Hung. *szirt* (see Gombocz 1912, MNyTESz 3, 756).

‖ Мудрак Дисс. 45-46. A Western isogloss.

✱**sĭra (~ -u, -o)** to quilt, sew together: Tung. ***sira-**; Mong. ***siri-**; Turk. ***sɨri-**.

PTung. ***sira-** to sew together, piece down (сшивать, надставлять): Evk. *sira-*; Evn. *hirəq-*; Neg. *sija-*; Man. *sira-*; SMan. *šira-* 'to connect, to tie together, to join' (1699, 1763, 2959); Jurch. *sir(a)-ru* 'inherit' (425); Ul. *sira-*; Ork. *sira-*; Nan. *sira-*; Orch. *sija-*; Ud. *seä-*.

◊ TMC 2, 94.

PMong. ***siri-** to quilt, stitch (простегивать, прошивать): WMong. *siri-* (L 717); Kh. *šire-*; Bur. *šere-*; Kalm. *šir-* (KPC); Ord. *šire-*, *širi-*; Dag. *širi-* (Тод. Даг. 184: *šire-*), *šire* (MD 217); Dong. *širi-*; S.-Yugh. *širə-*; Mongr. *śiri-* 'contre-pointer' (SM 399), *śirə-*.

◊ MGCD 720. Mong. > Kirgh. *širi-* id.

PTurk. ***sɨri-** to sew tightly, quilt, smock (строчить, простегивать, прошивать): Karakh. *sɨri-* (MK); Tur. *sɨri-* (dial.); Az. *sɨri-*; Turkm. *sɨra-*; MTurk. *sɨri-* (R.); Uygh. *sɨri-* (dial.); Tat. *sɨr-*; Bashk. *hɨr-*; Kaz. *sɨri-*; KKalp. *sɨri-*; Kum. *sɨri-*; Nogh. *sɨri-*; Khak. *sɨri-*; Oyr. *sɨr-*; Tv. *sɨri-*.

◊ VEWT 418, 419, EDT 845, ЭСТЯ 7.

‖ Tekin 1969, 70. A Western isogloss.

✱**sire** a measure of length or width: Tung. ***siru**; Turk. ***sere**; Jpn. ***sirə**.

PTung. ***siru** span between the big finger and index finger (расстояние между большим и указательным пальцами): Man. *šuru*; Ul. *siru(n)*; Ork. *sirobgi*, *sirogbi*; Nan. *siru*; Orch. *sijo*; Ud. *süö*.

◊ TMC 2, 80.

PTurk. ***sere** span between the big finger and index finger (расстояние между большим и указательным пальцами): Tur. *sere*; Gag. *serä*; Turkm. *sere*; Uzb. *särä* (dial.); Kirgh. *sere*; Kaz. *sere*.

◊ VEWT 411, ЭСТЯ 7.

PJpn. ***sirə** a unit of field width (единица площади поля): OJpn. *siro*.

◊ JLTT 526.

‖ ЭСТЯ 7.

✱**sirpʿa (~-o,-u)** thick hair, bristle: Tung. ***sirpa-kta**; Mong. ***ser- / *sir-**; Turk. ***sɨrt**.

PTung. ***sirpa-kta** horse's hair, bristle (конский волос, щетина): Neg. *sịtpakta*; Man. *siqa*; SMan. *šikā* 'tail horse-hair, horsetail' (2292); Ul. *sịrpaqta*; Nan. *sịrbaqta* ~ *sịrpaqta*; Orch. *sipakta*, *sịppakta*.

◊ TMC 2, 99-100.

PMong. ***ser- / *sir-** 1 crest 2 long rod, switch 3 bristle 4 to bristle, stand on end 5 spine ramification 6 sticking out, protruding (1 гребень, холка; плавник 2 метла, длинный прут 3 щетина, толстая нить 4 щетиниться, стоять дыбом 5 спинной отросток 6 торчащий, торчать, выступать): MMong. *širun* 'uneven, rugged' (MA 336); WMong. *serbege*, *serbe* 1 (L 688), *sirbegür*, *sirbigür*, *sirbegül* (L 715) 2, *sirke(g)* 3 (L 718), *serbeji-*, *sirbeji-* 4 (L 689), *serteŋ* 5, (L 691) 6; Kh. *servēn* 1, *širvū̄l* 2, *širxeg* 3, *servij-* 4, *serten* 5, *sertger*, *sertij-* (V.) 6; Bur. *herbē* 1, *šerxeg* 3, *herteger* 6; Kalm. *serwē* 1, *širkə*, *širkəg* 3; *šarwā̄-* 'in die Höhe ragen (die Haare)', *sertəgər* 6; Ord. *serwī-* 4, *serteger* 'sticking out (about ears)'; Dag. *širgē* 3.

◊ KW 326, 351, 360, MGCD 721. Mong. *sirkeg* > Oyr. *šärkäk*.

PTurk. ***sɨrt** thick hair, bristle (толстый волос, щетина): Karakh. *sɨrt* (MK); Tat. *sɨrt* (dial.); Bashk. *šɨrt* (< Chuv.?); Chuv. *šъrt*.

◊ EDT 846, VEWT 419-420, ЭСТЯ 7. Turk. > Hung. *serte* 'bristle' (Gombocz 1912, MNyTESz 3, 526).

‖ KW 360, Мудрак Дисс. 45, Лексика 268. A Western isogloss. Mong. *sirke-*, *serte-* may belong here if they go back to **sirp-ke-*, **serp-te-* (cf. the TM and Turkic forms). See also notes to **sajri* 'stick out, protrude'.

✱**siŕu (~ -o)** pain: Tung. ***sir**; Mong. ***sir-**; Turk. ***sɨŕ-**; Kor. ***sìrŕm**.

PTung. ***sir** sharp pain (in one's joint) (острая боль (в суставе)): Ul. *sir*; Nan. *sir*.

◊ TMC 2, 95.

PMong. ***sir-** 1 inner pain 2 contagious disease (1 внутренняя боль 2 заразная болезнь): WMong. *sira* 1, *sirig* 2; Kh. *šar* 1; Bur. *šara* 'heartburn'; Kalm. *šarə* 1, *širəg* 2.

◊ KW 349.

PTurk. ***sɨŕ-** 1 to feel pain 2 pain, suffering (1 ощущать ломоту, чувствовать боль 2 боль, ломота, страдания): Karakh. *sɨzla-* (MK) 1; Tur. *sɨzɨ-* 1, *sɨzɨ* 2; Gag. *sɨzɨ* 2; Turkm. *sɨzla-* 1; MTurk. *sizgi* 2 (R.); Tat. *sɨs* 2 (dial.); Kirgh. *sɨz* 2; Kaz. *sɨz* 2; Chuv. *sъrъltat-* 'to feel ague' (?).

◊ EDT 863, VEWT 420.

PKor. ***sìrɨ́m*** worry, trouble (заботы, тревоги): MKor. *sìrɨ́m*; Mod. *sirɨm*.

◊ Liu 495, KED 1036.

‖ KW 349.

✱**sísu (~ z-)** to baste, cloth: Tung. ***sise-***; Mong. ***sisegej***; Jpn. ***súsuá***; Kor. ***sis-***.

PTung. ***sise-*** 1 to baste 2 list (of clothes) (1 приметывать, наметывать 2 оторочка): Man. *sise-* 1, *sisexen* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 99. Attested only in Manchu, but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***sisegej*** felt (войлок): MMong. *sisgai* (HY 22, SH), *isgai* (SH), *sisəkəj*, *sisukej* (MA), *sīseke* (Lig.VMI); WMong. *isegei*, *esegei* (L 416); Kh. *esgij*, *isgij*; Bur. *hejɨ* / *hegej*; Kalm. *iškē*; Ord. *esegī*; Mog. *siskei* (Weiers); Dag. *šisegī*, *šidegī* (Тод. Даг. 184), *šidehe* (MD 215); S.-Yugh. *skī*; Mongr. *sgə̄* (SM 346), *səgī*.

◊ KW 211, MGCD 413. Mong. > Man. *sisxe* etc., see Doerfer MT 80, Rozycki 185.

PJpn. ***súsuá*** lap, skirt (подол): OJpn. *suswo*; MJpn. *súsó*; Tok. *sùso*; Kyo. *súsó*; Kag. *susó*.

◊ JLTT 535.

PKor. ***sič-*** to baste (приметывать): MKor. *sis-*; Mod. *sičhi-*.

◊ Nam 322, KED 1042.

‖ Lee 1958, 117.

✱**sítʿì (~ z-)** to think, worry, be anxious: Tung. ***sita-***; Mong. ***sitü-***; Jpn. ***sítáp-***; Kor. ***sìtɨ́rə́p-***.

PTung. ***sita-*** 1 be embarrassed, perplexed 2 to tarry (1 смущаться 2 мешкать): Evk. *sita-* 1; Man. *šita-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 99.

PMong. ***sitü-*** to trust, believe (доверять, верить): MMong. *šitu* (HY 38); WMong. *sitü-* (L 720); Kh. *šüte-*; Bur. *šüte-*; Kalm. *šüt-*; Ord. *šütü-*; Dag. *šute-* (Тод. Даг. 184, MD 218); S.-Yugh. *šütēn* 'object of worship'; Mongr. *šden* 'pièce d'étoffe rouge ou jaune qu'on met aux idoles pour les vénérer' (SM 371).

◊ KW 372, MGCD 729.

PJpn. ***sítáp-*** to be anxious, to miss, to care (заботиться, скучать, любить): OJpn. *sitap-*; MJpn. *sítáf-*; Tok. *shìta-*; Kyo. *shítá-*; Kag. *shitá-*.

◊ JLTT 753.

PKor. ***sìtɨ́r-*** 1 to tire, be tired 2 to be emaciated, wither 3 to be displeased, disinclined; to be unsatisfactory (1 уставать 2 истощаться, увядать 3 быть недовольным, нерасположенным; быть неудовлетворительным): MKor. *sìtɨ́r-* 2, *sìtɨ́rə́p-* 1; Mod. *sidɨl-* 2, *sidɨl-ha-* 3.

◊ Nam 324, KED 1035.

‖ In MKor. cf. also *sìtɨ́r-* 'to be emaciated, wither'.

✱**sìtʿò** ladder, framed wall: Tung. ***sitkī**; Mong. ***sita**; Jpn. ***sìtàmi**; Kor. ***satări**.

PTung. ***sitkī** wall, side (of tent) (стенка (юрты)): Evk. *sitkī*; Evn. *hitki*; Neg. *sitkī;* Sol. *šīttũ* 'summer panelling (of tent)'.

◊ TMC 2, 99, 426.

PMong. ***sita** stairs (лестница): MMong. *šatu* (MA 407); WMong. *šatu(n)* (L 754); Kh. *šat(an)*; Bur. *šata*; Kalm. *šatə*; Ord. *šatu*; S.-Yugh. *šātə*.

◊ KW 351, MGCD 710. Mong. > Chag. *šatu* etc. (despite Doerfer TMN 3, 317, Turk. > Mong. is impossible because of initial *š-).*

PJpn. ***sìtàmi** blinds, shutter (навес, жалюзи): OJpn. *sit(w)om(j)i*; MJpn. *sìtòmì*; Tok. *shitomi*.

◊ JLTT 528.

PKor. ***satări** stairs (лестница): MKor. *satări*; Mod. *sadari*, *sadak-tari*.

◊ Nam 282, KED 870.

‖ KW 351, SKE 217. The etymology seems plausible, despite Doerfer's (TMN 3, 318) doubts ("Zusammenhang der kor. Form mit der tü.-mo. scheint zweifelhaft") - although the Korean vocalism is in fact not quite clear.

✱**sitʿV́ (~ z-, š-)** bands tied to sacrifices: Mong. ***seter**; Jpn. ***sintai (~-ia)**.

PMong. ***seter** bands tied to sacrificial animals (ленты, привязываемые к жертвенным животным): WMong. *seter* (L 692); Kh. *seter*; Bur. *heter*; Kalm. *setṛ* 'heilig, geweiht; geweihtes Opfervieh'; Ord. *seter* 'consecration dʿune pièce de betail à une divinité'; Mongr. *sder* (SM 335).

◊ KW 327. Lessing writes: "from Tib. seter", but we were unable to identify such a word. Sukhbataar 1997 derives the word from Tib. *che thar* 'eternity, immortality (?)', which seems rather far-fetched, both phonetically and semantically.

PJpn. ***sintai (~-ia)** tassels tied to sacrifices (тесемки, привязываемые к приношениям божеству): MJpn. *side*; Tok. *shide*.

◊ Formally derived from **sinta-* 'to let hang down', but etymologically hardly separable from Mong. *seter.*

‖ A rather striking Mong.-Jpn. isogloss. Cf. perhaps also Evk. *čitarān-* 'натянуть, затянуть (ремнем, поясом)' (TMC 2, 400); Sol. *šīttũ* 'летняя обшивка юрты из прутьев' (TMC 2, 426).

✱**si̯ăbi** to sew, perforate, awl: Tung. ***sibi-**; Mong. ***siböge**; Kor. ***hō-**.

PTung. ***sibi-** to thread (нанизывать): Evk. *šiwikēme*, *šuwikēme* 'вышитый бисером' (Sym.); Neg. *si̯wla-*; Man. *sujfun* 'awl' (<**sibi-pun*); Ul. *sī-*; Ork. *sīwi-*; Nan. *sī-*; Orch. *siwi-*; Ud. *sūla* 'stick for stringing fish (while drying)'.

◊ TMC 2, 117, 121, 428.

PMong. ***siböge** awl (шило): MMong. *šibuge* (SH), *sebgä* (IM), *šibugă* 'awl', *sibigă* 'sting' (MA); WMong. *sibüge(n)* (L 696); Kh. *šövög;* Bur.

šübge; Kalm. *šöwgə*; Ord. *šöwögö*; Dag. *šeugu* (Тод. Даг. 183); Dong. *sumeGe*, *suməɣə*; Bao. *sebgu* (MGCD *səbkə*); S.-Yugh. *šəwaɣe*; Mongr. *šubuge*, *šūge* (SM 383, 384), (MGCD *śūge*).

◊ KW 367, MGCD 723. Mong. > Man. *sibke* etc., see Poppe 1966, 198, Doerfer MT 132.

PKor. ***hō-** to sew, broad-stitch (шить (широкими стежками)): MKor. *hō-*; Mod. *hō-*.

◊ Nam 490, Liu 755, KED 1840.

‖ The root is actively (esp. in Mongolian) contaminating with **sī́pʿi* 'pipe' (as something which may be poked, perforated).

✸**si̯ȁbo** a k. of stick: Tung. ***sōba**; Mong. ***seɣül**; Jpn. ***sàwùa**.

PTung. ***sōba** bough, stick (for hanging kettle over fire) (палка (для подвешивания над огнем котла, чайника)): Neg. *sōwa*; Nan. *sogbin* (Он.).

◊ See TMC 2, 103.

PMong. ***seɣül** oar (весло, рулевое весло): WMong. *seɣül* (L 683); Kh. *sū̄l*; Kalm. *sū̄l*.

◊ KW 342. The root is homonymous with **seɣül* 'tail' (v. sub **si̯ū́bu*), but certainly different historically; although now it is almost obsolete (but noted both in Lessing's and Ramstedt's dictionaries), it is certainly archaic. Mong. > Oroch *sui(l)*, Nan. *soịl*, Neg. *se(w)ul* etc. (see TMC 2, 120).

PJpn. ***sàwùa** pole (шест, жердь): OJpn. *sawo*; MJpn. *sàwò*; Tok. *saó*; Kyo. *sáò*; Kag. *saó*.

◊ JLTT 518.

‖ Cf. **sắpʿí* , **sèpʿù* (with possible contaminations in Mongolian).

✸**si̯ȁgi** a k. of foliage tree: Tung. ***siakta**; Mong. ***siɣer**; Turk. ***següt**.

PTung. ***siakta** willow (ива): Evk. *sêkta*; Evn. *hā̄t*; Neg. *sêkta*; Man. *sajχuwa*; Orch. *säkta*, *siakta*; Ud. *sakta*.

◊ TMC 2, 70.

PMong. ***siɣer** nut tree (ореховое дерево): WMong. *šeger* (L 754); Kh. *šēr*.

PTurk. ***següt** willow (ива): OTurk. *sögüt* 'tree' (OUygh.); Karakh. *sögüt*; Tur. *söjüt*, *sȫüt*; Gag. *sū̄t*; Az. *söjüd*; Turkm. *söwüt*; Khal. *säjät*; MTurk. *sügüd* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *sögät*; Uygh. *säwät*; SUygh. *sögüt*, *segɨt*; Khak. *sȫt*; Yak. *üöt*; Dolg. *üöt*.

◊ EDT 819, VEWT 429, Лексика 126, ЭСТЯ 7, Stachowski 252.

‖ VEWT 429, Дыбо 11. A Western isogloss. Length is reconstructed to account for *-ia- (after a fricative) in TM.

✸**si̯ȁjrí** nit, louse: Tung. ***sire-**; Mong. ***sirke**; Turk. ***sirke**; Jpn. ***sìrám(u)i**; Kor. ***hjə̀**.

PTung. ***sire-** 1 louse 2 helminth 3 worm (1 вошь 2 глист 3 червь): Evk. *sirikte* 2; Neg. *sekki* 3; Ul. *sịlma* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 85, 95, 138.

PMong. ***sirke** louse (of animals) (вошь (на животных)): MMong. *sərke* 'nit' (MA 323); WMong. *sirke* (L 718: "a k. of flea"); Kh. *širx*; Bur. *šerxe*; Kalm. *širkə*; Ord. *širχe*.

◊ KW 360.

PTurk. ***sirke** nit (гнида): OTurk. test; Karakh. *sirke* (MK); Tur. *sirke*; Gag. *sirkä*; Az. *sirkä*; Turkm. *sirke*; Khal. *sirkä*; MTurk. *sirke* (IM); Uzb. *sĭrkɛ*; Uygh. *sĭ(r)kä*; Krm. *sirke*; Tat. *sĭrkɛ*; Bashk. *hĭrkä*; Kirgh. *sirke*; Kaz. *sĭrke*; KBalk. *sirke*; KKalp. *sirke*; Kum. *sirke*; Nogh. *sirke*; Khak. *sĭrge*; Oyr. *sirke*; Tv. *sirge*; Tof. *si'rxe*; Chuv. *šъrga*.

◊ VEWT 423, EDT 850, Лексика 182, ЭСТЯ 7. Turk. > Hung. *serke*, see Gombocz 1912, MNyTESz 3, 523-524.

PJpn. ***sìrám(u)í** louse (вошь): OJpn. *siram(j)i*; MJpn. *sìrámí*; Tok. *shìrami*; Kyo. *sìràmí*; Kag. *sìràmí*.

◊ JLTT 525.

PKor. ***hjə̀** nit (гнида): MKor. *hjə̀*; Mod. *səkhä*.

◊ Nam 488, KED 939. Modern *səkhä* is a dialectal form < **hjə-kai*.

‖ KW 360, АПиПЯЯ 73, 83, 87, 276 (confused with the reflexes of **si̯uru* q.v.), Лексика 182, Whitman 1985, 168. In Turkic a secondary narrowing (**sirke* < **serke* or **si̯arke*) occurred. Mong. may be < Turkic. In Kor. we have to suppose **si̯à̯jri* > **hjə̀* (with tone modified because of contraction).

✱**si̯à̯jri** white: Tung. ***siarū-**; Mong. ***sira**; Turk. ***siarɨg**; Jpn. ***sìruà-**; Kor. ***hǎi-**.

PTung. ***siarū-** 1 lightning, rainbow 2 light (1 молния, радуга 2 свет, светлый): Evk. *sêrū-n* 1; Man. *šari* 2; Ork. *sêrro*, *sṛo* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 72, 381.

PMong. ***sira** yellow (желтый): MMong. *šira* (HY 41, SH), *širā* (IM), *širă* (MA); WMong. *sira* (L 714); Kh. *šar*; Bur. *šara*; Kalm. *šarə*; Ord. *šara*; Mog. *šira*; ZM *sirā* (13-7); Dag. *šara*, *šar* (Тод. Даг. 183), *šari* (MD 214); Dong. *šəra*, *šɨra*; Bao. *šira*; S.-Yugh. *šəra*; Mongr. *śira* (SM 397).

◊ KW 349, MGCD 707. Mong. > Manchu *sira* (see Rozycki 184).

PTurk. ***siarɨg** 1 yellow 2 white (1 желтый 2 белый): OTurk. *śarɨɣ* (Orkh.), *sarɨɣ* (OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *sarɨɣ* (MK); Tur. *sarɨ* 1; Gag. *sarɨ* 1; Az. *sarɨ* 1; Turkm. *sārɨ* 1; Sal. *sarɨ* 1; Khal. *sāruɣ* 'orange'; MTurk. *sarɨɣ* 1 (Abush., Pav. C.); Uzb. *sariq* 1; Uygh. *seriq* 1; Krm. *sarɨ* 1; Tat. *sarɨ* 1; Bashk. *harɨ* 1; Kirgh. *sarɨ* 1; Kaz. *sarɨ* 1; KBalk. *sarɨ* 1; KKalp. *sarɨ* 1; Kum. *sarɨ* 1; Nogh. *sarɨ* 1; SUygh. *sarɨɣ* 1; Khak. *sarɨɣ* 1; Oyr. *sarɨ* 1; Tv. *sarɨɣ* 1; Tof. *sarɨɣ* 1; Chuv. *šorъ* 2; Yak. *araɣas* 1; *arī* 'butter'; Dolg. *arī* 'butter'.

◊ VEWT 403-4, EDT 848, Лексика 601, Федотов 2 462-463, ЭСТЯ 7, Stachowski 37. Vowel length in Turkm. and Khal. must be secondary (influenced by forms like Mong. *sāral* 'yellowish'?). Bulg. > Hung. *sár*, *sárga*, dial. *sárog* 'yellow', see Gombocz 1912, MNyTESz 3, 227.

PJpn. ***sìruà-** white (белый): OJpn. *sirwo-*; MJpn. *sìrò-*; Tok. *shiró-*; Kyo. *shíro-*; Kag. *shiro-*.

◊ JLTT 840.

PKor. ***hā́i-** white (белый): MKor. *hā́i-*; Mod. *hi-*.

◊ Nam 482, KED 1898.

‖ KW 349, Владимирцов 146, 318, Lee 1958, 117, АПиПЯЯ 26, 73, 86, 278, Мудрак Дисс. 195. Mong. is not borrowed from Turkic, despite Щербак 1997, 144 (Doerfer TMN 3, 221 says: "aus lautlichen Gründen unwahrscheinlich" (?)); the meaning 'yellow', however, may be secondarily induced by the Turkic forms - since the original meaning of the root, preserved also in Chuvash, was most certainly 'white'. Medial *-j- is reconstructed to account for the loss of *-r- in Kor. Cf. also Old Koguryo **šilap* 'white' (see Miller 1979, 7).

✸**si̯aku (~ z-)** chaff, husks: Tung. ***suK-**; Mong. ***saga-**; Jpn. ***suku-mə**; Kor. ***skór**.

PTung. ***suK-** pods or buds (of elm tree) (стручки, почки (вяза)): Man. *suqǯi*.

◊ TMC 2, 122. Attested only in Manchu, with possible external parallels.

PMong. ***saga-** different sorts of buckwheat (различные сорта гречихи): WMong. *saɣaɣ*, *saɣada(i)* (L 656); Kh. *sagag*, *sagadaj*; Kalm. *saksā̈*, *saksā*; Ord. *saGat*, *saGaG* 'rye, buckwheat'; Mongr. *saGa* (SM 318).

◊ KW 308.

PJpn. ***suku-mə** turf; rice husks (дерн; рисовая шелуха): MJpn. *suku-mo* "dead parts of water plants or weeds"; Tok. *sukumo*.

◊ JLTT 533.

PKor. ***skór** forage (фураж, кормовая трава): MKor. *skór*; Mod. *k:ol*.

◊ Nam 51, KED 157.

‖ Korean has a rather frequent loss of vowel between a fricative and a stop (**skór* < **sVkor*).

✸**si̯ā́kʿà** to think, worry: Tung. ***siaK-**; Mong. ***sege-, *seke-**; Turk. ***siāk-**; Jpn. ***sákà-**; Kor. ***skā́i-**.

PTung. ***siaK-** 1 to speak within oneself 2 to respond, call back (1 говорить про себя 2 отзываться): Evk. *sikine-* 1 (Nep.); Orch. *sijau-* 2; Ud. *sieu-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 80, 81.

PMong. ***sege-, *seke-** 1 to recover (one's senses) 2 intelligence (1 приходить в себя 2 разум, сознание): WMong. *seke(ge)-* 1, *segeɣe* 2 (L 681, 685: *seke*, *sege*, *sekege*, *segege*); Kh. *sexe-* 1, *sexē*, *segē* 2; Bur. *hegēr-* 1, *hegē(n)* 2; Kalm. *segɛ̄n* 2; Ord. *segē* 2; Dag. *sekēn* (Тод. Даг. 162) 2 (MGCD *segē*).

◊ KW 321, MGCD 602.

PTurk. ***siāk-** 1 to think, contemplate, worry 2 to miss 3 intelligence 4 thought, worry 5 to read 6 to remember 7 mourning, sad remembrance (1 думать, размышлять, грустить 2 скучать 3 разум 4 мысль, волнение 5 читать 6 помнить 7 оплакивание, печальное воспоминание): OTurk. *saq-* 1, *saqɨš* 4 (OUygh.); Karakh. *saq-*, *sayɨn-* 1, *saqɨš* 4 (MK); Tur. *sayɨ* 7; Turkm. *sāGɨn-* 2; MTurk. *sayɨn-* (Bud.) 2, *sayɨ* (Pav. C.) 1; Uzb. *sɔɣɨn-* 2; Uygh. *seɣɨn-* 2; Krm. *sayɨn-* 1, 2; Tat. *sayɨ* 4, *sayɨn-* 2; Bashk. *hayɨn-* 2; Kirgh. *sayɨn-* 2; Kaz. *sayɨn-* 2; KKalp. *sayɨn-* 1, 2; Kum. *sayɨn-* 2; Nogh. *sayɨn-* 2; Khak. *sayɨn-* 2; Tv. *sayɨn-* 2, 6, *sayɨš* 3; Chuv. *šoɣъš* 4; Yak. *āx-* 5, *ayɨn-* 2, 6; Dolg. *āk-* 5, *agɨn-* 2, 6.

◊ Мудрак 113-114, VEWT 395, EDT 813, Федотов 2, 464, Stachowski 28, 41 (confused with **sạk-*, from which it is often really hard to distinguish), ЭСТЯ 7. Voicing of medial -k- is regular after a long vowel (but it is somewhat strange in MK's text - note also its absence in *saqɨš).*

PJpn. ***sákà-** clever, intelligent (умный, мудрый): OJpn. *saka-si*; MJpn. *sákà-si*; Tok. *sakashí-*; Kyo. *sákáshì-*; Kag. *sakáshi-*.

◊ JLTT 839. RJ and Kagoshima point to high tone, while Tokyo is aberrant.

PKor. ***skǻi-** to awake (просыпаться): MKor. *skǻi-*; Mod. *k:ǻ-*.

◊ Nam 29, KED 68.

‖ Мудрак Дисс. 195. Cf. **sèk'u.* The variant with *-g- in Mong. is obviously assimilative.

✱si̯alo(-kV) a k. of small fur animal: Tung. ***solüki**; Mong. ***sileɣü-sü**; Turk. ***sialɨk**; Kor. ***sɨra-**.

PTung. ***solüki** 1 kolinsky 2 ferret (1 колонок 2 хорек): Evk. *soliɣā* (dial.) 1; Man. *silixi / soloxi* 2; Nan. *sol̀u̯* 1; Ud. *solüö* 1; Sol. *sōligi* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 109 (some forms - but not all - are borrowed from Mong. *soluŋga).*

PMong. ***sileɣü-sü** lynx (рысь): MMong. *šile'usun* (HYt); WMong. *silegüsü(n)*, *silügüsü(n)* (L 708); Kh. *šilūs*; Bur. *šelūhe(n)*; Kalm. *šilūsn*, *šülūsn*; Ord. *šölūs*; Dag. *šulūs* (Тод. Даг. 184); Mongr. *šēle* (SM 374).

◊ KW 371. Mong. > Kum. *silewsün* etc. (Щербак 1997, 210, ЭСТЯ 7), Man. *silun* (Rozycki 182).

PTurk. ***sialɨk** a k. of squirrel, chipmunk (вид белки, бурундук): Tat. *šulɨɣan* (< **Chuv.*); Shr. *sayɨl* 'белка'; Oyr. *salɨq* (dial. - Leb.); Chuv. **šolxan* > Mari *šulgan* (TLT 65).

◊ Лексика 165.

PKor. ***sɨra-** lynx (рысь): Mod. *sɨrasoni*.

◊ KED 1024.

‖ Лексика 165. The Kor. form is somewhat unclear morphologically; the -ɨ- vowel may be a distortion of the expected *-ă- or *-u- in a long form. Cf. **sólukV*.

✱**s̯iame (~ -i, -i̯o-)** wound, pain: Mong. ***sim-si-**; Kor. ***hə̀mɨ́r**.

PMong. ***sim-si-** to feel gnawing pain (чувствовать ноющую боль): WMong. *simsire-*, *simsirid-* (L 710); Kh. *šimšire-*; Bur. *šemšer-*; Kalm. *šimšər-* (KPC); Ord. *šimšire-*.

PKor. ***hə̀mɨ́r** scar, wound; fault, mistake (шрам, рана; ошибка, вина): MKor. *hə̀mɨ́r*; Mod. *həmul*.

◊ Nam 484, KED 1821.

‖ A Mong.-Kor. isogloss.

✱**s̯iā́ńi** to be distressed, think with sadness: Mong. ***sinu-**; Turk. ***siāń- (~-j-)**; Jpn. ***sínuá-p-**.

PMong. ***sinu-** to covet, yearn, be greedy (жаждать, быть жадным): WMong. *sinu-* (L 713); Kh. *šuna-*; Bur. *šuna-*; Kalm. *šun-*; Ord. *šinorxo-*, *šonorxo-*, *šono-* 'to desire'.

◊ KW 368.

PTurk. ***siāń- (~-j-)** 1 poor, distressed 2 to be distressed, anxious, fearful 3 to squander 4 to pain, be sore (of a foot) 5 distress 6 beggar (1 бедный, несчастный 2 быть расстроенным, подавленным, испуганным 3 растрачивать (имущество) 4 ныть (о ноге) 5 расстройство 6 странник, нищий): Karakh. *saj-pa-* 3; Turkm. *sājɨl* 1; MTurk. *saj-pa-* 3; Uygh. *saj-* 4; KKalp. *sajɨl* 6; Oyr. *sajlɨɣ* 1 (dial.), *sajaq* 5 (dial., R - Kumd.); Tv. *sajmaara-* 2; Chuv. *šujɣan-* 2.

◊ EDT 859, Ашм. XVII, 111.

PJpn. ***sínuá-p-** to be sad, think with sadness (вспоминать с тоской): OJpn. *sinwo-p-*; MJpn. *sínób-*; Tok. *shinób-*, *shìnob-*; Kyo. *shínób-*; Kag. *shìnòb-*.

◊ JLTT 751, 752. OJ has a distinction between *sinwop-* 'think with sadness' and *sinob-* 'endure' which have been hopelessly confused in modern dialects. We also have OJ *sinwog-* 'endure'. RJ has *sìnòg-* (regularly reflected as Tokyo *shinóg-*, Kyoto *shínóg-*, Kagoshima *shìnòg-*), but *sínób-* 'endure' (by Heian *sinwop-* and *sinob-* had already merged), the accent trace of which is the Tokyo variant *shìnob-*. One should probably reconstruct **sínuá-p-* 'think with sadness' opposed to **sìnə̀-(m)p-*, **sìnuà-(n)k-* 'endure' with subsequent inevitable confusions.

‖ Cf. **sǐni* and **saŋe*: the roots are sometimes different to distinguish.

✱**s̯iāŋa** a k. of big fish: Tung. ***siaŋa-**; Jpn. ***sama-i**.

PTung. ***siaŋa-** 1 burbot 2 eel (1 налим 2 угорь): Evk. *sêŋān* 1; Evn. *hā̄ŋṇn*; Nan. *sā̄ŋasa*, dial. *siŋa*, *sānā* 1; Ud. *seä* 1, dial. *saŋasa* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 71.

PJpn. ***sama-** shark (акула): OJpn. same; MJpn. *sámé*; Tok. *sàme*, *samé*; Kyo. *sámé*, *sàmê*; Kag. *sáme*.

◊ JLTT 517. Original accent is not quite clear.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss.

✱**si̯ăŋe(rV) (~ z-)** yellowish, greyish: Tung. ***siŋa(r)-**; Mong. ***saɣar-**.

PTung. ***siŋa-(ri-)** yellow, yellowish (желтый, желтоватый): Evk. *siŋama*, *siŋarīn*; Evn. *hi̯ŋańa*; Neg. *si̯ŋaji̯n*; Sol. *šiŋarī*.

◊ TMC 2, 90.

PMong. ***saɣar-al** greyish, ash-grey (сероватый): WMong. *saɣaral* (L 657); Kh. *sāral*; Bur. *hāral* 'light-bay'; Kalm. *sāral* 'light-bay' (KPC); Ord. *sāral*; Dag. *sāral*, *sālal* (Тод. Даг. 162), *sārele* (MD 204); S.-Yugh. *sāral*.

◊ MGCD 584. Mong. > Man. *sarla* (see Rozycki 175).

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**si̯ăp´í (~ z-)** to wither, rot: Tung. ***siaba- (~ -p-)**; Mong. ***sebesüre-**; Jpn. ***símpəm-**.

PTung. ***siaba- (~ -p-)** 1 rotten wood 2 to rot, coagulate (1 гнилушка, трухлявое дерево 2 вянуть, сохнуть): Evk. *sêwaksa* 1; Evn. *hā̃wu̯s* 1; Man. *šubure-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 69, 428.

PMong. ***sebesüre-** to rot, decay (of vegetables) (гнить, портиться (об овощах)): WMong. *sebisüre-* (L 679: *sebesüre-*); Kh. *sevsre-*.

PJpn. ***símpəm-** to wither (вянуть): OJpn. *sib(w)om-*; MJpn. *síbóm-*; Tok. *shìbom-*; Kyo. *shíbóm-*; Kag. *shibóm-*.

◊ JLTT 749.

‖ Correspondences are quite regular, and the root seems reliable.

✱**si̯ăp´ú** to add, addition: Tung. ***sup-**; Turk. ***sep-**; Jpn. ***súmpa-**.

PTung. ***sup-** 1 to gather in a crowd 2 completely 3 all (1 собираться в кучу, толпиться 2 сплошь 3 весь): Evk. *sup-* 1, *suwūl* 3; Neg. *sup* 2; Ul. *sup* 2; Ork. *sup* 2; Nan. *sup* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 117, 128.

PTurk. ***sep-** 1 to equip, fit out, add 2 addition; dowry (1 прибавлять, снаряжать 2 добавка, приданое): OTurk. *sep- 1(OUygh.)*; Karakh. *sep* 2 (MK); Tur. *sep* 2; Turkm. *sep-li* 'with a dowry'; Uzb. *sep* 2; Uygh. *säp* 2; Krm. *sep* 2; Tat. *sip* 2; Kirgh. *sep* 2; Kaz. *sep* 2; Kum. *sep* 2; Nogh. *sep* 2; Oyr. *sep* 2; Chuv. *sap-la-* 'to compensate'; Yak. *ep-* 1, *ebī* 'more, additionally'; Dolg. *ebī* 'more, additionally'.

◊ EDT 783, 784, VEWT 410, Stachowski 43. Turk. > WMong. *seb*, see KW 320.

PJpn. ***súmpa-** bring many into one, to unify, control (объединять, контролировать): OJpn. *suba-*; MJpn. *súba-*; Tok. *subé-*; Kyo. *súbé-*; Kag. *subé-*.

◊ JLTT 757. The Tokyo accent is irregular.

‖ A probable Jpn.-Turk.-TM match.

✱**si̯arpu** scar, wound: Tung. ***surba-kta**; Mong. ***sorbi**; Kor. ***hər-**.

PTung. ***surba-kta** pimple, ulcer, scab (прыщ, сыпь, струпья): Evk. *surbakta*; Evn. *hu̯rbъt*; Man. *surgi*.

◊ TMC 2, 129.

PMong. ***sorbi** scar, wound (шрам, рана): WMong. *sorbi* (L 729); Kh. *sorvi*; Bur. *horbo*; Kalm. *sörwə* (KPC); Ord. *sorwi*.

PKor. ***hər-** to be worn out, sore, develop a boil (быть измученным, израненным, нарывать): MKor. *hər-*; Mod. *həl-*.

◊ Nam 485, KED 1826.

‖ Cf. perhaps some Turkic forms: Karakh. (MK) *sorɨš-*, *sorɨt-* 'to wrinkle', Tuva *sortɨla-* 'to be painful', *sortɨlāš* 'dimple', Khak. *sortɨx* 'hollow cheeks' (although one would rather expect **a-vocalism* and preservation of labial in Turkic).

✱**si̯ăŕi** earth, sand; marsh: Tung. ***siru-**; Mong. ***siraɣu**; Turk. ***siaŕ**; Jpn. ***situ**; Kor. ***hə̀rk**.

PTung. ***siru-** sand (песок): Evk. *sirugī*; Neg. *sijun*; Jurch. *sir-xe* (67); Ul. *siru(n)*; Nan. *siro(n)*; Orch. *sija*; Sol. *širuktã*.

◊ TMC 2, 96.

PMong. ***siro-** earth (земля): MMong. *šira'u* (HY 2), *širo'ai* (SH), *širu* (IM), *širăw*, *šira-* (MA); WMong. *siraɣu*, *siruɣa(i)*, *siroi* (L 719); Kh. *šorō*, *šoroj*; Bur. *šorōj*; Kalm. *šorã̄*, *šorā*; Ord. *šorō*; Dag. *širō*, *širtal* (Тод. Даг. 184), *širetele* (MD 217); Dong. *šəura*; Bao. *širo*, *śiru*; S.-Yugh. *šərū*; Mongr. *śirū* (SM 400).

◊ KW 365, MGCD 722. Cf. also WMong. *sirke*, *sirki*, Kalm. *širkə* 'hard earth (with sand)' (KW 360).

PTurk. ***siaŕ** marsh, dirt (болото, грязь): MTurk. *saz* (Houts.); Uzb. *sɔz*; Uygh. *saz*; Tat. *saz*; Bashk. *haδ*; Kirgh. *saz*; Nogh. *saz*; Khak. *sas*; Oyr. *sas*; Chuv. *šor(ъ)*.

◊ It is not quite clear whether the Oghuz name for 'reed' (Tur. *saz*, Turkm., Gag. *sāz*, see Лексика 135, ЭСТЯ 7) and 'swamp' as 'reed growth' (Tur. *sazlɨk*, Turkm. *sāzliq*) belongs here, too, or else reflect a different root. In the former case one should prefer the reconstruction **siăŕ*. See VEWT 406, TMN 3, 222, Лексика 93, Федотов 2, 462, ЭСТЯ 7. Bulg. > Hung. *sár* 'dirt', see Gombocz 1912, MNyTESz 3, 487-488.

PJpn. ***situ** damp place, dampness (влажность, влажное место): MJpn. *situ*; Tok. *shitsu*.

◊ The word is usually considered to be an on-reading of the Chinese character 濕 MC *śip*. The latter should normally have a reading MJ *sifu*, mod. *shū* (which exists), while *situ/shitsu*, attested in separate usage since Middle Japanese, appears quite irregular phonetically for a Chinese loan. We should rather think of a genuine **situ*, misconceived as a Chinese loanword.

PKor. ***hə̀rk** earth (земля): MKor. *hə̀rk*; Mod. *hɨk* [*hɨlk*].

◊ Nam 480, KED 1894.

‖ KW 365, Poppe 30, 60, 114, VEWT 406 (without the Korean parallel), AKE 8, EAS 155, Miller 1985b, 205, АПиПЯЯ 291, Дыбо 11, Мудрак Дисс. 195, Лексика 93. Despite Poppe 1972, 100, Doerfer MT 65, the TM form is hardly borrowed from Mong. The Turk.-Mong. match is characterized by Doerfer (TMN 3, 222), in his usual style, as "lautlich

und semantisch unsicher". In Kor. cf. perhaps also MKor. *hìrì-* 'dirty' (< **hȁ̌ri* with vowel assimilation?).

✱**si̯ȁsa** noise, sound: Tung. ***siasi-n**; Turk. ***ses**; Jpn. ***sàsà-**.

PTung. ***siasi-n** noise, sound (шум, звук): Ul. *sêsi̯(n)*; Ork. *sêsi̯(n)*; Nan. *si̯asĩ*.

◊ TMC 2, 72.

PTurk. ***ses** voice, sound (голос, звук): Tur. *ses*; Gag. *ses*; Az. *säs*; Turkm. *ses*; Khal. *säs*, *sas*; Uzb. *säs* (dial.); Krm. *ses*; Kaz. *ses*; KKalp. *ses*; Kum. *ses*; Nogh. *ses*; Chuv. *sazъ*.

◊ VEWT 413, ЭСТЯ 7.

PJpn. ***sàsà-** to whisper (шептать): OJpn. *sasajak-*; MJpn. *sàsàjak-*; Tok. *sasayák-*, *sàsayak-*; Kyo. *sásáyák-*; Kag. *sasayák-*.

◊ JLTT 748. Kagoshima accent is aberrant (pointing to a variant **sásá-*, also reflected in Tokyo *sàsayak-*). Cf. also OJ *sasa-mek-*, *saza-mek-*, mod. *sàzamek-* 'to shout, rustle, make an uproar' (with the same accent aberration in Kagoshima).

‖ An expressive root, but probably of common Altaic origin.

✱**si̯ata** to ill-treat, betray: Mong. ***sadur**; Turk. ***siat-ga-**.

PMong. ***sadur** treacherous, vile (вероломный, подлый): WMong. *sadur* (L 656); Kh. *sadar* (Gomb.); Bur. *hadan* 'flippant, rakish'; *hadarxaj* 'hasty, reckless (of words)'; Kalm. *sadṛ*.

◊ KW 307.

PTurk. ***siat-ga-** 1 to oppress, ill-treat 2 to be ill-treated 3 to rave, be confused (1 подавлять кого-*л.*, беспокоить, мешать 2 подвергаться (чему-*л.*) 3 бредить, сбиваться с толку): OTurk. *satγa-* (OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *satγa-* (MK, KB) 1; Tur. *sata-š-* 1; Gag. *sataš-* 1; Az. *sata-š-* 1; Turkm. *sata-š-* 2; MTurk. (MKYpch.) *satγa-* (CCum.) 1; Krm. *sataš-* 1; Tat. *sataš-* 3; Bashk. *hataš-* 3; Kum. *sataš-* 1; Nogh. *satas-* 3; Chuv. *šot* 'trouble, anxiety' (but Федотов 2, 463 derives it < Russ. счет); Yak. *ataγasta-*.

◊ VEWT 405, EDT 800.

‖ A Turk.-Mong. isogloss.

✱**si̯obe (~ -p-)** freckles, pimples: Tung. ***subgu**; Mong. ***seb**; Turk. ***seb-**.

PTung. ***subgu** 1 fish skin 2 skin, bark (1 кожа (рыбья) 2 кожа, кора): Evk. *subgu* 1; Neg. *sobgu̯* 1; Man. *suku* 2; SMan. *soqə* 2 (145, 2132, 2284); Jurch. *su-gu* (514) 2; Ul. *sugbu* 1; Ork. *subgu/sugbu* 1; Nan. *sobGo* 1; Orch. *subbu* 1; Ud. *sugbu* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 115, 116.

PMong. ***seb** 1 defect, scab 2 freckles (1 дефект, изъян, струп 2 веснушки): WMong. *seb* 1 (L 678), *sebegi* 2 (L 679: *sebke*); Kh. *sev* 1, *sevx* 2; Kalm. *seb* 1, *sewgə* 2; Ord. *seb* 1, *sebχe*, *sewχ^{w}e*; S.-Yugh. *seb*.

◊ KW 320, 327, MGCD 596. The form *sebke*, as well as MMong. (MA) *sebkil* 'freckles' may be < Turkic.

PTurk. ***seb-** freckles (веснушки, сыпь): Tur. *sivil*; Az. *säpgi*; Turkm. *sepgil* (dial.); Uzb. *sepkül* (dial.); Uygh. *säpkä*, *säpkü*; *säpgün* (dial.); Tat. *sipkĭl*; Bashk. *hipkĭl*; Kirgh. *sepkil*; Kaz. *sekpil*; KBalk. *sepkil*; KKalp. *sepkil*; Kum. *sepkil*; Khak. *sikpe*; Tv. *sekpil*; Yak. *ebir*.

◊ VEWT 411, KW 327, ЭСТЯ 7. Turk. > Hung. *szeplő*, see Gombocz 1912.

‖ A Western isogloss. The Mong. root noun **seb* makes the inner Turkic derivation < **sep-* 'to scatter' (see e.g. ЭСТЯ 7) rather improbable. The TM form presupposes a semantic development 'skin defect' > 'wrinkled skin' > 'fish skin'; cf. for it, however, alternatively WMong. *sabkin* 'dressed leather'.

✱**s[i̯ó]čʹi** to flee; to pursue: Tung. ***suča-**; Mong. ***sočі-**; Turk. ***suč-**; Jpn. ***sítá-(n)kap-**; Kor. ***čòčh-**.

PTung. ***suča-** to flee (убегать, ускользать): Evk. *suča-*; Evn. *hu̯č-*; Neg. *soča-*; Man. *suǯu-*; SMan. *suǯi-* (1231); Nan. *čoča-*; Orch. *čoča-*, *čuča-*; Ud. *susa-*; Sol. *čača-*.

◊ TMC 2, 132.

PMong. ***sočі-** to fear, be afraid of (пугаться): MMong. *sočі-*, *čočі-* (SH); WMong. *sočі-*, *čočі-* (L 193); Kh. *cočі-*; Bur. *sošo-*; Kalm. *coč-*, *čoč-*; Ord. *ǯočі-*; Dag. *čočі-* (Тод. Даг. 182), *čočі-* 'be amazed, astonished' (MD 130); S.-Yugh. *čočі-*; Mongr. *saǯi-* (SM 317), (MGCD *šaǯi-*).

◊ KW 431, 444, MGCD 577. Mong. > Chag. *čočі-* (see Щербак 1997, 202); Yak. *sohuj-*, Dolg. *hohuj-* (Kał. MEJ 92, Stachowski 107).

PTurk. ***suč-** to flee, shy away from smth. (убегать): Karakh. *sučі-* (MK); MTurk. *suču-* (Qutb.).

◊ EDT 795. Cf. perhaps also **suč* 'fault, avoiding to do smth.' (VEWT 431, EDT 794, ЭСТЯ 7).

PJpn. ***sítá-(n)kap-** to follow (следовать): OJpn. *sita-gap-*; MJpn. *sítá-gaf-*; Tok. *shìtaga-*; Kyo. *shítágá-*; Kag. *shitagá-*.

◊ JLTT 753.

PKor. ***čòčh-** 1 to follow, pursue 2 trace (1 следовать за, преследовать): MKor. *čòčh-* 1, *čàčhói* 2; Mod. *čot-* [*čočh-*] 1, *čačhwi* 2.

◊ Nam 411, 431, KED 1384, 1488.

‖ KW 444, Владимирцов 407, SKE 41; Martin 232, АПиПЯЯ 77. The root seems quite reliable, although not devoid of phonetic peculiarities: the Jpn. form seems to points to a diphthong, while the Turkic and Mong. forms would be better derived from a form like **sučʹu* or **sučʹo*.

✱**si̯oga** cross-bow, arrow: Tung. ***sug-**; Mong. ***saɣali**; Turk. ***sAg[u]n**; Jpn. ***sa**; Kor. ***hoàr**.

PTung. ***sug-** 1 spear, arrow 2 fish fork 3 a k. of knife (1 копье, стрела 2 острога 3 вид ножа): Ul. *sugbe* 3; Nan. *sugbe* 2; Orch. *suggudi* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 118.

PMong. ***saɣali** cross-bow (арбалет): WMong. *saɣali* (L 657); Kh. *sāĺ*; Bur. *hāli*; Kalm. *sāĺə*.

◊ KW 317. Mong. > Neg. *saɣla* 'prop for a cross-bow arrow'.

PTurk. ***sAg[u]n** arrow, arrow head (стрела, наконечник стрелы): MTurk. *saɣan* (AH); Khak. *soɣan*; Shr. *soɣan*; Oyr. *soɣon*, *sōn*; Tv. *soɣun*.

◊ VEWT 426, ЭСТЯ 7. Stachowski (193) relates here also Yak. *ono-ɣos*, Dolg. *ono-gos* 'arrow', which may be right if *onoɣos* < **sagun-gač* with secondary vowel shortening (although the root should be kept distinct from **sokɨm* / **sokan*, derived from **sok-* 'to pierce, hit' - medial *-g- cannot be explained). See also notes to **sAgut* 'vessel'.

PJpn. ***sa** arrow (стрела): OJpn. *sa*.

◊ JLTT 515 (despite Martin, the word is also attested separately, not just within compounds; its relation to *soja* 'a k. of arrow' is not at all obvious).

PKor. ***hoàr** bow and arrow (лук и стрела): MKor. *hoàr*; Mod. *hwal*.

◊ Liu 758, KED 1862.

‖ Note an identical derivative in Mong. and Jpn.: Mong. **sayadag* 'quiver' (WMong. *sayadaɣ*, Khalkha *sādag*, L 656, KW 316-317, MGCD 584; Mong. > Chag. *saɣdaq*, Oyr. *sadaq* etc., see TMN 1, 337, Щербак 1997, 209, Лексика 567, ЭСТЯ 7) = PJ **sàjá* 'sheath' (OJ *sàjá*, JLTT 520).

✱**si̯óga** back, back skin: Tung. ***sogda-nsa**; Mong. ***sajir / *saɣari**; Turk. ***sagrɨ**; Jpn. ***sá- / *sə́-**; Kor. ***hə̀-**.

PTung. ***sogda-nsa** back (спина): Evk. *sogdonno*; Ud. *sogdühö*; Sol. *čogdonó* (Ивановский).

◊ TMC 2, 103.

PMong. ***sajir / *saɣari** 1 shagreen, callus 2 back (1 мозоль, слезающая кожа 2 спина): MMong. *sa'ari* 1,2 (SH), *sārī* 'Ein Leder aus der Haut des Hinterteils eines Pferdes oder Esels' (LH); WMong. *sajir*, *saɣari(n)* 1 (L 657, 660); Kh. *sajr* 1; Kalm. *sā̆r* 'verschiedene Hautstücke'; Mog. *sairin* 'thick skin' (Ramstedt 1906); Dag. *sār*; Bao. *sirəG*; S.-Yugh. *sār*; Mongr. sari 'peau à poils courts, fourrure' (SM 328).

◊ KW 319, MGCD 588. Mong. > Man. *sarin*, see Doerfer MT 136, Rozycki 175; cf. Аникин 487.

PTurk. ***sagrɨ** 1 croup skin, shagreen 2 back of horse (1 кожа с крупа, шагрень 2 круп лошади): Karakh. *saɣrɨ* 1 (MK); Tur. *sārɨ*, *saɣrɨ* 1, 2; Az. *saɣrɨ* 2; Turkm. *saGrɨ* 1, 2; MTurk. *saɣrɨ* (AH, IM) 2, *saɣri* (Pav. C.) 1, 2; Uzb. *saɣri* 1, 2; Uygh. *saɣra* 1, 2; Tat. *sawrɨ* 2; Bashk. *hawɨr*; Kirgh. *sōru* 1, 2; Kaz. *sawɨr* 2; KKalp. *sawrɨ* 2, *sawɨr* 1; Kum. *savru*, *sawurɨ* 2; Nogh. *sawɨr* 2; SUygh. *saɣɨr*; Oyr. *sūru*, *sūrɨ*; Chuv. *sъran* 'worked leather of bovines'.

◊ EDT 815, VEWT 393, Лексика 385-386, Дыбо 119, Федотов 2, 30 (but with another etymology), ЭСТЯ 7. Bulg. **suran* is the probable source of Tat. *suran* and Mong. *sur(an)* 'leather strap' - whence Manchu *sur* 'strap'.

PJpn. ***sá- / *sə́-** back (спина): OJpn. *se (so-)*; MJpn. *sé*; Tok. *sé*; Kyo. *sê*; Kag. *sé*.

◊ JLTT 521. High tone in Tokyo is irregular.

PKor. ***hə̀-** 1 waist 2 shagreen, skin (of snake etc.) (1 поясница 2 сброшенная кожа, кожа (змеи etc.)): MKor. *hə̀rí* 1, *hə̀ŋ'ùr* 2; Mod. *həri*, *hə-guri* 1, *həmul* 2.

◊ Nam 484, 486, KED 1821.

‖ KW 319, Дыбо 306, TMN 3, 225 (doubting the common origin of the Turk. and Mong. forms). Kor. *həri* was originally attributed (see PKE 54, Martin 245, АПиПЯЯ 76, 289) to PA **k'éĺe*; it seems, however, that the root is just **hə-*, and it is better to derive it from **si̯óga*, both for this reason and because of an apparent lack of development *kʿ- > h- in Korean.

✱**si̯ȍgdú (~ z-)** vein, sinew: Tung. ***sigde**; Mong. ***sudal**; Jpn. ***sùntí**.

PTung. ***sigde** 1 spinal vertebra, sinew 2 *filé* 3 mountain ridge (1 спинной позвонок, спинное сухожилие 2 филе 3 горный хребет): Evk. *sigde* 1, 2; Neg. *sigde* 3; Ul. *sigde* 1; Ork. *sigderi* 'yukola'; Nan. *sigde* 1; Orch. *sigde* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 76-77. Evk. > Dolg. *higde*, *sigde* (Stachowski 103).

PMong. ***sudal** vein, sinew (вена, жила, сухожилие): MMong. *sudasun* (HY 48), *suǯi'asu*, *suǯijasu* (SH); *sudun* 'grass root' (SH), *sədəsun*, *sədason* (LH), *sudasun*, *sudusun* (MA), *sodāsūn* (Lig.VMI); WMong. *sudal*, *suda-su(n)* (L 734); Kh. *sudal*, *sudas*; Bur. *hudaha(n)* 'vein'; *hudal* 'pulse'; Kalm. *sudəsṇ* (KPC); Ord. *sudal*; Dag. *sodol* (Тод. Даг. 163); Dong. *sudan*, *sıdasun*; S.-Yugh. *šdāsən*, *šəldasən*; Mongr. *sdāʒə* (SM 331), *šdāsə* (Huzu), *sdar* 'racine secondaire, radicelle' (SM 332).

◊ MGCD 612, 723. Mong. > Evk. *sudasun*, Man. *sudala* etc., see Doerfer MT 104, Rozycki 188.

PJpn. ***sùntí** vein, sinew (жила, сухожилие): OJpn. *sudi*; MJpn. *sùdí*; Tok. *súji*; Kyo. *sùjí*; Kag. *sují*.

◊ JLTT 535.

‖ A good common Altaic anatomical term.

✱**si̯òge** wart; pock-mark: Tung. ***sogi-**; Mong. ***söɣel**; Turk. ***s[e]göl (/ *sögil)**; Kor. ***hók**.

PTung. ***sogi-** pock-mark (оспина): Man. *soǵa*.

◊ TMC 2, 103. Attested only in Manchu, but having good Turk. and Kor. parallels.

PMong. ***söɣel** wart (бородавка): WMong. *sögel*; Kalm. *sȫl*; Ord. *sȫl* 'ugly, unpleasant' (?).

◊ KW 335.

PTurk. ***s[e]göl (/ *sögil)** wart (бородавка): OTurk. *sögöl* (OUygh.); Karakh. *sigil* (MK); Tur. *sigil*; Az. *zijil*; Turkm. *siŋŋil*; Khal. *sijil*; MTurk. *sigil*, *sükül*, *süjäl* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *sugäl*; Uygh. *sögäl*; Krm. *süvel*; Tat. *söjäl*; Bashk. *hŭjäl*; Kirgh. *sȫl*; Kaz. *süjel*; KKalp. *šüjel*; Kum. *süjel*; Nogh. *šüjel*; Khak. *sȫl*; Oyr. *sȫl*; Tv. *sȫl*; Tof. *sȫl*; Chuv. *šъʷklъʷ*, *šəʷgəʷl* (dial.).

◊ VEWT 429, EDT 820, ЭСТЯ 7. Some irregularities are due to the root's expressive nature.

PKor. ***hók** wart (бородавка): MKor. *hók*; Mod. *hok*.

◊ Liu 757, KED 1845.

‖ VEWT 429, KW 335, Владимирцов 213, АПиПЯЯ 285. The Mong. form can be borrowed from Turkic, but the Tungus and Korean forms are evidently genuine. The variation **sigöl* / **sögöl* in Turkic points perhaps to original **segöl* (which would be the expected form).

✱**si̯ŏ̆gu** shallow, shallow place: Tung. ***sigi-**; Mong. ***siɣa-r**; Turk. ***sɨg**; Jpn. ***sú**.

PTung. ***sigi-** ice-hole (прорубь): Evk. *sigi-lēn* 'frazil'; Evn. *hiɣlān*; Neg. *siɣin ~ sijin*; Ul. *si(n)*; Ork. *sī(n)*; Nan. *sī*; Orch. *sêla* 'snow crust'; Ud. *sī(n)*.

◊ TMC 2,78.

PMong. ***siɣa-r** dreg, sediment (осадок, отстой): WMong. *siɣaru(n)*, *siɣaruɣ* (L 699); Kh. *šār*; Bur. *šāra*; Kalm. *šār*, *šar*; S.-Yugh. *šar*; Mongr. *śārō* (SM 395), *šārō*.

◊ KW 353, MGCD 700.

PTurk. ***sɨg** shallow (мелкий): OTurk. *sɨq* (*sɨɣ*) (OUygh.); Karakh. *sɨ̄*, *sɨq* (MK); Tur. *sɨɣ*; Tv. *sɨ̄k*.

◊ VEWT 415, EDT 804, ЭСТЯ 7.

PJpn. ***sú** shallow place, sandbank (отмель): OJpn. su; MJpn. *sù*; Tok. *sú*, *sù*; Kyo. *sú*; Kag. *sú*.

◊ JLTT 531. RJ *sù* points to **sù*, supported by the Tokyo variant *sú*; however, Tokyo *sù* and all other dialect forms go back to **sú*. A possibility of being borrowed from Middle Chinese 州 *ćü* is not excluded - although not very significant (the word is attested in archaic texts containing very few Chinese loanwords).

‖ Delabialization in Turkic is not quite clear (**sug* would be expected).

✱**si̯ŏ̆gu** sun; sky: Tung. ***sigūn**; Jpn. ***suà-rá**; Kor. ***hǎ̆i**.

PTung. ***sigūn** sun (солнце): Evk. *siɣūn*; Neg. *siɣun*; Man. *šun*; SMan. *šun*, *sun* (2033); Ul. *siu(n)*; Ork. su(n); Nan. *siu(n)*; Orch. *seu(n)*; Ud. *sū(n)*; Sol. *šigũ*.

◊ TMC 2, 78.

PJpn. ***suà-rá** sky (небо): OJpn. *swora*; MJpn. *sòrá*; Tok. *sóra*; Kyo. *sòrá*; Kag. *sorá*.

◊ JLTT 530.

PKor. ***hǎ̆i** sun; year (солнце; год): MKor. *hǎ̆i*; Mod. *hä*.

◊ Nam 482, KED 1808.

‖ Lee 1958, 118, АПиПЯЯ 49, 81, 292. An Eastern isogloss. It is also interesting (cf. Whitman 1985, 148-150) to note MKor. *hànǎ̆r* 'sky', which may, together with PJ **suàrá* id., go back to a complex form **si̯og[u]n-lV*.

✱**si̯ōje** to consider, count: Tung. ***sū-**; Mong. ***siɣü-**; Turk. ***sā(j)-**; Kor. ***hjəi-**.

PTung. ***sū-** 1 to mark 2 sign (1 отмечать 2 знак): Evk. *sū-* 1; Evn. *hu̯-γār* 2; Man. *so* 'omen'; Orch. *sū-* 1; Nan. sū 'talisman' (On.)

◊ TMC 2, 101, 115. The isolated Manchu *se-* 'say, speak' may actually reflect the same root (with the vowel reduced in weak syntactic position, or < **su-j* with a frequent development uj > e).

PMong. ***siɣü-** to judge, examine (судить, проверять, экзаменовать): WMong. *sigü-* (L 702); Kh. *šǖ-*; Bur. *šǖ-*; Kalm. *šǖ-*; Ord. *šǖ-*; S.-Yugh. *šǖ-*.

◊ KW 372, L 702, MGCD 728, TMN 1, 364-365.

PTurk. ***sā(j)-** to count, to consider (считать): Karakh. *sa-* (MK); Tur. *saj-*; Gag. *saj-*; Az. *saj-*; Turkm. *sāj-*; MTurk. *sa-* (AH, IM), *saj-* (Ettuhf.); Krm. *saj-*; Kaz. *saj-*; Chuv. *su-*, *sъv-*; Yak. *ā-*.

◊ VEWT 390, EDT 781-782, ЭСТЯ 7, Федотов 2, 53. A common Turkic derivative is **sā-n* 'number, count' (VEWT 390, 400, ЭСТЯ 7), whence **sāna-* 'to count, determine' > Mong. *sana-* 'think' (cf. Щербак 1997, 144). Turk. > Hung. *sám* 'number, figure', *szán* - 'to pity' (Gombocz 1912).

PKor. ***hjəi-** to count (считать): MKor. *hjəi-*; Mod. *hējari-*, dial. *hē-*.

◊ Nam 489, KED 1829, 1830.

‖ Exceptional preservation of length in a monosyllabic stem in TM.

✱**si̯ŏjri** to suck, to lick: Mong. ***soru-**; Turk. ***sōr-**; Jpn. ***sìtá**; Kor. ***hjə́, *hàr-hǎ-**.

PMong. ***soru-** to draw in, suck in (всасывать): WMong. *soru-*, *sor-* (L 729); Kh. *soro-*; Bur. *horo-*; Kalm. *sor-*; Ord. *soro-*; S.-Yugh. *soro-*.

◊ KW 332, MGCD 607. Mong. > Sol. *soro-* 'to suck', Evk. *sorūl* 'mouthpiece'.

PTurk. ***sōr-** to suck (сосать): OTurk. *sor-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *sor-* (MK); Tur. *soru-*; Az. *sor-*; Turkm. *sōr-*; Khal. *suor-*; MTurk. *sor-* (AH, Houts.); Uygh. *šora-*; Tat. *suɨr-*; Bashk. *hur-*; Kirgh. *sor-*; Kaz. *sor-*; KKalp. *sor-*; Kum. *sor-*; Nogh. *sorɨ-*; Khak. *sor-*; Shr. *sor-*; Oyr. *sōr-*, *sor-*, *soru-*; Tv. *sor-*.

◊ EDT 843.

PJpn. ***sìtà** tongue (язык): OJpn. *sita*; MJpn. *sìtà*; Tok. *shitá*; Kyo. *shítà*; Kag. *shitá*.

◊ JLTT 527.

PKor. ***hjə́, *hàr-hǎ-** 1 tongue 2 to lick (1 язык 2 лизать): MKor. *hjə́* 1, *hàr-hǎ-* 2; Mod. *hjə* 1, *hat-* [*halth-*] 2.

◊ Nam 479, 487, KED 1801, 1831.

‖ KW 332, VEWT 429. The Jpn. and Kor. forms (compared in Whitman 1985, 168, 236, and additionally in Vovin 2000 - although his further attempts to link the Kor.-Jap. root to PA **kʿi̯ăli* should be rejected) seem to fit here phonetically (although there is a tone discrepancy); as for semantics, one should probably reconstruct the original meaning

'suck', whence 'lick' and 'tongue' in the Eastern area. Medial *-j- has to be reconstructed to account for the loss of resonant in Kor.; it had also probably caused a dissimilation in the Western area (**si̯ōjri* > **sōjri*), which explains the -o-reflex in Turkic.

✸**si̯ṓjru** pole, tent made of poles: Tung. ***siaraŋ**; Mong. ***surgaɣag**; Turk. ***sīruk / *sūrɨk**; Kor. ***hjə**.

PTung. ***siaraŋ** stake (жердь): Evk. *sêraŋ*; Evn. *hā̄rъŋ*; Neg. *sêjaŋ*.

◊ TMC 2, 72.

PMong. ***surgaɣag** pole, shed made of poles (шест, жердь, навес из жердей): WMong. *surɣaɣaɣ* (L 739); Kh. *surgāg*; Bur. *hurgāg*.

PTurk. ***sīruk / *sūrɨk** stake, pole (шест): OTurk. *sɨruq* (OUygh.); Karakh. *sɨruq* (MK); Tur. *sɨrɨk*; Gag. *sɨrɨq*; Az. *sɨrɨɣ* (dial.); Turkm. *sīrɨq*; Khal. *sɨrɨq*; MTurk. *sɨrɨq*, *suruq* (Pav. C.), *sɨruq* (AH); Krm. *sɨrɨq*; Bashk. *hɨrɨq* (dial.); Kaz. *sɨrɨq*; KKalp. *sɨrɨq*; SUygh. *suruq*; Khak. *sɨra*; Oyr. *sɨrɨq*, *sɨra*; Tv. *sɨra*; Yak. *uraɣas*.

◊ EDT 848, VEWT 420, ЭСТЯ 7. Turk. > Mong. *širug* (KW 369; TMN 3, 311-312), whence again Kirgh. *širɨq*.

PKor. ***hjə** a house rafter (стропило, балка): MKor. *hjə*; Mod. *sək:arä*, dial. *hjək:arä*.

◊ Nam 488, KED 933.

‖ Medial *-jr- is reconstructed because of the Korean reflex. Some confusion was possible between this root and the synonymous **ši̯ȍri* q.v.

✸**si̯ōku (~ z-)** loop, lace: Tung. ***siaKu**; Mong. ***segel-dereg**; Jpn. ***suki**.

PTung. ***siaKu-** loop, hinge (петля (на окнах, дверях)): Ul. *śaqụ(n)*, *sêχụ(n)*; Nan. *sịoχor*.

◊ TMC 2, 57. The nature of the intervocalic velar is unclear.

PMong. ***segel-dereg / *sagal-** loop, lace (петля, шнурок): WMong. *segeldereg* (L 657: *saɣaldurɣa* 'string for attaching objects to the saddle or for fastening a hat under the chin'); Kh. *segeldreg*, *sagaldraga*; Bur. *hagaldarga* 'ременная застежка (под уздой)'; Kalm. *segḷdṛ-* 'продевать (через отверстие)'; S.-Yugh. *saldərGa*.

◊ KW 321, MGCD 587.

PJpn. ***suki** swaddling cloth, belt for fastening a child (пеленки, ремень для привязывания ребенка): OJpn. *sukji*.

‖ The match seems plausible, despite somewhat scanty attestation.

✸**si̯ṓkʿù** small, few: Tung. ***siKe-**; Jpn. ***sùkù- / *sùkuà-**; Kor. ***hòk-**.

PTung. ***siKe-** short (короткий, куцый): Man. *sixete*.

◊ TMC 2, 81. Cf. also Man. *saqa* 'few'. Attested only in Manchu, but having probable external parallels.

PJpn. ***sùkù- / *sùkuà-** few (мало, немного): OJpn. *suku-na-*, *sukwo-si*; MJpn. *sùkù-na-*, *sùkó-sì*; Tok. *sukuná-*, *sukóshi*; Kyo. *súkúnà-*, *sùkóshì*; Kag. *sukuná-*, *sukóshi*.

◊ JLTT 533, 841.

PKor. ***hòk-** small, few MKor. *hòk-*.

◊ Nam 492.

‖ Vovin 2000 (comparing **sùkuà-* and **hòk*; but his attempt to separate PJ **sùkù-na-* and **sùkuà-* is hardly successful). An Eastern isogloss.

✱**si̯ŏkʹù** to be hollow, crack: Tung. ***six-**; Mong. ***sekeɣe / *segeɣe**; Turk. ***suk-**; Jpn. ***súk-**; Kor. ***skí-m, *skí-**.

PTung. ***six-** 1 hollow vessel, whistle 2 to put into, insert (1 труба, полый сосуд 2 вложить во что-л.): Neg. *sikču-* 2; Man. *siGan* / *siχan* 1; Nan. *si̯χa(n)* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 80-81.

PMong. ***sekeɣe / *segeɣe** crack, hole (трещина, отверстие): WMong. *sekege* (L 685); Kh. *sexē*; Bur. *hegē*.

◊ Cf. also *seg* 'interval', *sekü-* 'to lift, make an opening by lifting'. It is also interesting to note the derived *sekü̈γür* 'brimmed hat' ("hat with liftable brims") = OT (MK) *suqarlač börk* 't hat'.

PTurk. ***suk-** 1 to stick in, insert 2 hollow wood, whistle (1 втыкать, вставлять 2 полая древесина, свисток): OTurk. *suq-* (OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *suq-* 1, *suqɨm* 2 (MK); Turkm. *soq-* 1; MTurk. *suq-* (Qutb, Houts.); Kirgh. *suq-* 1; Kaz. *suɣ-* 1; KBalk. *suɣ-* 1; Khak. *sux-* 1; Oyr. *suq-* 1; Tv. *suq-* 1; Yak. *uk-* 1.

◊ VEWT 432, EDT 805, 811.

PJpn. ***súk-** 1 to be hollow 2 crack, hole (1 быть полым 2 щель, отверстие): MJpn. *súk-* 1, *suki* 2; Tok. *sùk-*, *sùki* 2; Kyo. *súk-*, *súkí* 2; Kag. *súk-*, *súki* 2.

◊ JLTT 758.

PKor. ***skí-m, *skí-** 1 crack 2 to insert, to sheath (1 щель 2 вкладывать): MKor. *skí-m* 1, *skí-* 2; Mod. *k:ī-* 2.

◊ Nam 74, 80, KED 262.

‖ Cf. **sĭ̆gu*, with a possibility of mergers.

✱**si̯óle** to make, put: Turk. ***sal-**; Jpn. ***sV́-**; Kor. ***hǎ-**.

PTurk. ***sal-** 1 to put, throw 2 to drop, lower 3 tax 4 heavy (1 класть, кидать 2 опускать 3 налог 4 тяжелый): OTurk. *sal-* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *sal-* 1,2 (MK, KB); Tur. *sal-* 1, *salgɨn* 3; Gag. *sal-* 1; Az. *sal-* 2; Turkm. *sal-* 1; Sal. *sal-* 1; Khal. *sal-* 1; MTurk. *sal-* 1 (Pav. C., Abush.); Uzb. *sɔl-* 1; Uygh. *sa(l)-* 1; Krm. *sal-* 1; Tat. *sal-* 1, *sal-ɨm* 3; Bashk. *hal-* 1; Kirgh. *sal-* 1; Kaz. *sal-* 1; KBalk. *sal-* 1; KKalp. *sal-* 1; Kum. *sal-* 1; Nogh. *sal-* 1; SUygh. *sal-* 1, *salɨɣ* 4; Khak. *sal-* 1, *salɨm* 4; Shr. *sal-* 1; Oyr. *sal-* 1; Tv. *sal-* 1; Tof. *sal-* 1; Chuv. *sol-* 1, *solъm* 'heaviness'.

◊ VEWT 397, EDT 824, Федотов 2, 57, ЭСТЯ 7. Several derivatives with a velar suffix are used in Turk. for denoting downward motion or hanging: cf. OT *salɨɣ* 'taxes', Kirgh. *salɨq* 'taxes; hanging down, limp'; SUygh. *salɨɣ* 'heavy'; Tur. *salkɨ* 'weak, lax', Kirgh. *salqɨ*, Uzb. *sɔlqi-* 'be loose, hang down' (see TMN 3, 265-266, ЭСТЯ 7).

PJpn. ***sV́-** make, auxiliary verb (делать, служебный глагол): OJpn. *s-u*; MJpn. *s-u*; Tok. *sù-*; Kyo. *sú-*; Kag. *sú-*.

◊ JLTT 759.

PKor. ***hǎ̀-** to make, auxiliary verb (делать, служебный глагол): MKor. *hǎ̀-*; Mod. *ha-*.

◊ Nam 470, KED 1781.

‖ SKE 59 (without the Turk. parallel), Whitman 1985, 168, 235, АПиПЯЯ 286. Mongolian parallels (both in SKE 59 and in KW 309, VEWT 397) are highly dubious. For the Auslaut relations cf. **gèle*: one of the possible PA monosyllabic verbal roots (**si̯ól*).

✸**si̯ŏlo** some internal organ: Tung. ***silu-kta**; Mong. ***söl-**; Turk. ***solak**.

PTung. ***silu-kta** intestine (кишка (тонкая)): Evk. *silu-kta*; Evn. *hịltъ̣*; Neg. *sịlta*; Ork. *sịlụ-qta*; Orch. *sulukta*; Ud. *sulukta*; Sol. *šílụkta*.

◊ TMC 2, 85. Evk. > Dolg. *hɨlukta* (Stachowski 118).

PMong. ***söl-** testicles (testiculi): Kalm. *sölzɛ̄*.

◊ KW 333.

PTurk. ***solak** 1 spleen 2 gills (1 селезенка 2 жабры): Karakh. *solaq* (MK); Khak. *palɨx sulazɨ* 'молоки' (Борг., Kach.); Chuv. *sola* 1,2.

◊ VEWT 427, EDT 826, ЭСТЯ 7, Федотов 2, 57.

‖ A Western isogloss. Cf. **ši̯ǎ̀li* (with possible contaminations).

✸**si̯ōlu** easy, quick, smart: Tung. ***siali-**; Mong. ***sila-magai**; Jpn. ***sura-**; Kor. ***húrí-**.

PTung. ***siali-** diligent, smart, quick (ловкий, проворный, старательный): Man. *silin*; Nan. *sā̄lị*.

◊ TMC 2, 70.

PMong. ***sila-magai** prompt, quick, smart; bold, reckless (быстрый, ловкий; храбрый, смелый): WMong. *silamaɣai*, *šalamaɣai*, *šalamaɣ* (L 749); Kh. *šalamgai*; S.-Yugh. *šalamGa*.

◊ MGCD 703. Derivation (or influence) from **sila* 'completely, utterly' (q. v. sub **sìlá*) is not excluded.

PJpn. ***sura-** easy, quick (легко, без труда): MJpn. *sura-ri*; Tok. *surári*, *surarí*, *súrasura*; Kyo. *súràrì*, *súràsùrà*; Kag. *surári*, *surasurá*.

◊ PJ accent is not quite clear (low tone is most probable, but the word is expressive and reveals some irregularities).

PKor. ***húrí-** to charm, bewitch, seduce (завлекать, очаровывать): MKor. *húrí-*; Mod. *huri-*, *hori-*.

◊ Nam 494, KED 1877.

‖ TMC 2, 70 (TM-Mong.). In Korean one must suppose a semantic development 'to be quick, smart' > 'to charm, seduce'.

✱**si̯ŏĺe** to mock, slander: Tung. ***sulu**; Mong. ***sila-**; Turk. ***siāĺ-**; Jpn. ***sə́sír- (~ *suásír-)**; Kor. ***hār-**.

PTung. ***sulu** 1 rogue 2 to mock (1 шалун 2 дразнить, обижать): Ul. *sulu* 1, *sulu-de-* 2; Ork. *sụlụ-da-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 125.

PMong. ***sila-** to talk nonsense; to squander (говорить чепуху; проматывать, расточительствовать): WMong. *šali-* (L 750); Kh. *šali-*; Bur. *šali-*; Kalm. *šäĺ-*; Ord. *šaligla-* 'to talk nonsense'.

◊ KW 354.

PTurk. ***siāĺ-** 1 wild 2 to be astonished 3 to slander (1 дикий 2 быть изумленным 3 клеветать): Karakh. *saš* 1 (MK); Tur. *šaš-* 2; Az. *čaš-* 2; Turkm. *čāš-* 2; Khal. *šašqa-* 3; Chuv. *šuldra* 'pert'.

◊ VEWT 405.

PJpn. ***sə́sír- (~ *suásír-)** to slander (клеветать): OJpn. *s(w)osir-*; MJpn. *sósír-*; Tok. *soshír-*; Kyo. *sóshír-*; Kag. *soshír-*.

◊ JLTT 756. The Tokyo accent is aberrant.

PKor. ***hār-** to slander (клеветать, порочить): MKor. *hār-*.

◊ Nam 478.

‖ EAS 109, KW 354.

✱**si̯ò̀mì (~ z-)** wet snow, hoar-frost: Tung. ***sumu**; Mong. ***simarga**; Jpn. ***sìmə̀**.

PTung. ***sumu** wet snow, rain with snow (мокрый снег, дождь со снегом): Evk. *sumu*.

◊ TMC 2, 126. Attested only in Evk., but with good parallels from Mong. and Jap.

PMong. ***simarga** wet snow (мокрый снег): WMong. *simarγa*, *simergen*, *šamaraγ* (L 709); Kh. *šamarga*; Bur. *šamarga(n)*; Kalm. *šamrγə*; Ord. *šimarGa*, *šimarxaG* 'grésil'.

◊ KW 348.

PJpn. ***sìmə̀** frost, cold rain (иней, холодный дождь): OJpn. *sim(w)o*; MJpn. *simo*; Tok. *shimó*; Kyo. *shímò*; Kag. *shimó*.

◊ JLTT 524.

‖ The match with Japanese is both phonetically and semantically precise, so the root seems quite reliable (despite sparse attestation in TM).

✱**si̯ò̀mi (~ z-)** to close, bind tight: Tung. ***sōm-**; Mong. ***sima-**; Jpn. ***sìmà-r-**.

PTung. ***sōm-** 1 to close 2 to hide (1 закрывать 2 прятать(ся)): Evk. *sōm-* 1; Evn. *hōm-* 1; Neg. *sōm-* 1; Man. *somi-* 2; SMan. *s̆omi-*, *śomi-* (1556); Jurch. *so-mi-biar* (819) 2; Ul. *somị-* 1; Ork. *somị-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 109.

PMong. ***sima-** to press, bind tight; to wrap up, to tuck (зажимать, туго завязывать; заворачивать, подворачивать): WMong. *sima-la-*,

-ra- (L 709: *simala-*, *simali-*); Kh. *šamla-*, *šamra-*; Bur. *šamar-*, *šama-*; Kalm. *šamḷ-* (KPC); Ord. *šima-* 'to roll up one's sleeve, to beat someone'; Dag. *šamla-* (Тод. Даг. 182); Mongr. *šəmā*; *šəmāli-* 'arrière-fax; retrousser, relever' (SM 374).

◊ Mong. > Chag. *šimal-* etc. (see ЭСТЯ 7).

PJpn. ***sìmà-r-*** to be closed, shut (быть закрытым, закрываться): OJpn. *sima-r-*; MJpn. *sima-r-*; Tok. *shimár-*; Kyo. *shímár-*; Kag. *shìmàr-*.

◊ JLTT 751.

‖ Jpn. **sìmà-r-* may reflect both **si̯ȍmi-lV* (Mong. **sima-la-*) and **si̯ȍmi-rV* (Mong. **sima-ra-*).

✱**si̯óna** one, single: Tung. ***soni**; Mong. ***sondu-**; Turk. ***s[ɨ]ŋar (< *s(i)an-gar)**; Jpn. ***sa-, *sane**; Kor. ***hǎ̀nàh**.

PTung. ***soni** single, odd (одиночный, нечетный): Man. *soni-χon*, *soṅo*.

◊ TMC 2, 111. Attested only in Manchu, but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***sondu-** odd (нечетный): WMong. *sonduɣai* (L 726); Kh. *sondgoj*.

PTurk. ***s[ɨ]ŋar (< *s(i)an-gar)** one of a pair, one of two sides (один из пары, одна из двух сторон): OTurk. *sɨŋar* (Orkh., Ouygh.); Karakh. *sɨŋar* (MK); Tur. *sɨnar*; Khal. *sɨjar*; Uzb. *siŋar*; Tat. *sɨŋar*; Kirgh. *sɨŋar*; Kaz. *sɨŋar*; KKalp. *sɨŋar*; Kum. *sɨŋar*; Nogh. *sɨŋar*; SUygh. *sɨŋar*; Shr. *sār*; Oyr. *sɨŋar*, *saŋar*; Tv. *sār*; Yak. *aŋar*; Dolg. *aŋar*.

◊ EDT 840-841, VEWT 417, ЭСТЯ 7, Stachowski 34.

PJpn. ***sa-, *sania** 1 a prefix of reciprocal action 2 completely, definitely (1 префикс совместного действия 2 совершенно, совсем): OJpn. *sa-* 1, *sane* 2.

◊ JLTT 515. In some cases the meaning of the prefix is quite uncertain (euphonic?), e. g. *sa-wi* 'wild boar', *sa-jwo* 'night' etc.; but with verbs it usually denotes reciprocal or combined action (e. g. *sa-ne-* 'sleep together', *sa-narabe-* 'put together on one line' etc.).

PKor. ***hǎ̀nàh** one (один): MKor. *hǎ̀nà* (*hǎ̀nàh-*); Mod. *hana*.

◊ Nam 469, KED 1780.

‖ SKE 60, TMC 2,11, АПиПЯЯ 296.

✱**si̯ono (~ z-)** night: Tung. ***siŋkē**; Mong. ***söni**.

PTung. ***siŋkē** dark night (темная ночь): Evk. *siŋkē*; Evn. *hiŋku*; Neg. *siŋkelten*; Ork. *sikkew*, *sikkelte*; Ud. *siŋkeu-* 'to shine (of full moon)' (Корм. 286).

◊ TMC 2, 91.

PMong. ***söni** night (ночь): MMong. *sueni* (HY 5, SH), *suni* (IM), *suni* (MA); WMong. *söni* (L 732); Kh. *šönö*; Bur. *hüni*; Kalm. *sȫ*, *sȫn*; Ord. *söni*, *sönö*; Mog. *süni*; ZM *sāni* (19-7a); Dag. *suni* (Тод. Даг. 164, MD 213); Dong. *šieni*; Bao. *sone*; S.-Yugh. *sȫnə*; Mongr. *soni* (SM 353).

◊ KW 335.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**si̯oŋre** vertebra, spine ramification: Tung. ***soro-ptun**; Mong. ***seɣer**; Turk. ***sEŋir**.

PTung. ***soro-ptun** 1 breast bone ramification 2 stomach (1 отросток грудной кости 2 желудок): Evk. *soroptūn* 1; Evn. *horъpъn* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 113-114.

PMong. ***seɣer** spine, vertebra, rib ends; mountain ridge (позвоночник, позвонки, концы ребер): WMong. *seger* (L 682); Kh. *sēr(en)* 'breast part of spine'; Bur. *hēr*; Kalm. *sēr*; Ord. *sēr*; Dag. *sēr*; S.-Yugh. *sīra*, *sū̃r*.

◊ KW 328, MGCD 596. Mong. > Man. *seire.*

PTurk. ***sEŋir** 1 outer angle 2 protruding edge of a mountain or wall (1 внешний угол 2 выступ горы или стены): OTurk. *seŋir* 1, 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *seŋir* 2 (MK); Tur. *senir* (dial.) 'hill between valleys, ridge between mountains'; Kirgh. *seŋir* 2; Kaz. *seŋir* 2; Oyr. *seŋir* 1.

◊ VEWT 410, EDT 840, Лексика 98, ЭСТЯ 7.

‖ KW 328, Владимирцов 250-251, Poppe 73, EAS 119. A Western isogloss: on a possible Kor. match see under **si̯oga*.

✱**si̯ŏpe (~ -i)** rib: Tung. ***subi-**; Mong. ***sübe-**; Turk. ***sabar**.

PTung. ***subi-** 1 false rib 2 rib gristles (1 ложное ребро 2 реберные хрящи): Evk. *suwin* 1; Evn. *hi̯wi̯na* 1; Neg. *si̯wi̯na* 1; Man. *sibexe* 2; Ud. *suepti* 1; Sol. *suvẽ ẽtelẽ* 'short rib'.

◊ TMC 2, 117. The Manchu form is qualified as borrowed < Mong. by Rozycki 179, but is more probably genuine.

PMong. ***sübe-** 1 side, flank 2 false rib (1 бок 2 ложное ребро): MMong. *sube'e* 'Lendenhöhlung, die Weichen' (SH); WMong. *sübege* 1 (L 741), *sübergen* 2 (L 741: 'sternum'); Kh. *süvē* 1, *süvreg* 2; Bur. *hübõ* 1, *hebergedehen* 'rib gristles'; Kalm. *süwẽ* 'the two lower ribs'; Bao. *səbdə* 1.

◊ KW 341, MGCD 615. Mong. > Kirgh. *sübõ* etc., see VEWT 436, ЭСТЯ 7.

PTurk. ***sabar** 1 brisket with ribs 2 side (1 грудинка с ребрами 2 бок): Oyr. *sabar* 1; Tv. *saar* 2.

◊ Cf. also Yak. *sabar* 'eagle's breast' (< OTuva?).

‖ KW 341; Doerfer MT 61-62 (Mong.-Tung.: "schwierige Verhältnisse"). A Western isogloss. Phonetically a good match would be Kor. *həpha* 'lung', but the meaning raises some doubts.

✱**si̯ŏpʹè** sideway, to follow by sideway: Tung. ***supti-**; Turk. ***sap-**; Jpn. ***sə́p-**.

PTung. ***supti-** 1 to leave behind 2 to stay behind (1 оставить позади 2 отстать, остаться позади): Evk. *supti-* 1; Evn. *hu̯ptu̯-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 128-129.

PTurk. ***sap-** 1 to leave the way, go astray, deviate 2 sideway 3 dodge, trick (1 уходить с дороги, отклоняться 2 окольная дорога 3 уловка, трюк): Tur. *sap-* 1; Gag. *sap-* 1; Az. *sap-* 1; Turkm. *sap* 3, *sap-* 'to change'; MTurk. *sap-* 1 (AH, CCum.) , *sapa* 'deviating' (Pav. C.), *sapaq* 2 (Vam.); Tat. *sap-* 1; Kaz. *sap-* 1; Chuv. *sup-* 1.

◊ VEWT 402, EDT 784, ЭСТЯ 7, Ашм. XI, 187, Федотов 2, 64.

PJpn. ***səp-** to follow (следовать): OJpn. *s(w)op-*; MJpn. *sóf-*; Tok. *sò-*; Kyo. *só-*; Kag. *só-*.

◊ JLTT 756.

‖ The original meaning is well reconstructable as 'to follow by sideway', possibly an element of hunting terminology.

✱**si̯ŏp´ì** thorn, thorny bush: Tung. ***sup-**; Mong. ***süje**; Turk. ***siāpan**; Jpn. ***sípína**.

PTung. ***sup-** 1 to prick 2 prickly thorn, bush 3 to stick into (1 занозить 2 заноза; колючий кустарник 3 втыкать, пришпиливать): Evk. *sup-* 1, *supirē* 2; Neg. *sup-* 1, *supukta* 2; Man. *sifi-* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 100, 128.

PMong. ***süje / *söγeg** 1 offshoot from root, sprouts 2 bush (1 побег, отросток от корня 2 куст): WMong. *süje(ge)* 1 (L 742), *söγeg* 2; Kh. *süje* 1, *sōg* 2; Bur. *hōg* 2; Kalm. *süjə* 1.

◊ KW 340.

PTurk. ***siāpan** 1 straw 2 thorn (1 солома 2 колючка): OTurk. *saman* (OUygh.); Karakh. *saman* (MK Cigil); Tur. *saman*; Gag. *saman*; Az. *saman*; Turkm. *sāman*; Khal. *sabana* 'spike beard'; MTurk. *saman* (Pav. C.,Ettuhf., Houts.); Uzb. *sɔmɔn*; Uygh. *saman*; Krm. *saman*; Kirgh. *saman*, (R) *samal*; Kaz. *saban*; KKalp. *saban* 'straw', *sabat* 'sedge'; Kum. *saman*; Nogh. *saman*; Khak. *sabal* 'branches of coniferous trees'; Tv. *savaŋ*; Chuv. *šъ^{w}ma* 'angelica'.

◊ VEWT 399 (borrowed in Kalm., KW 316), TMN 3, 335-336, EDT 829, ЭСТЯ 7.

PJpn. ***sípína** ear of corn (пустой колос): MJpn. *sífína*; Tok. *shiina*.

‖ A suffixed form **si̯ŏp´ì-nV* is reflected in PT **siāpan* and PJ **sípína*.

✱**si̯ŏp´u** oval-shaped, conus-shaped: Tung. ***sip-**; Mong. ***sibo-**; Turk. ***supɨ**.

PTung. ***sip-** 1 oval-shaped, conus-shaped 2 narrow (1 продолговатый, суженный к концу 2 узкий): Man. *sibsiχun* 1, 2; Nan. *sikpi* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 466.

PMong. ***sibo-** conus-shaped, sharpened (конусообразный, островерхий): WMong. *šoboγar*, *šoboji-* (L 754: *šobuγur*, *šobuji-*); Kh. *šovoj-*; Bur. *šobogor*; Kalm. *šowγṛ* (KPC); Ord. *šowoGor*.

PTurk. ***supɨ** 1 conus-shaped 2 oval, long (1 конусообразный 2 овальный, продолговатый): Karakh. *subɨ* 1 (MK); MTurk. *subu*, *subɨ*

(AH); Uzb. *sụpəq* 2; Kirgh. *sopaj* 'long person', *sopaq* 'conus-shaped cylinder'; Kaz. *sopaq* 2; KKalp. *sopaq* 2.

◊ EDT 784-785. Turk. > WMong. *subaɣ*, Kalm. *sowəɣ*, KW 332). Cf. also Tur. *sopa* 'big stick'.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**si̯orekʿV (~ -i-)** female or gelded ungulate animal: Tung. ***surki**; Mong. ***serke**; Turk. ***sarɨk**.

PTung. ***surki** pregnant female animal (беременная (о самке животных)): Evk. *surki*; Man. *suči*; Ork. *suči*; Nan. *surki*; Ud. *suki* (Корм. 288).

◊ TMC 2, 130.

PMong. ***serke** gelded goat (кастрированный козел): WMong. *serke* (L 691); Kh. *serx*; Bur. *herxe*; Kalm. *serkə* (KPC); Ord. *serχe*; Dag. *selek*, *selke* (Тод. Даг. 162); S.-Yugh. *serke*.

◊ MGCD 601. On Turkic loans < *serke* (Kirgh. *serke* etc.) see TMN 1, 341, Лексика 429, ЭСТЯ 7.

PTurk. ***sarɨk** 1 sheep 2 a k. of tailless sheep (1 овца 2 русская овца (без курдюка)): Tat. *sarɨq* 1; Bashk. *harɨq* 1; Kaz. *sarɨq* 2; KKalp. *sarɨq* 2; Khak. *sara-dax* 'a 2-year-old maral', *sar-tax* 'young of a roe' (Борг.); Tv. *sara-daq* 'a 2-year-old maral'; Chuv. *sorъx* 1.

◊ Лексика 432, ЭСТЯ 7, Федотов 2, 66.

‖ Мудрак Дисс. 67. A Western isogloss.

✱**si̯òri** to flow, be soaked: Tung. ***sora-**; Jpn. ***sìtà-t-**; Kor. ***hìrì-**.

PTung. ***sora-** 1 to be soaked, wet 2 to rinse, wash (1 промокать, намокать 2 промывать): Neg. *soj-* 1; Man. *sura-* 2; Nan. *soro-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 104, 129.

PJpn. ***sìtà-t-** to drop, leak (капать, протекать): OJpn. *sita-ta-*, *sita-da-* (tr.); MJpn. *sìtà-ta-*; Tok. *shitatár-*; Kyo. *shítátár-*; Kag. *shìtàtàr-*.

◊ JLTT 753.

PKor. ***hìrì-** to flow (течь): MKor. *hìrì-*; Mod. *hiri-*.

◊ Nam 496, KED 1890.

‖ An Eastern isogloss; cf. notes to **si̯ŭ̀ŕi*, **ši̯ŭŕu*. In Korean we would rather expect *-ă- or *-u-/-o-; -i- may be a result of vowel assimilation.

✱**si̯ȍrme** sinew: Tung. ***sumu-**; Mong. ***sirmö- / *sirbö-**; Kor. ***hím**.

PTung. ***sumu-** sinew (жила): Evk. *sumu*; Evn. *hum*; Neg. *sumu*; Man. *sube*; SMan. *suvu* 'tendon' (170); Ul. *sumul*; Ork. *sumu ~ xumu*; Nan. *sumul*; Orch. *sumu(l)*; Ud. *sumul(i)*; Sol. *sumul*.

◊ TMC 2, 126. Note also Evk. *sura* 'vein' (TMC 2, 129).

PMong. ***sirmö- / *sirbö-** sinew (жила, нерв, сухожилие): MMong. *širmusu* (SH), *širbusun* (HY 48), *sirboṣu*, *sirboson* (IM), *širbusun* (MA); WMong. *sirbüsü(n)*, *sirmüsü(n)* (L 716); Kh. *šörmös(ön)*, *šürbüs*, *šörvös(ön)*; Bur. *šürbehe(n)*, *šürmehe(n)*; Kalm. *šürwsn*, *šir(w)ū̃sn*; Ord.

šörwös, *šörwösü*; Dag. *širbes*, *širbus* (Тод. Даг. 184); Mongr. *šbuзə* (SM 370), *šuluзə* (SM 385), (MGCD *śurbusə*).

◊ KW 371, MGCD 723. Oyr. *širi* < Mong. (?)

PKor. ***hím*** sinew; strength (жила; сила): MKor. *hím*; Mod. *him*.

◊ Nam 500, KED 1901.

‖ In Turkic cf. perhaps **sürmeč* 'women's plait' (VEWT 438), Chuv. *sərme kobъz* 'violin' ('string instrument'). See SKE 63.

✱**si̯ŏsu** to scoop; to wash: Tung. ***sisa-***; Turk. ***sus-***; Jpn. ***súsú-k-***; Kor. ***sìs-, *síś-***.

PTung. ***sisa-*** to scrape, grub, rummage, pick out (скоблить, рыться): Man. *siša-*; Ul. *si̯sa-*.

◊ TMC 2, 98.

PTurk. ***sus-*** 1 to scoop 2 bucket 3 scoop (1 черпать 2 ведро 3 черпак): Karakh. *susɨq* 2, *susγaq* 3 (MK); Tur. *susak* 'jar, jug'; Gag. *susaq* 3; Turkm. *sus-*; Uygh. *us-*; Krm. *sus-*; Tat. *sŭs-* 1, *sŭsqaq* 3; Bashk. *hŭs-*; Kirgh. *suz-*; Khak. *sus-*; Shr. *sus-*; Oyr. *sus-*; Tv. *us-*; Chuv. *ъ^{w}s-* (*ăs-*); Yak. *usājax* 3.

◊ EDT 856, VEWT 434, ЭСТЯ 7.

PJpn. ***súsú-k-*** to wash (мыть): OJpn. *susu-k-*; MJpn. *súsú-k-*; Tok. *sùsugu*; Kyo. *súsúgú*; Kag. *susúg-*.

◊ JLTT 759.

PKor. ***sìs-, *síś-*** 1 to wash 2 to cleanse, wipe off (1 мыть 2 чистить, стирать): MKor. *sìs-* 1, *síś-* 2; Mod. *s:it- [s:is-]* 1, 2.

◊ Nam 322, 328, KED 1065.

‖ The Kor. reflex is irregular (we should expect *h-), perhaps due to the influence of the second -s-. It is alternatively possible to reconstruct **sisu* with an irregular labialized reflex in PT (instead of **siś-*), on analogy with **sub* < **sɨb* 'water'. One should also keep in mind that Middle Korean has actually two forms (*sìs-* 'wash' and *síś-* 'cleanse, wipe off') that have merged in modern *s:it-*, so we may in fact be dealing with a confusion of two original roots.

✱**si̯óti (~ *z-)** behind, bottom: Tung. ***soti***; Mong. ***sido***; Jpn. ***sítá***; Kor. ***stá(h)***.

PTung. ***soti*** tail fin (хвостовой плавник): Ul. *soti̯*; Nan. *sočī*.

◊ TMC 2, 114.

PMong. ***sido*** short and thin tail (тонкий, короткий, торчащий (о хвосте)): WMong. *šodu-*, *šoduji-* (L 755); Kh. *šodo-*; Bur. *šodon*, *šodogor*; Kalm. *šodə-*; Ord. *šodoGor* 'short, sticking out (of a tail, branches of a tree, or of a plait)'.

◊ KW 364.

PJpn. ***sítá*** (the place) below (низ, нижняя часть): OJpn. *sita*; MJpn. *sítà*; Tok. *shìta*; Kyo. *shítá*; Kag. *shítà*.

◊ JLTT 527. All dialects point to *sítá, but RJ has a low tone on the 2d syllable.

PKor. ***stá(h)** earth (земля): MKor. *stá* (*stáh-*); Mod. *t:aŋ*.

◊ Nam 133, KED 413. The addition of -ŋ in modern Korean is not quite clear.

‖ Martin 248, АПиПЯЯ 296. In Kor. "earth" < "bottom" (cf. the meaning in Jpn.); *stá- reflects a usual reduction < *sV̀tá-(gV).

✱**si̯ót'e (~ *si̯at'u)** thigh, hip: Turk. ***satan**; Kor. ***hə̀túi(h)**.

PTurk. ***satan** thigh, hip (бедро): Tur. *satan*; Turkm. *satan*; MTurk. *satan* (Pav. C.); KKalp. *satan*; Chuv. *sodanъ* 'buttocks, behind'.

◊ VEWT 405, ЭСТЯ 7, Лексика 281, Ашм. XI, 211.

PKor. ***hə̀túi(h)** foot, leg (нога): MKor. *hə̀thúi*.

◊ Nam 485.

‖ A Turk.-Kor. isogloss.

✱**s[i̯o]ʒe** sharp stick: Tung. ***suʒa-ku**; Mong. ***seʒi-**; Turk. ***söje-**.

PTung. ***suʒa-ku** 1 stick, prop, support 2 ski stick (1 палка, подпорка, подставка 2 лыжная палка): Evk. *suʒax* 2; Neg. *sụʒaχ* 1; Man. *suʒaqu* 1, *suʒa-* 'to support'; SMan. *suʒa-* 'to support, to hold up' (1642); Ork. *sụʒaqụ* 1; Nan. *soʒa* 'a gun support', *soʒaqo* 'a hanger made of three poles' (On.); Ud. *suʒu-fine-* 'to stand on one's elbows and knees'.

◊ TMC 2, 120.

PMong. ***seʒi-** 1 to butt with horns, gore 2 margin, hem, slit (1 бодать рогами 2 край, разрез): WMong. *seʒi-* 1, *seʒigür* 2 (L 692, 693); Kh. *seʒi-* 1, *seʒū̆r* 2; Bur. *heže-* 'to shake (one's head)'; Kalm. *seʒ-* 1; Ord. *seʒi-* 1.

◊ KW 321.

PTurk. ***söje-** 1 to prop, lean, support 2 support, supporting stick 3 door-post (1 подпирать, опираться 2 опора, подпорка 3 дверной косяк): Tur. *süjen*, *süɣen* (dial.) 2, *söɣken-*, *sövken-* (dial.) 1; Gag. *süvän*, *sövä*, *süvä* 2; Az. *söjkän-* 1; Turkm. *söje-* 1, *söje*, *söjget* 2; MTurk. *söje-* 1, *söje* 2 (Pav. C.), *süjen-* (Ettuhf.) 1; Uzb. *suja-* 1; Uygh. *süjü-* 1; Tat. *sŭjä-* 1; Bashk. *hüjä-* 1; Kirgh. *süjö-*, *sõn-* 1; Kaz. *süje-* 1; KBalk. *süje-* 1; KKalp. *süje-* 1; Kum. *süje-* 1; Nogh. *süje-* 1; Shr. *söjbe*, *söjge* 3; Tv. *sögü* 3; Chuv. *sə^{w}ven-* 'to stick to, cling to'; Yak. *öjõ-* 1; Dolg. *öjön-* 1.

◊ VEWT 435, ЭСТЯ 7, Stachowski 198. Many forms reflect derivatives **söj-ke-(n)-* / **söj-ge-(n)-*.

‖ A Western isogloss. Preservation of labial vowel in Turk. is exceptional: **seje-* would be normally expected.

✱**si̯uba (~ -u)** water: Mong. ***usu**; Turk. ***sıb**.

PMong. ***usu** water (вода): MMong. *usun* (HY 3, SH), *oṣun*, *uṣun* (IM), *uṣun* (MA); WMong. *usu(n)* (L 887); Kh. *us*; Bur. *uha(n)*; Kalm. *usṇ*; Ord. *usu(n)*; Mog. *usun*; ZM *osun* (15-5b); Dag. *oso*, *os* (Тод. Даг. 160), *ose* (MD 203); Dong. *usu*; Bao. *se*; S.-Yugh. *qusun*, Gusun; Mongr. *fuʒu* (SM 102), *sʒu* (MGCD *šʒu*).

◊ KW 452, MGCD 682, TMN 1, 167.

PTurk. ***sɨb** water (вода): OTurk. *śub* (Orkh.), *sub, suv* (OUygh.); Karakh. *suv* (MK); Tur. *su*; Gag. *su*; Az. *su*; Turkm. *suv*; Sal. *su*; Khal. *suw*; MTurk. *su* (AH, Pav. C.); Uzb. *suv*; Uygh. *su*; Krm. *su*; Tat. *sɨw*; Bashk. *hɨw*; Kirgh. *sū*; Kaz. *su*; KBalk. *sū*; KKalp. *suw*; Kum. *suw*; Nogh. *suw*; SUygh. *su*; Khak. *suɣ*; Shr. *suɣ*; Oyr. *sū*; Tv. *suɣ*; Tof. *suɣ*; Chuv. *šɨv*; Yak. *ū; utax* 'thirst' < **sub-sak*; Dolg. *ū*.

◊ VEWT 431, TMN 3, 281-2, EDT 783-4, Лексика 88, ЭСТЯ 7, Stachowski 247. The reconstruction of *ɨ is conditioned by the Chuv. palatalization. Cf. also **sɨbu-* 'to become watery', **sɨbu-k* 'watery, liquid' (ЭСТЯ 7). Other Common Turkic derivatives are **sɨb-sɨ-* 'to become watery' and **sɨb-sa-* 'to be(come) thirsty', see the analysis in ЭСТЯ 7 and EDT 792. The derivative **sɨb-sɨ* 'a watery decoction' (not attested as such, but cf. OT *suvsuš* id. (EDT 792)) was borrowed in Mong. as *sub(a)su* id. (L 733), Khalkha *suvs* 'watery'. Modern Kypchak and Siberian forms like Chag. *susɨn*, Kirgh. *sūsun* etc. may reflect a secondary loan from Mongolian.

‖ Владимирцов 160, АПиПЯЯ 27, 284. A Turk.-Mong. isogloss. Mong. **u-su* can be explained as a normal dissimilation < **su-su* (< **sub-su*); cf. similar cases in **sisegeji* > **isegeji* 'felt', **sü(t)-sü* > **ü-sü* 'milk', **sus-* > **us-* 'disappear, perish'. The relationship of the Mong. and Turk. forms is strengthened by the presence in Turkic of archaic derivatives **sɨb-sɨ-*, **sɨb-sa-*.

✸**si̯ȕbi (~ *z-)** to be hoarse (of voice): Tung. ***sīb-**; Mong. ***söɣe-**; Jpn. ***siwa-(n)kara- (~ -p-)**; Kor. ***sùb-**.

PTung. ***sīb-** to become hoarse (хрипнуть): Evk. *sīw-*; Evn. *hiw-ken-*; Neg. *sije-*; Ul. *sī-*; Ork. *sī-*; Nan. *sije-*; Ud. *si-*.

◊ TMC 2, 74.

PMong. ***söɣe-** to become hoarse (хрипнуть): WMong. *söge-* (L 730); Kh. *sȫ-*; Bur. *hȫlde-*; Kalm. *sȫ-*; Ord. *sȫ-*.

◊ KW 335.

PJpn. ***sipa-(n)kara- (~ -w-)** to be hoarse (хрипнуть): Tok. *shiwa-gare-*.

PKor. ***sùb-** to become hoarse (хрипнуть): MKor. *sùi'ú-*; Mod. *swī-*.

◊ Liu 480, KED 1022.

‖ An expressive root, cf. **sĭ̀pi*.

✸**si̯ū́bu** end: Tung. ***sube-**; Mong. ***seɣül**; Turk. ***sīb-ri**; Jpn. ***súwá-i**; Kor. ***sìbúr**.

PTung. ***sube-** 1 end, edge 2 top (1 конец, кончик 2 верхушка): Evk. *suwerē* 1, 2; Evn. *hūre* 1, 2; Neg. *suwejē* 2; Man. *subexe* 1; Ul. *suwe* 2; Ork. *suwe* 2; Nan. *suwe, sue* 2; Orch. *su-ŋe* 1, 2; Ud. *sue* 2; Sol. *sugur* 1, 2.

◊ See TMC 2, 118 (with an alternative comparison - Mong. *sibüge(n)* 'awl', which seems less probable).

PMong. ***seɣül** tail; end (хвост; конец): MMong. *se'ul* (HY 15, SH), *sūl, sɛbūl* (IM), *sul, siul* (MA); WMong. *segül* (L 683); Kh. *sȗl*; Bur. *hȗl*;

Kalm. *sū̃l*; Ord. *sū̃l*; Mog. *söül*; ZM *sul* (20-9); Dag. *seuli*, *seul* (Тод. Даг. 163); Dong. *šien*, *šian*; Bao. *šienčix*, *śančig*; S.-Yugh. *sū̃l*; Mongr. *sūr* (SM 363), (MGCD *sūl*).

◊ KW 342, MGCD 615. Mong. > Evk. *sūl*, see Doerfer MT 127.

PTurk. ***sīb-ri** sharp, sharp-edged (острый, конический): OTurk. *süvri* (OUygh.); Karakh. *süvri* (MK); Tur. *sivri*; Gag. *sivri*; Az. *sivri*; Turkm. *süjri*; Krm. *sivri*, *süvrü*; Kirgh. *süjrü*; Kaz. *süjir*; KKalp. *süjri*, *süjir*; Oyr. *sū̃rü*, *sū̃ri*; Tv. *sū̃r*; Chuv. *šəʷvəʷr*; Yak. *üörbe*.

◊ EDT 791, VEWT 438, ЭСТЯ 7.

PJpn. ***súwá-i** end, edge (конец, край): OJpn. *suwe*; MJpn. *súwé*; Tok. *sùe*; Kyo. *súé*; Kag. *súe*.

◊ JLTT 532.

PKor. ***sìbúr** edge (край, конец): MKor. *sì'úr*, *sì'úrk*; Mod. *siul* (arch.), *sul*.

◊ Liu 497, KED 1018, 1040.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 70, 295, Мудрак Дисс. 46. Turk. **sīb-ri* < **sɨ̄b-ri* (with a frequent fronting ɨ̄ > i).

✸**si̯uču** diarrhoea: Tung. ***sosa-**; Mong. ***čiča-ga**; Turk. ***sɨč-**; Kor. ***čɨ̀čhɨ́i-**.

PTung. ***sosa-** 1 diarrhoea 2 to have diarrhoea 3 birds' dung (1 понос 2 страдать поносом 3 птичий помет): Man. *soso-* 2; Ul. *soso* 1; Ork. *soso* 1; Nan. *soso* 3; Orch. *soso* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 114.

PMong. ***čiča-ga** diarrhoea (понос): MMong. *čiči-* 'to defecate' (MA); WMong. *čičaɣa* (L 175); Kh. *čacga*; Bur. *šeše-* 'to have diarrhoea', *šešehe(n)*; Ord. *čičaGa* 'верблюжья язва'.

PTurk. ***sɨč-** to defecate (испражняться): Karakh. *sɨč-* (MK); Tur. *sɨč-*; Gag. *sɨč-*; Az. *sɨč-* (dial.); Khal. *sɨč-*; MTurk. *sɨč-* (AH, IM); Tat. *čɨč-*, *tɨč-*; Kirgh. *čɨč-*; Kaz. *tɨš-*; KKalp. *tɨš-*; Kum. *čɨč-*; Shr. *šɨš-*; Oyr. *čɨč-*; Chuv. *sɨs-*.

◊ EDT 795, VEWT 414, ЭСТЯ 7.

PKor. ***čɨ̀čhɨ́i-** to have diarrhoea (страдать поносом): MKor. *čɨ̀čhɨ́i-*; Mod. *čīčhi-*.

◊ Nam 438, KED 1538.

‖ EAS 96, 144, SKE 36-37. Mong. is hardly < Turk., despite Щербак 1997, 145. Mong. and Kor. have an assimilation (*s- > *č-), usual for this type of roots. In Jpn. cf. perhaps OJ *susu-pana*, MJ *sùsú-bànà* 'snivel from the nose' (cf. mod. *hana-kuso*, lit. 'nose faeces').

✸**si̯udu (~ -a)** a hoof deformation: Tung. ***sudu**; Mong. ***södürge**; Turk. ***sɨdɨr-gak**; Jpn. ***sia (~ *sai)**.

PTung. ***sudu** bulging part of the shin (выпуклая часть голени): Man. *sudu*.

◊ TMC 2, 120. Attested only in Manchu, but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***södürge** hoof disease (болезнь копыт): WMong. *södürge* (L 730); Kh. *södrög*; Kalm. *südü-gülʒ-* 'to limp slightly'.

◊ KW 339.

PTurk. ***sıdır-gak** 1 a cloven hoof 2 double shin bone (1 раздвоенное копыто 2 двойная голенная кость): Karakh. *sıδırγaq* (MK) 1; Uzb. *sıγraq* 1; Khak. *sızıro* 'fork'; Yak. *ıtarča* 'сковородник оленьей кости' (Пек.).

◊ EDT 803. Cf. **sıŋır-*.

PJpn. ***sia (~ *sai)** shaggy hoof (мохнатое копыто): MJpn. *se*.

◊ JLTT 521.

‖ An interesting common Altaic body part name. The final vowel is difficult to reconstruct because of contraction in Jpn.

✱**si̯uga** a k. of bird: Tung. ***sog-**; Mong. ***sojir**; Turk. ***sıgırčık**; Kor. ***sāi**.

PTung. ***sog-** bullfinch (снегирь): Ud. *soγduγu*.

◊ TMC 2, 103. Attested only in Ud., but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***sojir** black-cock (тетерев): WMong. *sojir* (L 724); Kh. *sojr*; Bur. *hojr* 'wood cock'.

◊ Mong. > Yak. *suor* 'raven' > Evk. *sōr* id. (?).

PTurk. ***sıgırčık** 1 grouse, hazel-hen 2 starling (1 куропатка, рябчик 2 скворец): Karakh. *sıγırčuq* 1 (MK); Tur. *sıγırčık* 2; Gag. *sıržıq* 2; Az. *sıγırčın* 2; MTurk. *siγirčiq*, *siγirčuq*, *siγirčin* (R.); Tat. *sıγırčaq*, *sırčıq*, *čijırčıq* 2; Bashk. *sijırsıq* 2; Kirgh. *čijırčıq* 2; Kum. *sıjırtγıč* 2; Khak. *sıγıraj* 'bullfinch'; Tv. *sıγırγa* 'oriole'; Chuv. *šъŋgъržъ* 2.

◊ VEWT 415, EDT 816, ЭСТЯ 7.

PKor. ***sāi** bird (птица): MKor. *sāi*; Mod. *sā̄*.

◊ Nam 295, KED 919.

‖ Cf. also MKor. *sòiròkí* 'a k. of bird'. The Kor. word (with an unsuccessful etymology in SKE 218) was compared with Turk. **sar* in АПиПЯЯ 295; but the latter should be rather compared with Kor. *súrí*, see **sàru*.

✱**si̯ū́jro** yellowish, light: Tung. ***sür-**; Mong. ***sirga**; Turk. ***sūr**; Kor. ***sjāi-**.

PTung. ***sür-** 1 yellowish, greyish 2 reddish 3 white (horse) (1 желтоватый, сероватый 2 рыжеватый, красноватый 3 белый (о лошади)): Evn. *hiraŋan* 1; Man. *suru morin* 3; Nan. *sūr-* 2 (Он.); Ud. *sī* 'yellow paint'.

◊ TMC 2, 95, 131. Length in the dialectal Nanai form (quoted from Onenko) is unclear, probably a misrecording. The Manchu form is peculiar: one would wish it to be < Mong. *sira morin* 'white horse', but the vocalization is extremely strange. On the other hand, Kor. *sjəra măr* (see Lee 1958, 119) makes it quite probable that such a form did, indeed, exist in Manchu, but probably got mixed up later with the original root **sür-*.

PMong. ***sirga** yellow (of a horse) (соловый): MMong. *širqa* (SH), *širγa* (MA 336); WMong. *sirγa* (L 716); Kh. *šarga*, *šargal*; Bur. *šarga*, *šargal*;

Kalm. *šarγə* (KPC); Ord. *šarGa* 'буланый', *šarGul* 'white horse with black eyes and hooves'; 'light brown'; Dag. *šarga*, *šarag* (Тод. Даг. 183).

◊ Mong. > Evk. *sirga* etc., see Poppe 1966, 198, Doerfer MT 100, Rozycki 184.

PTurk. ***sūr** grey (серый, бурый): Turkm. *sūr*; Krm. *sur*; Tat. *sorɨ*; Bashk. *hor*, *hörö*; Kirgh. *sur*; Kaz. *sur*; KKalp. *sur*; Kum. *sür*; Oyr. *sur*; Chuv. *sъ^{w}rъ^{w}*.

◊ VEWT 433, TMN 3, 287, ЭСТЯ 7.

PKor. ***sjəi-** whitish (беловатый): MKor. *sjəi-*; Mod. *sē-*.

◊ Nam 306, KED 963.

‖ Doerfer MT 241. The Mong. vocalism is not quite regular: perhaps -i- instead of *u~o* under the influence of the following *-j- (which has to be reconstructed to account for Kor. -i-).

✸**si̯ŭ[k]i (~ *š-)** a k. of bird: Turk. ***süglin**; Jpn. ***sìnkî**; Kor. ***skuə̀ŋ**.

PTurk. ***süglin** pheasant (фазан): Karakh. *süglin*, *sövlin* (MK); Tur. *sülün*; Turkm. *sülgün*; MTurk. *sülgün*, *süglün* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *sülgün*; KKalp. *süjlin* (dial.); Khak. *sülen* 'heron'; Shr. *šülen* 'heron, stork' (?).

◊ VEWT 435, EDT 820-821, ЭСТЯ 7.

PJpn. ***sìnkî** woodcock, snipe (вальдшнеп, бекас): OJpn. *sigji*; MJpn. *sìgi*; Tok. *shígi*; Kyo. *shìgî*.

◊ JLTT 523.

PKor. ***skuə̀ŋ** pheasant (фазан): MKor. *skuə̀ŋ*; Mod. *k:wəŋ*.

◊ Nam 64, KED 225.

‖ Korean has a frequent loss of vowel between a fricative and a stop. The medial consonant is not quite clear: perhaps Turk. **süglin* < **süklin* with a secondary voicing.

✸**si̯ŭ̀ku (~ -a)** to copulate, insert: Tung. ***sōKān**; Mong. ***sige-d-**; Turk. ***sik-**.

PTung. ***sōKān** 1 copulation 2 to copulate (1 случка, спаривание 2 спариваться): Evk. *sōkān* 1; Ud. *soni-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 105.

PMong. ***sige-d-** to get stuck, be inserted (втыкаться, застревать): WMong. *siged-* (L 701); Kh. *šigde-*; Bur. *šegede-*; Kalm. *šigdə-* (KPC); Ord. *šiged-*.

PTurk. ***sik-** 1 to copulate 2 penis (1 спариваться, coire (cum *femina*) 2 penis): Karakh. *sik-* 1, *sik* 2 (MK); Tur. *sik-* 1, *sik* 2 (R.).

◊ EDT 818, TMN 3, 312-313.

‖ A Western isogloss. In Turkic one would rather expect -ɨ-, so the vocalism is not quite regular.

✸**si̯ŭli** a k. of worm: Tung. ***silV-**; Turk. ***sül-**.

PTung. ***silV-** helminth, worm (глист, червь): Neg. *silikte*; Ul. *silimbu*, *silekte*; Ork. *siloqta*; Orch. *silikte*; Ud. *silikte*.

◊ TMC 2, 95.

PTurk. ***sül-** leech (пиявка): Tur. *sülük*, dial. *sülümen*, *sülen*; Gag. *sülük*; Az. *sülüx* (dial.); Turkm. *sülük*; MTurk. *sülük* (AH, Ettuhf.); Uzb. *zuluk*; Uygh. *zülük*; Krm. *sülük*; Tat. *sŭlĭk*; Bashk. *hŭlŭk*; Kirgh. *sülük*, *zülük*; Kaz. *sülĭk*; KKalp. *sülĭk*; Kum. *sülük*; Nogh. *sülĭk*; Oyr. *šülük*; Chuv. *sə^{w}lə^{w}k*.

◊ VEWT 436, 425, Лексика 185, ЭСТЯ 7. Initial z- in some forms may be due to the influence of Pers. *zalu* 'leech' (> Az. *zäli).*

‖ Лексика 185. A Turk.-Tung. isogloss.

✸**si̯ūli (~ z-, -Í-)** gall: Tung. ***sī, *sīl-se**; Mong. ***söl-sü**.

PTung. ***sī, *sīl-se** gall (желчь): Evk. *sī*; Neg. *silte*; Man. *silxi*; SMan. *šilixi* 'gall bladder' (93); Jurch. *si-li-xi* (516); Ul. *silte*, *sīlte*; Ork. *sīlte*; Nan. *silte*, *siltē*; Ud. *silihe*; Sol. *š̌īlde*.

◊ TMC 2, 73.

PMong. ***söl-sü** gall (желчь): MMong. *šuelüsun* (HY 47), *sülsu* (SH), *səlsən* (IM); WMong. *sösü(n)*, *sölsü(n)* (L 732); Kh. *sös*; Bur. *hülhen*; Kalm. *čösṇ* (KPC) (?); Ord. *ǯüsü* (?); Dag. *čuleči* 'spleen, gall bladder?' (MD 131) (?); Dong. *šiensun*; Bao. *selsoŋ*; S.-Yugh. *sō̃sun*; Mongr. *sūrʒə* (SM 364), *sūlʒə*.

◊ MGCD 618. The Kalm. and Dag. forms may reflect a formation like **söl-čin* with assimilations.

‖ TMC 2, 73, Rozycki 182. A Mong.-Tung. isogloss. The root tends to merge with **ši̯ȍli* 'juice, fluid' (q.v.).

✸**si̯ulu (~ *z-, -Í-)** conifer, pine tree: Tung. ***sol-**; Mong. ***silmeɣü-sü**; Kor. ***sór**.

PTung. ***sol-** pine tree (сосна): Evn. *holtịn*.

◊ TMC 2, 332. Attested only in Evn., with possible external parallels.

PMong. ***silmeɣü-sü** needles of a conifer (хвоя): WMong. *silmegüsü(n)*, *silmügüsü(n)*, *silbegüsü(n)*, *silbüsü(n)*, *silümüsü(n)* (L 707); Kh. *šilmū̃s*; Bur. *šelbū̃he(n)*, *šelbehe(n)*; Kalm. *šiləwsṇ* (KPC).

PKor. ***sór** pine tree (сосна): MKor. *sór*; Mod. *sol*, *so-namu*.

◊ Nam 310, KED 970, 990.

‖ SKE 240.

✸**si̯umi** dark, obscure: Tung. ***sim-**; Mong. ***süme-**; Turk. ***süm**.

PTung. ***sim-** shadow, dark place (тень, темное место): Evk. *simŋun*; Evn. *himŋъn*; Neg. *simŋun*; Man. *silmen*; Ork. *simgu(n)*; Nan. *siŋmū̃*.

◊ TMC 2, 87.

PMong. ***süme-** obscure, indistinct, faint, dull (темный, неясный, бледный): WMong. *sümeg*, *sümeger*, (v.) *sümeji-* (L 743, 744); Kh. *sümeg*, *sümger*, *sümij-*; Mongr. *sumoko* 'évaporations des hautes montagnes' (SM 359).

PTurk. ***süm** darkness, shadow (темнота, тень): Chuv. *sə^{w}m*.

◊ An isolated Chuvash form.

‖ Räsänen 1955. A Western isogloss.

✸**s[i̯ù]mkʿi** cough: Tung. ***simki-**; Turk. ***simük, *simki-**; Jpn. ***sàik- ~ siàk-**.

PTung. ***simki-** to cough, cough (кашлять, кашель): Evk. *simki-*; Evn. *hiēmkъ-*; Neg. *simki-*; Ul. *siŋbi-*; Ork. *sipki-*; Nan. *siŋbi-*, *simki-*; Orch. *simpi*; Ud. *simpi-*; Sol. *simki-*.

◊ TMC 2, 87.

PTurk. ***simük, *simki-** 1 snot, nose phlegm, mucus 2 to blow one's nose (1 сопли 2 сморкаться): Karakh. *seŋregü* (MK) 'continuously discharging mucus from one's nose'; Tur. *sümük* 1, *sümkür-* 2; Gag. *sümük* 1, *sümkür-* 2; Turkm. *sümük* 1, *sümgür-* 2; MTurk. *sümük* 1, *sümkür-* 2 (AH, Pav. C.); Krm. *siŋir-* 2; Tat. *simgir* 1, *sĭŋgĭr-* 2; Kirgh. *simbir-* 2; Kaz. *sĭŋbĭr-* 2; KKalp. *sĭŋbĭr-* 2; Nogh. *simgir-* 2; Khak. *sĭŋĭr-* 2; Tv. *siŋmir-* 2; Chuv. *šəngar-* (*šăngar-*) 2.

◊ VEWT 436, EDT 841, ЭСТЯ 7.

PJpn. ***sàik- ~ siàk-** to cough (кашлять): MJpn. *sek-*; Tok. *sék-*; Kyo. *sèk-*; Kag. *sèk-*.

◊ JLTT 749.

‖ An expressive root with some vocalic irregularities.

✸**si̯ùmu** a k. of grass, flower: Tung. ***sum-**; Mong. ***sim-**; Jpn. ***sùm-**.

PTung. ***sum-** grass or berry names (названия трав или ягод): Evk. *sumuŋi* 'шикша (ягода-водяница'; Man. *somina orxo* 'a grass name'.

◊ TMC 2, 110, 126.

PMong. ***sim-** various grass names (1 копеечник альпийский 2 гречиха, змееголовник чужестранный): WMong. *simarsu* 1, *simeldeg* 2 (L 709: dracocephalum fruticulosum, dracocephalum peregrinum); Kh. *šamars* 1, *šimeldeg* 2; Bur. *šamarha(n)*; Kalm. *šimṇdəG* 'weisse Nieswurz', *šimgəG* 'Lamium album?'.

◊ KW 358.

PJpn. ***sùm-** 1 violet 2 Prunus sallicina Lindley (a k. of plum) (1 фиалка 2 вид сливы): OJpn. *sumjire* 1, *sum(w)om(w)o* 2; MJpn. *sùmíre* 1, *sùmómo* 2; Tok. *sùmire* 1, *sùmomo*, *sumómo* 2; Kyo. *sùmírè* 1, *sùmòmó* 2; Kag. *sumiré* 1, *sumomó* 2.

◊ JLTT 534.

‖ The root must have denoted some blossoming berry or shrub.

✸**si̯ū́na** to hear, observe: Mong. ***sonos-**; Turk. ***sīn**; Kor. ***s(j)ən-**.

PMong. ***sonos-** hear (слышать): MMong. *sonos-* (HY 32, SH), *ṣonāṣ-* (IM), *sunas-* (MA); WMong. *sonus-*; Kh. *sonso-*; Bur. *honor* 'с чутким слухом'; Kalm. *sonəs-*; Ord. *sonos-*; Mog. *sonusu-*; ZM *sonasā* (7-4b); Dag. *sonso-* (Тод. Даг. 163), *sonse-* (MD 211), *sonsu-*; Dong. *sonosu-*; Mongr. *sunosə-* (SM 362).

◊ KW 331, MGCD 606. Cf. also WMong. *sonin*, Kalm. *sońn* 'interesting, peculiar' (KW 331), MMong. (SH) *sonin* 'new', Dag. *sonin* 'fresh, virgin, strange, new' (MD 211) (> Evk. *sonin* etc., see Doerfer MT 104, Rozycki 187).

PTurk. ***sīn** 1 observation, test 2 to test (1 наблюдение, опыт 2 испытывать): OTurk. *sɨna-* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *sɨna-* 2 (MK); Tur. *sɨna-* 2; Az. *sɨna-* 2; Turkm. *sīn* 1, *sīna-* 2; Khal. *sīnä-* 2; MTurk. *sin* 1 (R.), *sɨna-* 2 (Pav. C., Abush.); Uzb. *sin* 1, *sina-* 2; Uygh. *sini-* 2; Krm. *sɨnčɨ* 'explorer'; Tat. *sɨna-* 2, *sɨnšɨ* 'explorer'; Bashk. *hɨn* 1, *hɨna-* 2; Kirgh. *sɨn* 1, *sɨna-* 2; Kaz. *sɨn* 1, *sɨna-* 2; KBalk. *sɨna-* 2; KKalp. *sɨn* 1; Kum. *sɨna-* 2, *sɨnčɨ* 'prophet'; Nogh. *sɨna-* 2; Khak. *sɨna-* 2; Oyr. *sɨna-* 2.

◊ EDT 835, VEWT 417, ЭСТЯ 7 (the root should be distinguished from **sɨjn* 'body, idol' q. v. sub **si̯ùnu*, although they tend to contaminate). Turk. > Mong. *sina-*, see Щербак 1997, 145.

PKor. ***sjən-** to be interesting, startling; boring (быть интересным, поразительным; скучным): Mod. *səngəpta* (orth. *sjən-*).

◊ KED 943.

‖ Basically a Turk.-Mong. isogloss; the Kor. form is late attested and somewhat insecure. Cf. perhaps also Manchu *suŋǵen* 'clever, smart' (< *'perceiving'?).

✸**si̯ū́ni** fade, extinguish: Tung. ***sī- (~ -ū̄-)**; Mong. ***sönü-**; Turk. ***sō̄n-**; Jpn. ***sín-**.

PTung. ***sī- (~ -ū̄-)** extinguish (гасить, гаснуть): Evk. *sī-*; Evn. *hī-w-*; Neg. *sī-w-*; Orch. *sī-wi-*; Sol. *š́ī-gū-*.

◊ TMC 2, 73.

PMong. ***sönü-** fade, extinguish, be ended (пропадать, гаснуть, кончаться): MMong. *sunə-* (MA), *süno'e-* (tr.) (SH); WMong. *sönü-* (L 732); Kh. *sönö-*; Bur. *hüne-*; Kalm. *sön-*; Mongr. *sunō-* (SM 361), (MGCD *sunē-*).

◊ KW 333, MGCD 609.

PTurk. ***sō̄n-** to fade, disappear (пропадать, гаснуть): OTurk. *sön-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *sön-* (MK); Tur. *sön-*; Az. *sön-*; Turkm. *sō̄n-*; MTurk. *sön-* (IM, Abush.); Krm. *sön-*; Tat. *sün-*; Bashk. *hün-*; Kaz. *sön-*; KKalp. *sön-*; Kum. *sön-*; Nogh. *sön-*; Chuv. *sün-*.

◊ EDT 834, VEWT 430, ЭСТЯ 7. The Chag. and Old Osm. form *söjün-* id. is not quite clear (and may suggest PT **sō̄jn-*). Turk. > Hung. *szűn-ik-* 'to weaken', see Gombocz 1912.

PJpn. ***sín-** die (умирать): OJpn. sin-; MJpn. *sín-*; Tok. *shìn-*; Kyo. *shín-*; Kag. *shín-*.

◊ JLTT 752.

‖ EAS 71, KW 333, Poppe 30, 70, Ozawa 231-232, АПиПЯЯ 72, 274. Mong. is hardly < Turk., despite Щербак 1997, 147.

✱**si̯únŋi** a k. of knife or lance: Tung. ***siŋńa-**; Mong. ***sumun**; Turk. ***süŋgü**; Kor. ***sòní**.

PTung. ***siŋńa-** big knife (on a shaft) (большой нож (на древке)): Neg. *siŋńa-pun*; Ul. *si̯nasu̯*; Ork. *si̯nasu̯*; Nan. *si̯ŋa-so*; Orch. *sina-ku*.

◊ TMC 2, 91.

PMong. ***sumun** arrow (стрела): MMong. *sumun* (HY 19), *sumu(n)* (SH), *sūmūn* (Lig.VMI), *səmū* (IM), *sumun* (MA); WMong. *sumu(n)* (L 737); Kh. *sum(an)*; Bur. *homo(n)*; Kalm. *sumṇ*; Ord. *sumu(n)*; Dag. *som* (Тод. Даг. 163), *some* (MD 211), *somo*; Dong. *sumu*; Bao. *səmoŋ*; S.-Yugh. *səmən*; Mongr. *sumu* (SM 359).

◊ KW 337, MGCD 612.

PTurk. ***süŋgü** lance, spear (копье, пика): OTurk. *süŋüg* (Orkh.), *süŋü* (OUygh.); Karakh. *süŋü* (MK); Tur. *süŋgü*; Gag. *süŋgü*; Az. *süŋgü*; Turkm. *süŋgi*; MTurk. *süŋgü* (IM, Pav. C.); Krm. *süŋgü*; Tat. *sŭŋgĭ*; Bashk. *hŭŋgŭ*; Kaz. *süŋgĭ*; KBalk. *süŋü*; Kum. *süŋü*; Nogh. *süŋgĭ*; Chuv. *sъʷnъʷ*; Yak. *üŋü*.

◊ EDT 834-835, VEWT 437, TMN 3, 279, Лексика 569, ЭСТЯ 7.

PKor. ***sòní** bow (лук): MKor. *sòní*; Mod. *swenwe*.

◊ Nam 307, KED 995.

‖ Possibly connected etymologically with **si̯úŋe* 'fight'.

✱**si̯únŋu (~ z-)** island, shallow place: Tung. ***suŋnī-**; Mong. ***sinaɣa-**; Jpn. ***súná**.

PTung. ***suŋnī-** tussock (in a swamp) (кочка (в болоте)): Evk. *suŋnīkēɣ*, *sumnīkēɣ*; Neg. *semkeɣ*; Ul. *suŋpu(n)*; Ork. *suŋči*; Nan. *suŋpũ*, *sumkũ*, *suŋku(n)*; Orch. *sompo*.

◊ TMC 2, 128. -m- in some forms is probably due to assimilation.

PMong. ***sinaɣa-** 1 island 2 bend of a river; ridge, mountain ridge (1 остров 2 излучина реки; горный хребет): MMong. *sina'a* (SH) 1; WMong. *sinaɣa* (L 710) 2; Kh. *šanā* 2; Ord. *šinā* 'a salient part of the chain of mountains'.

PJpn. ***súná** sand (песок): MJpn. *suna-gwo*; Tok. *sùna*; Kyo. *súná*; Kag. *súna*.

◊ JLTT 534.

‖ The meaning 'shallow place' explains the semantic developments (> 'island', 'sand'; 'tussock in a swamp').

✱**si̯ùnu** form, shape: Mong. ***süne-sü**; Turk. ***si(j)n**; Jpn. ***sùn-kata**.

PMong. ***süne-sü** soul (душа): MMong. *sunäsu* 'breast' (MA); WMong. *süne-sü(n)* (L 744); Kh. *süns*; Bur. *hünehe(n)*; Kalm. *sümsṇ*, *sünsṇ*; Ord. *sünesü*, *sünes*; Dag. *sumse* (Тод. Даг. 164), *sumese* (MD 213), *sumsu*; S.-Yugh. *sunesən*; Mongr. *sunēzə* (SM 361), (MGCD *sunēsə*).

◊ KW 340, MGCD 617. Mong. > Evk. *sunesun*, see Poppe 1966, 197, Doerfer MT 128.

PTurk. ***sɨ(j)n** 1 body, stature 2 monument, tomb 3 the exterior 4 idol 5 foreign person (1 тело, стан 2 памятник, могила 3 внешность 4 идол 5 чужеземец): OTurk. *sɨn* 1,2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *sɨn* 1,2 (MK), 5 (KB); Tur. *sin* 2, 3; MTurk. *sin* 2 (R.); Uzb. *sin* 1; Tat. *sɨn* 4; Bashk. *hɨn* 2, 4; Kirgh. *sɨn* 1; Kaz. *sɨn*, *sɨjaq* 1; KBalk. *sɨn* 2; KKalp. *sɨn* 1, 2; Kum. *sɨn* 2; Nogh. *sɨn* 1; Khak. *sɨn* 1; Shr. *sɨn* 1; Oyr. *sɨn* 1; Tv. *sɨn* 1.

◊ EDT 832, VEWT 418, 422, ЭСТЯ 7 (with a great deal of confusion - but probably a single root), Лексика 266.

PJpn. ***sùn-kata** form, shape (форма, вид): OJpn. *sugata*; MJpn. *sùgàtá*; Tok. *súgata*; Kyo. *súgàtà*; Kag. *sugatá*.

◊ JLTT 532. A compound with **kátà* 'form, shape'.

‖ Originally probably a shamanistic term ('soul', 'shape').

✱**si̯ùŋe** hoar-frost: Tung. ***süŋü-**; Mong. ***söŋ**; Turk. ***seŋ**; Jpn. ***sùnsù-**; Kor. ***sə́ŋ- / *sə́n- / *sán-**.

PTung. ***süŋü-** 1 frost, hoar-frost, snow grains 2 cold (1 иней, крупинки снега 2 холод): Evk. *siŋi-kse* 1; Evn. *hīŋъ-lgъn* 1; Man. *su(ŋ)-* 'to be covered by frost'; Jurch. *siuŋ-hun* (91) 2; Nan. *suŋgu* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 90-91.

PMong. ***söŋ** frazil, small floating pieces of ice (шуга): WMong. *söŋ* (L 731); Kh. *sön*; Bur. *hüŋ*; Kalm. *söŋ*; Ord. *söŋ*.

◊ KW 333.

PTurk. ***seŋ** frazil (шуга, ледяное сало): Turkm. *seŋ* (dial.); MTurk. *seŋ* (B); Uzb. *säŋ* (dial.); Kaz. *seŋ*; KKalp. *seŋ*; Nogh. *seŋ*; Chuv. *san*.

◊ VEWT 410 (without Chuv.; the Kypch. forms may be borrowed from Mong.), ЭСТЯ 7.

PJpn. ***sùnsù-** cool (прохладный): OJpn. *suzu-si*; MJpn. *sùzù-si*; Tok. *suzushí-*; Kyo. *súzúshì-*; Kag. *suzushí-*.

◊ JLTT 841.

PKor. ***sə́ŋ- / *sə́n-** to be chilly (быть холодным, прохладным): MKor. *sə́nə̆r-hă-*, *sə́nər-hă-*; Mod. *siŋgəŋ siŋgəŋ ha-*, *sənɨr-ha-*, *sanɨr-ha-*.

◊ Nam 282, 299, KED 869, 935, 1065.

‖ KW 333, SKE 234, АПиПЯЯ 81. The vowel in Turkic is unclear. Cf. also Old Koguryo **ṣäñäli* 'zephyr' (see Miller 1979, 7). The Kor. and Jpn. form reflect a derived form **si̯ùŋ(e)ÍV*.

✱**si̯úŋe** fight, wrestling: Tung. ***süŋkē-**; Turk. ***söŋü-Í / *süŋü-Í**; Jpn. ***súmápú**.

PTung. ***süŋkē-** 1 luck (in hunting) 2 hunter's talisman 3 hunters' protecting spirit (1 удача (на охоте) 2 охотничий талисман 3 дух-покровитель охотника): Evk. *siŋkēn* 1; Neg. *siŋkēn* 2,3; Ul. *suŋke(n)*, *su(n)* ~ *sē(n)* 2; Ork. *sukke(n)* 2; Nan. *sū* ~ *sũ* 2; Orch. *siŋke(n)* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 91.

PTurk. ***söŋü-Í / *süŋü-Í** battle (битва): OTurk. *söŋüš* / *süŋüš* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *söŋüš* (MK).

◊ EDT 842, VEWT 437 (hardly derivable from **süŋü* 'spear').

PJpn. ***súmápú** wrestling (борьба): MJpn. *súmáfú*; Tok. *sùmō*; Kyo. *súmő*; Kag. *sumő*.

◊ JLTT 534. In MJ attested also as a verb *sumaf-* 'to wrestle'.

‖ An element of common Altaic hunting or warrior terminology.

✱**s[i̯ú]ŋu** to sink: Tung. ***suŋta**; Mong. ***siŋge-**; Turk. ***siŋ-**; Jpn. ***síntúm-**.

PTung. ***suŋta** deep (глубокий): Evk. *suŋta*; Evn. *hū̱ntъ*; Neg. *soŋta*; Ul. *sụŋta*; Ork. *sụqta*; Nan. *soŋta*; Orch. *suŋta*; Ud. *suŋta*; Sol. *sū̱nta*.

◊ TMC 2, 128.

PMong. ***siŋge-** to soak, dissolve (впитываться, растворяться): WMong. *siŋge-* (L 711); Kh. *šinge-*; Bur. *šenge-*; Kalm. *šiŋgə-*; Ord. *šiŋge-*; Dag. *šingē-* (Тод. Даг. 184: *šiŋge-*, *šiŋgē-*); Bao. *šəŋgə-*; S.-Yugh. *šeŋgē-*; Mongr. *šəŋgē-* (SM 377), *śingē-*.

◊ KW 359, MGCD 718. Mong. > Man. *siŋge-* (Doerfer MT 136, Rozycki 183).

PTurk. ***siŋ-** to sink, submerge (уходить в землю, погружаться): OTurk. *siŋ-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *siŋ-* (MK); Tur. *sin-*; Gag. *sin-*; Az. *sin-*; Turkm. *siŋ-*; Sal. *siŋ-*; MTurk. *siŋ-* (AH, Pav. C.); Uzb. *siŋ-*; Uygh. *siŋ-*; Krm. *sin-*; Tat. *sĭŋ-*; Bashk. *hĭŋ-*; Kirgh. *siŋ-*; Kaz. *siŋ-*; KBalk. *siŋ-*; KKalp. *siŋ-*; Kum. *siŋ-*; Nogh. *siŋ-*; SUygh. *siŋ-*; Khak. *siŋ-* 'to fit into'; Shr. *siŋ-* 'to fit into'; Tv. *siŋ-*; *siŋ-* 'to fit into'; Chuv. *šъnъś-*; Yak. *iŋ-*.

◊ EDT 833-834, Мудрак Дисс. 43, ЭСТЯ 7. The Khak., Shor and Tuva forms may have been influenced by **sig-* 'to fit into' (v. sub **sĭgú*).

PJpn. ***síntúm-** to sink (погружаться): OJpn. *sidum-*; MJpn. *sídúm-*; Tok. *shìzum-*; Kyo. *shízúm-*; Kag. *shìzùm-*.

◊ JLTT 754.

‖ KW 359, Владимирцов 173, Poppe 31, 72, 116 (Turk.-Mong.), Мудрак Дисс. 43. Mong. *siŋge-* may be borrowed from Turk. (see Щербак 1997, 144), but cf. also WMong. *suŋγu-*, *šuŋγa-*, Kalm. *suŋgə-*, *šuŋgə-* 'to dive', Dag. *šungu-* (KW 337, 368, MGCD 726; Mong. > Kirgh. *süŋgü-* etc., see ЭСТЯ 7) < **siŋV-kV*. The Jpn. form fits here rather well (**síntú-* = TM **suŋ-ta*), but we would rather expect *-u-.

✱**si̯ùŋu** to whine, weep: Tung. ***soŋa-**; Turk. ***siŋ- (~ -i-)**; Jpn. ***sùná-**.

PTung. ***soŋa-** to weep (плакать): Evk. *soŋo-*; Evn. *hoŋ-*; Neg. *soŋo-*; Man. *soŋGo-*; SMan. *soŋə-* (190); Ul. *soŋGo-*; Ork. *soŋo-*, *soŋGo-*; Nan. *soŋGo-*; Orch. *soŋo-*; Ud. *soŋo-*; Sol. *soŋo-*.

◊ TMC 2, 111-112.

PTurk. ***siŋ- (~ -i-)** 1 whining or buzzing noise 2 to whine, moan (1 скулеж, визг 2 визжать, хныкать, стонать): Karakh. *siŋ* 1, *siŋile-* 2; Tur. *sinle-*, dial. *senele-* 2; Bashk. *hiŋ-qilda-* 'to sob'; Kaz. *siŋγir* 1, *siŋ-qilda-* 2;

Khak. *sɨŋ* 1, *sɨ̄la-* 2; Tv. *sɨ̄la-* 2; Chuv. *šъngъr* 1, *šъngъrdat-* 2; Yak. *iŋersij-* 'to neigh, coo' (Пек.).

◊ EDT 832, 840.

PJpn. ***sùná-** to pout, frown (дуться, хмуриться): Tok. *suné-*; Kyo. *sùnè-*; Kag. *sùnè-*.

◊ JLTT 759.

‖ An onomatopoeic root, but with quite good correspondences. Cf. also notes to **si̯ā́ńi*.

✸**si̯ū́ŋV(-kV)** a k. of flying insect: Tung. ***süŋke**; Mong. ***simaɣul**; Turk. ***siŋek**; Jpn. ***sáimì (~ -ia-)**.

PTung. ***süŋke** beetle (жук): Nan. *suŋkẽ*; Ud. *siŋke*.

◊ TMC 2, 91.

PMong. ***simaɣul** 1 mosquito 2 insect (1 комар 2 насекомое): MMong. *šimu'ul* (HY 12), *šimul* 'fly' (MA); WMong. *simaɣul*, *simuɣul* 1, 2 (L 710); Kh. *šumūl* 1; Bur. *šumūl* 2; Kalm. *šomūl*, *šumūsn*; Ord. *šimūli*; Dag. *šomōl* (Тод. Даг. 184) *šomōle* (MD. 217) 1.

◊ KW 364.

PTurk. ***siŋek** 1 mosquito 2 fly (1 комар 2 муха): Karakh. *siŋek* 1,2 (MK); Tur. *sinek* 2; Gag. *sinek* 2; Az. *sinäk* 1; Turkm. *siŋek* 2; MTurk. *siŋak*, *siŋgek* 2 (Pav. C.); Krm. *sinek* 2; SUygh. *sɨŋgek* 'gad-fly'; Khak. *sik*, *sēk* 2; Oyr. *sēk* 1; Tv. *sēk* 2; Chuv. *šъna* 2.

◊ EDT 838, VEWT 422-423, Лексика 185, ЭСТЯ 7. Cf. also Yak., Dolg. *ɨŋɨrɨa* 'bee, wasp' (Stachowski 261). Turk. > Hung. *szunyog* 'mosquito', see Gombocz 1912.

PJpn. ***sáimì (~ -ia-)** cicada (цикада): OJpn. *semji*; MJpn. *sémì*; Tok. *sèmi*; Kyo. *sémì*; Kag. *sémi*.

◊ JLTT 521. The tone in Tokyo is irregular (pointing to **sáimí).*

‖ Мудрак Дисс. 42-43, Лексика 186. An insect name, with tabooistic irregular vocalic changes.

✸**si̯ū́ra** arrow; fight, battle, success in battle: Tung. ***sori**; Mong. ***sur**; Turk. ***sɨ̄r-**; Jpn. ***satu-i**; Kor. ***sàră-**.

PTung. ***sori** 1 fight, battle 2 victim 3 to shoot arrows into each other (1 драка, битва 2 жертва 3 стрелять друг в друга из лука): Man. *sori-* 3, *sori* 2; Jurch. *sori* (455) 1; Ul. *sorị* 1; Ork. *sorị(n)'*; Nan. *sorị̄* 1; Orch. *sōri*.

◊ TMC 2, 113.

PMong. ***sur** competition in bow-shooting (соревнование в стрельбе): WMong. *surčin* (L 738: *sur* 'archer's target', 739: *surčin* 'archer'); Bur. *hurša* 'arrow'; Kalm. *sur*.

◊ KW 338. Mong. *sur* 'archer's target' is being confused with *sur(an)* 'leather belt, strap' (borrowed from Turkic, see under **si̯óga*) and sometimes glossed as 'archer's target made of leather straps' - most probably a result of folk etymology.

PTurk. ***sīr-** 1 arrow, tip of an arrow 2 sabre 3 fight (1 стрела, наконечник стрелы 2 сабля 3 битва): Turkm. *sīrma* 2; Khak. *sɨr* 1; Chuv. *šъrъm* 3; Yak. *ɨrba* 1.

◊ VEWT 418 (Khak.)

PJpn. ***satu-i** success in hunting (удача на охоте): OJpn. *sati*; MJpn. *sati*; Tok. *sáchi*; Kyo. *sáchì*; Kag. *sáchi*.

◊ JLTT 519. Accent is not quite clear: Kyoto and Kagoshima point to **sátùi*, but Tokyo is aberrant. For *-u- cf. OJ *satu-ja* 'hunting arrow'.

PKor. ***sàrǎ-** to capture (брать в плен): MKor. *sàrǎ-čàp-* ("to take captive"); Mod. *saro-čap-*.

◊ Nam 283, KED 872.

‖ The Korean reflex is somewhat dubious, being traditionally derived < **sār-* 'to live' (*sarǎ-čap-* = 'to take alive'). This, however, may be a secondary folk etymology, the original meaning of the compound being 'to take booty'.

✱**si̯uru (~ z-, -ŕ-)** ant, insect eggs: Tung. ***sura**; Mong. ***sirgolǯi**; Kor. ***sɨr-**.

PTung. ***sura (sora)** 1 flea 2 to lay eggs in deer's nose 3 insect laying eggs in deer's nose 4 bumble-bee 5 eggs of flies, insects 6 pollen (1 блоха 2 откладывать яйца в носовой полости оленя 3 насекомое, откладывающее яйца в носовой полости оленя 4 шмель 5 мушиный помет, яйца насекомых 6 пыльца): Evk. *soro-* 2, *soroŋki / sereŋki* 3, *soroptun / sereptin* 4; Neg. *sōja* 1; Man. *suran* 1, *soroḱa* 4, sere 5; SMan. *suran* 1 (2254); Ul. *su̯ra* 1, *sora* 6; Ork. *su̯ra* 1; Nan. *sora* 1, 6; Orch. *sūa* 1; Ud. *sua* 1 (Корм. 288); Sol. *sora* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 112, 113. Man. *soroḱa* > Dag. *soroḱē* (Тод. Даг. 164); TM > Dag. *sura* 'flea' (ibid.).

PMong. ***sirgolǯi** ant (муравей): MMong. *široxalǯin* (HY 12); WMong. *širγolǯi*, (L 717) *sirγulǯi(n)*; Kh. *šorgōlǯ*; Bur. *šorgōlzo(n)*, *šorgōlžo(n)*; Kalm. *šorγəlǯn̡*; Ord. *šurGulǯi*, *šurGūlǯi*, *šorGolǯi*; Dag. *suaigālǯi* (Тод. Даг. 164), *suajhaleǯi* (MD 212); Mongr. *śorGoʒin* (SM 397).

◊ KW 365. Mong. > Evk. *čêrgolǯi* (see Poppe 1972, 101).

PKor. ***sɨr-** to lay eggs (of insects, fish) (класть яйца (о насекомых или рыбах)): MKor. *sɨr-*; Mod. *sɨl-*.

◊ Liu 487, KED 1027. Cf. also mod. *swi* 'eggs of fly' (with a consonant alternation similar to the one in the reflexes of PA **mŭro* q. v.).

‖ Cf. **si̯ǎjrí*.

✱**si̯ŭŕe** sound: Tung. ***sür-**; Mong. ***sür- / *sur-**; Turk. ***söŕ**; Kor. ***sòrǎi**.

PTung. ***sür-** 1 to creak, screak 2 to shout, cry (1 трещать (от мороза) 2 кричать, орать): Evk. *sirgi-* 1; Man. *sure-* 2; SMan. *surə-*, *suru-* 2 (192).

◊ TMC 2, 95, 131.

PMong. ***sür- / *sur-** 1 to cry out 2 to sound, make noise (of wind) (1 выкрикивать 2 звучать, шуметь (о ветре)): WMong. *süre-* 2, *sura-* 1, *sürkire-* 2 (L 745); Kh. *sür*, *sürxre-* 2; Kalm. *sur-* 1, *sür* 2.

◊ KW 338, 340. The root should be distinguished from WMong. *sür* 'majesty, militancy' (despite Doerfer TMN 1, 344, who posits a quite improbable semantic development: "imponierendes Aussehen" > "jemandem durch Schreien imponieren").

PTurk. ***söŕ** word, speech (слово, речь): OTurk. *söz* (OUygh.); Karakh. *söz* (MK); Tur. *söz*; Gag. *söz*; Az. *söz*; Turkm. *söz*; Sal. *söz*; Khal. *sez*, *söz*; MTurk. *söz* (AH, IM, Ettuhf.); Uzb. *söz*; Uygh. *söz*; Krm. *söz*; Tat. *süz*; Bashk. *hüδ*; Kirgh. *söz*; Kaz. *söz*; KBalk. *söz*; KKalp. *söz*; Kum. *söz*; Nogh. *söz*; SUygh. *söz*; Khak. *sös*; Shr. *sös*; Oyr. *sös*; Tv. *sös*; Yak. *ös*; Dolg. *ös*.

◊ EDT 860, VEWT 430, ЭСТЯ 7, Stachowski 200-201. One should also mention PT **sör-ček* 'tale, story, fairy tale' (see ЭСТЯ 7).

PKor. ***sòrā́i** voice, sound (голос, звук): MKor. *sòrā́i*; Mod. *sori*.

◊ Nam 307, KED 972.

‖ KW 338, Lee 1958, 119. Despite Doerfer's criticism in TMN 3, 296 the comparison seems reliable.

✸**si̯ŭ̀ŕi** to flow, drip: Tung. ***sir-**; Mong. ***sür-**; Turk. ***süŕ-**.

PTung. ***sir-** 1 spring, well 2 to strain, press out 3 to milk (1 родник, ключ 2 выжимать 3 доить): Evk. *sir-* 2, 3; Evn. *hịr-* 3; Neg. *sij-* 3; Man. *šeri* 1, *siri-* 2; SMan. *šeri*, *seri* 1 (2085); Ul. *sịrị-* 2, 3; Ork. *sịrị-* 2, 3; Nan. *sire* (Bik.) 1, *sịrị-* 2; Orch. *sī-* 3; Ud. *sie* 'bay with spring water'; *sī-* 2, 3.

◊ TMC 2, 93, 101.

PMong. ***sür-** to rain in small drops, sprinkle (моросить, брызгать): WMong. *sürči-* (L 744); Kh. *šürši-*, *sürši-*, *sürči-*; Kalm. *sürči-*; Dag. ? *surē* 'pour (water)' (MD 213).

◊ KW 341.

PTurk. ***süŕ-** 1 to strain, filter 2 to swim, float 3 to walk in water (1 цедить, фильтровать 2 плавать 3 ходить в воде): OTurk. *süz-* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *süz-* 1 (MK); Tur. *süz-* 1, *süzül-* 2; Gag. *süz-* 1; Az. *süz-* 1, 2; Turkm. *süz-* 1; Khal. *sīz-* 1; MTurk. *süz-* 1 (AH, Pav. C.), 2 (Pav. C.); Uzb. *suz-* 2; Uygh. *süz-* 1; Krm. *süz-* 1; Tat. *söz-* 1, (dial.) 2; Bashk. *hŭ̆δ-* 1; Kirgh. *süz-* 1, 2; Kaz. *süz-* 1; KBalk. *süz-* 1; Kum. *süz-* 1; Nogh. *süz-* 1; Tv. *süs-* 3; Chuv. *sər-* 1, "to catch fish by a drag-net".

◊ EDT 861, ЭСТЯ 4, 261; 7; VEWT 420 (the root should be distinguished from **sɨŕ-* 'to ooze', q.v. sub **ši̯ŭŕu*), Лексика 411, Ашм. XI, 311-312, 314, Федотов 2, 44-45. The meanings 'to strain, filter' and 'to swim, float' go back to a common meaning '*to flow' (additionally the semantic development > 'swim' could have been influenced by **jüŕ-* 'to swim' q.v. sub **ni̯úŕe*). Bulg. > Hung. *szűr-* 'to ooze', see Gombocz 1912, MNyTESz 3, 812-813.

‖ A Western isogloss. The root may in fact be the same as *si̯òri (reflected in the Eastern area) q.v., but modified under the influence of a synonymous *ši̯ŭŕu q.v.

✱**si̯uŕo** to drag; sleigh: Tung. ***siru-**; Turk. ***soŕ-**; Jpn. ***sórì (~ *-ui, -əi)**; Kor. ***sùr′úi**.

PTung. ***siru-** to rotate, roll, glide (кружиться, катиться, соскальзывать): Evk. *sirun-*; Evn. *hirun-*; Neg. *siwun-*; Man. *šurde-*; Ork. *siso-lo-*.

◊ TMC 2, 96-97, 430. The meaning in Manchu ('roll, rotate') is secondary < 'move quickly'. One is also tempted to relate here Manchu *sežen* 'carriage' that can be treated as an assimilation < **siʒen* < **sir-gen*; all other TM forms (Nan. *sežẽ*, Ul. *sežen* etc., see TMC 2, 137) in that case should be considered borrowed < Manchu.

PTurk. ***soŕ-** to drag (тащить): Az. *soz-*; Turkm. *soz-*; Uygh. *soz-*; Tat. *sus-*; Bashk. *huδ-*; Kirgh. *soz-*; Kaz. *soz-*; KBalk. *soz-*; Kum. *soz-*; Yak. *sos-*; Dolg. *hohun-*.

◊ VEWT 429, Stachowski 107.

PJpn. ***sórì** sleigh (сани): Tok. *sóri*; Kyo. *sórì*; Kag. *sórì*.

◊ JLTT 531. The Tokyo accent is irregular (*sorí* would be expected) and may be due to borrowing.

PKor. ***sùr′úi** carriage, cart (повозка): MKor. *sùr′úi*; Mod. *sure*.

◊ Nam 315, KED 1001.

‖ Lee 1958, 118 (Kor.-TM).

✱**si̯úsa** a k. of bamboo: Tung. ***susē-gde**; Turk. ***sɨs**; Jpn. ***sásá**; Kor. ***sàsa̋r**.

PTung. ***susē-gde** a k. of plant (willow with yellow bark) (вид растения (тальник с желтым лубом)): Orch. *susēgde*.

◊ TMC 2, 131. Attested only in Oroch, with possible external parallels.

PTurk. ***sɨs** a k. of grass (мордовник): Oyr. *sɨs qomurγaj*, *qomuraj* (*qomurγaj* 'pipe').

◊ Attested only in Oyrot, with possible external parallels.

PJpn. ***sásá** small bamboo (мелкий бамбук): OJpn. *sasa*; MJpn. *sásá*; Tok. *sàsa*; Kyo. *sásá*; Kag. *sása*.

◊ JLTT 518.

PKor. ***sàsa̋r** bamboo chip, lot (бамбуковая щепка, ветка): MKor. *sàsa̋r*; Mod. *sat* [*sas*].

◊ Nam 284, KED 906 (in modern Korean mixed with **sat* 'thin mat', on which see under **zakt'i*).

‖ The root is very sparsely attested and thus not quite reliable.

✱**si̯útu (~ *z-)** to throw out, push out: Tung. ***sut-**; Mong. ***side-**; Jpn. ***súta-**; Kor. ***sòt-**.

PTung. ***sut-** 1 to scatter, throw about 2 to hit out, push out (1 разбрасывать, рассыпать 2 вышибать, выбивать): Evk. *sutigā-* 2; Man. *sota-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 114, 131.

PMong. ***side-** to throw, fling (бросать, кидать): WMong. *side-* (L 697); Kh. *šide-*; Bur. *šede-*.

PJpn. ***súta-** to throw out (выбрасывать): OJpn. *suta-*; MJpn. *súta-*; Tok. *sùte-*; Kyo. *súté-*; Kag. *suté-*.

◊ JLTT 760.

PKor. ***sòt-** to throw out, pour out, empty (выбрасывать, выливать, опустошать): MKor. *sòt-*; Mod. *s:ot-*.

◊ Nam 310, KED 990.

‖ Lee 1958, 117 (Kor.-TM).

✱**si̯ŭt´i (~ -t-)** milk, a k. of liquid: Tung. ***site-**; Mong. ***ü-sü-n**; Turk. ***sŭt**; Kor. ***stɨ́-**.

PTung. ***site-** 1 to soak (intr.) 2 slightly trickling (of woman's milk) (1 промокать 2 скудно, мало (о молоке кормящей женщины)): Neg. *site-* 1; Nan. *sitã* (On.) 2; Ul. *site-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 100.

PMong. ***ü-sü-n** milk (молоко): MMong. *sün* (SH), *sūn* (IM), *su* (MA), *sūn* (Lig.VMI); WMong. *sü(n)* (L 744), *üsün*; Kh. *sŭ̄(n)*; Bur. *hün*, dial. *ühe(n)*; Kalm. *sün*, *üsn*; Ord. *üsü(n)*; Mog. *sün*; ZM *sun* (15-5a); Dag. *sū* (Тод. Даг. 164, MD 213); S.-Yugh. *sun*; Mongr. *sun* (SM 360).

◊ KW 340, 460, MGCD 614. Mong. > Manchu *sun* (see Rozycki 190).

PTurk. ***sŭt** milk (молоко): OTurk. *süt* (OUygh.); Karakh. *süt* (MK); Tur. *süt*; Gag. *süt*; Az. *süd*; Turkm. *sŭ̄t*; Sal. *süt*; Khal. *sīt*; MTurk. *süt* (AH, Abush.), *süd* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *sut*; Uygh. *süt*; Krm. *süt*; Tat. *sŭ̆t*; Bashk. *hŭ̆t*; Kirgh. *süt*; Kaz. *süt*; KBalk. *süt*; KKalp. *süt*; Kum. *süt*; Nogh. *süt*; SUygh. *süt*, *söt*; Khak. *süt*; Shr. *süt*; Oyr. *süt*; Tv. *süt*; Chuv. *sə^{w}t*; Yak. *ŭ̄t*.

◊ EDT 798, VEWT 438, Лексика 448-449, ЭСТЯ 7.

PKor. ***stɨ́-m** 1 sweat 2 water after washing rice (1 пот 2 вода после промывки риса): MKor. *stɨ́-m* 1, *stɨ́-mɨ́r* 2; Mod. *t:am* 1, *t:ɨmul* 2.

◊ HMCH 209, Liu 249, KED 409, 526.

‖ Лексика 449. Mong. cannot be a Turkic loanword, despite Щербак 1997, 150. The form must be traced to **süt-sün* > **sü-sün* (with a regular dissimilative development > **üsün*). Kor. has a frequent loss of vowel between a fricative and a stop. The original meaning must have been 'liquid' or 'milk-like liquid' (with drops or bubbles on the surface) - whence, on the one hand, "sweat" and "soak", on the other - "milk" (in the Turk.-Mong. area).

✱**si̯uʒakV** a k. of small animal: Tung. ***suʒakī**; Mong. ***čičaguli**; Turk. ***sičgan**.

PTung. ***suʒakī** cat (кошка): Evk. *suʒakī* (Urm.).

◊ TMC 2, 120.

PMong. ***čičaguli** mole; gopher, prairie squirrel (крот; суслик): WMong. *čičaγulin* (L 175); Ord. *šara ʒičūli* 'espèce de rat des champs'.

◊ It is interesting to note Krm. (K.) *sičavul* 'rat' - a mongolism?

PTurk. ***sičgan** rat, mouse (крыса, мышь): OTurk. *sičγan* (OUygh.); Karakh. *sičγan* (MK); Tur. *sičan*; Gag. *sičan*; Az. *sičan*; Turkm. *sičan*; Khal. *sičγān*; MTurk. *sičan* (Pav. C.), *sičγan* (AH, IM); Uzb. *sičqɔn*; Uygh. *sačqan*, *čačqan*; Krm. *sičan*; Tat. *sičqan*, *tičqan*; Bashk. *sisqan*; Kirgh. *čičqan*; Kaz. *tišqan*; KBalk. *cicxan*; KKalp. *tišqan*; Kum. *čičqan*; Nogh. *šišqan*; SUygh. *šiγan*; Khak. *sisxan*; Shr. *šišqan*; Oyr. *čičqan*; Chuv. *šъži*, *šъ(r)ži*; Yak. *čis*.

◊ EDT 796, VEWT 414, Лексика 167, ЭСТЯ 7. Turk. > Hung. *cickány* 'field mouse', see Gombocz 1912.

‖ EAS 96, TMN 3, 308; Лексика 168. A Western isogloss. The root seems plausible, but has some phonetic irregularities. Instead of Evk. *suʒakī* one could perhaps compare Tung. **šolčikī* 'ferret' (TMC 2, 405). Shor *čolasčaγa*, Khak. *čolʒanaχ* 'ласка, хорек' (VEWT 115) is probably < TM.

✱**sōdV (~ z-, -ū-)** to scoop: Tung. ***sōda**; Kor. ***stɨ́-**.

PTung. ***sōda** 1 scoop-net 2 to scoop (1 сачок 2 черпать): Man. *šodo-* 2, *šodoqu* 1; Nan. *sōdō* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 104.

PKor. ***stɨ́-** to scoop, ladle (черпать): MKor. *stɨ́-*; Mod. *t:ɨ-*.

◊ Nam 173, KED 523.

‖ A Tung.-Kor. isogloss. Korean has a frequent vowel reduction between a fricative and a stop, which explains the -t-reflex.

✱**sógà (~ -u-)** drunken, alcoholic drink: Mong. ***sogta-**; Turk. ***sUg-**; Jpn. ***sákā-i**; Kor. ***sù'ɨr**.

PMong. ***sogta-** to get drunk (пьянеть, напиваться): MMong. *soxta-* (HY 35, SH), *ṣoxta-* (IM), *suqta-* (MA); WMong. *soγta-*, *soγtu-* (L 723); Kh. *sogto-*; Bur. *hogto-*; Kalm. *soktə-*; Ord. *soGtū*; Dag. *sorto-* (Тод. Даг. 164), *sogetō*, *soretō* 'a drunk' (MD 211) *soretu-*; Dong. *sodo-*, *sudo-*; Bao. *soxte-*; S.-Yugh. *soGtō-*, *soGdō-*; Mongr. *soGdō-* (SM 351), *sdō-*.

◊ KW 329-330, MGCD 603.

PTurk. ***sUg-** 1 to procure cheese 2 dried cheese (1 готовить сыр 2 сушеный сыр): Karakh. *suγ-* 1, *suγut* 2 (MK).

◊ EDT 805-806. For *suγut* cf. Hung. *sajt* (rather than to Chuv. *čъgъt* - despite Gombocz 1912, Федотов 2, 400 et al.).

PJpn. ***sákā-i** sake, alcoholic drink (сакэ): OJpn. sake; MJpn. *sáké*; Tok. *sàke*; Kyo. *sáké*.

◊ JLTT 517. Modern *sakana* 'fish' is a late word, going back to MJ *saka-na* 'food (orig. 'vegetables') taken together with sake'; it is not attested in OJ.

PKor. ***sù'ɨr** wine, alcoholic drink (вино, алкогольный напиток): MKor. *sù'ɨ̀r*, *sù'ùr*; Mod. *sul*.

◊ Nam 314, KED 1018.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 275. The Jpn.-Kor. comparison see in Martin 235 (with a somewhat fantastic reconstruction). Actually Korean drops -g- quite regularly, while -r is an obvious suffix; the vowel -u-, however, is a problem (*-a- would be expected), and should be probably explained as a result of contraction (thus **sù'ɨ̀r* < **sagV-bVr* or the like). Existing TM forms (see TMC 2,106) are clearly borrowed from Mongolian, see Doerfer MT 39, Rozycki 186. Cf. also Karakh. *suɣdɨč* 'winter parties, arranged by turns'.

✸**soge** to breathe, breath: Tung. ***sug-**; Mong. ***süji-**; Turk. ***soglɨ-**; Kor. ***sūi-**.

PTung. ***sug-** 1 breath 2 vapour 3 soul 4 sacrifice 5 hurricane, wind 6 to breathe (1 дыхание 2 пар 3 дух, душа 4 жертвоприношение 5 вихрь, ураган 6 дышать): Evk. *suɣī* 5, *suɣina-* 6; Evn. *hụjị* 5; Neg. *sugde* 4, *soɣị̄* 5; Man. *suqdun* 1,2,3, su 5; SMan. *suvədun*, *suvudun* 'air, vapor, steam' (351); Ul. *sugdu-* 'to place a sacrifice before an idol', *sụ̄ị* 5; Ork. *sugditči-* 'to place food in front of a deceased', *sụ̄ị* 5; Nan. *sugdu(n)* 2, *sōị* 5; Orch. *sūi* 5; Ud. *sogdo* 2; Sol. *sōwī* 5.

◊ TMC 2, 118-119.

PMong. ***süji-** 1 to pant 2 to blow (1 тяжело дышать, задыхаться 2 дуть): WMong. *süile-* 1 (L 742); Kh. *süjle-* 1; Bur. *hüje-* 2; Kalm. *sū̃kn̥-* 1, *sū̃gə-* 2 (KPC); Ord. *süjle-* 1.

PTurk. ***soglɨ-** to breathe heavily, pant (тяжело дышать, задыхаться): Tur. *solu-*; Gag. *solu-*; MTurk. *solu-* (Pav. C., IM); Krm. *solu-*; Tat. *sula-*; KBalk. *solu-* 'to rest'; Kum. *solu-*; Nogh. *solɨq-*; Oyr. *sōlu-*; Chuv. *sɨvla-*; Yak. *uoluj-* 'to be very scared'.

◊ VEWT 426, ЭСТЯ 6.

PKor. ***sūi-** to breathe; to rest (дышать; отдыхать): MKor. *sūi-*; Mod. *swī-*.

◊ Nam 316, KED 1022.

‖ ЭСТЯ 7. Cf. **sĭ̀ga*.

✸**sogì** a k. of meat dish: Tung. ***sugulē-n**; Mong. ***suɣumaj**; Turk. ***sögül-**; Jpn. ***suki-jaki**.

PTung. ***sugulē-n** meat prepared for boiling (мясо, приготовленное для варки): Evk. *suɣulēn*.

◊ TMC 2, 119. Attested only in Evk., but having interesting external parallels.

PMong. ***suɣumaj** a k. of meat dumplings (вид мясных пельменей): WMong. *suumai* (MXTTT); Kh. *sūmaj*.

PTurk. ***sögül-** 1 to roast meat 2 roasted meat, meat for roasting (1 жарить (мясо) 2 жареное мясо, мясо для жарения): OTurk. *sögül-* 1

(OUygh.); Karakh. *sögül-* 1 (MK), *sögüš* 2 (MK Oghuz); Tur. (dial.) *sögür-*, *sövür-* 1, *söviš*, *sögüš* 2; Turkm. *sövüš* 2; MTurk. *sögül-* 1 (AH), *sögüš* 2; Yak. *üöl-* 1; Dolg. *üöl-* 1.

◊ EDT 821, 823, ЭСТЯ 7, Stachowski 251.

PJpn. ***suki-jaki*** a k. of meat dish (вид мясного блюда): MJpn. *sugi-jaki*; Tok. *sukiyaki*.

◊ A compound with **jak-* 'burn'.

‖ Note the morphological match between Evk. *suɣulēn* and PT **sögü-l-* (or **sögü-Í-*).

✱**sogŋV** a k. of onion: Tung. ***seŋKule (< *soŋKule?)***; Mong. ***soŋgina (*soɣoŋgina)***; Turk. ***sogan***; Kor. ***sòŋ'ì***.

PTung. ***seŋKule*** garlic (чеснок): Man. *seŋgule*, *seŋkule*, *semkele*; SMan. *seməkələ* 'scallion' (318).

◊ TMC 2, 143. Attested only in Manchu, but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***soŋgina*** onion (лук): MMong. *so'oŋgina* (HY 8), *sunqină* (MA); WMong. *soŋgina* (L 727); Kh. *songin*; Bur. *hongino*; Kalm. *soŋginə*; Ord. *soŋginoG*; Dong. *sunguna*; Mongr. *suŋGunoG*.

◊ KW 331. Mong. > Man. *soŋgina* (see Rozycki 191).

PTurk. ***sogan*** onion (лук): OTurk. *soɣun* (OUygh.); Karakh. *soɣun* (MK); Tur. *soɣan*; Gag. *suvan*, *suan*; Az. *soɣan*; Turkm. *soɣan*; Sal. *soɣan*, *soɣän*; Khal. *soɣan*; MTurk. *soɣan* (AH, IM, Pav. C.); Uygh. *soɣan*; Tat. *suɣan*; Bashk. *huɣan*; Kirgh. *soɣan*, *soɣon*; KBalk. *soxan*; Kum. *soɣan*; Nogh. *soɣan*; SUygh. *soxan*; Chuv. *soɣan*.

◊ EDT 812, VEWT 425, Лексика 141, 465, ЭСТЯ 7, Федотов 2, 69-70. Forms like Oyr. *soɣono*, *sōno*, Tuva *soɣuna* may be < Mong.

PKor. ***sòŋ'ì*** 1 lotus seed 2 bud, bunch (1 семя лотоса 2 почка, гроздь): MKor. *sòŋ'ì* 1; Mod. *soŋi*, *soŋari* 2.

◊ Nam 310, KED 994.

‖ KW 331, Дыбо 10. Despite Щербак 1997, 166, hardly a borrowing in Mong. < Turk. Hypotheses about the Chinese origin of the word (KW 331, Дмитриева 166-167) are hardly grounded: one has to suppose Chin. > Mong., with a secondary addition of the Mong. plant suffix -gina, with a subsequent borrowing Mong. > Turkic (which is hardly plausible because of old attestation within Turkic); the Manchu parallel also speaks against borrowing from Chinese. See also notes on **sugu* 'weed' (there may have been some confusion of these two roots in Kor.-Jpn. and in Turkic).

✱**sogú** to search, choose: Tung. ***sugele- (/ *segule-)***; Mong. ***soŋgu- (*soɣoŋgu-)***; Turk. ***sogra- ?***; Jpn. ***sunkur-***.

PTung. ***sugele- (/ *segule-)*** to search, search through (искать, обыскивать): Man. *suwele-*, *seole-*; Ul. *sewlu-*; Nan. *seule-*.

◊ TMC 2, 134.

PMong. ***soɣoŋgu-** to choose (выбирать): MMong. *so'aŋgu* (HY 34), *soonkuul-* (SH Козин); WMong. *soŋgu-* (L 726); Kh. *soŋgo-*; Bur. *hunga-*; Kalm. *suŋγə-* (KPC); Ord. *suŋGu-*; Dag. *soŋgo-* (Тод. Даг. 164); Dong. *sunγu-* (Тод. Дн.).

PTurk. ***sogra- ?** 1 to search (through) 2 to ask (1 обыскивать 2 спрашивать): Karakh. *soγrut-* 1 (MK); MTurk. *sora-* 1, *soraγaq* 'search, perquisition' (Pav. C.); Chuv. *šɨra-* 2.

◊ EDT 816. Федотов 2, 466-467 derives the Chuv. form < **sōr(a)-* 'ask' (v. sub **sȍra*), but the initial *š-* remains unclear in both cases. Because of this, and because of the Hapax nature of the OT form the it is actually not quite clear whether the root **sogra-* exists at all. An argument in its favour is the semantic match between OT and Chagatai and the resulting semantic distinction (*'search (through)') from **sōr(a)-* 'ask'.

PJpn. ***sunkur-** to choose, select (выбирать, отбирать): MJpn. *súgúr-*; Tok. *sugúr-*; Kyo. *súgúr-*; Kag. *sùgùr-*.

◊ JLTT 758. Accent not quite clear: modern dialects point rather to **sù(n)kùr-*.

‖ Ozawa 233-234.

✱**sȍjkʹì** to curse: Tung. ***sujKu-**; Mong. ***sögeɣe- / -k-**; Turk. ***sȍ̄k-**; Jpn. ***sikar-**.

PTung. ***sujKu-** 1 to curse 2 to caper (1 ругать, бранить 2 озорничать): Man. *sujxu-* 2 (> Nan. *sujxu-*, *sojxo-* id.); Nan. *soị-*, (Kur.-Urm.) *soqola-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 104, 121.

PMong. ***sögeɣe- / -k-** to curse, rebuke (ругать, винить): MMong. *soko-* (HY 35), *suke-* (MA), *suge-* (IM); WMong. *sögege-* (L 730); Kh. *söxȍ̄-*; Bur. *hüge-*; Mog. *suka-* (Weiers); Mongr. *sgō-* 'maudire, injurer, faire des imprécations' (SM 348).

◊ Cf. also WMong. *šoγ* 'joke', Dag. (?) *čok* id. (Тод. Даг. 181).

PTurk. ***sȍ̄k-** to curse, swear (ругать, бранить): OTurk. *sök-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *sög-* (MK); Tur. *söw-*; Gag. *sȕ̄-*; Az. *söj-*; Turkm. *sȍ̄g-*; MTurk. *sög-* (AH, Pav. C.), *sök-* (Houts., Ettuhf.); Uzb. *sọk-*; Uygh. *sök-*; Krm. *sök-*; Tat. *sük-*; Bashk. *hük-*; Kirgh. *sök-*; Kaz. *sök-*; KKalp. *sök-*; Kum. *sök-*; Nogh. *sök-*; Khak. *sök-*; Shr. *sök-*; Oyr. *sök-*; Yak. *üöx-*; Dolg. *üök-*.

◊ EDT 818-819, VEWT 429-430, ЭСТЯ 7, Stachowski 251.

PJpn. ***sikar-** to curse (ругать): MJpn. *sikar-*; Tok. *shìkar-*, *shikár-*; Kyo. *shíkár-*; Kag. *shìkàr-*.

◊ JLTT 750. Original accent unclear (both **síkár-* and **sìkàr-* are possible).

‖ KW 333, Poppe 109. Hardly borrowed in Mong. < Turk., despite Щербак 1997, 147. Medial *-j-, preserved in Manchu, explains the vowel -i- in Jpn. (otherwise **suk-* would be expected).

✱**soke** to kneel, be inclined: Tung. ***suku-**; Mong. ***sögüd-**; Turk. ***sök-**.

PTung. ***suku-** to abut feet (in boat) (упираться ногами (при гребле)): Ul. *sučepu(n)* (n.); Nan. *sikupũ* (n.); Orch. *sukule-*; Ud. *suku-* 'to kick'.

◊ TMC 2, 123.

PMong. ***sögüd-** to kneel (стоять на коленях): MMong. *sogat-* (HY 35), *sogot-* (SH)-, *suked-* (MA); WMong. *sögüd-* (L 731); Kh. *sögd-*; Bur. *hügde-*; Kalm. *sögd-*, *sökt-*; Ord. *sögöd-*; Dag. *sugdu-*; S.-Yugh. *sögöd-*; Mongr. *sogodi-* (SM 352), (MGCD *sugodə-*).

◊ KW 333, MGCD 608. Cf. also *sög* 'an order for a camel to kneel'.

PTurk. ***sök-** to kneel (преклонять колени, стоять на коленях): OTurk. *sök-*, *sökit-* (OUygh.), *sökür-* (Orkh.); Karakh. *sök-* (MK, KB), *sökit-* (MK); Tv. *sögej-*, *sögürü-*.

◊ EDT 819, 820, 822, VEWT 430. Turk. **sök-ür-* > WMong. *söküre-*, Kalm. *sökr-* (KW 333).

‖ EAS 71, 148, KW 333, Poppe 30. A Western isogloss. The Mong. forms may be < Turkic (cf. OT *sökit-*); but cf. also Mong. *soγsuji-*, Kalm. *soksī-* (> Oyr. *soqsoj-* etc., VEWT 426) 'to sit without motion' (KW 329).

✱**soke (~ -i̯u-, -kʿ-)** to split: Turk. ***sök-**; Jpn. ***sə̀nk-**.

PTurk. ***sök-** to split, tear apart (разделять, распарывать, раздирать): OTurk. *sök-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *sök-* (MK); Tur. *sök-*; Gag. *sök-*; Az. *sök-*; Turkm. *sök-*; MTurk. *sök-* (AH, IM, Abush.); Uzb. *sọk-*; Uygh. *sök-*; Krm. *sök-*; Kirgh. *sök-*; Kaz. *sök-*; KBalk. *sök-*; KKalp. *sök-*; Kum. *sök-*; Nogh. *sök-*; Khak. *sök-*; Oyr. *sök-*; Tv. *sö'k-*.

◊ EDT 819, ЭСТЯ 7.

PJpn. ***sə̀nk-** to chop, split off (отрубать, отщеплять): MJpn. *sòg-*; Tok. *sóg-*; Kyo. *sòg-*.

◊ JLTT 755.

‖ A Turk.-Jpn. isogloss. Cf. perhaps also Mong. *segre-* 'to be torn to pieces' (although delabialization is unexplainable).

✱**sokV** stuffed guts: Tung. ***sokta**; Mong. ***sugu-**; Turk. ***sogut / *soktu**.

PTung. ***sokta** 1 yukola (part from fish's back) 2 fat, grease (1 юкола (часть, отрезанная от позвоночника) 2 жир, сало): Neg. *soktou* 2; Orch. *soqto* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 106.

PMong. ***sugu-** 1 stuffed guts, stuffed stomach 2 fish bladder (1 фаршированные кишки, фаршированный желудок 2 рыбий пузырь): WMong. *suγuči*, *subuǯi* (L 734) 1; Kh. *suvǯ* 1; Bur. *hugabša* 1; Kalm. *soγəǯi* 1, *soγāl* 2.

◊ KW 329. Variants *suγuči* / *subuǯi* point to **sugu-bči* (preserved in Bur. *hugabša).*

PTurk. ***sogut / *soktu** stuffed guts, sausage (набитые внутренности, колбаса): Karakh. *soγut*, *soqtu* (MK); Kirgh. *soqto*; Kaz. *soqta*; Tv. *sūk-xan*.

◊ EDT 806.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**sȍkʿe** to be harmed, deceived: Tung. ***sōk-**; Mong. ***sögüɣe**; Turk. ***sökel**; Kor. ***sòk-**.

PTung. ***sōk-** 1 to err, be mistaken 2 to caper, rough-house (1 ошибаться 2 озорничать, буянить): Evk. *sōkto-* 1; Evn. *hōta-* 1; Ork. *soqodo-* 2; Nan. *sōdo-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 105, 106.

PMong. ***sögüɣe** lack of powers, disability (беспомощность): WMong. *sögüge* (MXTTT); Kh. *sögő*.

PTurk. ***sökel** ill (больной): Karakh. *sökel* (MK); Tur. *sökel*; Az. *sökäl* (dial.); MTurk. *sökäl* (AH), *sökül* (Pav. C.).

◊ EDT 820, ЭСТЯ 7. The deriving stem is probably preserved in Turkm. *sök-* 'to weaken'.

PKor. ***sòk-** 1 to err, be deceived 2 to deceive (1 ошибаться, обманываться 2 обманывать): MKor. *sòki-* 2; Mod. *sok-* 1, *sogi-* 2.

◊ Nam 307, KED 980, 984.

‖ Korean has a usual verbal low tone. Cf. **sȍkʿo*.

***sȍkʿo (~ -k-)** to hit, harm: Tung. ***suK-**; Mong. ***sogug**; Turk. ***sok-**; Jpn. ***sàkà-nap-**.

PTung. ***suK-** 1 to break, crush 2 to harm, spoil 3 edge of ski stick 4 arrow-head (1 ломать 2 портить 3 наконечник лыжной палки 4 наконечник стрелы): Evk. *suku-* 2, *sukča-* 1; Evn. *hụčak-* 1; Ork. *sūkpe*, *sūpke* 3; Nan. *sokpi-so* 4 (On.).

◊ TMC 2, 123.

PMong. ***sogug** flaw, defect (недостаток, дефект): WMong. *soγuɣ* (MXTTT); Kh. *sogog*.

PTurk. ***sok-** to hit, beat, crush (бить, ударять, сокрушать): OTurk. *soq-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *soq-* (MK); Tur. *sok-*; Turkm. *soq-*; MTurk. *soq-* (Pav. C., Abush.); Uzb. *sọq-*; Uygh. *soq-*; Krm. *soγ-*; Tat. *suq-*; Bashk. *huq-*; Kirgh. *soq-*; Kaz. *soq-*; KBalk. *soq-*; KKalp. *soq-*; Nogh. *soq-*; SUygh. *soq-*; Khak. *sox-*; Shr. *soq-*; Oyr. *soq-*; Tv. *soq-*; Tof. *soʹq-*; Chuv. *sъ^{w}x-*; Yak. *oγus-*; Dolg. *ogus-*.

◊ EDT 805, Лексика 396, ЭСТЯ 7, Stachowski 190. Homonymous **sok-* 'to pierce, stick into' and **sok-* 'to weave, knit' (see ЭСТЯ ibid.) may represent originally different roots.

PJpn. ***sàkà-nap-** 1 to harm, damage 2 to deceive (1 вредить 2 обманывать): OJpn. *s(w)ok(w)o-nap-* 1; MJpn. *sòkò-naf-* 1, 2; Tok. *sokoná-* 1; Kyo. *sókóná-* 1; Kag. *sokoná-* 1.

◊ JLTT 755. Accent in Kagoshima is irregular (perhaps influenced by literary Jpn.).

‖ Cf. **sȍkʿe, *šḭŭkʿu, *sákʿa.*

✸**sṓlo** to be lax, loose: Tung. ***sula-**; Mong. ***sula**; Turk. ***sōl**; Jpn. ***səra- (~ -ua-)**; Kor. ***săr-**.

PTung. ***sula-** to leave (оставлять, оставаться): Evk. *sula- / sulā-*; Evn. *hụlā-*; Neg. *sola-pča-*; Ul. *solaoǯụ-*; Ork. *sụlaw-*; Nan. *solō-*; Orch. *sulagi-*.

◊ TMC 2, 124.

PMong. ***sula** loose, lax, vacant (расслабленный, свободный): MMong. *sula* (MA), *sulara-* 'to loosen' (SH); WMong. *sula* (L 736); Kh. *sul*; Bur. *hula* 'weak, lax'; Kalm. *sulə*; Ord. *sula*; Dag. *sual*, sol (Тод. Даг. 163), *suale* (MD 212); Dong. *sula* 'weak'; Bao. *səla*; S.-Yugh. *sula*; Mongr. *səlā* (SM 342), (MGCD *sulā*).

◊ KW 336, MGCD 577, 612. Mong. > Evk., Manchu *sula* id. (see TMC 2, 124, Rozycki 190).

PTurk. ***sōl** left (левый): OTurk. *sol* (OUygh.); Karakh. *sol* (MK); Tur. *sol*; Gag. *sol*; Az. *sol*; Turkm. *sōl*; MTurk. *sol* (Pav. C., Abush.); Uzb. *sọl*; Uygh. *sol*; Krm. *sol*; Tat. *sul*; Bashk. *hul*; Kirgh. *sol*; Kaz. *sol*; KBalk. *sol*; KKalp. *sol*; Kum. *sol*; Nogh. *sol*; SUygh. *sol, söl*; Khak. *sol*; Shr. *sol*; Oyr. *sol*; Tv. *sol*.

◊ EDT 824, VEWT 426, ЭСТЯ 7. Also **sōlak*, whence WMong. *solaɣai*, Kalm. *solɣā̆* (KW 330, Щербак 1997, 166), whence again Kaz. *solaqaj* etc. (VEWT 427).

PJpn. ***səra- (~ -ua-)** to deviate (отклоняться): MJpn. *sora-*; Tok. *soré-*; Kyo. *sòré-*; Kag. *soré-*.

◊ JLTT 755. Accent is not clear: Kagoshima points to **sə́rá-*, but Kyoto and Tokyo rather to **sə̀rá-*.

PKor. ***săr-** to fit loosely, be shaky (свободно вмещаться, быть шатким): Mod. *salgapta* (orth. *săl-găpta*).

◊ SKE 221.

‖ KW 336, SKE 221 (the Kor. form is found only there and thus questionable). Despite Doerfer MT 26, TM forms are hardly borrowed from Mong.

✸**sólukV (~ z-, -Í-, -ak-, -kʿ-)** a k. of small fur animal: Tung. ***sulakī**; Mong. ***soluŋga**; Kor. ***sȁrk**.

PTung. ***sulakī** fox (лиса): Evk. *sulakī*; Evn. *hụlā̆*; Neg. *solaxị̄*; Ul. *sụlị*; Ork. *sụlị*; Nan. *solị*; Orch. *sulaki*; Ud. *sulaʿi* (Корм. 289); Sol. *sụlaki*, *sụlaxi*.

◊ TMC 2, 124.

PMong. ***soluŋga** kolinsky (колонок): MMong. *solaŋqa* 'weasel' (SH); WMong. *soluŋɣa* (L 726: "Siberian marten, weasel"); Kh. *soloŋgo*; Bur. *holoŋgo*; Kalm. *solŋgə*; Ord. *soloŋGo*; Mongr. *suloŋGo* (SM 358).

◊ KW 330. Mong. > Evk. *soloŋgō* etc., see Doerfer MT 39.

PKor. ***sǎrk** badger; wild cat (барсук; дикая кошка): MKor. *sǎrk*; Mod. *sak* [*salk*].

◊ Nam 292, KED 901.

‖ SKE 221, Lee 1958, 117, Poppe 1950, 579, Miller 2000, 62 . Cf. **si̯alo(-kV)*.

✱**sȍlV** yellow, bleak: Tung. ***sō-**; Turk. ***sol-**.

PTung. ***sō-** yellow (желтый): Man. *suwajan*, *soχon*; SMan. *sujan*, *suajan* (2423); Jurch. *so-gian* (618); Ul. *sōgǯo(n)*, *som*; Ork. *sogdo*, *som*; Nan. *sojã*, *sōGǯõ*, *sōlā*, *sōm*; Orch. *sogǯo*; Ud. *soligi* 'reddish' (of hair).

◊ TMC 2, 103-104.

PTurk. ***sol-** to wilt, wither (вянуть, чахнуть, блекнуть): Karakh. *soluš-* (MK); Tur. *sol-*; Gag. *sol-, solu-*; Az. *sol-, solux-*; Turkm. *sol-*; Khal. *suōluq-*; Uzb. *sọl-*; Krm. *sol-, solu-*; Tat. *sul-*; Bashk. *hulɨ-*; Kirgh. *solu-*; Kaz. *sol-*; KKalp. *sol-, solɨ-*; Kum. *sol-, solu-*; Nogh. *sol-*.

◊ EDT 828, VEWT 427, ЭСТЯ 7.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**sòmú (~ z-)** gore, gusset: Tung. ***soma**; Mong. ***sumu**; Jpn. ***sùmí**; Kor. ***sǻmái**.

PTung. ***soma** tail fin, belly fin (плавник (брюшной, околохвостовой)): Ud. *somo*.

◊ TMC 2, 110. Attested only in Ud., with possible external parallels.

PMong. ***sumu** lap (in woman's garment) (пола от правой подмышки донизу в женской одежде): WMong. *sumu* (БАМРС); Kh. *sum*.

PJpn. ***sùmí** inner angle (внутренний угол): OJpn. *sumji*; MJpn. *sùmí*; Tok. *súmi*; Kyo. *sùmí*; Kag. *sumí*.

◊ JLTT 533.

PKor. ***sǻmái** sleeve (рукав): MKor. *sǻmài*, *sǻmǻi*; Mod. *somä*.

◊ Nam 287-288, KED 973/

‖ The original meaning was probably 'inner angle in a robe' (hence 'right lap' in Mong. and 'sleeve' in Kor.), with a generalization (> 'inner angle') in Japanese; the TM match is semantically plausible (a further development 'gusset' > 'fish fin'), but very scantily attested and thus dubious.

✱**sònŋu** trace, back, behind: Tung. ***soŋka (~ *sonŋV-ka)**; Mong. ***sun-du-**; Turk. ***soŋ**; Jpn. ***sùm-**.

PTung. ***soŋka (~ *sonŋV-ka)** trace (след): Man. *soŋqo*; SMan. *soŋqə*, *soŋqu* (2384).

◊ TMC 2, 111. Attested only in Manchu; but cf. perhaps also Sol. *son-či-* 'to ride' (ibid.), perhaps < 'sit behind the rider' (cf. the meanings in Mong. **sun-du-*).

PMong. ***sun-du-** 1 to ride sitting behind the rider 2 to follow one another (1 сидеть верхом позади наездника 2 идти следом): MMong.

sundu-la- 1, *sundu-r-* 2 (SH), *sundula-* (MA); WMong. *sundula-*, *sundala-* 1 (L 737); Kh. *sundla-* 1; Bur. *hundalda-* 1; Kalm. *sundəl-* 1; Ord. *sundala-* 1.

◊ KW 337, TMN 1, 348. Mong. > Manchu *sundala-* etc. (see Rozycki 190-191).

PTurk. ***soŋ*** back, end, after (задняя часть, конец, позади): OTurk. *soŋ* (OUygh.); Karakh. *soŋ* (MK); Tur. *son*; Gag. *sonu*; Az. *son*; Turkm. *soŋ*; Sal. *son*; Khal. *soj*; MTurk. *soŋ* (Abush., Pav. C.); Uzb. *sɔŋ*; Uygh. *soŋ*; Krm. *soŋ*, *son*; Tat. *sŭŋ*; Bashk. *huŋ*; Kirgh. *soŋ*; Kaz. *soŋ*; KKalp. *soŋ*; Kum. *soŋ*; Nogh. *soŋ*; SUygh. *soŋ*; Khak. *soŋ*; Shr. *sōn*, *sō*; Oyr. *soŋ*; Tv. *soŋ*, *sō*.

◊ EDT 832-833, VEWT 428, TMN 3, 337, ЭСТЯ 7. Cf. also Karakh. (MK) *siŋarsuk* 'back side of the horse'.

PJpn. ***sùm-*** to end (кончаться): MJpn. *sùm-*; Tok. *súm-*; Kyo. *súm-*; Kag. *sùm-*.

◊ JLTT 759.

‖ EAS 119, KW 337 (the Turk.-Mong. match seems valid despite criticism in TMN 1, 348).

✸**sǒnu** dog hunt, dog rope: Tung. ***suna***; Turk. ***sonar***; Jpn. ***sùnà-tər-***; Kor. ***sànhǎiŋ***.

PTung. ***suna*** dog rope (сворка (поводок для нескольких собак)): Evk. *suna*; Evn. *hūŋkan*; Man. *suna*; Ul. *sụna*; Ork. *suna*; Nan. *sona*; Orch. *sūna* 'shaman's posterior belt'.

◊ TMC 2, 127. Since the archaic meaning must have been 'hunting with dogs', it seems possible to connect also Manchu *sunte-*, *suntebu-* 'to destroy the enemy' (TMC 127) (whence Dag. *suntu-* id., Тод. Даг. 164). Evk. > Dolg. *hunakān* (see Stachowski 111).

PTurk. ***sonar*** hunting (with dogs) (охота (с собаками)): Tur. (Kurdak) *sumar-la-* 'to hunt' (R.); Tat. *sunar*; Bashk. *hunar*; Kirgh. *sonor*; Kaz. *sonar-la-* 'to trace' (KTTC); Chuv. (Bulgar) *somor* 'dog'; Yak. *sonor*.

◊ VEWT 428, ЭСТЯ 7 (here related to **sonɨ* 'untouched snow or grass' which is rather dubious). Tat. > Chuv. *sunar* 'id.' (Федотов 2, 63).

PJpn. ***sùnà-tər-*** to fish (ловить рыбу): OJpn. *suna-tor-*; MJpn. *sùnà-tòr-*; Tok. *sunador-*.

◊ JLTT 759.

PKor. ***sànhǎiŋ*** hunting (охота): MKor. *sànhǎiŋ*; Mod. *sanjaŋ*.

◊ Nam 289, KED 869. In KED it is explained as a Chinese borrowing: 山行 'going to the mountains', which is probably a folk etymology: in Middle Korean the word is usually not spelled with Chinese characters (see HMCH 307), means all sorts of hunting, while the Chinese compound does not denote hunting at all (just "mountain trip").

‖ The Kor. form is a secondary derivative from an unattested verb **sàn-hǎ-*, which explains the "verbal" low tone (although the -a-vowel is not quite expected, possibly - a dissimilation from *sǎn-hǎ-). The Jpn. meaning is obviously secondary ("hunting" > "fishing").

✱**sǒra** to ask, inform: Tung. ***sure**; Mong. ***sori-**; Turk. ***sōr(a)-**; Jpn. ***sátə̑- (~ -ua)**; Kor. ***sǎrb-**.

PTung. ***sure** wise (мудрый, чуткий): Man. *sure*; SMan. *surə* (1991); Jurch. *su-re* (753).

◊ TMC 2, 117.

PMong. ***sori-** to try, test, attempt (пытаться, пробовать): MMong. *sori-* (SH); WMong. *sori-* (MXTTT); Kh. *sori-*; Bur. *hori-*; Kalm. *sör-* (KPC); Ord. *sori-*.

PTurk. ***sōr(a)-** to ask (спрашивать, просить): OTurk. *sor-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *sor-* (MK); Tur. *sor-*; Gag. *sor-*; Az. *sor-*; Turkm. *sōra-*; Sal. *sor-*, *sur-*; MTurk. *sor-* (Sangl.); Uzb. *sọra-*; Uygh. *sora-*; Krm. *sor-*; Bashk. *hŭra-*; Kirgh. *sura-*; Kaz. *sura-*; KBalk. *sor-*, *sura-*; KKalp. *sora-*; Kum. *sora-*; Nogh. *sora-*; SUygh. *sura-*; Khak. *sur-*; Oyr. *sura-*; Tv. *sura-*.

◊ EDT 843-844, VEWT 56, ЭСТЯ 7. Turk. > Mong. *sur-* 'to learn', *sura-* 'ask' (see TMN 3, 239-242, Щербак 1997, 145; note that at least part of modern Turkic forms like *sura-* may be borrowed back < Mong.), whence Evk., Man. *sura-*, see Doerfer MT 131.

PJpn. ***sátə̑- (~ -ua)** wise (мудрый): OJpn. *sat(w)o-*; MJpn. *sátó-*; Tok. *sató-*; Kyo. *sátò-*; Kag. *sáto-*.

◊ JLTT 839. The accent in Tokyo is aberrant, but RJ and Kagoshima point to **sátə̑-*.

PKor. ***sǎrb-** to speak, tell (говорить, сообщать): MKor. *sǎrp-* (-w-); Mod. *sarwe-*.

◊ Nam 292, KED 872.

‖ Martin 234 (Turk.-Mong.-Kor.).

✱**sóra (~ z-, -u-, -ŕ-)** a k. of dish, basket: Tung. ***sora**; Jpn. ***sárá**; Kor. ***sòr-**.

PTung. ***sora** basket (корзина): Man. *šoro*; SMan. *sorə* (656); Ul. *soro*; Nan. *soro*.

◊ TMC 2, 113.

PJpn. ***sárá** plate (тарелка): OJpn. *sara*; MJpn. *sárá*; Tok. *sàra*; Kyo. *sárá*; Kag. *sárà*.

◊ JLTT 518. The form is sometimes considered to be borrowed from Sanskr. *çarāva*, which is rather dubious.

PKor. ***sor-** 1 dish, vessel 2 bamboo basket (1 блюдо, сосуд 2 бамбуковая корзина): MKor. *sòrá* ~ *sórá* 1, *sor* 2; Mod. *sorä* 'a k. of saucer'.

◊ Nam 307, Liu 462, 467, KED 972.

‖ SKE 242, Martin 250. An Eastern isogloss. Cf. perhaps Khak. *sara* 'a vessel for sifting flour'.

✱**sū** well, very, extremely: Tung. ***sō**; Mong. ***su**; Jpn. ***su**; Kor. ***su**.

PTung. ***sō** very, verily, significantly (очень, чрезвычайно, значительно): Evk. *sō* 1; Evn. *hō* 1; Neg. *sō* 1; Orch. *so* 'word added after addressing smn.'.

◊ TMC 2, 101.

PMong. ***su** 1 hail, blessing 2 distinction, genius (1 поздравление, благословение 2 гений, нечто выдающееся): MMong. *su* 1 (HP, SH, HYt), *su-tu* 'blessed, happy' (HYt, SH); WMong. *su* 1, (L 740) *suu* 2; Kh. *sū* 2; Kalm. *sū*; Ord. *sudu*.

◊ KW 339, TMN 1, 342.

PJpn. ***su** very, quite, straight (pref.) (очень, вполне, прямо (преф.)): OJpn. *su*; MJpn. *su*; Tok. *su*.

◊ JLTT 531.

PKor. ***su** pure, simple (pref.) (простой, чистый (преф.)): MKor. *su-*; Mod. *su-t-* [*su-s-*].

◊ Liu 473, KED 1020.

‖ A common Altaic monosyllabic root.

✸**suba (~ -bg-)** steam, odour: Tung. ***subgi-**; Mong. ***sabsa-**; Turk. ***sogul-**.

PTung. ***subgi-** steam, smoke (пар, дым): Evk. *subgin*; Evn. *hebgi*; Neg. *subgin*; Ul. *subgi(n)*; Ork. *subgi(n)*; Nan. *subgĩ*.

◊ TMC 2, 115-116.

PMong. ***sabsa-** to rise (of steam, smoke) (подниматься (о паре, дыме)): WMong. *sabsa-* (L 654); Kh. *savsa-*; Bur. *habha-*; Kalm. *sabsal-* (СЯОС).

PTurk. ***sogul-** to dry off, peter out (of liquids) (высыхать, испаряться, убывать (о жидкостях)): OTurk. *soɣul-* (*suɣul-*) (OUygh.); Karakh. *soɣul-* (*suɣul-*) (MK); Tur. *soɣul-*; MTurk. *sovul-* (Ettuhf.), *soɣal-*, *suɣal-* (R., Bud.); Tat. *suwal-* (dial.); Bashk. *hɨwal-*; Kirgh. *sōl-*; Kaz. *suwal-*; Nogh. *suwal-*; SUygh. *soɣul-*; Khak. *sōl-*; Shr. *sōl-*; Oyr. *sōl-*; Tv. *sōl-*; Chuv. *sɨval-*; Yak. *uol-*; Dolg. *uol-*.

◊ VEWT 425, EDT 809, Stachowski 244.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✸**suba (~ -o, -u)** to tie, bind: Tung. ***sub-**; Mong. ***soji-**; Turk. ***sub-luk (*sɨb-luk)**.

PTung. ***sub-** 1 to tie, bind 2 string, rope 3 harness strap 4 mouthpiece (1 увязывать 2 лента, тесьма 3 ремешок (у лямки-упряжи) 4 мундштук): Evk. *suptilgi* 2; Evn. *huhtiŋ* 2, (Arm.) *sovar* 3; Neg. *soptịn-* 1; Man. *subexe* 2; Ul. *supsien-* 1, *sụptaŋGị* 2, *soi* 4; Ork. *sū-* 1; Nan. *sopsịn-* 1, *soptaŋGị* 2; Orch. *supti(n)* 2, *soị* 4.

◊ TMC 2, 114, 116-117, 129.

PMong. ***soji-** to tie up a horse, to keep a horse tied (держать лошадь на привязи): WMong. *soji-* (L 724); Kh. *soj-*; Bur. *hoj-*; Kalm. *sȫ-* (KPC); Ord. *soö̯-*; S.-Yugh. *soi-*.

◊ MGCD 603. Mong. > Man. *sojō-* 'to keep a horse tied' (see Rozycki 188). It is also interesting to note Sol. *sowi-* id. See TMC 2, 103.

PTurk. ***sub-luk (*sɨb-luk)** horse's bit (удила): Tur. *suluk* (dial.); Turkm. *suwluq* (dial.); MTurk. *suluq* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *suluq*, *suwliq*; Tat. *sɨwlɨq* (dial.); Kirgh. *sūluq*, *sūlduruq*; Kaz. *suwlɨq*; KKalp. *suwlɨq*; Nogh. *suwlɨq*; SUygh. *suluq*; Khak. *suɣlux*; Shr. *suɣuluq*; Oyr. *suluq*, *sūluq*; Tv. *suɣluq*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 7.

‖ A Western isogloss. Cf. **sĭ̆pʿi, *ši̯ŭ̀po.* The three roots are very difficult to sort out; **suba* seems to be particularly connected with harnessing.

✸**subV (~ z-, -p-)** a 1-year-old animal: Tung. ***sube**; Mong. ***subaj**.

PTung. ***sube** 1 a 1-year-old deer 2 a roe (with thin legs) (1 олененок-однолетка 2 важенка (тонконогая)): Evk. *sujūkēn* 1, dial. *šuwiŋen* 2; Ork. *suwe*, *sue* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 117, 121, 428.

PMong. ***subaj** female animal (cow, mare etc.) which has not born a foal (or calf) during the year (яловая (корова, кобыла)): WMong. *subai* (L 733); Kh. *suvaj*; Bur. *hubaj*; Kalm. *suwṛxā̄*, *suwā̄*, *suwā*; Ord. *suwā̄*.

◊ KW 338, 339. Mong. > Sol. *suvɛi gēg* (TMC 2, 117).

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✸**súču (~ *si̯účo, *z-)** soot, coal: Mong. ***čučal(i) / *čičula**; Jpn. ***sùsû**; Kor. ***sùsk**.

PMong. ***čučali / *čičula** fire-brand (головня): WMong. *čučali* (L 205), *čičula*; Kh. *cucal*; Bur. *susal*; Kalm. *cucəl*; Ord. *ǯučali* 'remplace le mot "Gal" 'feu' chez les personnes qui observent la coutume du nere Gā̄laxu'.

◊ KW 434.

PJpn. ***sùsû** soot (сажа): OJpn. *susu*; MJpn. *sùsú*; Tok. *súsu*; Kyo. *sùsû*; Kag. *susú*.

◊ JLTT 535.

PKor. ***sùsk** coal (уголь): MKor. *sùs* (*sùsk-*); Mod. *sut* [*sučh*].

◊ Nam 316, KED 1021.

‖ Martin 242. Mong. has an assimilation **čuč-* < **suč-*, usual in roots of this type.

✸**sūčʿi** sweet: Mong. ***čöčügej**; Turk. ***sū̄či-**.

PMong. ***čöčügej** cream (сливки): WMong. *čöčügei* (MXTTT); Kh. *cöcgij*; Bur. *süsegɨ*.

PTurk. ***sū̄či-** sweet (1 сладкий 2 становиться сладким): OTurk. *süčig* 'sweet' (Orkh.), *süčüg* 'wine; sweet' (OUygh.); Karakh. *süči-* 'to be sweet' (MK, KB), *sücig* (MK, KB, IM) 'wine, sweet'; Tur. *süǯi* (Osm.), *süǯü* 'wine'; Turkm. *süjǯi* 1, *süjǯe-* 2; MTurk. *süčüg* 'sweet, wine' (Qutb, Houts.); Uzb. *sučuk* ~ *čučuk* 'sweet, insipid', *čuču-* 2; Uygh. *süčük* ~ *čüčük*

1, *čüčü*- 2; Tat. *töče* 'insipid, sweet'; Bashk. *sösö* 'insipid', *sösö*- 2; Kirgh. *čüčü* 1.

◊ EDT 795, 796-797, ЭСТЯ 7.

‖ A Turko-Mongolian isogloss.

✱**suda** to spit out, spurt: Mong. ***sadara-**; Turk. ***sud-**.

PMong. ***sadara-** to spurt, jet (бить струей): WMong. *sadara*- (L 655: "to leak heavily over a wide surface"); Kh. *sadra*-; Ord. *sadara*-.

PTurk. ***sud-** to spit out (выплевывать): OTurk. *su/od*- (OUygh.); Karakh. *su/oδ*- (MK); Khak. **suz*- (Koib. > Kam. *suz*-, Joki 1952, 276-277); Chuv. *sor*-.

◊ VEWT 431, EDT 799, Егоров 196, Федотов 2, 65.

‖ A Turk.-Mong. isogloss.

✱**sugá** a k. of water-bird: Tung. ***sugen (~ -b-)**; Jpn. ***sankí**; Kor. ***sói**.

PTung. ***sugen (~ -b-)** 1 gull 2 heron (1 чайка-рыболов 2 цапля): Man. *suwan* / *suwen* 1; Jurch. *su-wen* (181) 2.

◊ TMC 2, 117.

PJpn. ***sankí** heron (цапля): OJpn. *sag(j)i*; MJpn. *sagi*; Tok. *sàgi*, *sági*; Kyo. *ságí*; Kag. *ságì*.

◊ JLTT 515. Variants **sá(n)kí* (reflected in most dialects) and **sà(n)kí* (cf. Tokyo *sági*) can be reconstructed.

PKor. ***sói** kingfisher (зимородок): MKor. *sói-sāi*.

◊ Nam 311.

‖ An Eastern isogloss. Cf. Karakh. *sügič* 'a k. of bird' (?) (EDT 819).

✱**súgò (~ -o-)** inside, deep inside: Tung. ***sug-**; Mong. ***suɣu(wu)**; Turk. ***sogli-**; Jpn. ***sə́kə́**; Kor. ***so'ok**.

PTung. ***sug-** 1 to place properly 2 to put a child into the cradle (1 разложить по местам 2 положить ребенка в люльку): Evk. *suγi*- 1; Ork. *sṹγatčị*- 2.

◊ TMC 2, 118, 119.

PMong. ***suɣu(wu)** armpit (подмышка): MMong. *su'u* (HY, SH), *suw* (IM); WMong. *suγu(n)*, *suu* (L 734); Kh. *suga*; Bur. *huga*; Kalm. *sṹ*, *sū*; Ord. *sū*; Dag. *sō* (Тод. Даг. 163); Dong. *suγə*, *sunGo*; Bao. *soχo*; S.-Yugh. *sū*; Mongr. *sū* 'aisselle' (SM 355).

◊ KW 339, 341, MGCD 609.

PTurk. ***sogli-** to thrust the hand (into one's bosom) (засовывать руку (за пазуху)): Karakh. *soγlɨ*- (MK).

◊ EDT 810.

PJpn. ***sə́kə́** bottom (дно): OJpn. *soko*; MJpn. *sókó*; Tok. *sòko*; Kyo. *sókó*; Kag. *sóko*.

◊ JLTT 530.

PKor. ***so'ok** deep inside (глубоко, в глубине): MKor. *so'ok*; Mod. *sōk*.

◊ Nam 307, KED 979.

‖ Martin 247 (Kor.-Jpn.). It is hard to choose between *-u- and *-o-: Turkic and Korean evidence is not decisive (in Turkic - only MK; in Kor. *so'ok* could well be an assimilation < **sǎ'ok*).

✱**sugú (~ -o-)** a k. of weed: Tung. ***suga-kta**; Mong. ***suji-ka**; Jpn. ***sunkai, *suKaN-**; Kor. ***sɨŋ'a**.

PTung. ***suga-kta** wormwood (полынь): Neg. *soɣakta*; Man. *suku*; Ul. *soaqta*; Ork. *sụaqta*; Nan. *sōaqta*; Orch. *suakta*.

◊ TMC 2, 105.

PMong. ***suji-ka** wormwood (полынь): WMong. *sujiqa* (L 735); Kh. *suix*; Ord. *sujGa*.

◊ Mong. > Man. *suixa* (Doerfer MT 145, Rozycki 189); not vice versa despite Sukhebaatar 172.

PJpn. ***sunkai** 1 sedge 2 sorrel (1 осока 2 щавель): OJpn. *suge* 1; MJpn. *suge* 1; Tok. *sùge* 1, *sukampo*, *suiba* 2; Kyo. *súgé*; Kag. *sugé*.

◊ JLTT 532. Accent in PJ is not quite clear.

PKor. ***sɨŋ'a** sorrel (щавель): MKor. *sɨŋ'a*; Mod. *sɨŋa*.

◊ Liu 489, KED 1031.

‖ TMC 2, 105, Doerfer MT 145. Cf. also Kalm. *soɣə* 'a k. of big plant; a k. of reed' (KW 329). In the Kor.-Jpn. area there may be some confusion between the reflexes of this root and PA **sogŋV* 'onion': Kor. *sɨŋ'a* and modern Jpn. forms like *sukampo* and *suiba* may actually go back to the latter.

✱**suji (~ z-, s̯iuju)** sour: Tung. ***suje-**; Jpn. ***sù-**; Kor. ***sɨ̀i-, *sūi-**.

PTung. ***suje-** 1 lye 2 liquid strained from wine ferment (1 щелок 2 брага (жидкость, сцеженная с винной закваски)): Man. *sujen*.

◊ TMC 2, 121.

PJpn. ***sù-** sour (кислый): OJpn. *sujur-* 'to pickle, make sour'; MJpn. *sù-*; Tok. *sú-*; Kyo. *sú-*; Kag. *sù-*.

◊ JLTT 840. Cf. also MJ *sì* (< **su-i*) 'sorrel'.

PKor. ***sɨ̀i-, *sūi-** 1 sour 2 to become sour (кислый): MKor. *sɨ̀i-*, *sǎi-* 1, *sūi-* 2; Mod. si- 1, *swī-* 2.

◊ Nam 296, 322, Liu 479, KED 1022, 1035.

‖ Martin 242. An Eastern isogloss.

✱**sùjli** green plants, edible plants: Tung. ***sol-gi**; Mong. ***söl**; Turk. ***suli / *süli**; Kor. ***súi**.

PTung. ***sol-gi** 1 vegetables 2 sprouts (from a root) (1 зелень, овощи 2 отпрыски (от корня)): Man. *sogi* 1, *solo* 2; SMan. *šogə*, *śogi* 'greens, leafy vegetables' (303); Jurch. *sol-ŋi* (524) 1; Ul. *solǯi* 1; Nan. *solgi* 1; Orch. *soggixa* 1; Ud. *sogühö* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 103, 108.

PMong. ***söl** grass having preserved its green colour (трава, сохранившая до осени зеленый цвет): WMong. *söl*, *sölü* (L 731); Kh. *söl*; Kalm. *söl*.

◊ KW 333.

PTurk. ***suli / *süli** oats (овес): Turkm. *süle*; MTurk. *suvlu* 'spelt' (CCum.); Uzb. *suli*; Uygh. *sulu*; Krm. *sülü*; Tat. *soli*; Bashk. *holo*; Kirgh. *sulu*; Kaz. *suli*, *süli*; KKalp. *suli*; Kum. *sulu*; Nogh. *suli*; Khak. *sula*, *sulu*; Oyr. *sula*; Tv. *sula*; Chuv. *sə^{w}lə^{w}*.

◊ VEWT 432, Лексика 464, ЭСТЯ 7. Turk. > WMong. *suli*, Kalm. *sul'ə* (KW 336).

PKor. ***súi** crops (урожай, хлеб на корню): MKor. *súi*.

◊ Nam 316.

‖ Medial *-j- should be reconstructed to explain loss of *-l- in Kor. The root seems to be a Wanderwort (see Аб. 3, 194-195, Стеблин-Каменский 1972, 31, NCED 965), but may be reconstructable for PA.

✱**sŭ̈ku** to scoop, bucket: Tung. ***soKa-**; Mong. ***sugu-**; Turk. ***sogur-**; Jpn. ***súkúp-**; Kor. ***sok-kori**.

PTung. ***soKa-** to scoop, ladle (черпать): Evk. *soko-*; Evn. *hụqụ-*; Neg. *soxo-*; Ul. *sū-su-*; Ork. *sō-*; Nan. *sō-lo-*; Orch. *soko-*; Ud. *so'-lo-* (Корм. 287).

◊ TMC 2, 105.

PMong. ***sugu-** 1 to take out 2 to fall out, slip out (1 вытаскивать 2 ускользать, вырываться, выпадать): WMong. *suɣula-* 1, *suɣura-* 2 (MXTTT); Kh. *sugul-* 1, *sugura-* 2; Bur. *hugal-* 1, *hugar* 2; Kalm. *suɣl̥-* 1 (KPC); Ord. *suGul-* 1; Mongr. *sūli-*; *sūrā-* 'tirer hors de, retirer, arracher 1; sorti en se détachant 2' (SM 358, 363), *soGor* 'sillon, conduit d'ea 'fossé' (SM 352).

PTurk. ***sogur-** to take out, pull out (вытаскивать, выдергивать): Karakh. *soɣur-* (*suɣur-*) (MK) 'to gulp down'; Turkm. *soɣur-*; Sal. *soxur-*; MTurk. *soɣur-*, *suwur-* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *suɣur-*; Uygh. *suɣu(r)-*; Krm. *suwur-*; Tat. *sui̇r-*; Bashk. *hui̇r-*, *hur-*; Kirgh. *sūr-*; Kaz. *suwi̇r-*; KKalp. *suwi̇r-*; Kum. *suwur-*; Nogh. *suwi̇r-*; Khak. *sūr-*; Shr. *sūr-*; Oyr. *sūr-*.

◊ VEWT 432, EDT 816 (confused with *sogur-* 'to drain off, dry off' - probably a different root, see **sog-*, **sogul-*), ЭСТЯ 7.

PJpn. ***súkúp-** to scoop (черпать): MJpn. *súkúf-*; Tok. *sùku-*; Kyo. *súkú-*; Kag. *sukú-*.

◊ JLTT 758.

PKor. ***sok-kori** a k. of basket (вид корзины): MKor. *sok-kori* (*kori* 'basket'); Mod. *sokhuri*.

◊ Liu 464, KED 978.

‖ KW 336, Дыбо 15. Cf. **šiuga(lV)* (with possible contaminations).

✸**sūku** deer, female deer: Tung. ***sog-ǯe-**; Mong. ***sogu(ɣa)**; Turk. ***sūkak**; Jpn. ***su(n)karu**.

PTung. ***sog-ǯe-** wild deer (дикий олень): Evk. *sogǯon* (Тит.); Ud. *suǯelihe* 'изюбр'.

◊ See TMC 2, 120, 136.

PMong. ***sogu-(ɣa)** female deer (лань, оленуха): WMong. *soɣu* (L 724); Kh. *sogō*; Bur. *hogō(n)*; Kalm. *soɣə*; Dag. *sugā* (Тод. Даг. 164), *suā* 'a female elk in advanced pregnancy' (MD 212).

◊ KW 329. Despite Sukhebaatar, not a borrowing from Turk. *sīgun* (which denotes a male maral; see **sīgo)*.

PTurk. ***sūkak** antelope, deer (антилопа, олень): OTurk. *suqaq* (OUygh.); Karakh. *suqaq* (MK, KB); Turkm. *sōɣaq* (dial.); MTurk. *soqaq* (AH), *siqaq* (Pav. C.); Krm. *soɣaq*, *soɣax*.

◊ EDT 808, ЭСТЯ 7.

PJpn. ***su(n)karu** a k. of deer (вид оленя): MJpn. *sugaru* ~ *sukaru*.

◊ JLTT 594. The word is not attested in modern dialects, and its traditional reading *sugaru* is based on a wrong association with *sugaru* 'digger wasp'.

‖ Cf. **sákʹa* and **sǐgò*.

✸**suku (~ z-, -o-)** a k. of fish: Tung. ***sugǯansa**; Mong. ***sogoču**; Jpn. ***sukai**.

PTung. ***sugǯa-nsa** 1 salmon 2 fish (1 лосось 2 рыба): Evk. *sugǯanna* 1; Evn. *hụǯṛnrṛ* 1; Neg. *sogǯana* 1; Ul. *sụgdata* 2; Ork. *sundata* 2; Nan. *soGdata* 2; Orch. *sugǯasa* 2; Ud. *sugǯehä* 2; Sol. *sụgǯanda* 'burbot'.

◊ TMC 2, 118-119.

PMong. ***sogoču** sea fish with golden cheeks (морская рыба с золотыми щеками): MMong. *soqosun* 'a k. of fish' (SH); WMong. *soɣoču* (L 724: *soɣuču* 'a k. of salt water fish'); Kh. *sogoc* (MXTT).

◊ Man. *soxočo* is rather < Mong. than vice versa, despite Sukhebaatar.

PJpn. ***sukai** a k. of fish, large salmon (чавыча): OJpn. *suke*; Tok. *suke*.

◊ JLTT 532.

‖ The comparison with Jpn. *sakana* 'fish' in JOAL 98 should certainly be rejected (the only meaning of *sakana* attested in OJ is "food (vegetables) eaten with sake", thus the modern meaning 'fish' is obviously secondary). Cf. **sàkʹò*.

✸**sukʹe** branches, tamarisk: Tung. ***suK-**; Mong. ***sukaj**; Turk. ***süksük**; Kor. ***sak-**.

PTung. ***suK-** 1 dry cedar 2 branch 3 stalk (of lily etc.) (1 кедр (засохший) 2 ветка 3 стебель (лилии и т.п.)): Ul. *suktu* 2; Ork. *suktu* 1, *soqto* 2; Nan. *sūktu* 2, *sūksu* 4 (Он.).

◊ TMC 2, 122, 123, 137.

PMong. ***sukaj** 1 tamarisk 2 red willow (1 тамариск 2 краснотал): MMong. *suqai* (MA); WMong. *suqaj* 1 (L 741); Kh. *suxaj* 1; Bur. *huxaj* 2; Kalm. *suxā* 'таволжанка' (KPC); Ord. *suxā̃* 1; Dag. *suahe* (MD 212).

◊ Mong. > Evk. *sukai* etc., see TMN 1, 347-348, Doerfer MT 132, Rozycki 189.

PTurk. ***süksük** tamarisk (вид дерева или кустарника, тамариск): OTurk. *süksük* (OUygh.); Karakh. *süksük* (MK); MTurk. *süksük* (Abush., Бор. Бад., Pav. C.); Uzb. *süksük* 'firewood'; Uygh. *süksük*; Oyr. *söskän* 'spiraea'; Tv. *söskän* 'spiraea'.

◊ VEWT 430, 435, EDT 823, ЭСТЯ 7.

PKor. ***sak-** dry branch (сухая ветвь): Mod. *sakčəŋ*.

◊ KED 889 (*sakčəŋi).*

‖ The Turkic and Mongolian forms basically denote 'tamarisk' or 'tamarisk branches', but whether this meaning was original is not quite clear. Perhaps the root just denoted dry branches (used basically as firewood).

✱**sukʿì (~ *š-, *z-, *sikʿu)** village: Jpn. ***suki**; Kor. ***sɨ́k-**.

PJpn. ***suki** village (деревня): OJpn. *sukji*.

PKor. ***sɨ́kúr** province, village (провинция, деревня): MKor. *sɨ́kúr*, *sɨ́kór*, *sɨ́kə̆wə̆r*, *sɨ́kə̆́'òr*; Mod. *sigol*.

◊ Nam 317, KED 1033.

‖ A Kor.-Jpn. isogloss. Suffixation in Korean is not quite clear: perhaps a compound with *ko'ăr* 'district' q.v.

✱**suma** nose, part of nose: Tung. ***soŋgi-**; Mong. ***samsaɣa**; Turk. ***sum-**.

PTung. ***soŋgi-** 1 nose 2 tip of nose 3 nose ring (1 нос 2 кончик носа 3 кольцо в носу): Man. *soŋgiχa*, *soŋgin*, *suŋgin* 2, 3; Jurch. *soŋgi* (501) 1.

◊ TMC 2, 61. Cf. Nan. (Он.) *sonī* 'bear's nose'.

PMong. ***samsaɣa** wing of nose (крыло носа): WMong. *samsaγa* (L 668: *samsa* 'nasal septum'); Kh. *samsā*; Bur. *hamāg* 'gills' (dial.) (?); Kalm. *samsaj* (СЯОС); Ord. *samsā*.

PTurk. ***sum-** nose (нос): Chuv. *sъ^{w}mza*.

◊ VEWT 399, Егоров 181, Федотов 2, 24 (but not to *tumšuk*!). An isolated Chuvash form with possible external parallels.

‖ A Western isogloss. Rather sparsely represented and not quite reliable.

✱**súme** a k. of weed, hemp: Tung. ***sum-**; Mong. ***sömü-sü**; Turk. ***süm- ?**; Jpn. ***sua**; Kor. ***sàm**.

PTung. ***sum-** name of a wormwood-like plant (назв. растения, похожего на чернобыльник): Man. *sumpa*.

◊ TMC 2, 126.

PMong. ***sömü-sü** vegetable brew, decoction (отвар из овощей, трав): WMong. *sömüsü(n)*, *sömesü(n)* (L 731); Kh. *söms*; Ord. *šömösü*, *šömös*; Dag. *sumus*.

PTurk. ***süm- ?** 1 a k. of weed 2 a sort of wheat with very light grains (1 костер дантониевидный 2 сорт пшеницы с легкими зернами): Tur. *sümter* 2; Turkm. *sümsüle* 1.

◊ The root is poorly reflected and hardly reliable.

PJpn. ***sua** hemp (конопля): OJpn. *swo*.

◊ JLTT 529.

PKor. ***sàm** hemp (конопля): MKor. *sàm*; Mod. *sam*.

◊ Nam 293, KED 901.

‖ Martin 233. Jpn. **sua* presupposes a suffixed form **súm(e)-gV*. The root can be traced in all branches, but everywhere is rather scantily represented and thus not quite reliable; the exact sort of the denoted plant is also not quite clear.

✱**sume (~ z-)** piece of wood: Mong. ***sumun**; Jpn. ***suama**.

PMong. ***sumun** hub or centrepiece of a plow or wagon, cross-beam (поперечная перекладина в колесе телеги): WMong. *sumu* (MXTT); Kh. *sum*; Bur. *huma* dial. 'рассоха (в сохе)'.

PJpn. ***suama** timber (древесина, строевой лес): OJpn. *swoma*; MJpn. *soma*; Tok. *soma*.

◊ JLTT 530.

‖ A Mong.-Jpn. isogloss.

✱**sùnà** seed, grain: Turk. ***sunu**; Jpn. ***sànài**.

PTurk. ***sunu** caraway seed (тминное зерно): OTurk. *sunu* (OUygh. med.); Karakh. *sunu* (MK).

◊ EDT 834. Clauson considers the Arabic translation *šūnīz* to be a loan from Persian; the Persian form *gašnīz* (> modern East Iranian languages, see Стеблин-Каменский 1982, 75), on the origin of which see Henning 1963, 195-199, of course cannot be the source of Turkic forms.

PJpn. ***sànài** kernel, seed (ядро, косточка): OJpn. *sane*; MJpn. *sànè*; Tok. *sane*.

◊ JLTT 518.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 280. A Turk.-Jpn. isogloss. The root is rather dubious (because of its scarce attestation and specific meaning in Turkic borrowing from some unknown source is not excluded).

✱**sǜna (~ z-, -i̯ō-)** crest, hair lock: Tung. ***sōna**; Mong. ***sančig**.

PTung. ***sōna** plait, crest (гребень (птицы), султан (на головном уборе)): Man. *sončoχo*, *sonoqdon*, *sonoqton*; Nan. *sōno*, *sōnočo*.

◊ TMC 2, 111.

PMong. ***sančig** hairlock on the temples (локоны на висках): MMong. *sanžiq* (MA); WMong. *sančiγ* (L 671); Kh. *sančig*; Bur. *hanšag*; Kalm. *sančig* (СЯОС).

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss. Cf. also Mong. *sonubtur* 'султан' (на голове) - either < **sanu-btur* or secondarily borrowed from Manchu.

✱**sūnu (~ -o)** to stretch: Tung. ***sūn-**; Mong. ***sunu-**; Turk. ***sūn-**.

PTung. ***sūn-** 1 to stretch out 2 become lean 3 stretched (adv.) 4 to faint, lie without consciousness (1 вытягиваться 2 худеть 3 вытянувшись 4 лежать без чувств): Evk. *sūn-* 1; Evn. *hụn-* 1; Neg. *suŋ-gumǯi* 3; Man. *suŋ-gi-* 2; Ul. *suŋ-guǯa-* 4; Ork. *sun-* 4; Nan. *suŋ-gure* 3; Orch. *suŋguremdi* 3; Ud. *sṹŋī-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 126-127. Nanai has secondary vowel shortening.

PMong. ***sunu-** to stretch out (вытягивать(ся)): MMong. *sună-* (MA), *sonaɣa* (Lig.VMI); WMong. *suna-*, *sunija-* (L 738: *sunu-*, *sunija-*), *suŋga-* (Kow. II, 1382a); Kh. *suna-*; Bur. *huna-*; Kalm. *sun-*; Ord. *sunā-*; Mog. *suntu-* (Ramstedt 1906); Dag. *sonī-* (Тод. Даг. 163), *sonu-*; Dong. *sumu-*; S.-Yugh. *sunā-*; Mongr. *sunā-* (SM 360).

◊ KW 337, MGCD 613.

PTurk. ***sūn-** to stretch, stretch out (протягивать): OTurk. *sun-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *sun-* (MK); Tur. *sun-*; MTurk. *sun-* (Pav. C., AH); Uygh. *sun-*; Krm. *sun-*; Tat. *son-*; Bashk. *hŭn-*; Kirgh. *sun-*; Kaz. *ŭsɨn-*; KKalp. *ŭsɨn-*; SUygh. *sun-*, *sɨn-*; Khak. *sun-*; Oyr. *sun-*; Tv. *sun-*; Yak. *ūn-*.

◊ EDT 834, VEWT 432, ЭСТЯ 7.

‖ KW 337, Poppe 30, 70. A Western isogloss, and a quite exceptional case of a V̄ : V̄ correspondence between PT and PTM (expressive root? or an old loanword, cf. Doerfer MT 46 ?). On the possibility of Mong. < Turk. see Щербак 1997, 147.

✱**sȕre** sour, acid, stinking: Tung. ***sūr-**; Mong. ***sori-**; Turk. ***sirke**; Jpn. ***suarasi**; Kor. ***sər-**.

PTung. ***sūr-** 1 different kinds of grass 2 fragrant 3 stinking (1 различные виды трав 2 пахучий 3 вонючий, дурно пахнущий): Man. *surχo*, *sursen*, *surseri* 1, *sur* 2; Ul. *sōrị* 3; Nan. *sōrị* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 113, 129. Man. > Nan. *sur*.

PMong. ***sori-** different kinds of wild onion (дикий лук): WMong. *sorisun*, (L 729: *sorisu*); Kh. *sors*; Kalm. *sorsṇ*; Ord. *sorisu*; Mongr. *soroʒə* (SM 355).

◊ KW 332. Mong. > Man. *sorson*, Nan. *sorso* (TMC 2, 114, Rozycki 187).

PTurk. ***sirke** vinegar (уксус): OTurk. *sirke* (OUygh. - late); Karakh. *sirke* (MK, IM); Tur. *sirke*; Gag. *sirkä*; Az. *sirkä*; Turkm. *sirke*; MTurk. *sirke* (MKypch. - AH, CCum.); Uzb. *sirka*; Uygh. *sirkä*; Krm. *sirke*; Tat. *serkä*; Bashk. *herkä*; Kaz. *sirke*; KBalk. *sirkesuw*; KKalp. *sirke*; Kum. *sirke*; Nogh. *sirkesuv*; Chuv. *šarak* 'bitter, salted'.

◊ VEWT 423, EDT 850. Turk. > Pers. *sirkä*.

PJpn. ***suarasi** a k. of sorrel (Ligusticum chinensis (зоря); Nothosmyrnium japonicum): OJpn. *sworasi*.

◊ JLTT 531.

PKor. ***sə̄r-** raw, unripe (сырой, недозрелый, недоваренный): Mod. *sə̄l-*.

◊ KED 950.

‖ Cf. also Evk. *sirahun* 'whey' (possibly reflecting an unattested Mong. **sira-sun*). MMong. *širxe* 'vinegar' (HY) is most probably borrowed < Turk., see Щербак 1997, 145. The vowel in Turkic is not quite clear (**sürke* or **sörke* would be expected); cf. also Karakh. (MK) *sorquč* (perhaps *sarqɨč* or *sɨrquč* - vocalization is uncertain) 'a k. of spicy plant (chicory?)', see EDT 848.

✱**sū́ri** to go away, drive away: Tung. ***suru-**; Turk. ***sū̄r-**; Kor. ***sɨ́r-**.

PTung. ***suru-** to go away (уходить): Evk. *suru-*; Evn. *hör-*; Neg. *söjiwuk* 'dowry' (= Evk. *surūwuk*, Evn. *höruk*).

◊ TMC 2, 130.

PTurk. ***sū̄r-** to drive away (гнать, прогонять): OTurk. *sür-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *sür-* (MK); Tur. *sür-*; Gag. *sür-*; Az. *sür-*; Turkm. *sür-*; Sal. *sür-*; Khal. *sīr-*; MTurk. *sür-* (AH, Pav. C.); Uzb. *sur-*; Uygh. *sü(r)-*; Krm. *sür-*; Tat. *sŭr-*; Bashk. *hŭr-*; Kirgh. *sür-*; KBalk. *sür-*; KKalp. *sür-*; Kum. *sür-*; Nogh. *sür-*; Khak. *sür-*; Shr. *sür-*; Oyr. *sür-*; Tv. *sür-*; Chuv. *sir-*; Yak. *ū̄r-*; Dolg. *ū̄r-*.

◊ EDT 844, VEWT 437, ЭСТЯ 7, Stachowski 255. Shortness in Turkm. is not clear; perhaps under the influence of **sür-* 'smear; pull' (?).

PKor. ***sɨ́r-** to vanish, fade (пропадать, исчезать): MKor. *sɨ́r-*; Mod. *sɨl-*.

◊ Nam 320, KED 1027.

‖ SKE 237, EAS 71, Martin 245. Doerfer (TMN 3, 252) protests against comparing Turk. and Tung. because TM *u (Benzing's *ö) does not correspond to PT *ü. This is of course not true; but the root still has a slight irregularity, namely, high tone in Korean (generally not typical for a verbal root, and not corresponding to Turkic length).

✱**surV (~ z-, -ŕ-)** root (of tooth), fang: Tung. ***surka**; Mong. ***surbalǯi**.

PTung. ***surka** fang (клык): Evk. *surka*; Evn. *hụrqъ*; Neg. *sojka*; Man. *sučun wejxe*; Ul. *sụča*; Ork. *sụtta*; Nan. *soịqa*; Orch. *sokka*; Ud. *suka*.

◊ TMC 2, 130.

PMong. ***surbalǯi** root (of tooth etc.) (корень (в частности зуба)): WMong. *surbalǯi*; Kh. *surval̆ǯ*; Bur. *horbolžo*; Kalm. *šurwḷǯṇ*.

◊ KW 338.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**sV́ (~ *š-)** this, that (3d pers. pronoun): Turk. ***-sɨ/-si**; Jpn. ***sə́-**.

PTurk. ***-sɨ** possess. suffix (3d person) (притяжательный суффикс 3-го лица): OTurk. *-sɨ*; Karakh. *-sɨ*; Tur. *-si*; Gag. *-si*; Az. *-si*; Turkm. *-si*; Sal. *-si*; MTurk. *-sɨ*; Uzb. *-sɨ*; Uygh. *-sɨ*; Krm. *-sɨ*; Tat. *-si*; Bashk. *-hɨ*;

Kirgh. *-sɨ*; Kaz. *-sɨ*; KBalk. *-sɨ*; KKalp. *-sɨ*; Kum. *-sɨ*; Nogh. *-sɨ*; SUygh. *-sɨ*; Khak. *-sɨ*; Shr. *-sɨ*; Oyr. *-sɨ*; Tv. *-zɨ*; Tof. *-zɨ*; Chuv. *-šə*; Yak. *-ta*.

PJpn. ***sə́-*** a deictic root (this) (дейктическая основа (этот)): OJpn. so-; MJpn. *só-*; Tok. *sò-re*; Kyo. *só-ré*; Kag. *sói*.

◊ JLTT 529. Cf. also the widely used OJ deictic / emphatic particle and pronoun si.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 277. The root is rare in Altaic, but has reliable external parallels (see МССНЯ, 1, 7). It may also be represented in Turk. **saji-* 'each, every', Mong. *sajiki* 'the same').

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✱**šàčú** a k. of soup: Tung. ***šasi-kan (~ -i-, -ü-)**; Jpn. ***sùsí**; Kor. ***čə́s**.

PTung. ***šasi-kan (~ -i-, -ü-)** a k. of soup (вид супа): Man. *šasiχa(n)*, *šašan*, *sase*.

◊ TMC 2, 425. Attested only in Manchu, but having plausible Kor. and Jpn. parallels. Man. > Dag. *sasgan* (Тод. Дар. 162).

PJpn. ***sùsí** a k. of meal (вид блюда (рис с уксусом)): OJpn. *susi*; MJpn. *sùsí*; Tok. *sushí*, *súshi*; Kyo. *súshì*; Kag. *sushí*.

◊ JLTT 535. Dialectal reflexes point to variants **sùsí* and **sùsì*.

PKor. ***čə́s** pickled food (маринад, соленая или маринованная пища): MKor. *čə́s*; Mod. *čət* [*čəs*].

◊ Liu 653, KED 1449.

‖ An Eastern isogloss (Kor. **čə́s* is = **čə́č*, an assimilation < **sə́č*).

✱**šȁke (~ *čʹ-)** small finger, index finger: Tung. ***čāgdi (~ *š-)**; Mong. ***sige- / *čige-**; Turk. ***čɨka-ń**.

PTung. ***čāgdi (~ *š-)** index finger (указательный палец): Evk. *čāgdi*.

◊ TMC 2, 376.

PMong. ***sige- / *čige-** 1 small finger 2 to pick (with a finger) (1 мизинец 2 ковырять): MMong. *šiɣɨ* 1 (SH),šiqči 1 (MA), *čuqči-la-* 2 (MA 137); WMong. *sigeči*, *sigežei*, *čigežei* 1 (L 701); Kh. *šigčij*, *čigčij* 1, *čigči-le-* 2; Bur. *šegši*, *šegšū̃dej*, *šegšegej*, *šegšegeldej* 1, *šegše-* 2; Kalm. *čikči*, *šikči*, *čikčigē* 1, *čikčḷ-* 2; Ord. *šigeči* 1.

◊ KW 439, 440, 356.

PTurk. ***čɨka-ń** small finger (мизинец): Tat. *cɨɣanaq parmaq* (Sib.); Bashk. *sɨɣanaq*, *sɨɣansaq* (dial.); KBalk. *čɨqanaj*; Chuv. *čaGan* 'cock's spurs, knots on horse's front legs'; Yak. *čɨkɨja* (with irregular phonology).

◊ Дыбо 323, Лексика 257.

‖ Дыбо 323, Лексика 257. A Western isogloss.

✱**šȁkʹa** white: Tung. ***šāk-**; Mong. ***čagaɣan**; Turk. ***čakɨr**.

PTung. ***šāk-** 1 white 2 wall-eye (1 белый 2 бельмо): Man. *šaχun* 1, 2; Ul. *čāgǯa(n)* 1, *čaqi* 2; Ork. *tagda(n)*; Nan. *čāGǯã* 1, *čāqi* 2; Ud. *cagʒa* 1 (Корм. 309); Sol. *čiɣá* 1.

◊ See TMC 2, 380-382 (several different roots are united there, among which, e.g., Man. *čaγan* is obviously < Mong., but other forms are genuine - despite Doerfer MT 116). Note that Manchu *šaχun* as well as Nan. *čāGǯā*, Ul. *čāgǯa(n)* and Orok *tagda(n)* may also reflect suffixed forms of **šā(ŋ)*- 'white' (v. sub **šàŋu).*

PMong. ***čagaγan*** 1 white 2 to become white (1 белый 2 белеть): MMong. *čaxan* (HY 41), *čaqan*, *čaqa'an* (SH) 1, *čaiji*- (SH) 2, *čaγan* (IM) 1, *čaγan*, *čiγan* (MA) 1; WMong. *čaγan* 1 (L 158), *čaji*- 2 (L 160); Kh. *cagān* 1, *caj*- 2; Bur. *sagān* 1, *saj*- 2; Kalm. *caγān* 1, *cā̄*- 2; Ord. *čagān* 1, *čā̄*- 2; Mog. *čaγōn*; ZM *čaγō* (13-7), KT *čaγōn* (18-4a); Dag. *čigān* (Тод. Даг. 181, MD 129) 1; *čē*- 2; Dong. *čəGan* 1; Bao. *čixaŋ* 1; S.-Yugh. *čaγān* 1; *čei*- 2; Mongr. *ćiGān* (SM 447) 1, *ćī*- (SM 441), *ćē*- (SM 447), *ćai*- (Minghe) 2.

◊ KW 419, 425, MGCD 557, 560, TMN 1, 177. Cf. **čege-γen* 'light, white' (KW 426). Mong. > Man. *čagan* 'white, white paper, books' (see Rozycki 42).

PTurk. ***čakɨr*** light grey, greyish blue (светло-серый, серовато-голубой): Karakh. *čaqɨr* (MK, Tefs.) (of eyes); Tur. *čakɨr*; Gag. *čaqɨr*; Turkm. *čaqɨr* 'dried in the sun, bleached'; Khal. *čaqɨr* 'yellow'; MTurk. *čaqɨr* (Sangl.); Uzb. *čaγir-qanɔt* 'a white-eyed dunbird, нырок белоглазый'; Uygh. *čeqir* (of eyes); Tat. *čaγɨr* (of eyes); Bashk. *šaγɨr* 'whitish'; Kirgh. *čekir* 'grey (of eyes), wall-eye'; Kaz. *šaγɨr* 'grey (of eyes, horses)', *šegir* 'grey (of eyes)'; KBalk. *čaγɨr* 'variegated'; KKalp. *šegir* (of eyes); Nogh. *šaγɨr* 'colourless (of eyes)'.

◊ VEWT 96, TMN 2, 77, EDT 409, Федотов 2 387. Despite Fedotov *čokur* 'variegated' is not related, it is < Mong. *čobkur* (v. sub **šop'é*). Despite Räsänen borrowed from Mong. can be only Yak. *čakɨr* 'white (of a horse)' (cf. also Dolg. *čakɨr*, see Stachowski 72), and perhaps the front-row forms (Kirgh. *čekir*, Kaz. *šegir*, KKalp. *šegir* - because of their restriction to the Kypch. area); but Mong.. *čakir* / *čekir* 'whitish' is itself an obvious Turkism (see TMN ibid., Clark 1977, 134 with doubts). The root should be distinguished from nasalized forms: Oyr. *čaŋqɨr*, Chuv. *senker*, Yak. *čeŋgir*, *ǯeŋgir*, Kirgh. *čenkil*, *čaŋɨl* with the same set of meanings ('whitish, blue', often of eyes) = Mong. (Khalkha) *cenxer* id.; those should be compared with Tokh. A, B *tseṃ* 'blue (of eyes)', Pers. *zangār* 'verdigris', whence Tat. *zäŋgär* (from Pers. *zang* 'rust', further derived with **zā'to* leave, remain', Sak. *ysāyä* 'rust', Osset. *zgä*, see Bailey 348-349). This is most probably an Iranian loanword in Turkic, Tokh. and Mong. (although a Chinese origin - cf. MC 青 *chieŋ* 'blue' - is also possible). Cf. VEWT 104 (Turk. < Mong.), 531.

‖ Владимирцов 248, Цинциус 1984, 12-13, АПиПЯЯ 293. A Western isogloss. The Mong. variants **čaji*- / **čeji*- reflect most probably a merger with the root **šàŋu* 'clear, light' q.v.

✱**šálpu** a celestial body: Tung. ***čalbaka (~ š-)***; Mong. ***čolbun***; Jpn. ***súmpárú***.

PTung. ***čalbaka (~ š-)*** half moon, crescent (полумесяц): Evk. *čalbaka*.

◊ TMC 2, 380. Cf. perhaps also Man. *šilǵan* 'name of a constellation' (< **šalbikan* ?).

PMong. ***čolbun** Venus (Венера): WMong. *čolmun*, *čolman*, *čolbun* (L 197); Kh. *colmon*; Bur. *solbon(g)*; Kalm. *colwŋ*, *colwṇ*; Ord. *čolmon*, *čulmun*; Dag. *čolpon* (Тод. Даг. 182); S.-Yugh. *čolbon*; Mongr. *čolbaŋ*.

◊ KW 429, MGCD 575. Mong. > Tat. *čulpan* etc. (see Лексика 50-51).

PJpn. ***súmpárú** Pleiades (Плеяды): OJpn. *subaru*; MJpn. *súbáru*; Tok. *sùbaru*, *súbaru*; Kyo. *súbárú*; Kag. *subáru*.

◊ JLTT 531.

‖ Phonetically OJ *subaru* is a quite satisfactory match for Mong. and TM forms, so Miller's (Miller 1988) attempts to derive it either from Arabic *al-zubra* 'mane' (name for the two stars of the 11th lunar station) or from MKor. *spɨr* 'horn' are probably not necessary.

✱**šaŋku** a k. of berry: Mong. ***čaŋgis**; Turk. ***čaŋɨĺ**; Jpn. ***sunkuri**.

PMong. ***čaŋgis** a k. of cranberry (вид клюквы): WMong. *čaŋgis* (L 164); Kh. *caŋgis*.

PTurk. ***čaŋɨĺ** guelder rose, viburnum (калина): Kaz. *šeŋgel*; Khak. *saŋɨs*, *sās*; Shr. *šaŋɨš*, *šaŋaš*; Oyr. *čaŋɨš*.

◊ VEWT 99, 401.

PJpn. ***sunkuri** currant (смородина): Tok. *suguri*.

‖ Basically a Turk.-Jpn. isogloss; Mongolian may be < Turkic.

✱**šȁŋu** clear, light: Tung. ***šā(ŋ)-**; Mong. ***čaŋ**; Turk. ***čAŋ**; Jpn. ***sùm-**.

PTung. ***šā(ŋ)-** white, become white (белый, белеть): Man. *šaŋǵan*, *ša-li-bu-*; SMan. *šaŋan* (2426); Jurch. *ĉaŋ-gian* (619); Ul. *ča-m*, *ča-lịn-*; Nan. *čā-m*, *čā-lā* bi; Orch. *čā-m*; Ud. *ča-m bie*, *ča-li-gi*.

◊ TMC 2, 380-382 (confused with **šāk-* q. v. sub **šȁkʹV)*.

PMong. ***čaŋ** 1 whitish, blond, grey (of hair) 2 white colour (1 беловатый, седой 2 белый цвет): WMong. *čaŋkir* , *čeŋkir* 1, *čaŋ* 'hoar-frost' (L 164); Kh. *caŋ* 'hoar-frost'; Bur. *sanxir* 1; Kalm. *caŋ* 2; Ord. *čaŋ* 'hoar-frost'.

◊ KW 421. Mong. *čeŋkir* > Yak. *ǯeŋke*, Dolg. *ǯeŋke*, *d́eŋke* 'clear, transparent' (see Kał. IV 88, Stachowski 78).

PTurk. ***čAŋ** 1 morning dawn 2 mist (1 утренняя заря 2 туман, мгла): Karakh. *čaŋ* (~ *čäŋ*) (*Л*ОК) 1; Tur. *čen* 2 (dial.) (?); Az. *čän*, dial. *čaŋ* 2; Uygh. *čaŋ* 2 (dial.); Bashk. *šaŋdaq* 'glow in the sky (from celestial phenomena or from fire)', dial. *saŋγärt* 'марево'; Khak. *saŋmarax* 'марево'; Chuv. *śan-/śavъn-talъk* 'weather, climate' (Федотов 2 84-85; the second part = Tat. *täwlek* 'day, 24 hours').

◊ *Д*ТС 139, *Л*ексика 35, 36. A somewhat dubious root. The words meaning 'mist' may go back to a separate root, PT **čeŋ* 'dust'. Other forms (including the late OT one) can be < Mong., but semantics is rather against assuming such a loan.

PJpn. ***sùm-** to become clear, limpid (быть чистым, прозрачным): OJpn. sum-; MJpn. *sùm-*; Tok. *súm-*; Kyo. *súm-*; Kag. *sùm-*.

◊ JLTT 759.

‖ Mong. has also *čaji- / *čeji- 'be white, whitish', associated in the modern language rather with *čaga-γan 'white' (see *šākʿa), but phonetically rather going back to *čaŋi- < *šaŋu. Despite Rozycki 193, the TM forms are hardly borrowed < Mong.

✱**šéčo** to scatter, pour out: Tung. ***š[e]še-**; Mong. ***sačʊ- / *čačʊ-**; Turk. ***sạč-**; Jpn. ***sə́sə́-k- (~ -ua-)**; Kor. ***čǎčhǎi-**.

PTung. ***š[e]še-** to scatter, spatter (сыпать, брызгать): Evk. *čičewē-*; Neg. *sesexen-* 'to flow, stream'; Man. *sisa-*; Nan. *čičikēle-*; Bik. *sese-*.

◊ TMC 2, 147, 386-7. Forms with -a-vocalism (Manchu *čaču-*, *čačure-*, *čačixa-*, Evk. *čaču-*) are borrowed from Mongolian, see Doerfer MT 100.

PMong. ***sačʊ- / *čačʊ-** to scatter, sow, spatter (рассыпать, сеять, разбрызгивать): MMong. *sačʊ-* (SH), *čači-* (MA 129); WMong. *sačʊ-*, *čačʊ-* (L 655); Kh. *cac-*, sac-; Bur. *sasa-*; Kalm. *cacə-*; Ord. *sačʊGla-*; Dag. *čači-* (Тод. Даг. 181); Mongr. *saʒi-* (SM 317), *saʒirā-*, *śʒirā-* 'sačura-, čačura-' (SM 318).

◊ KW 423. Cf. also MMo, WMong. *sačuli*, Khalkha *cacaĺ* 'libation' > Evk. *čačalī* etc. (Poppe 1966, 195, TMC 2, 386-387).

PTurk. ***sạč-** to scatter, spatter, sow (рассыпать, разбрасывать): OTurk. *sač-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *sač-* (MK); Tur. *sač-*; Gag. *sač-*; Az. *sač-*; Turkm. *sač-*; Khal. *sač-*; MTurk. *sač-* (AH, Pav. C.); Uzb. *sɔč-*; Uygh. *čač-*; Krm. *sač-*, *čač-*; Tat. *čäč-*; Bashk. *säs-*; Kirgh. *čač-*; Kaz. *šaš-*; KBalk. *čač-*; KKalp. *šaš-*; Kum. *čač-*; Nogh. *šaš-*; SUygh. *sač-*; Khak. *sas-*; Shr. *šaš-*; Oyr. *čač-*; Tv. *čaʿž-*; Yak. *ɨs-*; Dolg. *ɨs-*.

◊ EDT 794, VEWT 392, Stachowski 262.

PJpn. ***sə́sə́-k- (~ -ua-)** to pour (лить): OJpn. *s(w)os(w)ok-*; MJpn. *sósók-*; Tok. *sòsog-*, *sosóg-*; Kyo. *sósóg-*; Kag. *sosóg-*.

◊ JLTT 756.

PKor. ***čǎčhǎi-** to sneeze (чихать): MKor. *čǎčhǎi-*; Mod. *čǎčhä-gi* (n.).

◊ Nam 415, KED 1415.

‖ KW 423, Poppe 63 (Turk.-Mong.). Mong. is not < Turk., despite TMN 3, 217, Щербак 1997, 144. There are some phonetic uncertainties: Korean has also a variant *čəčí-* 'to soak' (see PKE 30); in TM one observes a variation between *-i- and *-e-.

✱**šekʿa** upper part of throat: Tung. ***čeKe- (~ š-)**; Mong. ***sakaγu**; Turk. ***sakak**.

PTung. ***čeKe- (~ š-)** upper part of throat (небо, гортань): Evk. *čeken*, *čekekte*.

◊ TMC 2, 420. Attested only in Evk., but having probable parallels in Turk. and Mong.

PMong. ***sakaγu** farcy, glanders, diphtheria, craw illness (гланды, дифтерит, болезнь зоба): WMong. *saqaγu* (L 677); Kh. *sagū*; Bur. *hag-*

sar- 'to be ill (of children)'; Kalm. *saxū*; Ord. *saxū* 'a k. of horse's illness'; S.-Yugh. *saGū*.

◊ KW 308, MGCD 595. Mong. > Kirgh. *saqau* etc. (see Лексика 221, ЭСТЯ 7).

PTurk. ***sakak** 1 place between the neck and the chin 2 gills 3 beard, barb (of axe) (1 место между шеей и подбородком 2 жабры 3 бородка (топора)): Karakh. *saqaq* (MK) 1; Tur. *sakak* 1; Turkm. *saqaq* 1; MTurk. *saqaq* 1 (Abush., Бор. Бад., Pav. C.); Uzb. *saqaq* 1 (dial.); Tat. *saɣaq* 3; Bashk. *haɣaq* 3; Kirgh. *saɣaq* 1; Kaz. *saɣaq* 1; KBalk. *saɣaq* 2; KKalp. *saɣaq* 1, 2; Oyr. *saɣanaq* 3; Chuv. *suɣa*, *saɣa* (Anatri), *polъ soɣalъ* (Viryal) 2.

◊ EDT 807-808, ЭСТЯ 7, Лексика 220-222, Федотов 2, 68, Ашм. IX, 279, XI, 216. There is some confusion between this root and **saŋak* (v. sub **seŋa*). Turk. > WMong. *saɣaɣ*, Kalm. *saɣəg* (KW 308). PT **sakkal* 'beard' (full list of reflexes see in ЭСТЯ 7) is a probable derivative (> MMong. (SH) *saɣal*, WMong. *saqal*, Kalm. *saxəl*, KW 308; > Hung. *szakál*, see Gombocz 1912; Mong. > Evk. *sakal* etc., see Doerfer MT 100).

‖ Лексика 221. A Western isogloss; cf. perhaps MKor. *sjə́k* 'bridle'.

✱**šĕrčú** sparrow: Tung. ***š[i]ču-kān**; Turk. ***serče**; Jpn. ***sùnsúmaí**.

PTung. ***š[i]ču-kān** wagtail, small bird (трясогузка, птичка): Evk. *čičakān*; Evn. *časqun*; Neg. *čịčaxịn*; Man. *čečike*; SMan. *čičikē* (2239); Jurch. *sihčixie* 'sparrow' (158); Ul. *čịčo(n)*; Nan. *čịčõ*; Orch. *čičoku*; Ud. *cikcigi* (Корм. 310).

◊ TMC 2, 401, 422. Manchu has *č-* as a result of assimilation, but Jurchen shows that **š-* was the initial consonant. TM > Yak. *čičāx*, Dolg. *čičāk*, Tof. *šīǯek* 'small bird' (see Stachowski 77), probably also Yug *čičik*, Selk. *čičik* 'small bird' (see Starostin 1995, 217 - although the Ket (*tɒ̄qt*) and Kott. (*čičaba*) forms should be regarded separately, as well as other Uralic and Caucasian forms quoted ibid.).

PTurk. ***serče** sparrow (воробей): Karakh. *seče* (MK); Tur. *serče*; Az. *särčä*; Turkm. *serče*; Sal. *siča*, *siǯä*; MTurk. *serčä* (Pav. C.); Chuv. *śerźi*.

◊ EDT 795, VEWT 412, ЭСТЯ 7.

PJpn. ***sùnsúmaí** sparrow (воробей): OJpn. *suzume*; MJpn. *sùzúmé*; Tok. *sùzume*; Kyo. *sùzùmé*; Kag. *suzumé*.

◊ JLTT 535.

‖ The root is expressive, but well reconstructable for PA.

✱**šero** to bake, boil: Tung. ***čere- (~ *š-)**; Mong. ***sira-**; Kor. ***sǎr-m-**.

PTung. ***čere- (~ *š-)** to bake (close to fire) (печься (около огня)): Evk. *čere-*.

◊ TMC 2, 422. Attested only in Evk., but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***sira-** to roast, broil (жарить, печь): MMong. *širaxasam* 'roasted' (HY 24), *šir-* (IM); WMong. *sira-* (L 714); Kh. *šara-*; Bur. *šara-*; Kalm. *šar-* (KPC); Ord. *šara-*; Dong. *šəra-* (Тод. Дн.); Mongr. *śirā-* (SM 397).

◊ KW 350.

PKor. ***sǎr-m-** to boil (варить): MKor. *sǎrm-*; Mod. *sām-* [*salm-*].

◊ Nam 292, KED 901.

‖ The etymology appears plausible despite poor attestation in TM.

✱**šèru** lattice, cross-bars: Tung. ***šerin**; Mong. ***sara-**; Turk. ***sar-**; Jpn. ***sùntare**; Kor. ***sár**.

PTung. ***šerin** helmet visor (забрало (у шлема)): Man. *šerin*.

◊ TMC 2, 431. Attested only in Manchu, but having plausible external parallels.

PMong. ***sara-** 1 shed 2 lattice 3 a net to cover hair 4 visor (1 укрытие для скота 2 решетка 3 сетка для покрытия волос 4 козырек на головном уборе): MMong. *ṣarboči* 'visor' (IM), *sarābčimin* 4 (Lig); WMong. *sarabči* 1 (L 674), *sarbači* 3 (L 675), *sarayalǯi* 1, *sarabči(n)* 4 (Kow. II, 1333b); Kh. *saravč* 1, 4, *sarālǯ* 2; Bur. *harabša* 1; Kalm. *sarəpčə*; Ord. *sarabči* 1; Dag. *sarbəči*; Mongr. *sarī* 'toit en saillie, avant-toit, auvent' (SM 328).

◊ KW 314, MGCD 594. Mong. > Oyr. *sarapčin*; Yak. *čarapči*, Dolg. *čarapčɨ*, *harapčɨ* (see Kał. MEJ 49, Stachowski 72); > Manchu *sarbačan* 'visor on a helmet' (see Rozycki 174).

PTurk. ***sar-** a k. of lattice or cross-beam (вид решетки или балки): Tur. *sarak* 'carved frieze, torus'; Kirgh. *sarap* 'stringer beam', *sarɨ* 'wooden frame of a frame-house'; Chuv. *surban* dial. 'window blind'; Yak. *argɨ* 'cross-bar for drying things'.

◊ Cf. also Tuva (Todzh., Вайнштейн) *a'rga* 'lattice for drying wild onions' (perhaps < Yak.).

PJpn. ***sùntarai (~ -ia)** bamboo blinds; striped cloth (бамбуковые шторы; ткань с поперечными полосками): OJpn. *sudare*; MJpn. *sùdàré*; Tok. *sùdare*; Kyo. *súdàrè*; Kag. *sudaré*.

◊ JLTT 532. Usually analysed as **sú* + **tarai* "reed screen hanging", which contradicts accentology and is probably a folk etymology.

PKor. ***sár** reed net; lattice, cross-bars (тростниковая сеть; решетка): MKor. *sár*; Mod. *sal*.

◊ Liu 437, KED 895.

‖ A common derivative **šèru-pʿV-* is reconstructable for Turko-Mongolian (PT **sara-p*, **sara-pa-n*, PM **sara-b-či*). The root evidently denoted some sort of lattice used in construction.

✱**šík´i / *šík´-di** urine, to urinate: Tung. ***šiKē-n**; Mong. ***siɣe-**; Turk. ***sīk**; Jpn. ***sitə (~-ua)**; Kor. ***stòŋ**.

PTung. ***šiKē-n** urine (моча): Evk. *čikēn*; Evn. *čikъn*; Neg. *čixēn*; Man. *sike*; SMan. *šikə* (108); Ul. *čige(n)* / *čē(n)*; Ork. *čie(n)*; Nan. *čiẽ*; Orch. *čā̈-či-* 'urinate'; Ud. *cige* (Корм. 310), *čeä-kta-* 'urinate'; Sol. *šixẽ*.

◊ TMC 2, 392. Despite Poppe 1972, 96, 102, not a borrowing < Mong. Also reflected are derivatives: **šikelte-* / **šikte-* 'to urinate' (Evk. *čikelte-*, Ud. *čeäkta-*, Man. *site-*), **šike-či-* id. (Neg. *čixēt-/-č-*, Oroch *čā̈či-*, Ul. *čieči-*, Nan. *čieči-*).

PMong. ***siɣe-** 1 to urinate 2 urine (1 мочиться 2 моча): MMong. *ši'e-* (SH) 1, *siēse* 2 (IM), *šisun* 2 (MA); WMong. *sige-* 1 (L 701), *sigesü(n)* 2 (L 702); Kh. *šē-* 1, *šēs* 2; Bur. *šē-* 1, *šēhe(n)* 2; Kalm. *šē-*, *šēsṇ* 1; Ord. *šē-* 1,

šēsü(n) 2; Mog. *seisün*; ZM *sei* (3-6a) 2; Dag. *sē-* (MD 204) ; *sē-*, *sēs* 1; Dong. *še-* 1, *šesun* 2; Bao. *šie-* 1, *šiesoŋ* 2; S.-Yugh. *šī* 1, *šīsən* 2; Mongr. *šē-* 1, *šēʒə* 2 (SM 373), (MGCD *šēsə*) 2.

◊ KW 355, MGCD 711.

PTurk. ***sīk** 1 urine 2 to urinate (1 моча 2 мочиться): OTurk. *sid-* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *siδ-* 2 (MK); Tur. *sij-* 2; Az. *sij-* 2; Turkm. *sīdik* 1; Khal. *sīd-* 2; MTurk. *si-* (AH, IM); Uzb. *sij-* 2; Krm. *sij-* 2; Kirgh. *sij-* 2; KBalk. *sij-* 2; Kum. *sij-* 2; Nogh. *sij-* 2; SUygh. *siz-*, *sez-*, *sɨz-* 2; Khak. *side-* 2; Shr. *si-* 2; Oyr. *sij-* 2; Tv. *sidik* 1; Chuv. *šъk* 1, *šъr-* 2; Yak. *īk* 1; Dolg. *īk* 1.

◊ EDT 799, VEWT 421, ЭСТЯ 7, Stachowski 130. Only Yak. and Chuv. reflect the original **sīk*; all other languages reflect a derivative **sīg-t-* / **sīg-d-* (present also outside Turkic) > **sīd-*. Also widely reflected is the secondary derivative **sīd-dik* 'urine' (> Turkm. *sīdik* etc., see ЭСТЯ 7).

PJpn. ***sitə (~-ua)** urine (моча): MJpn. *sito*.

PKor. ***stòŋ** excrements (испражнения): MKor. *stòŋ*; Mod. *t:oŋ*.

◊ Nam 161, KED 485.

‖ KW 355, Владимирцов 198, Poppe 31, 62, АПиПЯЯ 17, Мудрак Дисс. 40-41, 44. Irregular voicing in Mong. can be explained by the root's expressive nature. Cf. also Mong. *siʒiŋ* 'a person urinating in his bed' - probably reflecting the derivative **šǐgdi* < **šǐk'di*, attested also in Turkic, TM, Korean and Japanese.

✱**šǐmi** to suck, soak: Tung. ***šime-**; Mong. ***sime**; Turk. ***simü-**; Jpn. ***sím-**; Kor. ***sǐmǐi-**.

PTung. ***šime-** to soak; suck (просачиваться; сосать): Evn. *čịmъl-*; Man. *šime-*; Ul. *čime-*; Nan. *čime-*.

◊ TMC 2, 394.

PMong. ***sime** 1 juice, sap 2 to suck 3 to soak (1 сок 2 сосать 3 впитывать): MMong. *šimi-* 2 (SH), *šimi-* 3 (MA 333); WMong. *sime* 1, *sime-*, *simi-* 2, *simed-* 3 (L 709); Kh. *šim* 1, *šime-* 2, *šimde-* 3; Bur. *šeme* 1, *šeme-* 2; Kalm. *šim*; *šimə-*, *šüm-* 1; Ord. *šime* 1, *šime-* 2; Mog. *šimi-* 2; Dag. *šim*; *šime-* 1 (Тод. Даг. 183), *šimi-* 1, *šime* (MD 216); S.-Yugh. *šəme* 1, *šəme-* 2; Mongr. *śime* (SM 396), (MGCD *śimēn*) 1, *šəme-*, *šəmu-* (SM 374), (MGCD *śimu-*) 2.

◊ KW 357-358, 371, MGCD 717. Cf. also **sim-bu-* 'to dive'. Mong. > Man. *simi-* etc. (TMC 2, 87; Doerfer MT 119; Rozycki 183). Mong. > Yak. *sim-*.

PTurk. ***simü- / *sümü-** to suck, swallow (сосать): Karakh. *simür-* (MK); Tur. *süm-*, *sümür-*; Az. *sümür-*; Turkm. *sümür-*; MTurk. *sümür-* (Pav. C., IM); Uzb. *simir-*; Uygh. *sümür-*; Bashk. *hĭmĭr-*; Kaz. *simir-*; KKalp. *simir-*; Nogh. *simir-*; Chuv. *sim*, *səm* 'honey drink'.

◊ VEWT 422, Федотов 2, 50, EDT 829, ЭСТЯ 7.

PJpn. ***sím-** to soak (впитываться, просачиваться): OJpn. *sim-*; MJpn. *sím-*; Tok. *shìmi-*; Kyo. *shímí-*; Kag. *shimí-*.

◊ JLTT 751.

PKor. ***sɨ́mɨ́i-** to soak, permeate (впитываться, просачиваться): MKor. *sɨ́mɨ́i-*; Mod. *sɨmi-*.

◊ Nam 318, KED 1025.

‖ Ozawa 223, KW 358, Lee 1958, 117, АПиПЯЯ 17, Martin 242, Whitman 1985, 127, 212, Martin 1996, 82. Korean has a not quite clear high tone; otherwise correspondences are quite regular.

✱**šimučʹV** small finger: Tung. ***šimučken**; Turk. ***čɨmɨč-**.

PTung. ***šimučken** small finger (мизинец): Evk. *čimčikēn*; Evn. *čimčen*; Neg. *čīmkan*; Man. *simxun*, *šumxun*; SMan. *šumuxun* 'finger' (73); Ul. *čomočon*; Nan. *čumčuē*; Orch. *čomočko*; Ud. *cimcaʹa* (Корм. 310); Sol. *cimitkí*, *čimèrkí*.

◊ TMC 2, 395.

PTurk. ***čɨmɨč-** small finger (мизинец): OTurk. *čɨčamuq* (OUygh.); Karakh. *čɨčamuq* (MK); Uzb. *čimčalɔq*; Uygh. *čimalik*; Kirgh. *čɨmčalaq*; Khak. *sɨmalčɨx*, *čɨmalčɨx*; Shr. *šɨmalɨq*; Oyr. *čɨmal* (dial.); Tv. *šumaš*.

◊ Дыбо 322-323, Лексика 256. See ibid. a number of other forms, probably going back to the same stem, but restructured phonetically because of the root's expressive nature.

‖ Дыбо 322, Лексика 257. A Turk.-Tung. isogloss. **č-* in Turk. is due to assimilation.

✱**šĭpʹV** to sweep: Tung. ***čipi- (~š-,-ü-)**; Mong. ***siɣür-**; Turk. ***sipür-**; Kor. ***psɨ́r-**.

PTung. ***čipi- (~š-,-ü-)** to sweep; to scrape (мести (пол); строгать): Evk. *čipi-*.

◊ TMC 2, 398. Attested only in Evk., but having plausible external parallels.

PMong. ***siɣür-** broom, besom (метла, веник): MMong. *ši'ur-* 'to sweep', *ši'urge* (HY 38, 20), *šiwur-*, *šiur* (MA); WMong. *sigür* (L 703); Kh. *šū̄r*; Ord. *šū̄rde-* 'to sweep'; Dong. *šu*, *šiu-*; Bao. *śir*, *šire-*; S.-Yugh. *šū̄r*; Mongr. *šū-* (SM 383), (MGCD *śūr*).

◊ MGCD 727.

PTurk. ***sipür-** to sweep (мести, подметать): OTurk. *sipir-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *süpür-* (MK); Tur. *süpür-*; Gag. *süpür-*; Az. *süpür-*; Turkm. *süpür-*; Khal. *sipir-*; MTurk. *süpür-* (IM, Pav. C.); Uzb. *supur-*; Uygh. *süpär-*; Krm. *sibir-*; Tat. *sɨpɨr-*, *sĭbĭr-*; Bashk. *hepere-*; Kirgh. *sɨpɨr-*; KBalk. *sibir-*; KKalp. *sɨpɨr-*; Kum. *sibir-*; Nogh. *sɨpɨr-*; Khak. *sɨbɨr-*; Oyr. *sibir-*, *sɨbɨr-*; Tv. *sivir-*; Chuv. *šъʷbъʷr* 'broom'.

◊ EDT 791, VEWT 437, ЭСТЯ 7. Turk. > Hung. *seper* 'sweep' (Gombocz 1912, MNyTESz 3, 518-519).

PKor. ***psɨ́r-** to sweep, wipe (мести): MKor. *psɨ́r-*; Mod. *sːɨl-*.

◊ Nam 321, KED 1027.

‖ EAS 150, Владимирцов 212, Poppe 30, 47, Мудрак Дисс. 43-44. Mong. cannot be explained as a loanword, despite Щербак 1997, 144, or as "bloßer Zufall", despite TMN 4, 288. In Kor. one has to suppose a secondary development **psír-* < **spír-*.

✱**šȉrV (~ -ŕ-)** to melt: Tung. ***šīri-**; Mong. ***siri-**.

PTung. ***šīri-** red copper, bronze (красная медь, бронза): Evk. *čīrikte*; Evn. *čīrit*; Neg. *čījikte*; Man. *sirin*; Jurch. [*ĉi*]*ri* (573); Ul. *čīrikte*; Ork. *čirikte*; Nan. *čīrikte*; Orch. *čīkte*; Ud. *cikte* (Корм. 310).

◊ TMC 2, 399. The Manchu and Jurch. forms may be borrowed from Mong. *širin.*

PMong. ***siri-** 1 bronze, copper 2 cast iron 3 to melt (1 бронза, медь 2 чугун 3 плавить): MMong. *širemun* 3 (HY 26, SH); WMong. *sirin* (L 718) 1, *siri-* 3 (L 717), *siremü(n)*, *sirim*, *sireme(n)* 2; Kh. *šire-* 3, *širin* 1, *širem(en)* 2; Bur. *šerem* 2; Kalm. *širemṇ* 2, *šir-* 'to forge, chill metal' (KPC); Ord. *širemel* 'molten'; Dag. *širem* 2 (Тод. Даг. 184); Mongr. *šērili-* (SM 377) 3.

◊ Mong. > Evk. *sirē-* etc. (TMC 2, 97, Doerfer MT 111). On the other hand, Mong. *sirin* 'cast iron' can be borrowed < Manchu (hardly vice versa, despite Rozycki 185).

‖ EAS 72, 112, Мудрак Дисс. 44, Лексика 411. A Mong.-Tung. isogloss (but cf. also OUygh. *serit-* 'to melt (butter)').

✱**šı̯ábu** to sit; be seated, implanted: Mong. ***saɣu-**; Jpn. ***súwá-**; Kor. ***sà'ò-rí**.

PMong. ***saɣu-** to sit (сидеть): MMong. *sa'u-* (HY 35, SH), *ṣu-* (IM), *sau-* (MA); WMong. *saɣu-* (L 658); Kh. *sū-*; Bur. *hū-*; Kalm. *sū-*; Ord. *su-*; Mog. *sau-* (Weiers), *söü-*; ZM sou- (40-10); Dag. *sau-* (Тод. Даг.162, MD 204), *sō-* (Тод. Даг. 162); Dong. *sau-*; Bao. *sū-*, *seu-*; S.-Yugh. *suu-*; Mongr. *sū-* (SM 355).

◊ KW 339. Cf. also *saɣu-ri-* 'to set (of sun, moon)'.

PJpn. ***súwá-** 1 to plant, insert 2 to sit (1 сажать, всаживать 2 сидеть): OJpn. *suwa-* 1; MJpn. *suwa-* (RJ *súfù*) 1, *suwar-* 2; Tok. *sùe-* 1, *sùwar-* 2; Kyo. *súé-* 1, *súwár-* 2; Kag. *sué-* 1, *suwár-* 2.

◊ JLTT 757, 760.

PKor. ***sà'ò-rí** chair (стул): MKor. *sà'òrí*.

◊ Nam 285.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 277. Initial **š-* must be reconstructed because of Kor. **s-*. Kor. *sà'òrí* appears to be genuine (cf. the match with Jpn. **súwá-r-*), but a loan from Mong. *saɣuri(n)* 'seat' (whence certainly Manchu *sōrin*) cannot be excluded, see Lee 1964, 192-193.

✱**šı̯ábu** small, narrow: Tung. ***šoba- (~ -p-)**; Mong. ***saɣa-**; Turk. ***sEb-re-**; Jpn. ***súmp-**.

PTung. ***šoba- (~ -p-)** narrow (узкий): Man. *šofojōn*.

◊ TMC 2, 427.

PMong. ***saɣa-** to diminish (уменьшаться, укорачиваться): WMong. *saɣa-* (L 656); Kh. *sā-*; Bur. *hā-*; Kalm. *sā-*; Ord. *sā-*.

◊ KW 317.

PTurk. ***sEb-re-** to diminish (уменьшаться, убывать): Karakh. *sevre-* (MK).

◊ ДТС 498.

PJpn. ***súmp-** to get narrow, contract (сужаться, сокращаться): MJpn. *subom-*, *subor-*, *subar-*, *subomar-*; Tok. *sùbomar-* (*itr.*), *sùbome-* (tr.); Kyo. *súbómár-* (*itr.*), *súbómé-* (tr.); Kag. *subomár-* (*itr.*), *subomé-* (tr.).

◊ JLTT 756, 757.

‖ The root is rather sparsely attested in Turk. and TM, and the vocalic reconstruction is not quite secure (note that Jpn. -mp- speaks rather against the reconstruction of diphthong - unless the form is not actually a contraction of **súwu-mp-* with a labial suffix).

✸**šịàčʹí** a k. of rope, fabric: Tung. ***čeče**; Turk. ***sačuk**; Jpn. ***sì(n)tú**; Kor. ***sắčh**.

PTung. ***čeče** patch, rag (лоскут, тряпка): Evk. *čeče*; Evn. *čeče*; Neg. *čeče*; Man. *čeče* 'silk fabric'.

◊ TMC 2, 422.

PTurk. ***sačuk** fringe, handkerchief with a fringe (бахрома, платок с бахромой): Karakh. *saču* (MK); Tur. *sačak*; Az. *sačaG*; Turkm. *sačaq* 'a k. of table-cloth'; MTurk. *sačaq* (Pav. C., Sangl.); Uzb. *sačọq*; Krm. *sačaq*; Tat. *čačaq*; Kirgh. *sačaq* 'hand towel'; Kaz. *šašaq*; KBalk. *čačaq*; KKalp. *šašaq*; Kum. *čačaq*; Nogh. *šašaq*; Oyr. *čačaq*.

◊ VEWT 392, EDT 795, 796. Turk. **sačak* > WMong. *sačaɣ*, *čačaɣ*, Kalm. *cacəg* (KW 423).

PJpn. ***sì(n)tú** a specific embroidered fabric (вид вышитой ткани): OJpn. *situ*; MJpn. *situ*; Tok. *shítsu*, *shízu*.

◊ JLTT 528.

PKor. ***sắčh** cord (веревка, шнурок): MKor. *sắčh*; Mod. *säk:i*.

◊ Nam 294, KED 920.

‖ The TM form is somewhat irregular: we would rather expect **šiči*. Note, however that in Manchu we may be dealing with assimilation (*čeče* < **šeče*), while other TM forms may in fact be borrowed from Manchu.

✸**šịā́kʹù** to see badly, have bad eyesight: Tung. ***šoKa-**; Mong. ***sokar**; Turk. ***sĀkɨ-**; Jpn. ***súk-**; Kor. ***sjōkjə́ŋ**.

PTung. ***šoKa-** 1 *one-eyed* 2 be purblind, sandblind 3 to shut eyes, blink (1 одноглазый, кривой, косой 2 быть подслеповатым, засоряться (о глазах) 3 жмуриться, щуриться): Evk. *čokotī*, *čokoro* 1; Evn. *čoqaŋị* 1; Neg. *čoktoxo* 1; Man. *sogi-* ~ *soxi-* 2; Ul. *čōqto* 1; Ork. *toqto* 1; Nan. *čōmian-* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 404, 105. Manchu may be borrowed < Mong. *soqui-* (see Rozycki 186); if this is the case, the reconstruction may be **šoka-* or **čoka-*.

PMong. ***sokar** blind (слепой): MMong. *soxar* (HY 49), *soqor* (SH), *ṣoɣor* (IM), *suqar* (MA); WMong. *soqur* (L 730); Kh. *soxor*; Bur. *hoxor*; Kalm. *soxər*; Ord. *soxor*; Mog. ZM *sox-sox* 'hallucination' (4-6b); Dag. *sogor*, *sogur*, *sokor* (Тод. Даг. 163), *sohore* (MD 211); Dong. *suGo*; Bao. *soxor*; S.-Yugh. *soGor*; Mongr. *soGor* (SM 352), *suGor*.

◊ MGCD 608, KW 329 (cf. also *soqu-i-* (L 730), Kalm. *soxī-* 'be blind or have a bad eyesight'). Mong. > MTurk., Koman *soqur* (see Щербак 1997, 209, ЭСТЯ 7); > Evk. *sokor* (see Doerfer MT 128).

PTurk. ***sĀkɨ-** mirage (мираж): Karakh. *saqɨɣ* (MK), *saqɨ-* 'to appear faintly' (MK); Tur. *saɣɨn*; Bashk. *haɣɨn*; Kirgh. *saqɨm*; Kaz. *saɣɨm*; KKalp. *saɣɨm*; Kum. *saɣɨn*; Nogh. *saɣɨn*.

◊ EDT 808, Лексика 22, ЭСТЯ 7. Cf. perhaps also Khak. *sagɨl-* 'to emit rays'.

PJpn. ***súk-** to be transparent (быть прозрачным): MJpn. *súk-*; Tok. *sùk-*; Kyo. *súk-*; Kag. *súk-*.

◊ JLTT 758.

PKor. ***sjōkjə́ŋ** blind (слепой): MKor. *sjōkjə́ŋ*; Mod. *sōgjəŋ*.

◊ Nam 312, KED 969.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 17.

✸**šịǎĺì** piece of meat, flesh: Tung. ***čilki (~ š-)**; Mong. ***silbi**; Jpn. ***sìsì**; Kor. ***sắrh**.

PTung. ***čilki (~ š-)** 1 muscle, biceps 2 front leg of a bear (1 мышца, бицепс 2 передняя нога медведя): Evk. *čilkī* 1; Evn. *čịlqa* 1; Neg. *čịlkị̄* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 394. Evk. > Dolg. *čɨlkɨ* (see Stachowski 76).

PMong. ***silbi** shin, shin muscles (голень, мускулы у голени): MMong. *šilibi* (HY 48), *šilbi*, *šili* (MA 178, 333); WMong. *silbi* (L 705); Kh. *šilbe*; Bur. *šelbe*; Kalm. *šilwə*; Ord. *šilbi* (*šilbe*); Dag. *šilem* (Тод. Даг. 183).

◊ KW 357.

PJpn. ***sìsì** meat (мясо): OJpn. *sisi*; MJpn. *sìsì*.

◊ JLTT 527.

PKor. ***sắrh** flesh, meat; skin (мясо; кожа): MKor. *sắr* [*sắrh-*]; Mod. *sal*.

◊ Nam 290, KED 895.

‖ Дыбо 311 (Mong.-Tung.); Martin 232, Miller 1986a, 49, АПиПЯЯ 95, 279 (differently). The root must be kept distinct from **si̯ŏlo* q.v., but contaminations were possible.

✸**š[ịà]mì** island; forest: Tung. ***šumi (~ č-)**; Turk. ***simek**; Jpn. ***sìmà**; Kor. ***sjə̄m**.

PTung. ***šumi (~ č-)** 1 foreland, shallow place 2 tussock (1 коса, отмель 2 кочка): Evk. *čumi* 1, *čumdikēn*, *čummikē* 2 (Bac. 529); Neg. *čụmịxān* 1; Ud. *simb́o* 2 (An.).

◊ TMC 2, 86, 414.

PTurk. ***simek** forest, jungle (лес, чаща): OTurk. *simek* (OUygh.).

◊ EDT 828-829.

PJpn. ***sìmà** island (остров): OJpn. *sima*; MJpn. *sìmà*; Tok. *shimá*; Kyo. *shímà*; Kag. *shimá*.

◊ JLTT 524.

PKor. ***sjə̄m** island (остров): MKor. *sjə̄m*; Mod. *səm*.

◊ Nam 305, KED 953.

‖ EAS 155, Martin 234, Miller 1976, 370-371, 1979b, 17-31, Martin 1996, 35. The parallel seems quite plausible (on a similar interchange between "island" and "forest" see, e.g., under **ā́rV*), but vocalism raises some doubts. The reconstruction **šḭ̀ȁmi* is possible if one assumes PT **simek* < **semek* (which is quite possible, because the word is only attested in OUygh. and may have actually been *semek*), and PTM **šumi* < **šimu* (cf. the Udehe (An.) form *simb́o* - perhaps archaic).

✸**šḭ̀ȁmu** sack: Tung. ***šūm-**; Mong. ***sumal**; Turk. ***sAmar**; Kor. ***sjə́m**.

PTung. ***šūm-** 1 bag 2 sack (1 сумка 2 мешок): Evk. *čēmpu*, *čemtu*, *čempuli*, *čompuli* 2; Man. *šuma*, *šuman* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 109, 420. Manchu *šuma(n)* should be distinguished from Manchu *sumala(n)* < Mong. Manchu > MKor. *čùmə̀ní* 'pocket, sack' (but note also the variants with *ǯ*-: Man. *ǯumaŋgi*, Bur. *ʒumńā*, see TMC 1, 274, Lee 1958, 113 - are these backloans from Korean?)

PMong. ***sumal** long leather sack (длинный кожаный мешок): WMong. *sumal* (L 737); Kh. *sumal*; Kalm. *sumḷ*; Ord. *sumal*; Mongr. *sụ̄ma(r)* 'besace, petit sac oblong' (SM 359).

◊ KW 337. Mong. > TM *sumala(n)* 'sack' (TMC 2, 109), see Doerfer MT 145, Rozycki 190.

PTurk. ***sAmar** 1 sack, saddle pack 2 big wooden vessel (1 вьючный мешок 2 большой деревянный сосуд): MTurk. *samar* 1 (Pav. C.); Bashk. *hamar* 2; Kaz. *samar* 2; KKalp. *samar* 2; Yak. *ampara* 'налуч (колчан)' (Пек.) ?.

◊ VEWT 399.

PKor. ***sjə́m** straw bag, measure of grain (соломенный мешок, мера зерна): MKor. *sjə́m*; Mod. *səm*.

◊ Nam 305, KED 953.

‖ PKE 176, KW 337.

✸**šḭ̀ȁtʿì** to set fire, burn: Tung. ***šāta (~č-)**; Mong. ***sita-**; Jpn. ***sitə-ki**; Kor. ***stāi-**.

PTung. ***šāta (~ č-)** burned coals, ashes (горящие угли, зола): Evk. *čātā*; Neg. *čāta*.

◊ TMC 2, 386.

PMong. ***sita-** to catch fire (загораться): MMong. *šita-*, *sita-* (MA); WMong. *sita-* (L 719); Kh. *šata-*; Bur. *šata-*; Kalm. *šatə-*; Ord. *ištā-* 'allumer, mettre le feu à, préparer au feu'; *šita-*; Dag. *šita-*, *xita-* (Тод.

Даг. 176), *šitā-*, *xitā-* (Тод. Даг. 184), *šate-*, *šitā-* (MD 214, 217); Dong. *šətara-*, *šidaraɣa-*, *šɨdəra-*; S.-Yugh. *šədā-*, *šədara-*; Mongr. *sdā-* (SM 331), *šda-*.

◊ KW 351, MGCD 710.

PJpn. ***sitə-ki** rice cakes offered to gods (жертвенные рисовые лепешки): MJpn. *sitoki*, *sitogi*.

◊ JLTT 528.

PKor. ***stāi-, *stə́k** 1 to solder, tinker; to make fire 2 rice cake (1 паять, лудить; разжигать 2 рисовая лепешка): MKor. *stāi-* 1, *stə́k* 2; Mod. *t:äu-* 1, *t:ək* 2.

◊ Nam 147, 152, KED 432, 445.

‖ Mong. s- points to a following front vowel or diphthong, so one should reconstruct **šı̯ā-*; in TM *-ā- and -ia- are frequently neutralized after a palatal. Jpn. **sitəki* = Kor. **stə́k*; both forms reflect a derivative with a velar suffix (**šı̯ātʿi-kʿV* 'smth. burned, baked'); borrowing Jpn. < Kor. or Kor. < Jpn. is not excluded (see Martin 1996, 45).

✸**šı̯óbi** wrinkle, gills: Tung. ***šoba- (~ -p-)**; Jpn. ***síwá**.

PTung. ***šoba- (~-p-)** 1 wrinkle 2 to wrinkle (1 морщина 2 морщиться): Evk. *čoworō-* 2; Man. *šufa-* 2, *šufan* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 402, 430.

PJpn. ***síwá** wrinkle (морщина): OJpn. *siwa*; MJpn. *síwá*; Tok. *shiwa*.

◊ JLTT 528.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss. Cf. also Kalm. *söb*, *söwõ* 'wart' quoted in Владимирцов 1912, 213.

✸**šı̯ṓča** a k. of metal: Tung. ***šušu**; Mong. ***čas**; Turk. ***siāč**.

PTung. ***šušu** 1 copper 2 dark red (1 медь 2 темно-красный): Evk. *čučin* 2; Evn. *čụčụrmị* 1; Man. *šušu* 2; SMan. *susə*, *šušə* (*fian*) 'violet, purple' (2425).

◊ TMC 2, 418, 430.

PMong. ***čas** tin (жесть, сплав): WMong. *čas*; Kh. *cas*; Bur. *sad* 'brass'; Kalm. *cas*; Ord. *čas*.

◊ KW 428.

PTurk. ***siāč** 1 white copper, tin 2 pan (1 белая жесть 2 сковорода): Karakh. *sač* 2 (MK); Tur. *sač* 2; Gag. *saǯaq* 'tripod'; Az. *saǯ* 2; Turkm. *sāč* 2; MTurk. *sač* (AH), *saǯ* (Pav. C.) 2; Chuv. *šъʷvъʷś*, *šuś*, *šoś* 1.

◊ EDT 794, VEWT 391-392, Лексика 406, ЭСТЯ 7, Федотов 2, 438-439.

‖ Лексика 406. A Western isogloss. Mong. and TM have an assimilation (Mong. **sač* > **čač* > **čas*, TM **šusu* > **šušu*), usual in roots of this type.

✸**šḭòče** hair (of head), feather: Tung. ***šoša-**; Turk. ***s(i)ač**; Kor. ***číčh**.

PTung. ***šoša-** 1 to arrange hair in a bunch 2 bunch, knot of hair (1 укладывать волосы в пучок 2 пучок, узел волос): Man. *šošo-* 1, *šošoχon* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 427-428. Attested only in Manchu, but having probable external parallels.

PTurk. ***s(i)ač** 1 hair (of head) 2 hair 3 hair (on back of head) 4 root (1 волос (головы) 2 волос 3 волос (на затылке) 4 корень): OTurk. *sač* 1 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *sač* 1 (MK, KB); Tur. *sač* 1; Gag. *sač* 1; Az. *sač* 1; Turkm. *sač* 1; Sal. *sač* 1; *sačɨχ* 3; Khal. *sa:č* 1; MTurk. *saǯ*, *sač* 1 (Pav. C., Sangl.); Uzb. *sɔč* 1; Uygh. *čač* 1; Krm. *sač* 1; Tat. *čɛč* 1; Bashk. *säs* 1; Kirgh. *čač* 1; Kaz. *šaš* 1; KBalk. *čač* 1; KKalp. *šaš* 1; Kum. *čač* 1; Nogh. *šaš* 1; Khak. *sas* 1; Shr. *šaš* 1; Oyr. *čač* 1; Tv. *ča'š* 1; Tof. *čɛ'š* 1; Chuv. *śüś* 2; Yak. *as* 3; Dolg. *as* 2.

◊ VEWT 391, EDT 794, Лексика 197, ЭСТЯ 7, Stachowski 38.

PKor. ***číčh** feather (перо): MKor. *čís*, *číčh*.

◊ Nam 445, 446.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 287, Лексика 197. Kor. has an assimilation, usual for roots of this type; Manchu also demonstrates an assimilation (*šoša-* < **šosa-* which would be regularly expected).

✸**šḭṓčʿko** young of domestic animals: Tung. ***šičukta**; Turk. ***čōčka**; Kor. ***sàskí**.

PTung. ***šičukta** a young domestic animal (детеныш домашних животных): Evk. *čičuha* (Barg.) 'domestic goat'; Man. *sučutu* 'a 2-year-old foal'.

◊ TMC 2, 133, 401.

PTurk. ***čōčka** 1 young pig 2 child, boy 3 pig (1 поросенок 2 ребенок, мальчик 3 свинья): Karakh. *čočuq* (MK) 1; Tur. *čoǯuk* 2; Gag. *čoǯuq* 2; Az. *čošGa* 1, 3; Turkm. *ǯōǯuq* 1 (cf. *colloq*. *čōča* 'camel'); MTurk. *čočɣa* 1 (Sangl.), (OKypch.) *čočqa* (Houts.) 1; Uzb. *ǯuǯuq* 2; Uygh. *čošqa* 3; Krm. (K) *čočqa* 3, *čočuq jataɣɨ* 'afterbirth'; (T) *čočxa* 'young boy (not a Karaim)', (H) *cocka* 2; Tat. *čučqa* 3; Bashk. *sosqa* 3; Kirgh. *čočqo* 1; Kaz. *šošqa* 1; KBalk. *čočxa* 3; KKalp. *šošqa* 3; Kum. *čočqa* 3; Nogh. *šošqa* 3; Khak. *sosxa* 3; Shr. *šošqa* 3; Oyr. *čočqo* 3; Tv. *šošqa* 3.

◊ VEWT 113, ЭСТЯ 4, 28, EDT 400. See Stachowski 1985 with an extensive list of material but with a strange conclusion that the word "onomatopoetischer Herkunft ist und somit durch Autogenese zustande kam".

PKor. ***sàskí** young of animals (детеныш животных): MKor. *sàskí*; Mod. *säk:i*.

◊ Nam 294, KED 920.

‖ Дыбо 9.

✱**šiogo** cold: Tung. ***šig-**; Turk. ***sogi-k**; Jpn. ***səjə**; Kor. ***sik-**.

PTung. ***šig-** 1 to freeze, get cold 2 cold (1 замерзать 2 холодный): Evk. *čig-* (dial.) 1; Man. *šaxurun* 2; SMan. *šahurun*, *sahurun* 2 (2061); Jurch. *siuŋhun* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 389,423.

PTurk. ***sogɨ-k** cold (холодный): OTurk. *soɣɨq* (OUygh.); Karakh. *soɣɨq* (KB); Tur. *soɣuk*; Gag. *sūq*; Az. *sojuG*; Turkm. *sovuq*; Sal. *soχ*; Khal. *sovuq*; MTurk. *sawuq/sawuɣ* (Sangl.); Uzb. *sɔvuq*; Uygh. *soɣaq*; Krm. *sūq*; Tat. *sɨwɨq*; Bashk. *hɨwɨq*; Kirgh. *sūk*; Kaz. *suwɨq*; KBalk. *sūq*; KKalp. *suwɨq*; Kum. *sowuq*; Nogh. *suwɨq*; SUygh. *soq*; Khak. *sōx*; Shr. *sōq*; Oyr. *sōq*; Tv. *sōk*; Tof. *sōq*; Chuv. *sivə*.

◊ Derived from PT **sogɨ-* 'to cool, get cold', see VEWT 425, EDT 808 (**sogɨ-k*), 806 (**sogɨ-*), ЭСТЯ 7, Лексика 15.

PJpn. ***səjə** gentle, cool (of wind) (прохладный, легкий (о ветре)): OJpn. *sojo*; MJpn. *sojo*; Tok. *soyo*.

PKor. ***sik-** to cool off (остывать): Mod. *sik-*.

◊ KED 1045.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 281, Дыбо 11. Other comparisons of the above roots (Poppe 61, KW 335, VEWT 425a, SKE 233,240) are quite unreliable. The Kor. form *sik-* may go back to **sig-Vk-* (cf. Turk. **sogɨk*); a similar prototype can explain Manchu *šaxurun* < **šig-ak-urun*. It is also interesting to note WMong. (L 658) *saɣsurɣa* 'hoar-frost' (< **sug-sarga* or **suɣa-surga*).

✱**šiògV** juice: Tung. ***šūkse**; Mong. ***siɣü-sü**; Kor. ***skúr**.

PTung. ***šūkse** juice (сок): Evk. *čūkse*; Evn. *čūs*; Neg. *čūxse*; Man. *šugi(n)* ~ *šuxi(n)*; Ork. *sūkse* ~ *tūkse*; Orch. *čūkse*; Ud. *čüönki*; Sol. *sūrče*.

◊ Cf. also Evk. *čūkin* 'rare (of meat)'. TMC 2, 411, 428.

PMong. ***siɣü-sü** juice (сок): MMong. *ši'u-su* 'food, provisions' (HP, SH); WMong. *sigüsü(n)* (L 704); Kh. *šūs*; Bur. *šūhe(n)*; Kalm. *šūsn*; Ord. *šūsü*, *šüs* 'juice of meat'; Dag. *čūs* (Тод. Даг. 182).

◊ KW 373. Mong. > Man. *šusu*, Chag. *süsün* (see TMN 1, 362, Rozycki 196). Cf. also **siɣü-der* 'dew' > MMong. (SH) *ši'uder*, (HY 2) *ši'uderen* WMong. *šigüder*, Khalkha *šūder*, Mongr.śūderi (401), (> MTurk. *šigüdärin*, Chag. *südürün* etc., see Лексика 39-40).

PKor. ***skúr** honey (мед): MKor. *skúr*, *pskúr*; Mod. *k:ul*.

◊ Nam 63, KED 217. The attested variant *pskúr* is probably a result of hypercorrective spelling.

‖ Владимирцов 199, АПиПЯЯ 17. Korean has a usual vowel reduction between a stop and a consonant.

✱**šiŏju** to skin, peel: Tung. ***čī- (~ *šī-) (< *šij-)**; Mong. ***siɣal-**; Turk. ***soj-**.

PTung. ***čī- (~ *šī-)** to scrape off, skin (скоблить, соскабливать): Evk. *čī-*.

◊ TMC 2, 388. Attested only in Evk., with probable parallels in Turk. and Mong.

PMong. ***siɣal-** to skin, peel (сдирать кожу, шкуру): WMong. *šaɣal-* (L 748); Kh. *šāl-*; Kalm. *šāl-* (СЯОС).

PTurk. ***soj-** to skin, peel (сдирать шкуру, кожу): OTurk. *soj-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *soj-* (MK); Tur. *soj-*; Gag. *soj-*; Az. *soj-*; Turkm. *soj-*; Khal. *suv-*; MTurk. *soj-* (Ettuhf., Pav. C.); Uzb. *sɔj-*; Uygh. *soj-*; Krm. *soj-*; Tat. *suj-*; Bashk. *huj-*; Kirgh. *soj-*; Kaz. *soj-*; KKalp. *soj-*; Kum. *soj-*; Nogh. *soj-*; SUygh. *soj-*, so-; Khak. *soj-*; Shr. *soj-*; Oyr. *soj-*; Tv. *soj-*; Chuv. *sü-*.

◊ VEWT 425, EDT 858, ЭСТЯ 7.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**ši̯ȍlí** juice, fluid: Tung. ***šōla**; Mong. ***silö**; Turk. ***söl**; Jpn. ***sìrú**.

PTung. ***šōla** 1 soup 2 juice (1 суп 2 сок): Man. *šula* 2; Ul. *čōlo(n)* 1; Nan. *čōlõ* 1; Ud. *čolo* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 405, 429. Man. *čola-* / *čōla-* 'to roast, broil (in a kettle' is most probably a result of interdialectal borrowing. The TM languages reflect also **sile* / **silu* 'soup' (see TMC 2, 85, 138) which is a loanword from Mong., see Poppe 1966, 198, Doerfer MT 26.

PMong. ***silö** soup (суп): MMong. *šulen* (HY 24, SH), *šīlɛ* (IM), *šilän* (MA); WMong. *silü(n)* (L 708), *šülü*; Kh. *šöl*; Bur. *šülen*; Kalm. *šöln*, *šüln*; Ord. *šölö*; Dag. *šil* 'soup; juice' (Тод. Даг. 183), *šile* (MD 216); Dong. *šulie* 'soup; juice'; Bao. *šile* 'soup; juice'; S.-Yugh. *šəlen*; Mongr. *šulō* (SM 385).

◊ KW 371, MGCD 723, 728. Mong. > Chag. *sölän*, *silän*, Man. *sile* etc. (see TMN 1, 369-370, Rozycki 181).

PTurk. ***söl** 1 juice in meat, lymph 2 soup, bouillon (1 мясной сок, лимфа 2 суп, бульон): OTurk. *söl* (OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *söl* (MK) 1; Tur. *söl* (dial.) 1; Tat. *sül*, *sül-gɛn* 1; Bashk. *hül* 1; Kirgh. *söl* 1; Kaz. *söl* 1; KKalp. *söl* 1; Nogh. *söl* 1; SUygh. *söl* 'ram's blood'; Chuv. *šъl* (dial.), *шыл* (XIX c., Bible) 2; Yak. *öl* 2.

◊ VEWT 430, EDT 824, ЭСТЯ 7.

PJpn. ***sìrú** juice; soup; pus (сок; суп; гной): OJpn. *siru*; MJpn. *sìrú*; Tok. *shíru*; Kyo. *shìrú*; Kag. *shirú*.

◊ JLTT 526.

‖ EAS 155, Ozawa 111, Murayama 1962, 110, Мудрак Дисс. 41. The Turkic vocalism is quite irregular, probably due to contamination with **si̯ūli* 'gall, pus' q.v. (a similar merger occurred in PJ).

✱**ši̯ȍŋe** scoop, vessel: Tung. ***šōŋ-**; Mong. ***sinaga**; Turk. ***seŋek**.

PTung. ***šōŋ-** 1 scoop, box, dishes 2 place for dishes (1 ковш, коробка, посуда 2 место в чуме для утвари): Evk. *čōŋ* 1, *čōŋāl* 2; Evn. *čōŋāl* 2; Neg. *čōŋal* 2; Man. *šaŋšaχa* 1; Ul. *čuŋne* 1; Ork. *čoŋol* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 406, 425. Evk. > Dolg. *čoŋal*, *čuoŋāl* (see Stachowski 74-75).

PMong. ***sinaga** ladle, scoop (ковш): MMong. *šinaɣa* (MA 333); WMong. *sinaɣa* (L 710); Kh. *šanaga(n)*; Bur. *šanaga*; Kalm. *šanəɣ* (KPC); Ord. *šinaGa*; Dong. *šɨnaGa*; Mongr. *šənaGa*.

◊ Mong. > Evk. dial. *činakā* (TMC 2, 395).

PTurk. ***seŋek** jar, mug (кувшин): Karakh. *seŋek* (MK - Oghuz); Tur. *seŋek*; Az. *senek*.

◊ EDT 838, VEWT 410.

‖ A Western isogloss. One should also mention *seŋgesn* 'drinking vessel' (KW 410), either an old variant or a modified Turkic loanword.

✱**šio̯p´a** claw, to claw: Tung. ***šopa-**; Mong. ***sabur**.

PTung. ***šopa-** 1 claws 2 to claw (1 когти 2 хватать когтями): Evk. *čowo-mo* 1, *čowīlā-* 2; Neg. *čowo-kī* 1; Man. *šoforo* 1, *šoforo-* 2; SMan. *sovərəqə*, *sovərəqu* 'claw' (2288); *šovərə-*, *sovuru-* 'to grab' (1541); Nan. *cofola-* (Bik.) 'to compress'; Orch. *čopokto* 1, *čopoktolo-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 402.

PMong. ***sabur** bird's claws; fork (птичьи когти; вилы): WMong. *sabur*, (L 653) *sabar*; Kh. *savar*; Bur. *habar*; Kalm. *sawṛ*; Ord. *sawar*; Dag. *sabər*; S.-Yugh. *sabar*; Mongr. *sawar* (SM 330).

◊ KW 316, MGCD 585. Mong. > Oyr. *sabar* etc.

‖ Мудрак Дисс. 41. Cf. **sép´a.*

✱**šiò̯ri (~ *šiò̯ro)** stake, pole: Tung. ***šōra**; Mong. ***siro**; Turk. ***s(i)ar-ča**.

PTung. ***šōra** pole, tent made of poles (жердь, чум из жердей): Evk. *čōrama*; Evn. *čōra*; Neg. *čōramị*; Man. *šuruqu* 'boat pole', *šuru-* 'to swim using poles'; Nan. *čōro*; Ud. *čōlo*.

◊ TMC 2, 408, 430. Man. *čoron tatan* 'pole tent' is probably a recent loan from some TM language (Nanai or Evk.).

PMong. ***siro** spit, skewer (вертел, шомпол): MMong. *širo* (SH), *širi'e* (HY 21), sire (IM); WMong. *siro*, (L 756) *šoru*, *siru*; Kh. *šor*, *širē*; Bur. *šoro*; Kalm. *šor*; Ord. *šoro*; Dag. *šor* (Тод. Даг. 184), *šorti*; S.-Yugh. *šoro*.

◊ KW 365, MGCD 722.

PTurk. ***s(i)ar-ča** tethering post (коновязь): MTurk. *sarča* (R); Khak. *sarčɨn* (folkl.); Tv. *sarčɨn* (R - Soj.).

◊ R 4, 336-337, VEWT 403 (suggesting a derivation from *sar-*, *saru-* 'to tie round' - which is also not excluded).

‖ EAS 71, SKE 235, Poppe 30 (with some confusion of this root and **si̯ṓru* q. v.). A Western isogloss; but cf. notes to **seri*.

✱**šio̯uga(lV)** bucket: Tung. ***šugle-**; Mong. ***saɣulga**; Turk. ***sugu**.

PTung. ***šugle-** 1 water bucket made of birch bark 2 woven basket (1 берестяной сосуд для воды 2 плетеная корзина): Evk. *čuɣlen* 1; Man. *šulxu* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 410, 429.

PMong. ***saɣulga** bucket (ведро): MMong. *sa'uluqa* (SH); WMong. *saɣulɣa* (L 659); Kh. *sūlga*; Bur. *hūlga*; Kalm. *sūlɣə* (KPC); Ord. *sūlGa*; Dong. *sauɣa* (Тод. Дн.), *soɣo*; Bao. *sulGe* (Тод. Бн.), *solGə*; Mongr. *sṵrGa* (SM 364), *saulGa*.

◊ MGCD 609. Mong. > Manchu *solxa* (see Rozycki 186).

PTurk. ***sugu** water bucket (ведро для воды): MTurk. *suɣur* (Pav. C.); Uygh. *suɣa*; Shr. *sō* (Верб.); Tv. *sō* 'bucket made of birch bark'; Tof. *sō* 'bucket made of birch bark'.

◊ VEWT 431.

‖ A Western isogloss, with some vocalic irregularities (the reconstruction **šuga* would contradict, however, the consonant reflex *s- in Turkic and Mongolian). Cf. **sŭ́ku*.

✱**šḭ̀ǔjò** thorn, (pine) needle: Tung. ***šǖje**; Mong. ***sojuɣa**; Turk. ***sojagu**; Jpn. ***sə̀jà**; Kor. ***sāi**.

PTung. ***šǖje** 1 needle of a coniferous tree 2 a hair fallen out 3 to become intertwined (of hair, fur) 4 branch, firewood 5 a needle made of horn 6 fetlock (1 игла (хвойная) 2 вылезшая шерсть 3 сваляться, скататься (о шерсти) 4 ветка, хворост 5 игла из рога 6 щетка (у копыта лошади)): Evk. *čīje* 1, 2; Evn. *čīja-* 3; Neg. *čịja* 2; Man. *suja*, *sujaχa* 4, *sujχon* / *sojχon* 5, *sojlo* 6.

◊ TMC 2, 104, 121, 390.

PMong. ***sojuɣa** fang, sprout, hook (клык, побег, крюк): WMong. *sojuɣa* (L 724); Kh. *sojō*; Bur. *hojō*; Kalm. *sojā(n)*; Ord. *sojō*; Dag. *sojō* (Тод. Даг. 163); Dong. *sojə*; S.-Yugh. *sio*.

◊ KW 329, MGCD 604. Mong. > Yak. *sojuo* 'needle', see Аникин 499-500.

PTurk. ***sojagu** 1 cock's spur 2 pine needle, toothpick 3 a sharp object (1 петушиная шпора 2 сосновая иголка, зубочистка 3 острый предмет): Karakh. *sojaɣu* 1 (MK); Kirgh. *sojō* 3; Kaz. *sojaw* 2; Kum. *sojaw* 'a metallic pendant on a Caucasian belt'; Oyr. *sojoq* ʿmountain top; young horn'; Tof. *sojā* 'wire for pipe-cleaning' (< Mong.?); *sojaq* ʿmountain' (ФиЛ 227).

◊ VEWT 425, EDT 859. All Kypchak forms may also be < Mong.

PJpn. ***sə̀jà** arrow (стрела): OJpn. *soja*; MJpn. *sòjà*; Tok. *soya*.

◊ JLTT 531. May be a compound with ja ʿarrow', but *so* alone is not attested.

PKor. ***sāi** straw (солома): MKor. *sāi*; Mod. *sä* 'straw thatch'.

◊ Nam 295, KED 919.

‖ EAS 72, KW 329, SKE 219.

✱**šḭ̀ŭkʿu** sharp instrument: Tung. ***šuK-**; Mong. ***süke**; Jpn. ***súkí**.

PTung. ***šuK-** 1 chisel 2 to carve, engrave 3 to hit (with horns), butt, strike 4 notches on bow ends (1 резец, долото 2 вырезать, гравировать 3 бодать, колоть (рогами) 4 зарезки, выемки (на концах лука)): Man. *šuki-* 3, *šukun* 4; Nan. *čuktuli-* 2 (Он.); Orch. *čūku*, *tūku* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 403, 429.

PMong. ***süke** axe (топор): MMong. *suke* (HY 18, SH, IM); WMong. *süke* (L 742); Kh. *süx*; Bur. *hüxe*; Kalm. *sükə*; Ord. *süχe*; Dag. *sugu* (Тод. Даг. 164), *suhe* (MD 212), *sugē*; Dong. *sugie*; S.-Yugh. *səge*; Mongr. *sugo* (SM 352).

◊ KW 340, MGCD 618. Mong. > Chag. *sükü* etc. (KW 435), Yak. *süge*, Dolg. *hüge* (see Stachowski 115), Man. *suxe* etc. (TMC 2, 123), see Doerfer MT 40, Rozycki 189.

PJpn. ***súkí** plough (плуг): OJpn. *sukji*; *suk-* 'to plough'; MJpn. *súkí*; *súk-* 'to plough'; Tok. *sùki*; Kyo. *súkí*; Kag. *súki*.

◊ JLTT 532.

‖ The etymology seems plausible, although the precise meaning of the root in PA is not quite clear (some sharp instrument used for carving, chopping or ploughing).

✸**šḭ̀ṵpo** to twist, twisted threads: Tung. ***šū̄ba**; Mong. ***subu-**; Turk. ***sub-luk (?)**.

PTung. ***šū̄ba** 1 to spin, twist (threads) 2 thread 3 fringe (1 сучить (нитки) 2 нитка 3 бахрома): Evk. *čīwa-* 1, *čīwa* 2; Evn. *sêwa* 2 (Arm.); Neg. *čịwa-* 1, *čịwa* 2; Man. *šuwase* 3; Orch. *čiwa* 2; Ud. *čua* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 389, 428.

PMong. ***subu-** to unravel, unstring (развязывать, распутывать): WMong. *subu-*, *suba-*, *subi-* (L 733); Kh. *suva-*; Bur. *huba-*, *hubi-*.

◊ Mong. > Evk. *sūw-*, Man. *su-* ʿuntie' etc. (see TMC 2, 103).

PTurk. ***sub-luk (?)** turban (тюрбан): Karakh. *suvluq* (MK).

◊ EDT 788.

‖ A Western isogloss. Cf. **suba, *sȉbi.*

✸**šḭ̀úpʿù** to suck, hold in mouth: Tung. ***šupa- (~č-)**; Mong. ***siɣü-**; Turk. ***sɨp-**; Jpn. ***súp-**; Kor. ***sp-ǻr-**.

PTung. ***šupa- (~č-)** to suck (сосать): Evk. *čupku-* 'suck out'; Neg. *čopon-* 'kiss', *čụpka-* 'soak'; Orch. *čop(o)ko-* 'kiss'.

◊ TMC 2, 408, 415.

PMong. ***siɣü-** to filter, strain (процеживать): MMong. *šu-* (MA 337); WMong. *siɣü-* (L 702); Kh. *šū̄-*; Bur. *šū̄-*; Kalm. *šū̄-* (KPC); Ord. *šū̄-*.

PTurk. ***sɨp-** to swallow greedily (жадно глотать, пить залпом): Tur. *sɨp-*; Az. *sɨfɣar-* (dial.); MTurk. *sipqar-* (Pav. C., Бор. Бад.); Tat. *sɨpɨr-*; Bashk. *hɨpɨr-*.

◊ VEWT 418, 423, ЭСТЯ 7. The Chag. form may have been secondary influenced by Mong. *sibqar-* 'to press, squeeze'.

PJpn. ***súp-** to suck, inhale (сосать, вдыхать): OJpn. *suf-*; MJpn. *súp-*; Tok. *sù-*; Kyo. *sú-*; Kag. *sú-*.

◊ JLTT 760.

PKor. ***sp-ǻr-** to suck (сосать): MKor. *sp-ǻr-*; Mod. *p:al-*.

◊ Nam 247, KED 725.

‖ Whitman 1985, 181, 233 (Kor.-Jpn.). Korean has a usual vowel reduction between a fricative and a stop.

✱**šu̯ŭr[e]** to rub, polish: Tung. ***šürü- (/*šurü-)**; Mong. ***sürči-**; Turk. ***sür(-t)-**; Jpn. ***súr-**; Kor. ***sɨ̀rh-**.

PTung. ***šürü- (/*šurü-)** 1 to rip (with claws) 2 to whet; rip off (skin, flesh) 3 knife for carving ornaments (1 раздирать (когтями) 2 точить; сдирать (кожу, мясо) 3 нож для вырезания орнамента): Evk. *čuri-* 1; Man. *šuru-* 2; Ul. *čūre(n)* 3; Nan. *čūruẽ* 3; Sol. *širuxã̄* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 416, 426, 430.

PMong. ***sürči-** to rub (тереть, втирать): MMong. *surči-* (MA 329, 330); WMong. *sürči-* (L 744); Kh. *sürči-*; Kalm. *sürčə-*; Ord. *sürči-* 'oindre'.

◊ KW 341.

PTurk. ***sür(-t)-** to rub, smear (тереть, мазать): OTurk. *sürt-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *sürt-* (MK); Tur. *sür-*, *sürt-*; Gag. *sürüt-*; Az. *sürt-*; Turkm. *sür-*, *sürt-*; MTurk. *sür-* (Pav. C.), *sürt-* (IM), *sürüt-* (AH); Uzb. *surt-*; Krm. *sürt-*; Bashk. *hŭr-*, *hŭrt-*; Kirgh. *sür-*, *sürt-*; Kaz. *sürt-*; KBalk. *sürt-*; KKalp. *sür-*, *sürt-*; Kum. *sürt-*; Nogh. *sür-*, *sürt-*; SUygh. *sürt-*; Khak. *sürt-*; Oyr. *sürt-*; Tv. *sür-*; Chuv. *sə^{w}r-*; Yak. *ür-*.

◊ EDT 846, VEWT 437, Егоров 188, Лексика 382, ЭСТЯ 7.

PJpn. ***súr-** to rub, whet, polish (тереть, точить, полировать): OJpn. *sur-*; MJpn. *súr-*; Tok. *súr-*; Kyo. *sùr-*; Kag. *sùr-*.

◊ JLTT 759. Modern dialects reflect **sùr-* - due to a merger of **súr-* 'rub' and **sùr-* 'print, close up' which are clearly distinguished in RJ.

PKor. ***sɨ̀rh-** to polish, rub off (полировать): MKor. *sɨrh-*; Mod. *sːɨl-* [*sːɨlh-*].

◊ Nam 322, KED 1028.

‖ SKE 238. Mong. may be < Turk., see Щербак 1997, 198. The genuine reflex may be Mong. **sir-* (Khalkha *šürge-*, Kalm. *šürgə-* 'to rub off', WMong. *sirgü-*, KW 371; Khalkha *širū̄n*, Kalm. *šürū̄n*, WMong. *sireγün* 'rough, shaggy'; WMong. *sirbe-* 'to sweep') - although the -i- vowel here is not quite clear. The root generally displays some variation between **šu̯ŭre* and **šu̯ŭru*.

✱**šu̯ŭru** beads: Tung. ***čuri- / *čurē- (~ š-)**; Mong. ***sirü**; Turk. ***sɨrɨčga**.

PTung. ***čuri- / *čurē- (~ š-)** 1 beads 2 fringe (1 бисер, бусы 2 бахрома): Evk. *čurikta* 1, *čurēkte* 2; Evn. *čuṛiṭ* 1; Neg. *čujēkte* 2; Nan. *čūruktu* (On.) 'metal horns on cap'.

◊ TMC 2, 416-417.

PMong. ***sirü** beads, coral beads (коралл, коралловые украшения): WMong. *sirü*, *šürü* (L 719); Kh. *šür*; Bur. *šüre*; Kalm. *šür* 'coral'; Ord. *šürü(n)*; Dag. *sur* (Тод. Даг. 184: *šur*); Bao. *śirə*; S.-Yugh. *šurə*, *śurə*; Mongr. *śuru* (SM 402), *śurə*.

◊ KW 371, MGCD 729.

PTurk. ***sɨrɨčga** glass, rock crystal (стекло, горный хрусталь): Karakh. *sɨrɨčɣa* (MK), *sɨrɨnčɣa* (KB); Tur. *sɨrča*; Gag. *sɨrča*; Turkm. *sɨrča* 'enamel'; MTurk. *sɨrča* (AH, IM), *sirčä* (Pav. C.); Chuv. *šъrźa* 'bead'.

◊ EDT 846, VEWT 419, ЭСТЯ 7.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✸**šịŭŕu** to leak, ooze: Tung. ***čurgī- (~ š-)**; Mong. ***sir-**; Turk. ***sɨŕ-**.

PTung. ***čurgī- (~ š-)** to flow, drip (стекать, струиться): Evk. *čurgī-*; Evn. *čụrgъ̣-*; Ul. *čoržụ-*; Nan. *čorgi-* (On.).

◊ TMC 2, 409, 416.

PMong. ***sir-** 1 to strain, filter 2 to drizzle (1 процеживать, фильтровать 2 моросить): WMong. *sirle-*, *sir-gü-* 1; (L 716) *sirbigine-* 2; Kh. *širvegene-* 2; Bur. *šerbe-* 2; Kalm. *širl-*, *šir-* 1; Mongr. *surGu-* 'enduire' (SM 364).

◊ KW 360, 361.

PTurk. ***sɨŕ-** 1 to ooze 2 to melt (1 сочиться, капать 2 таять, плавиться): Karakh. *sɨz-* 1, 2; Tur. *sɨz-* 1; Gag. *sɨz-* 1, 2; Az. *sɨz-* 1; Turkm. *sɨz-* 1; MTurk. *sɨz-* 1, 2 (AH); Uzb. *siz-* 1; Uygh. *sɨs-* 2; Tat. *sɨz-* 1, 2; Kirgh. *sɨz-* 1; Kaz. *sɨz-* 1; Oyr. *sɨs-* 1, *sɨsqɨr-* 2; Tv. *sɨzɨl-* 1, *sɨs-qa-* 'to strain'; Chuv. *šъran-* 2, *šъrat-* 'to strain'.

◊ EDT 861, VEWT 420, ЭСТЯ 7.

‖ Мудрак Дисс. 44-45. A Western isogloss; cf. **sịŭ̀ŕi*, **sịòri.*

✸**šṓmo** to dive, submerge, scoop: Tung. ***šom-**; Mong. ***čomu**; Turk. ***čom- / čöm-**; Jpn. ***sə́má-**; Kor. ***sằm-**.

PTung. ***šom-** 1 deep 2 scoop 3 to pour water over oneself 4 to submerge, fall under ice (1 глубокий 2 чашка, черпак 3 облиться водой 4 увязать, проваливаться под лед): Evk. *čomko* 2; Evn. *čumku-* 3; Man. *šumin* 1; SMan. *šumin*, *sumin* 1 (2617); Jurch. *ĉu-mi-gi* (695) 1; Ud. *čompo-* 4.

◊ TMC 2, 406, 414, 429. TM > Dag. *somog* (Тод. Даг. 163).

PMong. ***čomu** scoop (черпак): WMong. *čomu*, *čom* (L 197: *čomu* 'wine cup, goblet'); Kh. *com*; Bur. *sobxon*; Kalm. *cōmə*; Dag. *čomō* (Тод. Даг. 182).

◊ KW 431. Mong. > Evk. *čomo*, Man. *čoman*, *čomo* (see Doerfer MT 61; but note that forms like Evk. *čomko* are genuine).

PTurk. ***čom- / *čöm-** 1 to dive 2 to swim 3 to scoop 4 to immerse, dip 5 scoop (1 погружаться, нырять 2 плавать, купаться 3 черпать 4 окунать 5 черпак, ковш): OTurk. *čom-* = *čöm-* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *čom-*, *čöm-* 1 (MK), *čömče* 5 (MK Oghuz); Tur. *čömče* 5; Az. *čömčä* 5; Sal. *čum-* (*čöm-*) 1, 2 (ССЯ); MTurk. *čom-* 1 (Abush.); Uzb. *čụm-(mɔq)* 1, *čụmič* 5; Uygh. *čom-*, *čom-ul-* (pass.) 1, *čömüč* 5; Krm. (K) *čöm-* 1, (T) *čom-* 1, 2, (H) *com-* 1, 'to flow'; (K) *čomɨč*, (T) *čömüč* 5; Tat. *čum-* 1, *čümeč* 5; Bashk. *sumɨ-* 1, *sümes* 5; Kirgh. *čomul-/čömül-* 1, 2, *čömü-* 1, *čömö-* 4, *čömüč* 5;

Kaz. *šom-ɨl-* (pass.) 1, 2, *šömiš* 5; KBalk. *čömüč* 5; KKalp. *šom-ɨl-* (pass.) 1, 2, *šömiš* 5; Kum. *čom-* 4, *čomuč* 5; Nogh. *šom-ɨl-* (pass.) 1, 2, *šomaqa* , *šömiš* 5; SUygh. *čomɨš* 5 (ЯЖУ); Khak. *som-* 1,2, *somnax* 'spoon'; Shr. *šom-* 2; Oyr. *čöm-* 1, 4, *čomɨjaq* 'pannier made of birch bark'; Tv. *šɨm-ɨn-* (refl.) 1; Tof. *šom-* 1, *šomuq* 'a small trough made of birch bark'; Chuv. *čъʷm-* 1 (< Tat.?; *čъm* 'jar' may be < Pers., see Федотов 2, 401); Yak. *som-us-* 3.

◊ VEWT 115, TMN 3, 95-99, EDT 422, Егоров 319. Cf. also **čamčak* / -i- 'big spoon' (VEWT 98; < **čom-čak*?). Various forms meaning 'to squat' may belong here as well (cf.: Tur. *čömel-*, Az. *čömäl-*, Gag. *čömel-*, Turkm. *čommal-*, Tat. *čümäš-*, Kaz. *šömej-*, KBalk. *čömel-* ('trip over'; cf. also *čömel-t-* 'to turn over; dip someone into water'), with a secondary semantic development ('dip, dive' > 'fall or sit down, squat'); cf. similar semantic shifts in PT **čök-*.

PJpn. ***sə́má-*** to dip, dye (красить, погружать в краску): OJpn. *soma-*; MJpn. *sómá-*; Tok. *sòme-*; Kyo. *sómé-*; Kag. *somé-*.

◊ JLTT 755.

PKor. ***sa̋m-*** 1 to swallow 2 to penetrate (1 глотать 2 проникать, пронизывать): MKor. *sa̋mskí-* 1, *sa̋mǎs-*, *sa̋mǎčh-* 2; Mod. *samkhi-* 1, *samu-čhi-* 2.

◊ Nam 287, 293, KED 874, 905.

‖ SKE 21, EAS 64, 141.

✱**šŏŋe (~ -i)** deep, hollow: Tung. ***šoŋ-***; Mong. ***čoŋg- / *čöŋk-***; Turk. ***čöŋ-***.

PTung. ***šoŋ-*** 1 hole, hollow, cave 2 pool, pond (1 яма, впадина, рытвина 2 пруд): Evn. *čōŋin* 2; Neg. *čoŋdoxo* 1; Man. *šonto*, *šuŋku* 1; Ul. *čōŋdō* 1; Ork. *toŋdo* 1; Nan. *čoŋdō* 1; Orch. *čoŋdō*, *čoŋdoko* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 407, 429. Man. *čondoχo* < South. TM.

PMong. ***čoŋg- / *čöŋk-*** 1 hole, uneven ground 2 deep (of water) 3 pool 4 hollow, cave 5 bag, pouch 6 small bag (1 ямы в земле, неровная земля 2 глубокий (о воде) 3 лужа, водоем 4 полый, вогнутый 5 мешочек): WMong. *čoŋγur* 1 (L 198), *čoŋkijal* (L 198) / *čoŋgijal* 2, *čüŋgürüg* 4, *čüŋke* 5 (L 209); Kh. *congor* 1, *conxiol* 2, *cünxēl* 3, *cünx* 5; Bur. *sünxereg* 'pool, basin, pond'; Kalm. *coŋγāḷ* 2, *coŋxəg* 'pit' (KPC); Ord. *čöŋχör* 1.

◊ Mong. > Chag. *čüŋül* 'Wassertümpel', Kaz. *čöŋgöl* 'tiefe Stelle im Wasser'; **čuŋkur* 'tief, Vertiefung' (VEWT 120); > Evk. *čuŋurē*, Man. *čuŋguru* 'navel, cavity' etc., see Doerfer MT 38; > Evk., Evn. *čuŋgun* 'hollow, cave'.

PTurk. ***čöŋ-*** 1 leather bucket for milking 2 to submerge 3 hollow, deep 4 pool, pond (1 кожаное ведро для дойки 2 погружаться 3 полый, глубокий 4 пруд, водоем): Karakh. *čöŋek* 1; Tur. *čöŋgül* 4; Kirgh. *čöŋke* 'a metal vessel (чугунок)'; Shr. *šüŋür* 3; Oyr. *čöŋ*, *čüŋ* 3, *čöŋ-* 2.

◊ EDT 426.

‖ KW 428, 430. A Western isogloss.

***šopʿé** freckles, spots: Mong. ***čob, *čow-kur**; Turk. ***čap-, *čopur**; Jpn. ***səmpa-**.

PMong. ***čob, *čow-kur** 1 small spot, freckle 2 spotted, variegated (1 пятнышко, веснушка 2 пятнистый, пестрый): WMong. *čob* 1, *čouqur* 2 (L 199); Kh. *covd* 1, *cōxor* 2; Bur. *sōxor* 2; Kalm. *cōxər* 2; Ord. *čōxor*; Dag. *čōxor*, *čōkor* 2 (Тод. Даг. 182), *čōkore* (MD 130).

◊ KW 429, 431. Mong. > MTurk. *čoqur* (see Щербак 1997, 203), Evk. *čōkur* etc. (Doerfer MT 101, Rozycki 49).

PTurk. ***čap-, *čopur** 1 pock-marked, variegated 2 badly bred, sloppy 3 to appear (of rash, furuncles) (1 пестрый, рябой 2 непородистый, неряшливый 3 высыпать (о сыпи, чирьях)): Tur. *čopur* 1; Gag. *čɨbar-* 3; Az. *čopur* 1; Turkm. *čopur* 1; MTurk. *čubar* 'cheval gris de fer', *čibar* 'grey, mottled (horse)' (Pav. C.); Uzb. *čipɔr* 1; Uygh. *čipa(r)* 1; Krm. *čɨbar*, *cɨbar* 1; Bashk. *säbärt-* 'to appear (of rash on lips)', *sɨbar* 1; Kirgh. *čobur* 2; Kaz. *šubar* 1; KBalk. *čapɨr-* 3, *čubar* 1; KKalp. *šubar* 1; Kum. *čapɨr-* 3, *čopur* 1, *čubar* 'variegated'; Nogh. *šubar* 1; Tof. *šubar* 1.

◊ VEWT 116, 118-119, Егоров 320, Федотов 2, 403. An expressive and late attested root; appears, however, to be reconstructable for PT. The original shape is probably **čap-* (preserved in *čap-ɨr-* 'to appear (of rash)', with further labial assimilation into **čopur*. The frequently attested variant *čupar* > *čubar* is most probably a result of contamination **čopur* and **čubar* (reflected in Tat. *čuwar*, Kirgh. *čār* that can only reflect *-b-).

PJpn. ***səmpa** freckles (веснушки): Tok. *sobakasu*.

‖ KW 429, Владимирцов 255. Cf. also Neg. *čaw*, *čawu̯* 'rash' (< Mong.?). An expressive root, with a number of contaminations and irregularities.

T

✱**tǎbà (~ -p-)** a k. of fish: Tung. ***dabā**; Mong. ***dabka**; Jpn. ***tàpì**.

PTung. ***daba** salmon (кета): Neg. *dawā*; Ul. *dawa*; Ork. *dawa*; Nan. *dawa*; Orch. *dawa*; Ud. *dawa*.

◊ TMC 1, 185. Man. *dafaχa* id. corresponds irregularly and is most probably < Mong. (despite Doerfer MT 143, Rozycki 53, suggesting an opposite direction).

PMong. ***dabka** a k. of fish (Doerfer: 'quadratschnäuzige Meerbrasse') (вид рыбы): WMong. *dabqa* (L 214: sheatfish, catfish, Silurus), *dabqurul* (L 215: a k. of fish resembling the carp); Kh. *davxā*, *davxral*.

PJpn. ***tàpì** name of various kinds of perch (назв. различных видов окуня): OJpn. *tapji*; MJpn. *tàfi*; Tok. *tái*; Kyo. *táì*; Kag. *taí*.

◊ JLTT 538 ("sea-bream").

‖ For Jpn. cf. alternatively TM *tab(u) (TMC 2, 149) or **topV* (TMC 2, 198).

✱**tǎbi** bad wind, infectious disease: Tung. ***dā(b)-**; Mong. ***düjiren**; Turk. ***dabul**.

PTung. ***dā(b)-** to be infected (заражаться): Evk. *dā(w)-*; Evn. *dāw-*; Neg. *dā-*; Ul. *dā-*; Ork. *dā-*; Nan. *dā-*; Ud. *dā-*.

◊ TMC 1, 184.

PMong. ***düjireŋ** typhus (тиф): WMong. *düireŋ* (БАМРС); Kh. *düjren*; Bur. *düjren übšen*.

PTurk. ***dabul** storm, strong wind (буря, сильный ветер): Tur. (dial.) *dayıl*; Turkm. *dowul*; MTurk. *dawul* (Pav. C.); Krm. *tawul*; Tat. *dawıl*; Bashk. *dawıl*; Kirgh. *dobul*, *dōl*; Kaz. *dawıl*; KKalp. *dawıl*; Nogh. *dawıl*; Oyr. *tōl* (dial.); Chuv. *tъʷvъʷl*; Yak. *tıal*; Dolg. *tıal*.

◊ VEWT 476, Лексика 46-47, Stachowski 236-237.

‖ A Western isogloss. Mong. **düji-ren* < **dejü-ren*, with a frequent metathesis of labialization.

✱**tabu** trade, barter: Mong. ***daɣ-**; Turk. ***dab-**; Jpn. ***tùpìjái**; Kor. ***tòbɨi**.

PMong. ***daɣ-** to present, make a gift, distribute (дарить, делать подарок, распределять): MMong. *da'ul-* (SH); WMong. *dajila-* (L 222); Kh. *dajla-*; Kalm. *dāšl-*; Mongr. *dābṻla-* 'vénérer par des sacrifices, offrir, sacrifier' (SM 38).

◊ KW 82.

PTurk. ***dab-** 1 wares 2 goods, livestock 3 cattle 4 to sell, trade (1 товар 2 имущество 3 скот 4 продавать, торговать): OTurk. *tabar* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *tavar* 1, 2 (MK, KB), 3 (KB), *tav-* 4 (KB); Tur. *davar* 3; Az. *davar* 3; Turkm. *dovar* 3; MTurk. *tavar* (Pav. C.) 1, 3; Uzb. *tɔvar* 1; Uygh. *tavar* 1; Krm. *tuvar* 3; Tat. *tuwar* 1; Bashk. *tawar* 1; Kirgh. *tabar* 1 (< Russ.?); KBalk. *tuwar* 3; KKalp. *tawar* 1 (< Russ.?); Kum. *tuwar* 3.

◊ VEWT 451-452, ЭСТЯ 3, 114-117, Лексика 327-328, 336. Turk. > WMong. *tawar*, Kalm. *tawṛ* (KW 385, Щербак 1997, 150), Russ. *товар*.

PJpn. ***tùpìjái** expense (расходы, траты): MJpn. *tùfijé*.

PKor. ***tòbɨi** barter, trade (торговля): MKor. *tò'ɨi*.

◊ Nam 157.

‖ An interesting common Altaic economical term. Let us note, however, that non-standard affixation in Japanese, as well as irregular tone correspondence, may suggest a borrowing from Korean.

✱**tàbú** to endure, obey: Tung. ***dābu-**; Mong. ***daɣa-**; Jpn. ***tùmpúnai**.

PTung. ***dābu-** 1 to obey 2 to sacrifice 3 to envy (1 подчиняться 2 приносить жертву 3 завидовать): Evn. *dabdaŋ-* 3; Man. *dobo-* 2 (> Nan. *dōbo-*); SMan. *diovi-* (766) 2; Ul. *dābụ-* 1; Ork. *dābụ-* 1; Nan. *dābo-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 184, 211. The Nan., Ul. and Orok forms look as if they are borrowed from Manchu (original *-b- should regularly yield -w- here). TM > Dag. *dōbo-* 'to sacrifice' (Тод. Даг. 137).

PMong. ***daɣa-** to endure, take responsibility (терпеть, подчиняться, принимать ответственность): MMong. *da'a-*, *da'us-* (SH); WMong. *daɣa(ɣa)-* (L 216); Kh. *dā-*; Bur. *dā-*; Kalm. *dā-*; Ord. *dā-*; Dag. *dā-* (Тод. Даг. 134); Dong. *da-*; S.-Yugh. *dā-*; Mongr. *dā-* (SM 37).

◊ KW 81, MGCD 183.

PJpn. ***tùmpúnai** slave, servant (слуга, раб): MJpn. *tùbúne*.

◊ JLTT 553.

‖ The root reveals quite regular correspondences and is semantically plausible (Jpn. 'servant' = 'one who obeys, endures').

✱**tǻde** trap, to obstruct: Tung. ***dad-**; Mong. ***čidör**; Turk. ***dɨd-**; Kor. ***tət**.

PTung. ***dad-** ferret trap (западня, ловушка на хорьков): Man. *dadari*.

◊ TMC 1, 190. Attested only in Manchu, with possible external parallels.

PMong. ***čidör** hobbles, fetters (путы, оковы): MMong. *čido[r]* (IM), *čidär-* (MA); WMong. *čidür* (L 178); Kh. *čödör*; Bur. *šüder*; Kalm. *čödr*; Ord. *čödör*; Dag. *šider* (Тод. Даг. 183); S.-Yugh. *čödör*; Mongr. *ćudor* (SM 460).

◊ KW 444, MGCD 577. Mong. > Chag. *čidär* etc. (VEWT 110); > Evk. *čidar* etc., see Poppe 1966, 198, Doerfer MT 38, Rozycki 180.

PTurk. ***dɨd-** to hinder, obstruct (препятствовать, задерживать): OTurk. *tɨd-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *tɨδ-* (MK); Turkm. *dɨj-*, *dɨ-ɣɨ* 'stop';

MTurk. *tij-* (Sangl., Abush.); Uzb. *tij-*; Krm. *tij-*; Tat. *tij-*; Bashk. *tij-*; Kirgh. *tij-*; Kaz. *tij-*; KBalk. *tij-*; KKalp. *tij-*; Nogh. *tij-*; Khak. *tis-*; Oyr. *tijin-* 'to restrain (oneself)'; Chuv. *čar-*; Yak. *tīt-* 'touch'; Dolg. *tīt-* 'touch'.

◊ VEWT 477, EDT 450, Мудрак Дисс. 36, Федотов 2, 391, Stachowski 239.

PKor. ***tət** trap (ловушка): Mod. *tət* [*təč*h, *tə*s].

◊ KED 451, 454.

‖ Final -čh in Kor. orthography is probably secondary, as in a number of other cases; for Kor. SKE notes also a variant *tot*. Cf. also Oroch *toti* 'trap' (TMC 2, 201) < Kor.?

✱**tagi** complete: Tung. ***dagu- ~ -b-**; Mong. ***deɣüren**; Turk. ***degül**.

PTung. ***dagu- (~ -b-)** 1 content 2 to pour (1 содержимое 2 наливать): Man. *dō-la-* 2; SMan. *dolə-*, *dolu-* 2 (598); Ul. *dawụ*, *daụ* 1; Ork. *daw*, *daụ* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 187.

PMong. ***düɣüre-** 1 to be full, complete 2 full (1 быть полным, совершенным 2 полный): MMong. *du'uren* (HY 53) 2, *du'ur-* (SH) 1, *dorun* (IM), *duran* (MA) 2; WMong. *dügürü-*, *degüre-*, (L 278: *dügür-*, *degür-*) 1, *dügüreŋ*, *degüreŋ*, *degüren* 2 (L 279); Kh. *dū̄r-* 1; Bur. *dū̄ren* 2; Kalm. *dū̄r-* 1; Ord. *dū̄rge-* (caus.); Mog. *dur-* 1 (Weiers); ZM *dorgōn* (24-11a) 2; Dag. *dūre-* 1 (Тод. Даг. 138, MD 139); Dong. *duru-* 1; Bao. *derge-* (caus.); S.-Yugh. *dū̄re-*, *dūr-* 1; Mongr. *dū̄ri-* (SM 57), (MGCD *diurə-*) 1.

◊ KW 107, MGCD 243.

PTurk. ***degül** is not (нет, не): Karakh. *tegül* (MK Oghuz); Tur. *degül*, *dejil*; Az. *dejil*; Turkm. *dā̄l*; MTurk. *degül* (Pav.C.); Krm. *duguĺ*; Tat. *tügil*; Bashk. *tügil*; Kirgh. *tügül*; Kaz. *tügil*; KKalp. *tüwe*; Kum. *tügül*; Nogh. *tuwɨl*.

◊ EDT 480, ЭСТЯ 3, 213-214.

‖ KW 107. A Western isogloss. All forms reflect a morphological derivative **tagi-gu(r/l)* (which explains both labialization in the second syllable and front row in Mong.). The Turkic form deserves special comment: Ramstedt 1924 derived it from **tüke-* ʿbe exhausted' (see under **tʿukì*), i.e. "being exhausted, having come to an end" = "is not". The semantic derivation seems quite probable, but PT **degül* is phonetically not derivable from **tüke-*; it appears rather to be derived from an otherwise unattested PT **degü-* < PA **tagi*, but with the same semantic shift. There is yet another possibility available: regarding -(ü)l in Turkic as a remnant of the negative particle = PM **ülü* ʿnot', i.e. **degül* = "not filled, incomplete".

✱**tago** sharp, to cut: Tung. ***da(ga)-**; Mong. ***daɣa-**; Turk. ***dogra-**.

PTung. ***da(ga)-** 1 sharp 2 to cut (1 острый 2 резать): Man. *da-čun* 1; SMan. *dačun* 1 (1735); Jurch. *da-ču-gi* 1 (801); Ul. *dā-qarụ* 1; Nan. *dā-rị-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 191.

PMong. ***daɣa-** 1 to be able to cut 2 cuttability (1 резать (о ноже, пиле) 2 режущая способность): WMong. *daɣa-* 1; Kh. *dā-* 1; Bur. *dā-* 1, *dāsa* 2; Kalm. *dā-*; Dag. *dā-* 1 (MD 131); Bao. *da-*; S.-Yugh. *dā-*; Mongr. *dā-* 'entrer dans' (SM 37).

◊ KW 81, MGCD 183. The root has merged with *daɣa-* 'to be able, endure', but seems to preserve its old meaning.

PTurk. ***dogra-** to cut into slices, small pieces (резать ломтиками, кусочками): Karakh. *toɣra-* (MK); Tur. *dōra-*; Gag. *dora-*; Az. *doGra-*; Turkm. *doGra-*; Khal. *toryа-*; MTurk. *toɣra-* (Sangl.); Uzb. *tọɣra-*; Uygh. *toɣra-*; Krm. *doGra-*, *tuvra-*; Tat. *tura-*; Bashk. *tura-*; Kirgh. *tūra-*; Kaz. *tura-*; KBalk. *tuwra-*; KKalp. *tuwra-*; Kum. *tuwra-*; Nogh. *tuwra-*; SUygh. *torɣa-*; Khak. *toɣɨra-*; Shr. *toɣra-*; Oyr. *tuɣra-*; Tv. *dōra-*; Tof. *dōra-*; Chuv. *tura-*; Yak. *tōrot-*.

◊ EDT 472, ЭСТЯ 3, 248-249, Ашм. XIV, 151, Федотов 2, 251.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**tagù** root, grass root: Tung. ***daga**; Mong. ***degne- / *dagna-**; Turk. ***TAgna**; Jpn. ***tuku-nai**.

PTung. ***daga** root (корень): Evk. *daɣačān*; Neg. *dā*; Man. *da*; SMan. *dā* (2144); Jurch. *da* (120); Ul. *dāča(n)*, *dāni*; Ork. *dāta(n)*; Nan. *dāčã*, dã̄; Orch. *daha*; Ud. *dā*, *daha*; Sol. *dagasã*, *dagsã*.

◊ TMC 1, 188-189.

PMong. ***degne- / *dagna-** turf (дерн): WMong. *degne-gül* (L 252: *deŋnegül*) / *dagna-sun*; Kh. *degnṻl*; Bur. *dagnaha(n)*, *degnṻl*.

PTurk. ***TAgna** 1 turf 2 stem, stalk 3 a k. of plant (1 дерн 2 стебель, ствол 3 вид растения): Karakh. *taɣna java* 3 ('al-mahrut') (MK); Oyr. dial. *tunā* 1 (Верб.); Chuv. tona 2.

◊ EDT 471, Федотов 1, 247. The OT word is questionable: an OT Hapax, but the second part (*java*) is also a plant root. Taɣna *java* was added to sour milk in order to colour it. Cf. Sak. *ttuṃgara*, Tokh. B *tvāṇKārai*, Tib. (Khotan) *don-gra* 'ginger'. Bailey derives from Iran. **tuvam-kara*, i.e. 'made thick', but a Turkic origin (with Sak. suffixation) is also possible. If the Oyr. and Chuv. forms belong here the approximate PT reconstruction could be **Tagna* 'root, stalk'. Turk. > Mong.: Khalkha *tāna* 'лук многокорешковый'.

PJpn. ***tuku-nai** a k. of yam (вид ямса): Tok. *tsukune* (*imo*).

‖ A designation for some root-crop or grass root. Mong. *deg-ne-*, Karakh. *taɣ-na* (although its PT antiquity is somewhat dubious, see above) may reflect a common derivative **tagù-nV*. The resemblance of Jpn. *tsuku-ne* also may be not accidental (although synchronically *-ne* is, of course, analysable as *ne* 'root').

✱**taja** to lean on: Tung. ***daja-**; Mong. ***daji- (?)**; Turk. ***daja-**; Jpn. ***tajə-r- (~ -ua-)**.

PTung. ***daja-** to lean (прислоняться, опираться): Man. *daja-*.

◊ TMC 1, 199. Attested only in Manchu, but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***daji-** to bend, sway (наклоняться, раскачиваться): WMong. *daji-bal-*, (L 221) *dajiba-*; Kh. *dajba-* 'quake, shake'; Bur. *dajbagar* 'club-footed'; Kalm. *dǟwl-*; Ord. *dǟwalǯi-*; Mongr. *dēwāl-* (MGCD 190).

◊ KW 83. Mong. > Yak., Dolg. *dajbā-* (Kał. JW 182, Stachowski 77).

PTurk. ***daja-** 1 to prop 2 to lean (1 подпирать, прислонять 2 опираться): Karakh. *taja-* 1 (MK); Tur. *daja-* 1, *dajan-* 2; Gag. *daja-* 1, *dajan-* 2; Az. *daja-*; Turkm. *daja-* 1, *dajan-* 2; MTurk. *taja-* 1 (Sangl.), 2 (Pav. C.); Uzb. *taja-* 1, *tajan-* 2; Uygh. *tajan-* 2; Krm. *taja-* 1; Tat. *tajan-* 2; Bashk. *taja-* 1, *tajan-* 2; Kirgh. *taja-* 1, *tajan-* 2; Kaz. *taja-* 1; KBalk. *tajan-* 2; KKalp. *taja-* 1, *tajan-* 2; Kum. *taja-* 1, *tajan-* 2; Nogh. *taja-* 1, *tajan-* 2; SUygh. *tajan-* 2; Khak. *tajan-* 2; Shr. *tajan-* 2; Oyr. *taja-* 1, *tajan-* 2; Tv. *dajan-* 2; Tof. *daǰaq* 'staff' (Рас. ФиЛ); Chuv. *tuja* 'staff' [*tajan-* 2 < Tat.]; Yak. *tajā-* 1, *tajan-* 2; Dolg. *tajan-* 2.

◊ VEWT 455, EDT 567, ЭСТЯ 3, 125-127, Stachowski 215. Turk. **daja-k* 'staff' [perhaps rather **dajna-k* because of Tof. and Yak. forms: Yak. *tajax*, *taǰax*, Dolg. *tajax*, *tańak*, see Stachowski 215, 216) > WMong. *tajaɣ*, Kalm. *tajəg* (KW 374-375, TMN 2, 445, Щербак 1997, 152).

PJpn. ***tajə-r- (~ -ua-)** to lean on, rely on (опираться, полагаться на): MJpn. *tajor-*; Tok. *tayór-*; Kyo. *táyór-*; Kag. *tayór-*.

◊ JLTT 766. Original accent not quite clear.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 71. The Mong. form is somewhat dubious here for semantic reasons. Cf. perhaps also MKor. *tái-* 'mast' (< 'stick, prop').

✱**tàjV** big, good: Tung. ***dāji**; Mong. ***daja-**; Turk. ***daja-gu**.

PTung. ***dāji** 1 big 2 size of (1 большой 2 размером с): Evn. *dị̄-* 2; Neg. *dị̄-* 2; Ul. *dāị* 1; Ork. *dāi* 1; Nan. *dāị* 1; Ud. *dī-ŋki* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 190, 202. The antiquity of all listed forms is somewhat dubious: they all may be borrowed < Manchu *daj* < Chinese.

PMong. ***daja-** 1 all 2 big, great (1 весь 2 большой): MMong. *dajir* 2 (SH); WMong. *dajaɣar*, *dajan* 1 (L 223); Kh. *dajār* 1; Kalm. *dajār* 1; Ord. *dajan* 1; S.-Yugh. *dajār* 1 (MGCD 192).

◊ KW 73. Turkm. *dajav* 'huge' may have a Mong. source.

PTurk. ***daja-gu** 1 young, elegant, fastidious man 2 good, nice 3 robust, healthy, strong (man) (1 юный, элегантный, утонченный (человек) 2 хороший, приятный 3 крепкий, здоровый, сильный (о человеке)): Karakh. *tajuq* er 1 (MK); Tur. *dajɨ* (dial.) 2; Turkm. *dajav* 3.

◊ EDT 568.

‖ Дыбо 12. A Western isogloss, rather unreliable: the etymology is acceptable if the TM forms are not < Chinese.

✱**tā́jV** elder in-law, elder relative: Tung. ***dā**; Turk. ***dāj-**; Jpn. ***dia (~ *dai)**.

PTung. ***dā** 1 in-law 2 elder in-law 3 elder brother of father; grandfather (1 свойственник 2 старший свойственник 3 старший брат отца; дед): Evk. *dā* 2; Evn. *dā* 2; Neg. *dāŋta* 1; Man. *dančan* 1; Nan. *dā-mịn* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 183-184, 188-189.

PTurk. ***dāj-** uncle (дядя): OTurk. *taɣaj* 'maternal uncle' (OUygh.); Karakh. *taɣaj* 'maternal uncle' (MK); Tur. *dajɨ*; Az. *dajɨ*; Turkm. *dājɨ*; MTurk. *taɣaji* 'maternal uncle' (Sangl., MA); Uzb. *tɔɣa*; Uygh. *taɣa*; Kirgh. *taj*, *taɣa*; Kaz. *taɣa* (dial.); KKalp. *dajɨ*; Kum. *dajɨ*; SUygh. *taɣɨj*; Khak. *taj*, *tajɨ*, *tāj*; Shr. *tajɨ*; Oyr. *tāj*, *taj*; Tv. *dāj*; Yak. *tāj*.

◊ VEWT 455-456, TMN 3, 196, EDT 474, ЭСТЯ 3, 127-129, Лексика 296. Some forms go back to a suffixed **dāja-kaj*.

PJpn. ***dia (~ *dai)** elder brother or sister, elder relative (старший брат или сестра, старший родственник): OJpn. *je*.

◊ JLTT 392.

‖ Cf. Bur. Olkh. *dajdaj* 'auntie'.

✱**táke (~ d-)** snake, lizard: Tung. ***dakV (?)**; Jpn. ***tə́ká-**; Kor. ***tòirjòŋ**.

PTung. ***dakV** sheat-fish (сом): Neg. *dāxị*; Nan. *doaqa*; Sol. *dāxi*.

◊ TMC 1, 192.

PJpn. ***tə́ká-** lizard (ящерица): MJpn. *tókágè*; Tok. *tòkage*; Kyo. *tòkágè*; Kag. *tokáge*.

◊ JLTT 548. RJ, Tokyo and Kagoshima point to **tə́ká-*, but Kyoto - to **tə̀ká-*. Cf. also Ryukyu: Yonaguni *tùgárà* 'snake'.

PKor. ***tòirjòŋ** lizard (ящерица): MKor. *tòirjòŋ*; Mod. *toroŋ-njoŋ*.

◊ Nam 162, KED 464.

‖ Basically a Kor.-Jpn. isogloss; the Tungus parallel is dubious.

✱**tàkʿu** to attach, touch, reach: Tung. ***dak-sa-**; Mong. ***duku-**; Turk. ***dAk-**; Jpn. ***tùk-**; Kor. ***tàh-**.

PTung. ***dak-sa-** to stick to (прилипать, приставать): Ul. *daqsa-*; Ork. *daqsa-*; Nan. *daqsa-*.

◊ TMC 1, 192.

PMong. ***duku-** to almost reach; to barely pass through (почти достигать; еле пролезать): WMong. *duqu-* (L 278); Kh. *duxa-*; Bur. *duxa-* (dial.) 'to penetrate'.

PTurk. ***dAk-** to bind to, add to (привязывать, прикреплять): OTurk. *taq-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *taq-* (MK - Oghuz); Tur. *tak-*; Gag. *daq-*; Az. *tax-*; Turkm. *daq-*; MTurk. *taq-* (Sangl., MA); Uzb. *taq-*, dial. Xwar. *daq-*; Krm. *taq-*; Tat. *taq-*; Bashk. *taq-*; Kirgh. *taq-*; Kaz. *taq-*; KBalk. *taq-*; KKalp. *taq-*; Kum. *taq-*; Oyr. *taq-* (dial. - Tuba).

◊ VEWT 456, EDT 464, ЭСТЯ 3, 129-130.

PJpn. ***tùk-** to touch, to reach; be attached, attach (трогать, достигать; быть прикрепленным, прикреплять): OJpn. *tuk-*; MJpn. *tùk-*; Tok. *tsúk-*; Kyo. *tsúk-*; Kag. *tsùk-*.

◊ JLTT 774.

PKor. ***tàh-** to touch, reach to (трогать, достигать): MKor. *tàh-*, *tàhi-*; Mod. *tā-* [*tah-*], *tā̃-*.

◊ Liu 197, 204, KED 418, 422.

‖ A secure common Altaic root.

✱**talo** wing, shoulderblade: Mong. ***dalu, *dali**; Jpn. ***tà-i**; Kor. ***tǎr'ái**.

PMong. ***dalu, *dali** 1 shoulderblade 2 wing (1 лопатка 2 крыло): MMong. *ṭālum* (IM) 1, *dalu* (MA) 1; WMong. *dalu* 1, *dali* 2; Kh. *dal* 1, *daĺ* 2; Bur. *dala* 1, *dali* 2; Kalm. *dalə* 1; Ord. *dalu* 1; Mog. *dōlu*; ZM *dɔ̄lū* (2-7a); Dag. *dal* 1 (Тод. Даг. 134), dale 1 (MD 132); Dong. *daleu*, *taleu*, dale 1; Bao. *dali* 1; S.-Yugh. *dālə* 1; Mongr. *dālī* (SM 42), *dalu* (Minghe) 1.

◊ KW 73, MGCD 193. Mong. > Chag. *dalu* etc. (see ЭСТЯ 3, 131-132); > Evk. *dalu* (Poppe 1966, 195, 1974, 121).

PJpn. ***tà-i** hand, arm (рука): OJpn. te; MJpn. *tè*; Tok. *té*; Kyo. *tẽ*; Kag. *té*.

◊ JLTT 545.

PKor. ***tǎr'ái** wing (of a saddle) (крыло (седла)): MKor. *tǎr'ái*; Mod. *tarä*.

◊ Nam 141, KED 382 (deriving the word from *tǎr-* 'hang', which is dubious).

‖ The Japanese word may belong here if it goes back to **tal(V)-gV* (= MKor. *tǎr'ái*, but tone correspondence is irregular).

✱**tál[u]** to be together: Tung. ***dali-**; Mong. ***dali-**; Turk. ***delim**; Jpn. ***túrá-**; Kor. ***tǎrí-, *tǎr-m-**.

PTung. ***dali-** 1 help 2 due to (1 помощь 2 благодаря): Ul. *dalị(n)* 1; Nan. *daḷindo* 2; Ud. *dalindini* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 194.

PMong. ***dali-m** 1 suitable occasion 2 all together (1 подходящий случай 2 все вместе): WMong. *dalim* 1 (L 226); Kh. *dalim* 1; Bur. *dalin* 2; Ord. *dalim* 'maniere, mode'.

PTurk. ***delim** many (много): OTurk. *telim* (OUygh.); Karakh. *telim* (MK); Tur. *delim* (Osm.).

◊ VEWT 472, EDT 499-500.

PJpn. ***túrá-** to go together with, bring as company (идти вместе с, в сопровождении): MJpn. *túrá-*; Tok. *tsùre-*; Kyo. *tsúré-*; Kag. *tsuré-*.

◊ JLTT 775.

PKor. ***tǎrí-** 1 to be together with 2 to be similar (1 быть вместе с 2 быть похожим): MKor. *tǎrí-* 1; Mod. *teri-* 1, *tam-* 2 (orth. *tǎlm-*).

◊ Nam 136, KED 408, 456.

‖ EAS 110, SKE 257, Martin 225. Vocalism is insecure (Kor.-Jpn. point rather to *tólu*).

✱**tálV** to lick: Tung. ***dala-**; Mong. ***dol[u]ɣa-**; Turk. ***dāla-**.

PTung. ***dala-** 1 to lap, swill 2 to feed (animals) (1 лакать 2 кормить (животных)): Evk. *dala-* 1; Evn. *dal-* 1; Neg. *dala-* 1; Ul. *dala-n-* 2; Nan. *dalo-* 2; Orch. *dalau-* 2; Ud. *dala-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 193.

PMong. ***dol[u]ɣa-** to lick (лизать): MMong. *dulom-* (IM), *dula-* (MA); WMong. *doluɣa-*, *dolija-* (L 259); Kh. *dolō-*; Bur. *doĺō-*; Kalm. *dolā-*; Ord. *dolō-*; Mog. ZM *dɔ̄l* (15-6b, 28-12); Dag. *dolō-* (Тод. Даг. 137, MD 137); Dong. *dolu-*; Bao. *dolə-*; S.-Yugh. *dōl-*; Mongr. *dōli-* (SM 59).

◊ KW 94, MGCD 224.

PTurk. ***dāla-** to bite (кусать): Tur. *dala-*; Gag. *dala-*; Az. *dala-*; Turkm. *dāla-*; MTurk. *tala-* (MKypch.: AH, Ettuhf.); Tat. *tala-*; Chuv. *tula-*, recipr. *tola-š-*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 3, 134-136, Ашм. XIV, 120. This root should be strictly distinguished from PT **tāla-* 'to rob', with which it is confused in VEWT 458 and in EDT 492.

‖ EAS 50-51, Poppe 22, 74, Дыбо 13, Мудрак Дисс. 186; TMN 4, 186 ("lautgesetzlich unwahrscheinlich"). A Western isogloss. The Turk. reflex of the root is usually assumed to be **jālga-* 'to lick' - which, however, also matches very well PA **ǯālu* 'saliva, swallow' and should be rather attributed there. In Pre-Turk. we have to postulate a semantic shift 1) 'lick' > 'bite'; 2) 'saliva(te)' > 'lick'.

✱**tǎĺbà** other side, outer side: Tung. ***dalba**; Turk. ***daĺ**; Jpn. ***dəsə̀**; Kor. ***tàrǎ-**.

PTung. ***dalba** 1 side 2 near (1 сторона 2 близко): Evn. *dalbъ* 2; Man. *dalba* 1; SMan. *daləfə*, *daləvə* (2570); Jurch. *dalba-la* (605) 1.

◊ TMC 1, 193.

PTurk. ***daĺ** outer side (наружный, снаружи): OTurk. *taš* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *taš* (MK, KB); Tur. *dɨš*; Gag. *dɨšar*; Az. *dɨšarɨ*; Turkm. *daš*; Sal. *daši* (Kakuk); Khal. *taš*; MTurk. *taš* (Abush., Sangl.); Uzb. *tɔš*; Uygh. *taš*; Krm. *tɨš*; Tat. *tɨš*; Bashk. *tɨš*; Kirgh. *tɨš*; Kaz. *tɨs*; KBalk. *tɨš*; KKalp. *tɨs*; Kum. *tɨš*; Nogh. *tɨs*; SUygh. *tas*; Khak. *tas*; Shr. *tašti* 'exterior side'; Oyr. *tɨš*; Tv. *tɨš*; Chuv. *tol*; Yak. *tas*; Dolg. *tas*.

◊ VEWT 466, EDT 556-557, TMN 2, 511, ЭСТЯ 3, 164-167, Ашм. XIV, 115, Федотов 2, 243-244, Stachowski 218. -i- in some languages is not quite clear.

PJpn. ***dəsə̀** other side (внешняя сторона, другая сторона): OJpn. *joso*; MJpn. *joso*; Tok. *yosó*; Kyo. *yósò*; Kag. *yóso*.

◊ JLTT 578.

PKor. ***tàrǎ-** other (другой): MKor. *tàrǎ-*; Mod. *tarɨ-*.

◊ Nam 129, KED 382.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 76. Jpn. has *-ə- instead of *-a- because of bad compatibility of *a and *ə in PJ.

✱**tàĺbe** harness: Mong. ***delbeg**; Turk. ***duĺa-**; Jpn. ***dəsə̀p-**.

PMong. ***delbeg** reins (вожжи): MMong. *delbeget* (SH); WMong. *delbeg* (L 247); Kh. *delbeg*.

◊ Mong. > Chuv. *tilpxepe*, see Róna-Tas 1971-1972.

PTurk. ***duĺa-** 1 to hobble 2 hobble (1 стреножить 2 путы): Karakh. *tuš* 'a belt buckle' (MK, KB), *tuša-* 1 (KB), *tušaq* 2 (MK); Tur. *duša-* (dial.); Turkm. *dušaq* 2; MTurk. (MKypch.) *tuša-* 1, *tušaq* 2 (AH); Uzb. *tušɔw* 2; Uygh. *čušä-* 1; Tat. *tɨšaw* 2; Bashk. *tɨša-* 1; Kirgh. *tuša-* 1; Kaz. *tusa-* 1; KKalp. *tusa-* 1; Nogh. *tɨsaw* 2; Khak. *tuza-* 1; Shr. *tuža-* 1; Oyr. *tuža-* 1; Tv. *duʹža-* 1; Tof. *duša-* 1; Chuv. *tъʷlъʷ* 2; Yak. *tɨhɨta* 'clothing buckle' (?).

◊ ЭСТЯ 3, 306, EDT 558 (OT *tuš* 'buckle'), 561, 562. Turk. > MMong. *tušaγa*, WMong. *tuša-*, *tusi-* 'hobble', see Clark 1980, 42, Щербак 1997, 159, whence Evk. *tusā* etc., see Doerfer MT 131, Аникин 190.

PJpn. ***dəsə̀p-** 1 to equip 2 equipment (1 облачаться, снаряжаться 2 снаряжение): OJpn. *josop-*, *josop(w)op-* 1, *josopji* 2; MJpn. *jòsòf-*, *jòsòfòf-* 1, *jòsòfi* 2; Tok. *yosố-*, *yosó-* / *yòso-* 1, *yosói* 2; Kyo. *yósố-*, *yósó-* 1, *yósói* 2; Kag. *yosố-*, *yosó-* 1, *yosói* 2.

◊ JLTT 578, 787. Modern dialects reflect also a variant with high tone: it must be secondary, under the influence of **də́sə̀* 'outer side' (interpreted as a compound **də́sə̀ + ə̀p-* 'put clothes on the outer side').

‖ In Turk. one would expect *-ɨ-; the reflex -u- is probably due to the effect of the original labial in -Íb-. Note that some forms (Tat., Bashk., Yak.) actually reflect *-ɨ-, so perhaps for PT one should rather assume here a form like **dɨĺo-*.

✱**tàĺ[o]** mat, mattress: Tung. ***dāli**; Turk. ***döĺe-**.

PTung. ***dāli** mat made of birch-bark (берестяная подстилка): Neg. *dālị*; Ul. *dālị*; Nan. *dālị*; Orch. *dāli*.

◊ TMC 1, 194.

PTurk. ***döĺe-** 1 to spread out (as mat) 2 mat, mattress (1 расстилать (циновку) 2 циновка, подстилка, тюфяк): OTurk. *töše-* 1, *tö̈šek* 2, (?) *tölet* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *töše-* 1, *tö̈šek* 2 (MK); Tur. *döše-* 1, *döšek* 2; Gag. *döše-* 1, *döšek* 2; Az. *döšä-* 1, *döšäk* 2; Turkm. *düše-* 1, *düšek* 2; MTurk. *töše-* 1, *tö̈šek* 2 (Sangl., Abush.); Uzb. *tọšak* 2; Uygh. *tüšäk*, *čüšäk* 2; Krm. *töše-* 1, *tö̈šek* 2; Tat. *tüšə-* 1, *tüšək* 2; Bashk. *tüšə-* 1, *tüšək* 2; Kirgh. *töšö-* 1, *töšök* 2; Kaz. *tösö-* 1 (R); KBalk. *tö̈šek* 2; KKalp. *töse-* 1, *tösek* 2; Kum. *tö̈šek* 2; Nogh. *töse-* 1, *tösek* 2; SUygh. *tösek* 2; Khak. *töze-* 1, *tözek* 2; Shr. *töže-* 1, *töžek*; Oyr. *töžö-* 1, *töžök* 2; Tv. *döže-* 1, *döžek* 2; Tof. *töʹhe-n-* 1, *töʹhek* 2; Chuv. *tüžek* 2.

◊ EDT 494, 561, 563, VEWT 495, TMN 2, 617, ЭСТЯ 3, 333-335.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss. The semantic match is perfect, but front row vocalism in Turkic is unclear (**doĺ-* would be expected).

✱**tǎnŋù** to bind, rope: Tung. ***daŋ-**; Turk. ***daŋ-**; Jpn. ***tùnà**; Kor. ***tan**.

PTung. ***daŋ-** tight, bound tight, stuffed tightly (тугой, плотно набитый): Evk. *daŋama*; Man. *dan* 'trap, snare'.

◊ TMC 1, 196. Cf. also Man. *deŋneǵen* 'strips (on footwear)' (TMC 1, 235).

PTurk. ***daŋ-** to bind together (связывать): Karakh. *taŋ-* (MK); Turkm. *daŋ-*; MTurk. *taŋ-* (Abush., Sangl.); Kirgh. *taŋ-*; Kaz. *taŋ-*; KKalp. *taŋ-*; SUygh. *taŋ-*; Oyr. *taŋ-*; Tv. *doŋ-na-*; Yak. *taŋ-*; Dolg. *taŋ-* 'to put on'.

◊ VEWT 461, EDT 514, ЭСТЯ 3, 145-146, Stachowski 216. Turk. > Kalm. *tan-* 'to plait, knot'.

PJpn. ***tùnà** rope (веревка): OJpn. tuna; MJpn. *tùnà*; Tok. *tsuná*; Kyo. *tsúnà*; Kag. *tsuná*.

◊ JLTT 556.

PKor. ***tan** bundle (связка): MKor. *tan*; Mod. *tān*.

◊ Nam 197, KED 393.

‖ SKE 254-255, ЭСТЯ 3, 146. Cf. **t'úŋi.*

✱**tǎńo** to love, long for: Tung. ***dańa-la-**; Jpn. ***tànuà-**; Kor. ***tǎń-**.

PTung. ***dańa-la-** to joke, mock (шутить, дразнить): Ul. *dańala-*.

◊ TMC 1, 196. Isolated in Ul., but having possible external parallels.

PJpn. ***tànuà-** 1 pleasant, glad 2 to ask (1 приятный, радостный 2 просить): OJpn. *tanwo-si-* 1, *tano-m-* 2; MJpn. *tànwò-si-* 1, *tànò-m-* 2; Tok. *tanoshí-* 1, *tanóm-* 2; Kyo. *tánóshì-* 1, *tánóm-* 2; Kag. *tanoshí-* 1, *tànòm-* 2.

◊ JLTT 763, 841.

PKor. ***tǎń-** to love (любить): MKor. *tǎs-* (*tǎńǎ-*).

◊ Nam 144.

‖ An Eastern isogloss.

✱**tāŋa** shelf: Tung. ***dāŋsa**; Jpn. ***táná**.

PTung. ***dāŋsa** 1 plank 2 saddle shelf 3 leather sole (1 планка 2 полка седла 3 кожаная подметка): Evk. *dānne* 2; Evn. *dāŋrə̣* 1; Man. *daŋnaχan* 3; Ul. *daŋna* 1; Ork. *danda* 2; Nan. *daŋńā* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 196. Shortness in Nanai is unclear.

PJpn. ***táná** shelf (полка): OJpn. tana; MJpn. *táná*; Tok. *tàna*; Kyo. *táná*; Kag. *tána*.

◊ JLTT 541.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss; seems plausible, despite irregular tone correspondence. Cf. Chuv. *tiŋgəl*, *teŋgəl* 'bench'.

✱**tǎŋo** pig: Tung. ***dāŋu-**; Turk. ***doŋuí**; Kor. ***to'a-**.

PTung. ***dāŋu-** a k. of seal (вид тюленя (сивуч)): Neg. *dāŋā*; Ul. *daụŋGar(ị)*; Ork. *dōŋo*, *daụnǯarị*; Orch. *dauŋgai*.

◊ TMC 1, 196.

PTurk. ***doŋuŕ** pig (свинья): OTurk. *toŋuz* (OUygh.); Karakh. *toŋuz* (MK); Tur. *domuz*; Gag. *domuz*; Az. *donuz*; Turkm. *doŋuz*; Sal. *toŋas*; MTurk. *toŋuz* (Sangl.); Uzb. *tọnɣis*; Uygh. *toŋɣuz*; Krm. *toŋɣuz*, *domuz*; Tat. *duŋɣɨz*; Kirgh. *doŋuz*; Kaz. *doŋɨz*; KBalk. *toŋɣuz*; KKalp. *doŋɨz*; Kum. *doŋɣuz*; Nogh. *doŋɨz*; SUygh. *doŋiz*.

◊ VEWT 488, EDT 527, ЭСТЯ 3, 267-268, TMN 2, 585-586.

PKor. ***to'a-** pig (свинья): Mod. *twā̄ǯi*.

◊ KED 496. The form is not phonetically deducible from MKor. *tòt* (q.v.) and must represent a different root.

‖ SKE 272, EAS 141, Дыбо 9.

✸**tapV** to hurry, gallop: Tung. ***dab-**; Mong. ***dab-**; Turk. ***dabra-**.

PTung. ***dab-** mettled (of a horse) (ретивый, рьяный (о коне)): Man. *dabdali*, *dabduri*.

◊ TMC 1, 184. Attested only in Manchu, with parallels in Turk. and Mong.

PMong. ***dab-** 1 to spur on a horse 2 to hurry along, gallop 3 to advance 4 to attack (1 пришпоривать коня 2 скакать, спешить 3 продвигаться 4 нападать): MMong. *dobtul-* (MA) 2; WMong. *dabi-* 1, *dabki-* 2 (L 212), *dabsi-* (L 213); Kh. *davi-* 1, *davxi-* 2, *davši-* 3, *dovtlo-* 2, 4; Bur. *dabxi-* 2; Kalm. *dabki-* 2 (СЯОС); Ord. *dabši-* 1; S.-Yugh. *dabšil-* 3, *dabtal-* 2; Mongr. *debši-* 3.

◊ MGCD 186, 188.

PTurk. ***dabra-** to hasten, be in a hurry (спешить): OTurk. *tavra-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *tavra-* (MK); Tur. *davran-*; Khak. *tabɨra-*; Shr. *tabɨraq* 'quickly'; Tof. *dīra-q* 'quick'.

◊ ЭСТЯ 3, 112-114, EDT 443. Turkm. *dābɨra-* is a result of contamination with *dābala-* 'to trample' (v. sub **tā́pʿV).*

‖ ЭСТЯ 3, 114. A Western isogloss.

✸**tā́pʿV** to stamp, press: Tung. ***dap-**; Mong. ***dabta-**; Turk. ***dāp-**.

PTung. ***dap-** to flatten, press (сплющивать, прижимать): Evk. *dapča-*; Ork. *dapāw-*.

◊ TMC 1, 197-198.

PMong. ***dabta-** to forge, hammer (ковать, молотить): MMong. *dabta-* (SH) ; *dabši-* 'to knock, hit' (SH); WMong. *dabta-* (L 213); Kh. *davta-*; Bur. *dabta-*; Kalm. *dawt-* KPC 175; Ord. *dabta-*; Dag. *dabete-* (MD 131); S.-Yugh. *dapta-* (MGCD 186).

◊ Mong. > Kirgh. *tapta-* etc.; Evk. *dapta-* etc., Doerfer MT 101.

PTurk. ***dāp-** to trample (топтать): Karakh. *tabrɨ-* 'to jump about (about a camel)' (MK); Turkm. *dābala-* 'to trample' (of a camel), *dābɨra-* 'to ride, stamp'; Tat. *tapa-* (dial.); Bashk. *tapa-*; Kaz. *tapa-*; KKalp. *tapɨlda-*; Oyr. *tabar-* 'to fall upon'; Yak. *tabɨj-* 'to hit with front hooves' (of a horse); Dolg. *tabɨn-* 'to scratch with a hoof'.

◊ EDT 443, ЭСТЯ 3, 111-112, Stachowski 214. The Tat., Kaz., Bashk. and KKalp. reflect a variant *dapa- (or perhaps expressive *dāppa-, to account for the lack of voicing -p- > -b- after a long vowel).

‖ Poppe 104, Menges 1982, 105, Дыбо 13. A Western isogloss. There exists also a not quite reliable variant *t'abi id. (Mong. *tab* 'clinch, rivet'; TM *tabi- 'to forge' (TMC 2, 149, with yet another variant *tabi-ti- > *tapti- / *tipti- id., see ibid. and TMC 2, 186).

✱**tara** swelling, hardening, tumour: Tung. ***darga**; Mong. ***dar-**; Jpn. ***tari**.

PTung. ***darga** 1 tumour, growth (of neck glands) 2 throat, larynx (1 опухоль (шейных желез) 2 гортань): Evk. *dargā* 1; Evn. *dargъ̣* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 199.

PMong. ***dar-** to become stiff, hard or solid; to become rough, uneven, hard (затвердевать, огрубевать): WMong. *daraji-*, *darsaji-* (L 232, 233); Kh. *daraj-*, *darsaj-*.

PJpn. ***tari** tumour (опухоль): OJpn. *tari*.

‖ The root is not widely attested, but seems quite reliable.

✱**tăra** a k. of plant, reed: Tung. ***daragan**; Mong. ***darki**; Turk. ***dạri-g**; Kor. ***tār**.

PTung. ***daragan** 1 quitch 2 reed, cane (1 пырей 2 камыш): Man. *darGan* 2; Nan. *darā* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 198-199.

PMong. ***darki** brushwood (заросли, валежник): WMong. *darki* (L 233); Kh. *darxi*; Bur. *darxi*.

PTurk. ***dạri-g** millet (просо): OTurk. *tarɨɣ* (OUygh.); Karakh. *tarɨɣ* (MK); Tur. *darɨ*; Gag. *darɨ*; Az. *darɨ*; Turkm. *darɨ*; Sal. *darɨ*; MTurk. (MKypch.) *tarɨ* (CCum., AH); Uzb. *tariq*; Uygh. *teriq*; Krm. *tarɨ*, *darɨ*; Tat. *tarɨ*; Kirgh. *tarū*; KBalk. *tarɨ*; KKalp. *tarɨ*; Kum. *tari*; SUygh. *tarɨɣ*; Khak. *tarɨɣ*; Shr. *tarā* (possibly < Mong.); Oyr. *taral* 'angelica' (?); Tv. *tarā* (possibly < Mong.); Tof. *darā* (possibly < Mong.); Chuv. *tɨrъ* 'corn'.

◊ VEWT 464, EDT 537-538, TMN 2, 480-482, ЭСТЯ 3, 157, Лексика 456-457. Turk. > Hung. *dara* 'grain, groats', see Gombocz 1912.

PKor. ***tār** reed (тростник): MKor. *tār*; Mod. *tāl*.

◊ Liu 198, KED 401.

‖ Lee 1958, 107 (TM: Kor.), Дыбо 10. PT *dạri-g is usually regarded as derived < *TArɨ- 'to cultivate (ground)' (see sub *t'i̯òra) which is not excluded.

✱**tȁro** to stretch, spread: Tung. ***dār-**; Mong. ***dar-**; Turk. ***dar-**; Kor. ***tăr-**.

PTung. ***dār-** 1 to stretch 2 fathom (1 растягивать 2 сажень): Evk. *dār* 2; Evn. *dār* 2; Neg. *dā* 2; Man. *da* 2, *dara-* 1; Ul. *dā(l)* 2; Ork. *dā(ra)* 2; Nan. *dā(r)* 2; Orch. *dā* 2; Ud. *dā* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 198.

PMong. ***darba-** 1 to gape, open wide 2 width of the palm of the hand, width of the finger (1 зиять, широко раскрывать 2 ширина ладони, пальца): WMong. *darbaji-* 1 (L 232), *daruma* 2 (L 235); Kh. *darvaj-* 1, *daram* 2; Bur. *darbaj-* 1; Kalm. *darwǟ-* 1; Ord. *darwǟ-* 1; Dag. *darbalǯi-* 1 (Тод. Даг. 135), *darbəi-* 1 (MGCD 202).

◊ KW 79.

PTurk. ***dar-** 1 to go apart, scatter, spread 2 to branch, be forked 3 branch 4 claw 5 finger (1 расходиться, рассеиваться, распространяться 2 растопыриваться, разветвляться 3 ветвь 4 лапа 5 палец): Karakh. *tarmaq* 4, *tarmaqla-* 2, *tar-* 1 (MK); Tur. *darga-* 1 (dial.); Az. *darma-daɣɨn* 'scattered'; Turkm. *daryа-* 1; MTurk. *tar-* 'to put an end to smth.' (Qutb); Uzb. *tarvaj-* 2, *tarmaq* 3; Uygh. *tarmaq* 3; Tat. *tar-* 1 (dial.), *tarmaq* 3; Bashk. *tarba-* 2, *tarmaq* 3; Kirgh. *tarba-* 2, *tarmaq* 3; Kaz. *tarmaq* 3; KKalp. *tarba-* 2, *tarmaq* 3; Kum. *tarmaq* 3; Nogh. *tarma-* 2, *tarmaq* 3; SUygh. *tarmaq* 5; Khak. *tarba-* 2; Tv. *darba-* 2; Chuv. *torat* 3; Yak. *tarbax* 5, *tarɣä-* 1; Dolg. *targat-* 1 (tr.).

◊ VEWT 463, EDT 529, ЭСТЯ 3, 150-151, Дыбо 312, Лексика 256, Федотов 2, 251, Stachowski 218. Widely spread modern Kypchak forms like Kirgh. *tara-*, *tarqa-* 'to become scattered' etc. are most probably < Mong. *tara-*, *tarqa-* (see under **t'ájri*), since the (rather scanty) Oghuz evidence points to *d-, so Clauson (EDT 529) may be right in thinking that there is no etymological connection between PT **dar-* and Mong. *tara-*, *tarqa-* 'disperse'. It is also probable that the common Turkic derivatives **darma-* 'to scrape, rake up; to scatter, disperse in different directions', as well as **dara-* 'to comb' (ЭСТЯ 3, 147-149, Stachowski 217) can belong here - although both roots tend to contaminate actively with PT **dirŋa-* 'to scrape' (q. v. sub **čịŭru).*

PKor. ***tăr-** to pull (тянуть, растягивать): MKor. *tărăi-*; Mod. *tari-* (arch.).

◊ Nam 135, KED 383.

‖ Лексика 256, Lee 1958, 107 (Kor.-TM). Cf. **t'ájri*.

✱**tár̆V** follow, follow in a row: Tung. ***dā-, *dara-n**; Mong. ***daraɣa**; Turk. ***dāri-**.

PTung. ***dā-, *dara-n** 1 to follow, chase, track 2 row, in a row (1 выслеживать, преследовать 2 ряд, в ряд): Evk. *dā-* 1, *daran* 2; Evn. *dač-* 1, *darān* 2; Neg. *dā-* 1, *dajan* 2; Man. *dara-* 1, *doran* 2; Ul. *dačị-* 1, *darịn* 2; Ork. *dā-* 1, *daram* 2; Nan. *dāčị-* 1, *darị̄* 2; Ud. *dǟ* 2 (Корм. 226).

◊ TMC 1, 184, 198-199. Cf. also PTM **de(ri)-* 'to arrange in a row' (TMC 1, 230).

PMong. ***daraɣa-** after, following, in a row (после, следуя за, в ряд): MMong. *darun* (SH), cf. *daruj-dur* (HY 55) 'now, at this moment'; WMong. *daraɣa* (L 231), *daruɣa*, *daru*; Kh. *darā*, *daram*; Bur. *darā*; Kalm. *darān*; Ord. *darādaχi* 'the one who is after'; Dag. *darā*; S.-Yugh. *darā-lal*; Mongr. *darla-* 'laisser après soi, instituer' (SM 46).

◊ KW 77, MGCD 199.

PTurk. ***dāri-** to touch, fall upon, attack (дотрагиваться, нападать): Tur. (Osm.) *dari-* (14 c.); Az. *daraš-*; Turkm. *dāra-*; MTurk. *dari-* (Pav. C.); Tat. *tari-*; Bashk. *tari-*; Yak. *tārij-*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 3, 149. Despite VEWT 133, hardly a mongolism (but Kaz., Nogh., KKalp. *dari-* are probably < Mong. *dayari-*). One should perhaps link also **dAri-n-*, **dAri-l-* 'to become angry, offended' (ЭСТЯ 3, 161-162 - pass. or medial forms, i.e. *'to be touched, approached').

‖ EAS 51, Poppe 22, 79. A Western isogloss. The Jpn. reflex could have merged with **čiúŕu* q. v. TM **daran* can be borrowed < Mong. (see Doerfer MT 73), but **dā-* (with preservation of length in a monosyllabic stem after the loss of -r-) is certainly genuine.

✱**tḗ** to say, sound: Tung. ***de(b)-**; Mong. ***dawu-**; Turk. ***dē-**.

PTung. ***de(b)-** 1 song 2 to shamanize 3 tune (2 песня 2 камлать 3 напев): Evk. *dewej* 1, *dew-ʒeki-* 2; Man. *dejeŋgu* 3; Orch. *dā̃-saŋgo* 'chorus in shamanizing'.

◊ TMC 1, 228, 230.

PMong. ***dawu-** sound, voice, song (звук, голос, песня): MMong. *dau'un* (HY 42), *dau'u* (SH), *daulaxči* 'singer' (HY 30), *da'ū* (IM); WMong. *dayu(n)*, *dayuu*, *duu* (L 219, 278); Kh. *dū(n)*; Bur. *dū(n)*; Kalm. *dūn*; Ord. *dū(n)*; Mog. *daun* (Weiers), *döün*; ZM *doun* (5-6a); Dag. *dau* (Тод. Даг. 135, MD 133); Dong. *don, duan* 'voice, song'; Bao. *doŋ*, dun; S.-Yugh. *dūn*; Mongr. *dū* (SM 62), *dau* (Minghe).

◊ KW 104, MGCD 233. Mong. *dayu-la-* > Evk. *dawlā* etc., see Doerfer MT 61.

PTurk. ***dē-** to say (сказать, говорить): OTurk. *te-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *te-* (MK, KB) 1; Tur. *de-*; Gag. *de-*; Az. *de-*; Turkm. *dī-*; Sal. *dij-*; MTurk. *di-* (Abush.), *te-* (MA); Uzb. *de-*; Uygh. *dä-*; Krm. *de-*; Tat. *di-*; Bashk. *ti-*; Kirgh. *te-*; Kaz. *de-*; KBalk. *de-*; KKalp. *de-*; Kum. *de-*; Nogh. *de-*; SUygh. *di-*; Khak. *tə-*; Shr. *te-*; Oyr. *de-*; Tv. *de-*; Tof. *de-*; Chuv. *te-*; Yak. *die-*; Dolg. *die-*.

◊ VEWT 467-8, EDT 433-4, ЭСТЯ 3, 221-224, Stachowski 79. Kypchak and some other languages preserve voiced d- due to the word's grammaticalized usage.

‖ A Western isogloss. One of several monosyllabic verbal roots.

✱**tèbú** pelvis, lower part of body: Tung. ***debu(kī)**; Jpn. ***tùmpì**.

PTung. ***debu(kī)** 1 pelvis 2 lower part of back 3 side (1 таз 2 нижняя часть спины, круп 3 бок): Evk. *duwukī*, *dewukī* 1, 2; Evn. *dewki* 1, 2; Neg. *dōxī*, *dewexī* 1, 2; Man. du, dū 1; Ul. *dewe* 1; Ork. *dewe* 1, 2; Nan. *dewe* 1; Ud. *deuxi* 1; Sol. *debexi*, *dewexi* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 218.

PJpn. ***tùmpì** 1 vulva 2 arse (зад): MJpn. *tùbì* 1.

◊ JLTT 552. The meaning 'arse' is attested in Ryukyu dialects (Shuri *čibi* etc., see ibid.).

‖ A Tung.-Jap. isogloss.

✱**tēga** high; top, mountain: Tung. ***deg-**; Mong. ***deɣe-**; Turk. ***dāg**; Jpn. ***tàkà-**; Kor. ***tə-**.

PTung. ***deg-** 1 to fly (v.) 2 bird (1 лететь 2 птица): Evk. *deg-* 1, *degi* 2; Evn. *deɣ-* 1, *deɣi* 2; Neg. *deɣ-* 1, *deɣī* 2; Man. *deje-* 1, *dei* 2; SMan. *dei-*, *dii-* 'to fly' (2300); Ul. *degde-* 1; Nan. *degde-* 1; Orch. *deili-* 1; Ud. *dieli-* 1; Sol. *degelī-* 1, *degī* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 228-229. TM > Dag. *degī* 'bird' (Тод. Даг. 136).

PMong. ***deɣe-** 1 above, up 2 to fly 3 to jump, leap (1 наверх, наверху 2 лететь 3 прыгать, перепрыгивать): MMong. *de'ere* (HY 50, SH), *dīrä* (IM), *dirǎ* (MA) 1; WMong. *deɣe-* 1 (L 242, 243), *degde-* 2 (L 241), *degüli-* 3 (L 245); Kh. *dē-* 1, *degde-* 2, *dülle-* 3; Bur. *dēr(e)* 1, *degde-* 2; Kalm. *dē-* 1, *degdə-* 2; Ord. *dē-* 1, *degde-* 2; Mog. *dērä* 'auf, oben', *dēkši* 'aufwarts, mehr, besser'; ZM *dei-ra* (7-1b), *dei-du* (24-3b) 'above', *dekšə-* (41-2) 'to come up'; Dag. *dēre* 1, *derede-*, *degede-* 2 (MD 135), *dē-* (Тод. Даг. 136), *derd-* 1, (MGCD, Тод. Даг. 136) *dēr*, *derde-*; Dong. *ʒierə*, *ʒiedu*; Bao. *de-Goŋ* 1; S.-Yugh. *dīre*, *dīd*; Mongr. *dəre* (SM 49), *dē-di* (SM 50), *te-šə* (SM 418) 1, *diginē-* 'sauter sur un pied' (SM 51), *dülī-* 'sauter, bondir, danser, battre (coeur)' (SM 56).

◊ MGCD 206, 211, KW 84, 91.

PTurk. ***dāg** mountain (гора): OTurk. *taɣ* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *taɣ* (MK, KB); Tur. *daɣ*; Gag. *dā*; Az. *daɣ*; Turkm. *dāG*; Sal. *dāɣ*; Khal. *tāɣ*; MTurk. *taɣ* (MA), *taɣ*, *ṭaɣ* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *tɔɣ*; Uygh. *taɣ*; Krm. *daɣ*; Tat. taw; Bashk. *tau*; Kirgh. *tō*; Kaz. *taw*; KBalk. *tau*; KKalp. *taw*; Kum. *taw*; Nogh. *taw*; SUygh. *taɣ*; Khak. *taɣ*; Shr. *taɣ* (Верб.); Oyr. *tū*; Tv. *daɣ*; Tof. *daɣ*, *taɣ*; Chuv. *tu*; Yak. *tɨa* 'taiga, wood'; Dolg. *tɨa* 'land, tundra'.

◊ VEWT 454, TMN 2, 439-440, EDT 463, ЭСТЯ 3, 117-118, Лексика 94, 111, Stachowski 236.

PJpn. ***tàkà-** 1 high 2 mountain (1 высокий 2 гора): OJpn. *taka-* 1, take 2; MJpn. *tàkà-* 1; Tok. *taká-* 1, *také* 2; Kyo. *tákà-* 1, *tákè* 2; Kag. *taká-* 1, *také* 2.

◊ JLTT 539, 841.

PKor. ***tə-** still more, moreover (еще больше, сверх): Mod. *tə*.

◊ KED 439.

‖ Poppe 58, 89 (Mong.-Tung.; on Turk. **jęg-* see under **di̯ògе*), SKE 260, EAS 51, 145, Цинциус 1972, 4 (but TM **dū̃* 'top, above' cannot belong here for phonetic reasons), Miller 1985, 143, АПиПЯЯ 283. TM cannot be borrowed from Mong., despite Doerfer MT 20, Rozycki 58. Korean parallels for Jpn. *taka-*, take in Martin 236 are improbable; but cf. also Kor. *thjə* 'up' in compounds, see SKE 48; another old derivative may be Kor. *tòt-* 'to rise' = Mong. *degde-*]. A different etymology proposed for PT **dāg* is the comparison with WMong. *tajiɣa* 'forest' (see e.g. VEWT 454). The etymology as such cannot be accepted (because of

the wrong correspondence PT *d- : Mong. t-), but Turkic may in fact have merged two originally different roots - which would explain an abnormal correspondence of Turkic long vowel to PJ low tone.

✱**tègà (~ -o)** mushroom: Tung. ***degunŋēkte**; Jpn. ***tàkài**.

PTung. ***degunŋē-kte** mushroom (гриб): Evk. *deɣinŋēkte*; Evn. *dewunŋit*; Neg. *dewuńŋekte*; Ork. *dewŋekte*; Orch. *deuŋekte*.

◊ TMC 1, 229-230. Evk. > Dolg. *deginmekte* (see Stachowski 78).

PJpn. ***tàkài** mushroom (гриб): OJpn. *tak(j)e*; MJpn. *tàkè*; Tok. *take*.

◊ JLTT 539.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss.

✱**tegá (/*tʹegá)** round: Mong. ***tög/körig**; Turk. ***deg- / *dög- / *dog-**; Jpn. ***tánka**; Kor. ***thɨ- / *thə-**.

PMong. ***tögörig** round (круглый): MMong. *togarik* (HY 53), *togorigai* (SH), *tugärig* (MA); WMong. *tögörig*, (L 832) *tögürig*, *tögerig*, *tügürig*; Kh. *tögrög*, *dugarig*, *dügreg*; Bur. *tüxerig*; Kalm. *tögərəg*, *duɣərɣə*; Ord. *tögörök*; Dag. *tukurin*, (Тод. Даг. 169) *tukuŕen*; S.-Yugh. *tögörög*.

◊ KW 406, MGCD 236. Cf. also *tögüɣe* (Kalm. *tögē*) 'wheel, circle' (KW 405).

PTurk. ***deg- / *dög- / *dog-** round (круглый): OTurk. *tegirmi* (OUygh.); Karakh. *tegirme* (MK); Tur. *degirmi* 'circle'; Az. *däjirmi*; Turkm. *tegelek*, *toGalaq*; MTurk. *tekirme*, *tekirmi* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *tụgarak*; Uygh. *düglək*; Krm. *togerek*; Tat. *tügɛrɛk*; Bashk. *tüŋärək*; Kirgh. *tegerek*; KBalk. *tögerek*; KKalp. *döŋgelek*; Nogh. *tögerek*; SUygh. *doGɨr*; Khak. *toɣɨlax*; Shr. *toɣalaq*; Oyr. *toɣoloq*; Tv. *tögerik*; Tof. *tõrej*; Chuv. *tə^{w}gə^{w}r* 'mirror'; Yak. *tüörem* (poet.) 'round', *tier-* 'to turn round'; Dolg. *tier-* 'to turn round'.

◊ ЭСТЯ 3, 176-179, 281-282, Stachowski 222, 227. One of several expressive common Turkic roots meaning 'round' and displaying phonetic irregularities. Some modern Turkic forms (not listed above) are probably borrowed from Mongolian: cf., in particular, Yak. *tögür*, *tögürük*, Dolg. *tögürük* (> Evk. *tuɣuruk*). Cf. also Лексика 400 (with forms reflecting PT **teker*). Bulg. > Hung. *tükör* 'mirror', see MNyTESz 3, 1010.

PJpn. ***tánka** hoop, rim (обруч): Tok. *tagá*; Kyo. *tágá*; Kag. *tága*.

◊ JLTT 537.

PKor. ***thɨ- / *thə-** 1 reel, spool 2 to spin, turn round (1 катушка 2 крутить): MKor. *thəi* 1, *thɨr-* 2; Mod. *the* 1, *thɨl-* 2.

◊ Liu 713, 718, KED 1704, 1724.

‖ Poppe 14, АПиПЯЯ 40-41, 285 (with some confusion of this root and **tʹòŋke* q.v.). An expressive root with some violation of correspondences; but borrowing in Mong. from Turkic is hardly acceptable, despite Щербак 1997, 154. In Mong., a variant **toɣ-* may be present in **toɣuri-* 'go round' (MMong. (SH) *to'ori-*, KW 408, Dag. *tōri-*; > Man. *torgi-*, TMC 2, 204), *tojira-* id.; a variant *dug- in WMong. *duɣuj*, Khalkha *dugui*, Kalm. *duɣu* 'wheel, ring' (L 271, KW 101), whence Tur.

dial. *toγaj*, Kum., KBalk. *toγaj* 'ring, part of wheel hoop'. Cf. also PA **t'ŏk'V* 'curved', also a possible source of contaminations.

✱**teg[u]** to make knots, tie to a hook: Tung. ***deg-**; Mong. ***degeɣe**; Turk. ***düg-**.

PTung. ***deg-** 1 to tie with a rope 2 hanger (for drying fish) 3 ski rope (1 перевязывать веревкой 2 вешала (для сушки рыбы) 3 ремешок (лыжного крепления)): Ork. *dēg-* 1; Nan. *degbimu* 2; Ud. *degumu* 2, *degseγi* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 230.

PMong. ***degeɣe < (*deɣe-ɣe)** 1 hook 2 to be hooked up, suspended 2 to hang up, suspend (1 крюк 2 быть на крюке, подвешенным 3 подвешивать): WMong. *degege* 1 (L 242), *degüǯi-* 2, *degüǯi-le-* 3 (L 246); Kh. *degē* 1, *dū̃že-* 3; Bur. *degē* 1, *dū̃žel-* 3; Kalm. *degē*1, *dū̃ǯ̣l-* 3; Ord. *degē*; Dag. *degē* (Тод. Даг. 136) 1; S.-Yugh. *degē* 1; Mongr. *dege boGodi* 'clopin-clopant', *dū̃ʒəle-* 'pendre, suspendre, se pendre' (SM 56).

◊ KW 85, MGCD 212. Mong. > Evk. *degē* etc., see Doerfer MT 131, Rozycki 57.

PTurk. ***düg-** 1 to tie in a knot, make a loop 2 button 3 knot (1 завязывать узлом, делать петлю 2 пуговица 3 узел): OTurk. *tüg-* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *tüg-* (MK) 1; Tur. *düj-*; Gag. *dū̃-m-ük* 3; Az. *düj-*; Turkm. *düv-* 1; Khal. *tīin* 3; MTurk. *tüg-* 1 (Sangl.); Uzb. *tug-* 1; Uygh. *tüg-* 1; Krm. *tüjüm* 3; Tat. *töj-mä* 2; Bashk. *töjön* 3; Kirgh. *tüj-* 1; Kaz. *tüj-* 1; KBalk. *tüj-* 1; KKalp. *tüj-* 1; Kum. *tüj-* 1; Nogh. *tüj-* 1; Khak. *tüŋme* 2; Shr. *tū̃n* 3; Oyr. *tüj-* 1; Tv. *düj-* 1; Tof. *düγ-* 1; Yak. *tü-m-* 1, *timex* 2; Dolg. *tümük* 'knot', *timēk*, *timek* 2.

◊ EDT 477, ЭСТЯ 3, 307-308, VEWT 503, Stachowski 223. On Mong. loans see SKE 264, TMN 3, 203.

‖ A Western isogloss. Turkic -ü- is quite strange here (< **degü-*?), so the Turkic match is somewhat dubious.

✱**tḗla** to become loose, faint, tire: Tung. ***del(u)-**; Turk. ***dāl-**; Jpn. ***tar(a)-**; Kor. ***tarh-**.

PTung. ***del(u)-** 1 to become faint, dissolve 2 lose consciousness (1 замирать (о звуке), рассеиваться (о дыме) и т.п. 2 терять сознание): Evn. *dēl-* 1; Nan. *delu-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 231.

PTurk. ***dāl-** to lose strength, to faint, lose consciousness (терять силы, сознание): OTurk. *tal-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *talγan* ig 'epilepsy' (MK); Tur. *dal-*; Turkm. *dāl-* (dial.); MTurk. *tal-* (Abush., Sangl.); Uzb. *tɔl-*; Uygh. *tal-*; Krm. *tal-*; Tat. *tal-*; Bashk. *tal-*; Kirgh. *tal-*, *talɨ-*; Kaz. *tal-*; KBalk. *tal-*; KKalp. *tal-*; Kum. *tal-*; Nogh. *tal-*; Shr. *tal-*; Oyr. *tal-*; Tv. *dal-*; Tof. *dal-*; Yak. *tāl-*.

◊ VEWT 457, EDT 490, ЭСТЯ 3, 133-134.

PJpn. ***tar(a)-** 1 to tire 2 loose, lax, tired 3 to become loose, lax (1 уставать 2 расслабленный, усталый 3 расслабляться): MJpn. *tara-* 1, 3, *taru-* 2; Tok. *darú-* 2, *tàrum-* 3; Kyo. *dárù-* 2, *tárúm-* 3; Kag. *darú-* 2, *tarúm-* 3.

◊ JLTT 764, 847. An expressive root with irregular voicing and somewhat unclear accent correspondences.

PKor. ***tarh-** to tire, wear away (уставать, изнашиваться): MKor. *tarh-*; Mod. *tal-* [*talh-*].

◊ Nam 200, KED 408.

‖ A good common Altaic verbal root.

✱**télki** decking, duck-boards: Tung. ***delkē-**; Mong. ***deleg**; Turk. ***Tel**; Jpn. ***(d)íká(n)ta**; Kor. ***tɨ̀rkuə̀r**.

PTung. ***delkē(n)** wooden platform for storing (помост, полка для хранения продуктов): Evk. *delkēn*; Neg. *delkē-xen*; Ul. *de-su*; Ork. *delke(n)*; Nan. *deke*; Orch. *deke(n)*; Ud. *deke(n)*.

◊ TMC 1, 233.

PMong. ***deleg** cross planks in a boat (дощатый настил в лодке): WMong. *deleg* (L 248); Kh. *deleg*.

PTurk. ***Tel** decking, covering (настил): Turkm. *telär* 'canopy'; MTurk. *telek* 'a double ceiling for storing goods' (Pav. C.); KKalp. *telek* 'crib, barn'; Yak. *tel* 'a mat, plank covering in a sleigh' (Пек. 3, 2619).

◊ VEWT 471. Yak. *telgē-* 'to lay, put in a row', Tuva *delgeg* 'shop window; exhibition' may be < Mong. *delge-* 'раскладывать, выставлять'

PJpn. ***(d)íká(n)ta** raft (плот): OJpn. *ikada*; MJpn. *íkáda*; Tok. *ìkada*; Kyo. *íkádá*; Kag. *ikáda*.

◊ JLTT 422.

PKor. ***tɨ̀rkuə̀r** 1 raft 2 stump (1 плот 2 пень): MKor. *tɨ̀rkuə̀r* 1, 2; Mod. *tɨŋgəl* 2.

◊ Nam 174, KED 546.

‖ Jpn. and Kor. may reflect a common derivative **télki-rV* (although the source of -u- in the second syllable in Korean is not quite clear). Most languages point to the original meaning 'board covering', probably 'duck-boards in a boat or raft' (with a secondary development > 'plank covering in a sleigh' in Turkic.

✱**tēlo** wild, mad, dumb: Tung. ***dele-**; Turk. ***dḗl(b)ü-**.

PTung. ***dele-** 1 wild 2 dumb (1 дикий, одичавший (о животных) 2 тупой, тупеть): Evk. *del(e)mī* 1; Evn. *delmi* 1, (?) *dīl-* 2; Neg. *delemi* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 206, 233.

PTurk. ***dḗl(b)ü-** mad, stupid (сумасшедший, глупый): OTurk. *telve* (OUygh.); Karakh. *telve* (MK, KB); *telü* (MK-Oghuz); Tur. *deli*; Gag. *deli*; Az. *däli*; Turkm. *dǟli*, *telbe*; MTurk. *telve* (Abush., Sangl.); Uzb. *telba*; Uygh. *tälvä* 'sporty'; Krm. *deli*, *teli*; Tat. *tile*, (KCTT) *tilbä*; Bashk. tile,

tilbä ‘stagger’; Kirgh. *teli*; *delbe* ‘stagger’; Kaz. *delbe* ‘stagger’; KBalk. *teli*; KKalp. *delbe* ‘stagger’; Kum. *deli*; Nogh. *teli*; *delbe* ‘stagger’; Tof. *telemir*, *teleŋ*; Chuv. *tiler-* ‘to become mad, enraged’.

◊ EDT 493, VEWT 472, ЭСТЯ 3, 214-216, TMN 3, 660-662. The forms meaning ‘stagger’ reveal some irregularities (notably, voiced d- in some Kypchak forms), perhaps due to interdialectal borrowing.

‖ Дыбо 12. A Turk.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**telV** to split, strike: Tung. ***del-**; Mong. ***dele-**; Turk. ***del-**.

PTung. ***del-** 1 to split, divide 2 be divided (1 раскалывать, разделять 2 разделяться): Evk. *delki-* 1; Evn. *delkъ-* 1, *deldъk-* 1; Man. *dende-* 1, *delxe-* 2; SMan. *dendə-* 1 (2622) 1200 1713; Jurch. *del-xe* (390) 2, *deN-de-* (739) ‘to understand’; Nan. *delki-* 1; Ud. *deki-* 1 (Корм. 229), *dekte-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 232, 233.

PMong. ***dele-** to strike, beat, hit (бить, ударять): MMong. *delet-* (HY 38), *dolät-* (IM), *dilät-* (MA); WMong. *deled-*, *deles-* (L 248, 249); Kh. *dele-*, *delde-*, *delse-*; Bur. *deli-*; Kalm. *del-*.

◊ KW 86.

PTurk. ***del-** 1 to bore through 2 to cut 3 to open (1 продырявливать 2 резать): OTurk. *tel-* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *tel-* 1 (MK); Tur. *del-* 2; Gag. *del-* 1; Az. *däl-* 2; MTurk. *tel-* 1 (Sangl., Abush.); Krm. *del-* 1; SUygh. *telɨk* ‘opening’; Tof. *del-* 1; Yak. *tel-* 3.

◊ VEWT 471, EDT 490, ЭСТЯ 3, 185-186, TMN 2, 657.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**teĺV ?** female: Tung. ***delku-**; Turk. ***diĺi**.

PTung. ***delku-** сватать (to arrange marriage): Nan. *delxu-*.

◊ TMC 1, 233.

PTurk. ***diĺi** 1 female 2 woman (1 самка 2 женщина): OTurk. *tiši* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *tiši* (MK, KB) 1; Tur. *diši* 1; Gag. *diši* 1; Az. *diši* 1; Khal. *tiši* 1; MTurk. *tiši* (Abush., Sangl.) 1; Krm. *diši*, *tiši* 1; KBalk. *tiši* 1; Kum. *tiši* 1; SUygh. *tese* 1; Khak. *təzə* 1; Shr. *tiži* 1; Oyr. *tiži* 1; Tv. *diži* 1; Yak. *tɨhɨ* 2; Dolg. *tɨhɨ* 2.

◊ VEWT 482, EDT 560-561, ЭСТЯ 3, 244-245, Лексика 315, Stachowski 237.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss; dubious because of very scarce attestation in TM.

✱**tḗma** in vain, (scarcely) sufficient: Tung. ***dem-**; Mong. ***demej, *dömü-**; Turk. ***dēmin**; Jpn. ***támá**; Kor. ***tāmǎi-n**.

PTung. ***dem-** trick, roguery (чудачество, шалость): Man. *demun*.

◊ TMC 1, 234. Attested only in Manchu, but having probable external parallels (“trick, eccentricity” < “trying in vain”).

PMong. ***demej** in vain (напрасно): WMong. *demei* (L 250); Kh. *demij*; Bur. *demɨ*; Kalm. *demir-* ‘to become worse than smth.’; Ord. *demī*; Dag. *demī* (Тод. Даг. 136).

◊ KW 87, 98. Mong. > Evk. *demej* 'in vain' etc. (TMC 1, 234), see Doerfer MT 96; > Turk. Tel., Bar. *temej* (VEWT 472).

PTurk. ***dēmin** 1 enough 2 immediately (1 достаточно 2 немедленно, только что): OTurk. *temin* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *temin* (MK) 2; Tur. *demin* 2; Gag. *demin* 2; Khal. *tīemi* 1; Krm. *demin* (K) 2; Tv. *dem* 2, *demin* 2; Tof. *dɛ:min* 2; Chuv. *taman* 1, 2.

◊ EDT 507, ЭСТЯ 3, 187-188.

PJpn. ***támá** occasional(ly), rare(ly) (случайно, редко): MJpn. *támá*; Tok. *tàma*; Kyo. *támá*; Kag. *tamá*.

◊ JLTT 539. One can also mention Jpn. *dame* 'in vain' (accent correspondences point to **támà-i*) - a late word with an irregular voiced initial, but very probably having the same origin.

PKor. ***tāmǎi-n** rarely, only (редко, только, всего лишь): MKor. *tāmǎin*; Mod. *taman*.

◊ Nam 130, KED 384.

‖ Martin 240 (Kor.-Jpn.), TMC 1, 234.

✸**tḗmo** to drip, soak: Turk. ***dam**; Jpn. ***támár-**; Kor. ***tǎm-**.

PTurk. ***dam** 1 drop 2 to drop (1 капля 2 капать): Karakh. *tam-* 2 (MK); Tur. *dam-* 2; Gag. *dam-na* 1; Az. *dam-* 2; Turkm. *dam-* 2; MTurk. *tam* 1 (Abush.), *tam-* 2 (Sangl.); Uzb. *tɔm-*; Uygh. *tam-* 2; Krm. *tam-* 2; Tat. *tam-* 2; Bashk. *tam-* 2; Kirgh. *tam-* 2; Kaz. *tam-* 2; KBalk. *tam-* 2; KKalp. *tam-* 2; Kum. *tam-* 2; Nogh. *tam-* 2; Oyr. *tam-* 2; Tv. *dam-dɨ* 1; Tof. *tam-dɨ* 1; Chuv. *tom-la-* 2; Yak. *tammax* 1.

◊ VEWT 459, EDT 503, ЭСТЯ 3, 139-140, Федотов 2, 245. There is also a variant **dim* 'wetness' (ЭСТЯ 3, 294).

PJpn. ***támár-** to accumulate (of water) (скапливаться (о воде и пр.)): OJpn. *tamar-*; MJpn. *támár-*; Tok. *tàmar-*; Kyo. *támár-*; Kag. *tamár-*.

◊ JLTT 762.

PKor. ***tǎm-** to soak, immerse (мочить, окунать): MKor. *tǎm-*; Mod. *tamgɨ-*.

◊ Nam 142, KED 409.

‖ In Turkic one would rather expect **dạm*: perhaps the variants **dam* and **dim* reflect original **dạm* with later interdialectal borrowings.

✸**tèmò (~ -a)** root; strength, soul: Mong. ***daŋ-gi (< *dam-gi)**; Turk. ***dạmor**; Jpn. ***tàmà**.

PMong. ***daŋgi** root; origin, generation (корень; происхождение, поколение): WMong. *daŋgi*; Kalm. *däŋgə*.

◊ KW 82.

PTurk. ***dạmor** 1 vein, artery 2 root (1 жила, сосуд 2 корень): OTurk. *tamar*, *tamɨr* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *tamur* (MK, KB), *tamar* (MK-Oghuz) 1; Tur. *damar* 1; Gag. *damar* 1; Az. *damar* 1; Turkm. *damar* 1; Sal. *tamɨr* 1; MTurk. *tamur* 1, 2 (Sangl., Abush., MA); Uzb. *tɔmir* 1; Uygh. *tomur*, *temir* 1, 2; Krm. *tamur* 1, 2; Tat. *tamɨr* 2; Bashk. *tamɨr* 1, 2; Kirgh.

tamɨr 2; Kaz. *tamɨr* 1, 2; KBalk. *tamɨr* 1, 2; KKalp. *tamɨr* 1, 2; Kum. *tamur* 1, 2; Nogh. *tamɨr* 1, 2; SUygh. *tamɨr* 1; Khak. *tamɨr* 1, 2; Oyr. *tamɨr* 1, 2; Tv. *damɨr* 1; Tof. *damɨr* 1; Chuv. *tɨmar* 1, 2; Yak. *tɨmɨr* 1; Dolg. *tɨmɨr* 1.

◊ VEWT 460, EDT 508, ЭСТЯ 3, 143-144, Лексика 107-108, 264-265, Stachowski 238. There are also some forms with -o-: Oyr. *tomur-* 'to uproot', Kirgh. *tomor* 'name of a plant, from the root of which dye is produced', Kaz. *tomar* id., KKalp. *tomar* 'root' - possibly contaminations with **Tomar* 'block, log' (v. sub **tʹome).*

PJpn. ***tàmà** soul (душа): OJpn. *tama*; MJpn. *tàmàsìʃi*; Tok. *támashii*; Kyo. *támàshìì*; Kag. *tamashíi*.

◊ JLTT 539, 540.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 285, Лексика 264-265. Mong. *tamir* 'sinew; strength, force' is borrowed from Turkic (to judge from its phonology; see Щербак 1997, 153); but the comparison with *daŋgi* 'root' may be accepted only if one assumes a secondary assimilation **dam-gi* > *daŋgi*.

✱**téŋgu** axle, spindle: Turk. ***deŋgil**; Kor. ***thòŋ**.

PTurk. ***deŋgil** axle (ось): Tur. *dingil*; Gag. *dingil*; MTurk. *tiŋgil* (MA); Krm. *teŋgil*; Tat. *teŋel* (KCTT); Chuv. *tə^{w}nə^{w}l*.

◊ VEWT 474, ЭСТЯ 3, 235-236, Федотов 2, 216-217. Turk. > Hung. *tengely* 'axle', see Gombocz 1912.

PKor. ***thòŋ** axle (ось): MKor. *thòŋ*; Mod. (*sal-)thoŋ*.

◊ Liu 716, KED 900.

‖ A Turk.-Kor. isogloss; Mong. *teŋkeleg* 'axle' is probably < Turkic. Kor. **thòŋ* < **tòŋh*.

✱**tḗpʹé** to wave, flap; fly: Tung. ***dep(-si)- / *dapsi-**; Mong. ***debi-**; Turk. ***depre-**; Jpn. ***tə̀mp-**.

PTung. ***dep(-si)- / *dapsi-** to flap (wings), wave (махать (крыльями), обмахивать): Evk. *dawsi-*; Evn. *dawsṭ-*; Neg. *dawsị-*; Man. *debsi-*, *debdere-*; Ul. *depsi-*; Ork. *dapsị-*; Nan. *depsi-*; Orch. *depse-*; Ud. *defi-*.

◊ TMC 1, 186-187, 228. Cf. also **deb-di-* / **deb-ke-* 'scatter' (TMC 1, 227).

PMong. ***debi-** 1 to wave, flap, winnow 2 fan (1 махать, веять 2 веер): WMong. *debi-*, *debis-*, *debüs-*, *debül-* 1, *debigür* 2 (L 238, 239, 240); Kh. *deve-* 1, *devū̄r* 2; Bur. *deje-* (Alar) 1, *debū̄r* 2; Kalm. *dew-* 1, *dewū̄r* 2; Dag. *deuse-* 1 (Тод. Даг. 136); *delbur* (Тод. Даг. 136) 2; Mongr. *d(w)ēsə-*, *d(w)ēli-* (SM 68).

◊ KW 90. Cf. also WMong. *degüli-*, Khalkha *dū̄lle-* 'to jump, leap' (L 245).

PTurk. ***depre-** to move, stir, shake (двигать(ся), качать(ся)): OTurk. *tepre-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *tepre-* (MK, KB); Tur. *depre-*, *tepre-*; Gag. *depre-*, *tepre-*; Az. *däbär-*, *tärpän-*; Turkm. *depre-*, *terpen-*; Khal. *tepre-*; MTurk. *tepre-* (Sangl.); Uzb. *tebra-*; Uygh. *täwrä-*; Krm. *tebre-*; Tat. *tibrän-*; Bashk. *tirbä-l-*; Kirgh. *terbe-l-*; Kaz. *terbe-l-*; *tebire-n-* 'взволноваться'; KBalk. *tebre-*; KKalp. *terbe-*; Kum. *terbe-n-*; Nogh. *terbe-l-*; SUygh. *terwe-*; Khak. *tibəre-*; Chuv. *tapra-n-*.

◊ VEWT 474, ЭСТЯ 3, 201-202, EDT 443-444, Федотов 2, 173-174.

PJpn. ***tə́mp-** to fly (летать): OJpn. *tob-*; MJpn. *tób-*; Tok. *tòb-*; Kyo. *tób-*; Kag. *tób-*.

◊ JLTT 768.

‖ KW 90, Poppe 23, 45, Ozawa 247-248, Miller 1985, 150, 1985a, 82, ОСНЯ 1, 217-218, АПиПЯЯ 110, 275. Borrowing in TM from Mong. (Doerfer MT 117) is hardly acceptable.

✱**tḗre (~ -o)** phlegm, secretion: Tung. ***derbe-**; Turk. ***dẹr**; Jpn. ***də́ntá-ri, -rai**.

PTung. ***derbe-** 1 wet, damp 2 to dampen (1 сырой, влажный 2 отсыревать): Evk. *derbe-kin* 1, *derbēw-* 2; Evn. *dörbut-* 2; Neg. *dejbew-* 2; Man. *derbe-xin*, *derbu-xun* 1, *derbe-* 2; Ul. *delbi-* 2 (tr.); Ork. *delbitči-* 2 (tr.); Nan. *derbi-ktu* 1, *derbe-* 2; Orch. *debbi-* 2 (tr.); Ud. *degbi-* 2 (tr.) (Корм. 229).

◊ TMC 1, 236-237.

PTurk. ***dẹr** sweat (пот): OTurk. *ter* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *ter* (MK, KB); Tur. *ter*; Gag. *ter*; Az. *där* (dial.); Turkm. *der*; Sal. *ter*; Khal. *ter*; MTurk. *ter* (Abush., Pav. C.); Uzb. *ter*; Uygh. *tär*; Krm. *ter*; Tat. *tir*; Bashk. *tir*; Kirgh. *ter*; Kaz. *ter*; KBalk. *ter*; KKalp. *ter*; Kum. *ter*; Nogh. *ter*; Khak. *tir*; Shr. *ter*; Oyr. *ter*; Tv. *der*; Chuv. *tar, tẹr* (NW); Yak. *tir-it-* 'to sweat'.

◊ VEWT 474, EDT 528, ЭСТЯ 3, 203-204. Chuvash dialects show a variation between *e/ẹ*.

PJpn. ***də́ntá-ri, -rai** drivel (слюни, слизь): OJpn. *jodari*; MJpn. *jódáré*; Tok. *yòdare*; Kyo. *yódáré*; Kag. *yodáre*.

◊ JLTT 575.

‖ The TM and Jpn. forms may be alternatively compared with PT **jạr* 'saliva' (see ЭСТЯ 4, 134).

✱**tȅrì** surface, skin; color: Tung. ***dēre**; Mong. ***čiraj**; Turk. ***dẹri**; Jpn. ***(d)ìrə̀**.

PTung. ***dēre** 1 surface 2 face (1 поверхность 2 лицо): Evk. *dēr*, *dere* 1, 2; Evn. *dere* 2; Neg. *deγel* 2; Man. *dere* 2; SMan. *derə* 2 (52); Jurch. *der-hel* (491) 2; Ul. *dere(γ)* 2; Ork. *dere(l)* 2; Nan. *dereγ*, *derel* 2; Orch. *dē* 2; Ud. *dēgdi* 2; Sol. *derel* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 236 (cf. also Evk. dial. *deri* 'skin from deer's head' - cf. the semantic development in Turk.)

PMong. ***čiraj** face, outlook (лицо, внешность): MMong. *čirai* (SH, HYt), *čirai* (MA); WMong. *čirai* (L 191); Kh. *caraj*; Bur. *šaraj*; Kalm. *čirē*; Ord. *čarā̄*; Dag. *šar*, (Тод. Даг. 183), *cari*, *šari* (MD 128, 214) *šarā*, *šarī*; Mongr. *ćirī* (SM 457), *čirē* (Huzu).

◊ KW 441, MGCD 563. Mong. > Tat. *čiraj* etc. (KW 441, VEWT 109), not vice versa, despite Щербак 1997, 113 (the cited OT *čiraγ* 'face' is actually Kypch. (13th century), and

obviously borrowed from Mong., not from Iranian (?)); > Yak. *sirej*, Dolg. *hiraj* (Stachowski 119); > Man. *čira*, see Doerfer MT 137, Rozycki 48.

PTurk. ***dẹri** skin (кожа): OTurk. *teri* (OUygh.); Karakh. *teri* (MK); Tur. *deri*; Gag. *deri*; Az. *däri*; Turkm. *deri*; Sal. *cīry*; Khal. *teri*; MTurk. *teri* (MA, Abush.); Uzb. *teri*; Uygh. *terä*; Krm. *teri*; Tat. *tire*; Bashk. *tire*; Kirgh. *teri*; Kaz. *teri*; KBalk. *teri*; KKalp. *teri*; Kum. *teri*; Nogh. *teri*; SUygh. *teri*; Khak. *tēr*; Shr. *tere*; Oyr. *tere*; Tof. *tere* (Рас. ФиЛ); Chuv. *tirə*; Yak. *tirī*; Dolg. *tirī*.

◊ VEWT 475, EDT 530, ЭСТЯ 3, 207-208, Лексика 383, Stachowski 223.

PJpn. ***(d)ìrə̀** color (цвет): OJpn. *iro*; MJpn. *ìrò*; Tok. *iró*; Kyo. *írò*; Kag. *iró*.

◊ JLTT 426.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 284, Лексика 383.

✱**tertʹa** to pull: Tung. ***derde-**; Mong. ***tata-**; Turk. ***dart-**.

PTung. ***derde-** tag (of boots); rowlock, thole (ушко (у сапог); уключина): Man. *derde-xun*.

◊ TMC 1, 237. Attested only in Manchu, with probable external parallels.

PMong. ***tata-** to pull (тянуть): MMong. *tata* (HY 38, SH), *ṭoṭa-* (IM), *tata-*, *tătă-* (MA); WMong. *tata-* (L 785); Kh. *tata-*; Bur. *tata-*; Kalm. *tat-*; Ord. *data-*; Mog. *tata-*; ZM *tatā-* (4-4a); Dag. *tata-* (Тод. Даг. 166), *tate* (MD 221); Bao. *də-*; S.-Yugh. *tata-*; Mongr. *ćida-* (SM 444), (MGCD *hdā-*), *tidū̃r* (SM 416) 'conduit d'eau, fossé'.

◊ KW 383-384, MGCD 627. Mong. > Manchu *tata-* (see Rozycki 204).

PTurk. ***dart-** to pull; to hang (тянуть; подвешивать, взвешивать): OTurk. *tart-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *tart-* (MK, KB); Tur. *tart-*; Gag. *dart-*; Az. *dart-*; Turkm. *dart-*, *tart-*; Sal. *ta't-* (ССЯ); MTurk. *tart-* (Abush., Sangl.); Uzb. *tɔrt-*; Uygh. *ta(r)t-*; Krm. *tart-*; Tat. *tart-*; Bashk. *tart-*; Kirgh. *tart-*; Kaz. *tart-*; KBalk. *tart-*; KKalp. *tart-*; Kum. *tart-*; Nogh. *tart-*; SUygh. *tart-*; Khak. *tart-*; Shr. *tart-*; Oyr. *tart-*; Tv. *ti'rt-*; Tof. *ti'rt-*; Chuv. *tort-*; Yak. *tart-*; Dolg. *tart-*.

◊ VEWT 465, EDT 534, ЭСТЯ 3, 154-156, Федотов 2, 254, Stachowski 218.

‖ EAS 123, KW 384. A Western isogloss. Mong. cannot be < Turk., despite Щербак 1997, 154, and the Turk.-Mong. match cannot be rejected on phonetic grounds, despite Doerfer TMN 2, 437. However, in this case we must suppose a secondary assimilation in Mong.: *tata-* < **data-*.

✱**tēru (~ č-)** to gather, collect: Mong. ***dar-ta-**; Turk. ***dēr-**; Jpn. ***tùtuàp-**.

PMong. ***dar-ta-** to accumulate, pile up (собирать, нагромождать): WMong. *darta-* (L 233); Kh. *darta-*; Bur. *darsa-*.

PTurk. ***dēr-** to collect, gather (собирать): OTurk. *ter-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *tẹ̄r-* (MK, KB); Tur. *der-*; Az. *där-*, *der-*; Turkm. *tīr-*; Sal. *tēre-* (ССЯ); MTurk. *tẹr-* (Abush., Sangl.); Uzb. *ter-*; Uygh. *tär/j-*; Tat.

tir-, *tijr-* (KCTT); Bashk. *tir-*; Kirgh. *ter-*; Kaz. *ter-*; KKalp. *ter-*; Nogh. *ter-*; SUygh. *ter-*; Khak. *tir-*, *tēr-*; Shr. *tēr-*; Oyr. *ter-*; Tv. *deri-* 'снаряжать'; Yak. *terij-*; Dolg. *terij-*.

◊ EDT 529, VEWT 475, ЭСТЯ 3, 204-205, Stachowski 221. Turkm. has an irregular devoicing (old Kypchak influence?).

PJpn. ***tùtuàp-*** 1 to gather (intr.) 2 to gather, collect (tr.) (1 собираться 2 собирать): OJpn. *tudwop-* 1, *tudwopa-* 2; MJpn. *tùtòf-*, *tùdòf-* 1; Tok. *tsudó-* 1; Kyo. *tsúdó-* 1; Kag. *tsudó-* 1.

◊ JLTT 772. Most sources point to low tone, but Kagoshima reflects rather **tútúap-*.

‖ Low tone in Jpn. is irregular (but see above on dialectal reflexes of **tútúap-*).

✱**tètu** respect, care: Tung. ***dēdu-***; Mong. ***čida-***; Turk. ***det-***; Jpn. ***tùtù-***.

PTung. ***dēdu-*** to care, like, love (любить, оберегать, уважать): Neg. *dēdelu-*; Ul. *dēdu(n)*; Nan. *dēdu*; Orch. *deduli-*.

◊ TMC 1, 230.

PMong. ***čida-*** to be able (быть способным): MMong. *čida-* (HY 37, 54, SH, MA); WMong. *čida-* (L 176); Kh. *čada-*; Bur. *šada-*; Kalm. *čad-* (KPC); Ord. *čida-*; Mog. *čida-* (Weiers); ZM *čidɔ̄n* 'power, strength' (2-7a); Dag. *šadə-* (Тод. Даг. 182 *šada-*), *šade-* (MD 214); Dong. *šɨda-*; S.-Yugh. *šəda-*, *hda-*; Mongr. *sda-* (SM 331), *šda-* (Huzu); *čida-* (Minghe).

◊ MGCD 556. Mong. > Chag. *čida-* etc. (see Doerfer 1, 316, Щербак 1997, 202); Chuv. *čət-* 'to endure' (see Róna-Tas 1971-1972); Yak. *satā-*, Dolg. *hatā-*, see Kał. MEJ 22, Stachowski 98.

PTurk. ***det-*** 1 to strive, exert 2 bold, hero 3 clever, reasonable 4 cheerful, vigorous (1 стараться, напрягать силы, сопротивляться 2 смелый, герой 3 умный, разумный, ловкий 4 бодрый): OTurk. *tetik* (OUygh.) 3; Karakh. *tet-*, *tetin-* (MK) 1, *tetik*, *teti-l-* 'to become clever' (MK); Tur. *didin-* 1, *tetik* 3; Gag. *didin-* 1; Turkm. *tetā̈rik* 'support, help' (?); MTurk. *tetik* (Abush., Sangl.) 3; Uzb. *tetik* 4; Uygh. *tetik* 4; Tat. *täti* 'good' (nursery word); Bashk. *tätäj* 'good thing' (nursery word); Kirgh. *tetik* 3; Kum. *tetek* 'pleasure'; Khak. *tətən-* 1; Oyr. *tidim* 2, *tedü* 'satisfied, sorrowless'; Tv. *didin-* 1, *didim* 2; Tof. *titim* 2; Yak. *tetiänex* 4.

◊ VEWT 476, EDT 450, 455, 456, ЭСТЯ 3, 218. Cf. perhaps also Kaz. etc. *tetik* "device, mechanism", Tat., Bashk. *täte* '(gun's) cock', Gag. *tetik* 'id.; virgin's hymen', KKalp. *tetik* 'mechanism, essence', Az. *tätig* 'trigger'. Some forms reveal secondary assimilatory devoicing.

PJpn. ***tùtù-*** be shy, respectful (быть осторожным, уважительным, скромным): OJpn. *tutu-sim-*, *tutu-simar-*; MJpn. *tùtù-sim-*; Tok. *tsutsushím-*; Kyo. *tsútsúshím-*; Kag. *tsùtsùshìm-*.

◊ JLTT 776.

‖ Tungus-Manchu has -d- as a result of regular assimilation after *d- (cf. **tūti* and **dē-du-* 'lie' < **dē-tV*).

✱**tèt'o (~ -a, -u)** swamp, water pool: Tung. ***detu**; Turk. ***TAdgun**.

PTung. ***detu** swamp, mossy meadow (болото, мшистая поляна): Evk. *det*; Evn. *det*; Neg. *det*; Man. *detu* 'steppe'; Ul. *detu*; Ork. *detu*; Nan. *detu*; Orch. *detu*; Ud. *deti* (Корм. 230).

◊ TMC 1, 238.

PTurk. ***TAdgun** a k. of big river (большая, непересыхающая сезонно река): Karakh. *taδγun* (MK).

◊ EDT 453: Clauson suggests a reading *toδγun* (deriving the word from *toδ-* 'fill'), but there is no *waw* in the text.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**tȉbúlka** a k. of blossoming bush: Tung. ***dībekte**; Mong. ***čibaga**; Turk. ***d(i)abɨlku**; Jpn. ***tùmpákì**.

PTung. ***dībe-kte** 1 dwarf birch tree 2 black birch (1 карликовая береза 2 черная береза): Evk. *dīwekte* 1; Evn. *diwuγ* 1, *diwukeγ* 1; Neg. *diwegde* 1; Ul. *diwegde* 2; Ork. *duwete* 2; Nan. *diwegde* 2; Orch. *duokte* 2; Ud. *duekte* 2 (Корм. 229).

◊ TMC 1, 203.

PMong. ***čibaga** jujube (ююба): MMong. *čibuqan* (HY 7); WMong. *čibaγa(n)*, *čibuγa* (L 174); Kh. *čavga*; Bur. *šabga* 'dried fruit'; Kalm. *čiwgə*, *čipkə*; Ord. *čiwaga*; Dong. *čučuGa*; Bao. *čimχaŋ*; S.-Yugh. *ǯūxGan*; Mongr. *čuGa* (SM 439).

◊ KW 442, MGCD 554. Mong. > late OT *čibɨqan* 'jujube' (EDT 396).

PTurk. ***d(i)abɨlku** 1 Spiraea 2 jujube (1 таволга 2 ююба): OTurk. *tavɨlqu* 1 (OUygh. - YB); Karakh. *tavɨlqu*, *tavɨlγuč* 2 (MK); Tur. *davɨlga*, *davulgu* (dial.) 1; Az. *tuvulγu* (dial.); MTurk. *tabulγu*, *tubulγu* (Pav. C.) 'дерево с красной корой и гибкими ветками'; Tat. *tubɨlγɨ* 1; Bashk. *tubɨlγɨ* 1; Kirgh. *tabɨlγɨ* 1; Kaz. *tobɨlγɨ* 1; Kum. *toburγu* 1; Khak. *tabɨlγɨ* 1; Oyr. *tabɨlγɨ* 1; Yak. *tobuluoskaj* 1.

◊ EDT 441, Лексика 134. Turk. > Mong. *tabilqa*, *tabilγa* id., whence again most modern Turkic forms (Tat. *tubɨlγɨ*, Turk. *tabulga*, Yak. *tamɨlγan*, Chuv. *tuрulxa*); see (somewhat differently) Аникин 521.

PJpn. ***tùmpákì** Camelia (камелия): OJpn. *tubakji*; MJpn. *tùbákì*; Tok. *tsúbaki*; Kyo. *tsùbákì*; Kag. *tsubakí*.

◊ JLTT 552. It is interesting to note MKor. *toŋpăik*, mod. *toŋbäk* 'camelia': it is regarded as Sino-Korean, but written as "winter cypress" (冬柏), a character and meaning combination unattested in Chinese. With a great probability, therefore, MKor. *toŋpăik* is borrowed from Jpn. (not vice versa, as suggested by Martin ibid.).

‖ In Turkic one has to suppose vowel metathesis in a trisyllabic word (**dabɨlku* < **dɨbulka*). An interesting common Altaic plant name.

✱**tȉdu** elevation: Tung. ***dīdü (~ ǯ-)**; Jpn. ***tùtùmí**; Kor. ***tùtə́n**.

PTung. ***dīdü (~ ǯ-)** mountain ridge (горный хребет): Evk. *ǯīdi*, dial. *didi*; Evn. *gidan* (Okh.) (? = /*didan*/); Man. *ǯidun*; Ul. *ǯiḍu*; Ork. *ǯiḍu(n)*; Orch. *ǯidi*.

◊ TMC 1, 256. TM > Bur. *zudan* id. The Evk. form *ʒīdi* (with *ʒ-* instead of the regular *d-) probably reflects interdialectal borrowing.

PJpn. ***tùtùmí*** dike (насыпь, дамба): OJpn. *tutumji*; MJpn. *tùtùmí*; Tok. *tsutsumi*.

◊ JLTT 558.

PKor. ***tùtə́n*** hill, elevation (холм, возвышенность): MKor. *tùtə́n*; Mod. *tudəŋ*, *tudək*.

◊ Nam 163, KED 503.

‖ Lee 1958, 113 (Tung.-Kor.). An Eastern isogloss. The Korean form is aberrant in several respects (-u- instead of expected -ɨ-, -t- instead of expected -r-, low tone instead of expected high), and one may suspect it in being borrowed < Japanese.

✱**tǐkʿi** to plant vertically: Tung. ***dīKē-***; Mong. ***čike***; Turk. ***dik-***.

PTung. ***dīKē-*** to hide (прятать(ся)): Evk. *dīkē-*; Evn. *dikъn-*; Neg. *dixē-n-*; Ud. *dige-*.

◊ TMC 1, 205.

PMong. ***čike*** straight, vertically (прямой, прямо, вертикально): WMong. *čike*, *čeke* (L 180); Kh. *čix*; Bur. *sexe*; Kalm. *čikə*; Ord. *ʒixe*.

◊ KW 439. Cf. also WMong. *čig*, Kalm. *čig* 'straight' (KW 438). Mong. *čike* > Oyr. *čike* etc.

PTurk. ***dik-*** 1 to plant vertically 2 vertical (1 ставить, сажать вертикально 2 вертикальный): OTurk. *tik-* 1 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *tik-* 1, *tik* 2 (MK); Tur. *dik-* 1, *dik* 2; Gag. *dik-* 1, *dik* 2; Az. *dik* 2, *dik-ä-l-* (refl.) 1, *tik-* 'to build'; Turkm. *dik-* 1, *dik* 2; Khal. *tik-* 1; MTurk. *tik-* 1, *tik* 2 (Sangl.); Uzb. *tik-* 1, *tik* 2; Uygh. *tik-* 1, *tik* 2; Krm. *tik-* 1, *tik* 2; Tat. *tekä-* 1, *tekä* 2; Bashk. *tekä* 2, *tekä-* 'упирать, устремлять взгляд'; Kirgh. *tik-* 1, *tik* 2; Kaz. *tik-* 1, *tik* 2; KBalk. *tik* 'крутой'; KKalp. *tik-* 1, *tik* 2; Kum. *tik-* 1, *tik* 2; Nogh. *tik-* 1, *tik* 2; SUygh. *tɨk-* 1; Khak. *tək-* 'to set up a house'; Chuv. *čik-* 1; Yak. *tik-*, *tɨk-* 'to sting; to sew'; Dolg. *tik-* 'to sew'.

◊ EDT 475-476, ЭСТЯ 3, 224-227, Егоров 325, Федотов 2, 417-418, Stachowski 223.

‖ EAS 50, 150, KW 85, 439, Poppe 16. A Western isogloss. In Mong. we also have Kalm. *dekə-* 'to stick in; coire' (KW 85), which Ramstedt (ibid.) compares with the Turkic and TM word; if this were the true cognate, we would have to think that Mong. **čig*, **čike* is borrowed < Turkic (as suggested in TMN 2, 659). The poor attestation of Mong. *deke-*, however, raises doubts (so does the final -e in Mong. *čike*, hardly to be expected in a Turkic loanword), so the traditional comparison (Turk. **dik* : Mong. **čike*) might be the best solution after all.

✱**tilV** tongue; voice: Tung. ***dilga-***; Turk. ***dɨl / *dil***.

PTung. ***dilga-n*** voice (голос): Evk. *dilgan*; Evn. *dịlgъn*; Neg. *dịlga-n*; Man. *ʒilGan*; SMan. *ʒiləhan* (42); Ul. *dịlʒa(n)*; Ork. *ʒịlda(n)*; Nan. *ʒịlGã*; Orch. *digga(n)*; Ud. *digana-* 'speak'; Sol. *dilgã*.

◊ TMC 1, 206. Without the suffixed *-ga(n) cf. Evk. *dila-mkūn*, Neg. *dịlamkụn* 'high, thin (voice)'.

PTurk. ***dił / *dil** tongue; language (язык): OTurk. *tił* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *tił* (MK, KB); Tur. *dil*; Gag. *diĺ*; Az. *dil*; Turkm. *dil*; Sal. *cil*; Khal. *til*; MTurk. *til* (Abush., Sangl.); Uzb. *til*; Uygh. *til*; Krm. *tił*, *til*; Tat. *tel*; Bashk. *tel*; Kirgh. *til*; Kaz. *til*; KBalk. *til*; KKalp. *til*; Kum. *til*; Nogh. *til*; SUygh. *dił*; Khak. *təl*; Shr. *til*; Oyr. *til*; Tv. *dił*; Tof. *dił*, *tił*; Chuv. *čəlγe*; *čələx* 'пищик в гармошке'; Yak. *tił*; Dolg. *tił*.

◊ VEWT 478, EDT 489-90, ЭСТЯ 3, 228-229, Егоров 323, Лексика 227, Stachowski 237.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 284, Мудрак Дисс. 38, 70, Лексика 228. A Turk.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**tire** to sink, enter: Tung. ***diri-**; Turk. ***deriŋ**; Jpn. ***(d)ír-**; Kor. ***tźr-**.

PTung. ***diri-** to sink (тонуть): Ul. *diri-*; Nan. *ǯirie-*.

◊ TMC 1, 208.

PTurk. ***deriŋ** deep (глубокий): OTurk. *teriŋ* (OUygh.); Karakh. *teriŋ* (MK); Tur. *derin*; Gag. *derin*; Az. *därin*; Turkm. *derīŋ* (dial.); MTurk. *teriŋ* (Sangl.), *tereŋ* (MA); Uzb. *teran*; Krm. *teren*; Tat. *tirän*; Bashk. *tärän*; Kirgh. *tereŋ*; Kaz. *tereŋ*; KBalk. *teren*; KKalp. *tereŋ*; Kum. *teren*; Nogh. *teren*; Khak. *tireŋ*; Shr. *tereŋ*; Oyr. *tereŋ*; Tv. *tereŋ*; Tof. *dereŋ*; Chuv. *tarъn*; Yak. *diriŋ*.

◊ VEWT 475, EDT 551, ЭСТЯ 3, 208-209, Федотов 2, 179.

PJpn. ***(d)ír-** to enter (входить): OJpn. *ir-*; MJpn. *ír-*; Tok. *ìr-*; Kyo. *ír-*; Kag. *ír-*.

◊ JLTT 698.

PKor. ***tźr-** to enter (входить): MKor. *tźr-*; Mod. *tił-*.

◊ Nam 174, KED 534.

‖ Martin 231. High tone in Kor. is quite exceptional for a verb root and irregular.

✱**tźri** thick, plenty: Tung. ***dir-**; Mong. ***čirgaγu**; Turk. ***dīri-**; Jpn. ***(d)ita-**.

PTung. ***dir-** 1 thick 2 plentiful (of food) 3 gullet (1 толстый 2 обильный (о пище) 3 пищевод): Evk. *diram* 1, *dirga* 3; Evn. *dịrъm* 1; Neg. *dịjam* 1; Man. *ǯiramin* 1, *ǯiraχun* 'firm, stout'; SMan. *ǯiramə* 1 (2413); Ul. *dịramị* 1, *dịrgan* 2; Ork. *ǯịramị* 1; Nan. *ǯịramị* 1, *ǯịrgã* 2; Orch. *dijami* 1; Ud. *deämi* 1, *diga-* 'to eat, feed'; Sol. *dirami* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 207-208.

PMong. ***čirgaγu** taut, hard, stiff (тугой, твердый): WMong. *čirgaγu* (L 191: *čirγaγuu*); Kh. *čargū*.

PTurk. ***dīri-** 1 to live 2 alive 3 to revive (1 жить 2 живой 3 оживать): OTurk. *tirig* 2, *tiri-l-* 3 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *tirig* 2, *tiri-l-* 3 (MK, KB); Tur. *diri* 2, *diri-l-* 3; Gag. *diri* 2; Az. *diri* 2, *diri-l-* 3; Turkm. *dīri* 2; MTurk. *tiri* (Abush.), *tirik*, *tirig* (Sangl.) 2, *tiri-l-* 3 (Sangl.), (MKypch.)

*tiri*1 (AH); Uzb. *tirik* 2; Uygh. *tirik* 2; Krm. *tiri* 2; Tat. *tere*, *terek* 2; Bashk. *tere* 2; Kirgh. *tiri*, *tirik*, *tirū̄* 2, *tiri-l-* 3; Kaz. *tiri* 2; KBalk. *tiri* 2; KKalp. *tiri* 2; Kum. *tiri* 2; Nogh. *tiri* 2; SUygh. *terik* 2; Khak. *tərəg* 2; Shr. *tirig* 2, *tiri-l-* 3; Oyr. *tirü* 2, *tiri-l-* 3; Tv. *dirig* 2, *diri-l-* 3; Tof. *dirig* 2; Chuv. *čərə* 2; Yak. *tilin-* 'to revive'; Dolg. *tillij-* 'to revive'.

◊ VEWT 481, EDT 529, 543-544, 547-548, ЭСТЯ 3, 240-242, Егоров 324, Федотов 414, Stachowski 223.

PJpn. ***(d)ita-** plentiful, strong (обильный, чрезвычайный): OJpn. *ita-*; MJpn. *ita-*.

◊ JLTT 829.

‖ Дыбо 13.

✸**ti̯ā́re** narrow; short: Tung. ***ǯir-**; Turk. ***d(i)ār**; Kor. ***tjə̀r-**.

PTung. ***ǯir-** 1 dense, without intervals 2 close, near (1 сплошной, густой, без промежутка 2 близко, рядом): Man. *ǯira* 1; Ul. *ǯi̯ǯa* 2 (< **ǯir-g-*); Nan. *ǯi̯ǯa* 2 (< **ǯir-g-*).

◊ TMC 1, 256, 259.

PTurk. ***d(i)ār** narrow (узкий): OTurk. *tar* (OUygh.); Karakh. *tar* (MK); Tur. *dar*; Gag. *dar*; Az. *dar*; Turkm. *dār*; Sal. *dar*; Khal. *tā̊r*; MTurk. *tar* (Abush., Sangl.); Uzb. *tɔr*; Uygh. *tar*; Krm. *tar*; Tat. *tar*; Bashk. *tar*; Kirgh. *tar*; Kaz. *tar*; KBalk. *tar*; KKalp. *tar*; Kum. *tar*; Nogh. *tar*; SUygh. *tar*; Khak. *tar*; Shr. *tar*; Oyr. *tar*; Tv. *tar*; Tof. *dar* (Рас. ФиЛ), *tar*; Yak. *tār*.

◊ VEWT 463, EDT 528, ЭСТЯ 3, 146-147, 159-160; cf. Федотов 2, 179.

PKor. ***tjə̀r-** short (короткий): MKor. *tjə̀rā̀-*, *tjə̀rì-*; Mod. *č:ap-* [*č:alp-*], *č:əp-* [*č:əlp-*].

◊ Nam 154, KED 1395.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 297.

✸**ti̯okʿe** to touch, reach: Mong. ***dökü-**; Turk. ***dẹg-**.

PMong. ***dökü-** to approach, move closer (приближаться): WMong. *dökü-* (L 266); Kh. *döxö-*; Bur. *düxe-*; Kalm. *döke-* (СЯОС).

PTurk. ***dẹg-** to touch, to reach (дотрагиваться, достигать): OTurk. *teg-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *teg-* (MK, KB); Tur. *dej-*; Gag. *di-*; Az. *däj-*; Turkm. *deg-*; Khal. *täj-*; MTurk. *teg-* (Sangl., Abush.); Uzb. *deg-*; Uygh. *täg-*; Krm. *tij-*; Tat. *tij-*; Bashk. *tej-*; Kirgh. *tij-*; Kaz. *tij-*; KBalk. *tij-*; KKalp. *tij-*; Kum. *tij-*; Nogh. *tij-*; Khak. *tig-*; Shr. *teg-*; Oyr. *tij-*; Tv. *deg-*; Tof. *deg-*; Chuv. *tiv-*; Yak. *tī-j-*; Dolg. *tīj-*.

◊ VEWT 468-469, EDT 476, ЭСТЯ 3, 173-175, Stachowski 224. Sal. *deš-*, dial. *teš-*, *tejiš-* 'to burn' must be derived from the same root ("to reach fire"). A very complicated issue is the relationship of this root to PT **dēk*, **dēki-* 'to, up to' (usually acting as a postposition) - see ЭСТЯ 2, 182-185, EDT 477 (added should be also Yak. *dieki* 'in the direction of', Dolg. *diek*, *diegi* 'side', see Stachowski 79). The phonology here is quite puzzling: one would be tempted to regard the medial -k- as an archaism (see below on the irregularity of *-g- in Turkic), but the open long *-ē- presents great difficulties (since the verbal root itself most definitely has a short closed *-ẹ-). A possible solution is to correct the recon-

struction **dēk(i)* to **dẹge-ki* and regard the *-k(i) as an original locative suffix; this seems plausible because another attested form of the postposition is **dẹgi-n* (cf. especially reflexes like Tat. dial. *tiŋ*, KKalp. *dejin*, Kaz. *dejĭn*, Nogh. *dejim).*

‖ A Turk.-Mong. isogloss; not quite reliable, because in Turkic one has to suppose assimilative voicing (**dẹg-* < **dẹk-*). In Korean and Japanese the reflexes of the root could have merged with those of **taku* (q.v.)

✸**ti̯ṓle** spleen: Tung. ***ǯō(l)**; Mong. ***deliɣün**; Turk. ***d(i)ālak**; Jpn. ***(d)í (~ *(d)ə́-i)**; Kor. ***tira (~ č-)**.

PTung. ***ǯō** gall (желчь): Evk. *ǯō*; Evn. *ǯō*; Neg. *ǯō*; Ork. *ǯō*; Nan. *ǯōl*; Orch. *ǯō*; Ud. *ǯō* (Корм. 233).

◊ TMC 1, 260.

PMong. ***deliɣün** spleen (селезенка): MMong. *deli'un* (HY 47), *dolän* (IM), *dilun* (MA), *dələkun* (LH); WMong. *deligün* (L 250: *deligüü*); Kh. *delū̃n*; Bur. *delū̃n*; Kalm. *delū̃n*; Ord. *delū̃*; Dag. *delu(kin)*, (Тод. Даг. 136) *delkin*, *delig*; S.-Yugh. *dölön*; Mongr. *dəlū̃*, *dilū̃* (SM 55).

◊ KW 86, MGCD 215. Mong. > Evk. *delkin* etc., see Poppe 1966, 192, 1972, 96, Doerfer MT 38, Rozycki 58.

PTurk. ***d(i)ālak** spleen (селезенка): OTurk. *tal* (OUygh.); Karakh. *talaq* (MK); Tur. *dalak*; Gag. *dalaq* 1; 'плавательный пузырь'; Az. *dalaG*; Turkm. *dālaq*; MTurk. *talaq* (Sangl.); Uzb. *talɔq*; Krm. *talaq*; Tat. *talaq*; Bashk. *talaq*; Kaz. *talaq*; KBalk. *talaq*; KKalp. *talaq*; Kum. *talaq*; Nogh. *talaq*; Yak. *tāl*.

◊ VEWT 457, EDT 495, ЭСТЯ 3, 137-138, Лексика 279. Tat. > Chuv. *talak.*

PJpn. ***(d)í (~ *(d)ə́-i)** liver (печень): OJpn. *i*; MJpn. í.

◊ JLTT 420 (gives the meaning 'gall bladder').

PKor. ***tira (~ č-)** spleen (селезенка): Mod. *čira*, *čirä*.

◊ KED 1529.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 14, Лексика 279. Jpn. **(d)ə-i* goes back to a suffixed form **ti̯ṓl(e)-gV* (= Mong. *deli-ɣün*).

✸**ti̯ṓĺì** stone: Tung. ***ǯola**; Mong. ***čilaɣu**; Turk. ***diāĺ**; Jpn. ***(d)ísì**; Kor. ***tōrh**.

PTung. ***ǯola** stone (камень): Evk. *ǯolo*; Evn. *ǯol*; Neg. *ǯolo*; Ul. *ǯolo*; Ork. *ǯolo*; Nan. *ǯolo*; Orch. *ǯolo*; Ud. *ǯolo*; Sol. *ǯolo*.

◊ TMC 1, 263. Evk. > Dolg. *ǯolo-ptin* (see Stachowski 90).

PMong. ***čilaɣu** stone (камень): MMong. *čila'un* (HY 4, SH); WMong. *čilaɣu(n)* (L 182); Kh. *čulū*; Bur. *šulū(n)*; Kalm. *čolūn*; Ord. *čilū*; Dag. *čolō* (Тод. Даг. 182, MD 130); S.-Yugh. *čəlū*.

◊ KW 444, MGCD 582.

PTurk. ***diāĺ** stone (камень): OTurk. *taš* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *taš* (MK); Tur. *taš*; Gag. *taš*; Az. *daš*; Turkm. *dāš*; Sal. *daš*; Khal. *tā̊š*; MTurk. *taš* (MA); Uzb. *tɔš*; Uygh. *taš*; Krm. *taš*; Tat. *taš*; Bashk. *taš*;

Kirgh. *taš*; Kaz. *tas*; KBalk. *taš*; KKalp. *tas*; Kum. *taš*; Nogh. *tas*; SUygh. *das*; Khak. *tas*; Shr. *taš*; Oyr. *taš*; Tv. *daš*; Tof. *taš*, *daš*; Chuv. *čol*; Yak. *tās*; Dolg. *tās*.

◊ VEWT 466, TMN 2, 437-8, EDT 557, ЭСТЯ 3, 167-168, Егоров 326, Федотов 2, 421-422, Stachowski 219.

PJpn. ***(d)ísì** stone (камень): OJpn. *isi*; MJpn. *ísì*; Tok. *ishí*; Kyo. *íshi*; Kag. *íshi*.

◊ JLTT 426.

PKor. ***tōrh** stone (камень): MKor. *tōr* (*tōrh-*); Mod. *tol*.

◊ Nam 159, KED 478.

‖ EAS 49, 108, KW 444, Владимирцов 145, Poppe 15, 77, Poppe 1974, 133-134, Martin 243, Miller 1970, 129, Street 1980, 301, 1985, 646, АПиПЯЯ 37-38, 71, 92, 277, Дыбо 11, Мудрак Дисс. 196. Certainly not borrowed in Mong. from Turk., despite Щербак 1997, 154. Counter-arguments against the etymology by Doerfer (TMN 2, 437-438) are not convincing.

✱**tı̯ubu** two: Tung. ***ʒube-**; Mong. ***ʒiwrin ~ *ʒuirin**; Turk. ***TVbVr-**; Kor. ***tubu, *tuburh**.

PTung. ***ʒube-** two (два): Evk. *ʒūr*; Evn. *ʒōr*; Neg. *ʒūl*; Man. *ʒuwe*; SMan. *ʒū* (2736); Jurch. *ʒuwe* (637); Ul. *ʒuel(i)*; Ork. *dū*; Nan. *ʒū*, *ʒuer*; Orch. *ʒū*; Ud. *ʒū*; Sol. *ʒūr*.

◊ TMC 1, 276-277.

PMong. ***ʒiwrin ~ *ʒuirin** 1 two 2 pregnant (lit. of two parts) (1 два 2 беременная (букв. двухслойная)): MMong. *ʒi-rin* (SH) 1; WMong. *ʒiren* (L 1060: *ʒirin*) 1; Kh. *ʒirin* (БАМРС) 1, *ʒire-msen* 2; Bur. *žermehe(n)* 2; Kalm. *ʒirəmsṇ* 2 (КРС); Ord. *ʒirmesen* 2; Dag. *ʒūr(ū)* 'pair' (Тод. Даг. 145); Mongr. *ʒuru* (SM 96) 1.

◊ KW 84.

PTurk. ***TVbVr-** second (второй): OTurk. Bulg. *tvirem*; Chuv. *tebər*, *tebərew*.

◊ Chuv. -b- is secondary, on analogy with *pəʷrem* 'first'.

PKor. ***tubu, *tuburh** two (два): MKor. *tūr* (*tūrh-*), *tu'ur*, *tū-*; Mod. *tūl*, *tū-*.

◊ Nam 166, KED 501, 509. The variant **tū-* (**tubu-*) is attested as the first member of numerous compounds, both in Middle and Modern Korean.

‖ Poppe 28 (Mong.-Tung.), Lee 1958, 113, АПиПЯЯ 19, 33, 292, Rozycki 128. In Mong. one would rather expect **č-* in front of -i- as the result of palatalization of *t-; preservation of the voiced consonant may be due to the interaction of expected variants **čiwrin ~ *duirin*. The root is no doubt a very archaic one; it is probably attested also in several common Altaic derivatives. Cf. PTM **du-dgu* 'couple, spouses' = OJ *t(w)otug-* 'to marry' (**tub-tu-*); PM **dab-ku-* 'twice, double, layer' (>

Chag. *tapqur*, Evk. *dapkur* etc., see Poppe 1966, 195, TMN 2, 429, Doerfer MT 101), also reflecting a -i̯-less form like **tub-kʹV-*; PTM **ʒūpti* (**ʒub(i)-pti*) id.

✱**tı̯ùke** to pour: Turk. ***dök-**; Jpn. ***tùk-**; Kor. ***tahi-**.

PTurk. ***dök-** to pour out (*лить, сыпать*): OTurk. *tök-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *tök-* (MK, KB); Tur. *dök-*; Gag. *dök-*; Az. *tök-*; Turkm. *dök-*; Sal. *tü'-* (ССЯ); Khal. *tök-*, *tek-*; MTurk. *tök-* (Sangl.); Uzb. *tọk-*; Uygh. *tök-*; Krm. *tök-*; Tat. *tük-*; Bashk. *tük-*; Kirgh. *tök-*; Kaz. *tök-*; KBalk. *tök-*; KKalp. *tök-*; Kum. *tök-*; Nogh. *tök-*; SUygh. *tök-*; Khak. *tök-*; Shr. *tök-*; Oyr. *tök-*; Tv. *töʹk-*; Tof. *töʹk-*; Chuv. *tъʷk-*; Yak. *tox-*; Dolg. *tok-*.

◊ VEWT 492-493, EDT 477, ЭСТЯ 3, 273-274, Stachowski 225.

PJpn. ***tùk-** to pour (*лить, наливать*): MJpn. *tùk-*; Tok. *tsùg-*; Kyo. *tsúg-*; Kag. *tsúg-*.

◊ JLTT 772. Modern dialects point to **túnk-*, which is probably a result of phonetic merger with **túnk-* 'to continue, inherit'.

PKor. ***tahi-** to pour, irrigate (*лить, орошать*): MKor. *tahi-*; Mod. *tā̄-*.

◊ Nam 133, KED 423.

‖ Cf. also Evk. *ʒik-* 'to wash away (shores)', possibly < **ʒük-* (see TMC 1, 256).

✱**tı̯ŭ́lu (~ *č-)** wedge, peg: Tung. ***ʒul-**; Turk. ***dīĺ**.

PTung. ***ʒul-** wedge (*клин*): Evk. *ʒulamaptin*; Evn. *ʒulъmtiŋ*; Ul. *ʒilemeče*; Ud. *ʒolomopti* (Корм. 234).

◊ TMC 1, 272.

PTurk. ***dīĺ** tooth (*зуб*): OTurk. *tiš* (OUygh.); Karakh. *tɨš* (MK), *tiš* (KB); Tur. *diš*; Gag. *diš*; Az. *diš*; Turkm. *dīš*; Sal. *ciš*; Khal. *tīš*; MTurk. *tiš* (MA, Abush., Sangl.); Uzb. *tiš*; Uygh. *tiš*, *čiš*; Krm. *tɨš*; Tat. *teš*; Bashk. *teš*; Kirgh. *tiš*; Kaz. *tis*; KBalk. *tiš*; KKalp. *tis*; Kum. *tiš*; Nogh. *tis*; SUygh. *dɨs*; Khak. *təs*; Shr. *tiš*; Oyr. *diš*; Tv. *diš*; Tof. *diš*; Yak. *tīs*; Dolg. *tīs*.

◊ VEWT 481, EDT 557, 564-5, ЭСТЯ 3, 242-244, Лексика 228, Stachowski 224. Cf. also PT **dīĺ-le-* 'to bite'.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss; cf. perhaps also Mong. *duldaj* 'stick, staff'.

***tı̯ŭm(k)u** silent, calm: Tung. ***duŋk-**; Mong. ***düŋ-**; Turk. ***dɨm-**.

PTung. ***duŋk-** 1 dark, sullen 2 to bow the head 3 to knit the brows 4 to bow the head and slumber 5 to become silent, calm 6 quiet, peaceful (1 *темный, мрачный* 2 *опустить голову* 3 *нахмурить брови* 4 *дремать (опустив голову)* 5 *успокаиваться* 6 *тихий, спокойный*): Evk. *duŋkin-* 2; Evn. *duŋkun-* 2, 3; Man. *duŋgi*, *duŋki* 1; Ul. *duŋgu* 6; Ork. *dụŋGalị-* 4; Nan. *duŋgirien-* 5 (Он.), *duŋgu* 6.

◊ TMC 1, 223, 224.

PMong. ***düŋ-** to become dull, murky (of sky), sullen, melancholic (*молчать, быть мрачным, тихим, грустным*): WMong. *düŋsüi-* (L 281);

Kh. *dünsī-*; Bur. *dünjē-*; Kalm. *düŋgē-*, *düŋgī-* 'be silent', *düŋsī-*; Ord. *düŋ* 'obscur'.

◊ KW 105.

PTurk. ***dɨm-*** 1 to be silent 2 silently (1 умолкать 2 молча): Turkm. *dɨm-* 1; MTurk. *tɨn-* 1 (Буд. - Кальк. сл., MKypch. - Ettuhf.); Tat. *töŋ-köš* 'silent person' (KCTT); Bashk. *dɨm-* 1; Kirgh. *tim*, *tɨm* 2; Kaz. *tɨm* 2; KKalp. *tɨm* 2; Khak. *tɨmɨl-* 1, *tɨm* 2; Oyr. *tɨm-* 1, *tɨm* 2; Chuv. *tamal-* 2 (with aberrant vocalism).

◊ VEWT 478, ЭСТЯ 3, 340-341.

‖ ОСНЯ 1, 223. A Western isogloss; cf. perhaps Jpn. *tsumbo* 'deaf'.

✱**todV** to be full (of stomach, belly): Tung. ***tude-***; Turk. ***dod-***.

PTung. ***tude-*** to be constipated (закрепить (о кишечнике)): Evk. *tude-*.

◊ TMC 2, 205. An isolated Evk. form, with possible external parallels.

PTurk. ***dod-*** become satiated, full (насыщаться, наполняться): OTurk. *tod-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *toδ-* (MK); Tur. *doj-*; Gag. *doj-*; Az. *doj-*; Turkm. *doj-*; Sal. *toj-*; Khal. *tod-*; MTurk. *toj-* (Abush., Sangl.); Uzb. *tǫj-*; Uygh. *toj-*; Krm. *toj-*; Tat. *tuj-*; Bashk. *tuj-*; Kirgh. *toj-*; Kaz. *toj-*; KBalk. *toj-*; KKalp. *toj-*; Kum. *toj-*; Nogh. *toj-*; SUygh. *toz-*; Khak. *tos-*; Shr. *tos-*; Oyr. *toj-*; Tv. *to't-*; Tof. *do't-*; Chuv. *tъ^{w}ran-*; Yak. *tot-*; Dolg. *tot-*.

◊ VEWT 483, EDT 451, ЭСТЯ 3, 251-252, Stachowski 227.

‖ Cf. perhaps also Mong. *to-sun* 'melted fat' (< **tod-su-n* ?).

✱**tògà (~ č-, -k-, -u-)** wild, ferocious: Mong. ***dog-si-***; Jpn. ***tàkià-***.

PMong. ***dog-si-*** wild, ferocious (дикий, жестокий): WMong. *doγsin* (L 256); Kh. *dogšin*; Bur. *došxon*; Kalm. *dokšṇ*; Ord. *dogšin*, *došχin*; Dag. *doršin*, *dogšin* (Тод. Даг. 137), *dogešin* (MD 136); Dong. *doγun*; S.-Yugh. *doašūŋ*; Mongr. *doGšən* (SM 58), *doGšin*.

◊ KW 93, MGCD 222. Mong. > Oyr. *toqšin*; Man. *doksin*, see Doerfer MT 137, Rozycki 61.

PJpn. ***tàkià-*** wild, ferocious; brave (дикий, свирепый; храбрый): OJpn. *takje-si-*; MJpn. *tàkè-sí-*; Tok. *takeshi* (arch.).

◊ JLTT 841.

‖ Ozawa 242, JOAL 68. A Mong.-Jpn. isogloss. In Turkic cf. perhaps Turkm. *doGum* 'courage'; Kirgh. *tuγulčuγ* 'courageous, skillful'; Oyr. *tūragar* 'wild, mad, ferocious'.

✱**tógà (~ č-, -u-)** falcon: Turk. ***dogan***; Jpn. ***táká***.

PTurk. ***dogan*** falcon (сокол): OTurk. *toγan* (OUygh.); Karakh. *toγan* (MK); Tur. *doγan*; Gag. *duan*; MTurk. *toγan* (Abush., Sangl.); Uygh. *toγan*; Krm. *tuγan*.

◊ VEWT 483, TMN 3, 351-352, ЭСТЯ 3, 247-248, Лексика 169. Cf. also **Togril* 'hunting falcon' (VEWT 484, TMN 3, 346-347).

PJpn. ***táká** falcon (сокол): OJpn. *taka*; MJpn. *táká*; Tok. *tàka*; Kyo. *táká*; Kag. *táka*.

◊ JLTT 538.

‖ A Turk.-Jpn. isogloss. The root should be distinguished from **t'úbé* q.v.

✱**tógì (~ -u-, -u)** mound, dam: Tung. ***dug[i]-**; Jpn. ***túkà**; Kor. ***tuk**.

PTung. ***dug[i]-** 1 channel, island 2 straight road (1 протока, мыс (на реке) 2 прямая тропа): Evk. *duɣin*, *duɣu* 1; Man. *doqo* 2; Ud. *duala* 'old channel'.

◊ TMC 1, 219.

PJpn. ***túkà** dam, mound (насыпь): OJpn. *tuka*; MJpn. *túkà*; Tok. *tsuká*; Kyo. *tsúkà*; Kag. *tsúka*.

◊ JLTT 554.

PKor. ***tuk** mound, dam (насыпь, дамба): MKor. *tuk*; Mod. *tuk*.

◊ Liu 241, KED 507.

‖ Miller 1986, 54. An Eastern isogloss; cf. perhaps Chag. *tögä-baš* 'Steinplatte auf einem Grab'.

✱**togV** a k. of fish: Tung. ***dukčā**; Mong. ***dogdur**; Turk. ***Tog**.

PTung. ***dukčā** a k. of fish (вид рыбы (кунжа)): Evk. *dukčā*; Evn. *dụqča*.

◊ TMC 1, 221.

PMong. ***dogdur** pike, perch (L) (судак): WMong. *doɣdur* (L 256); Kh. *dogdor*.

PTurk. ***Tog** a k. of fish (вид рыбы): Tat. *toɣɨ* 'sturgeon' (KCTT); Shr. *toɣ* 'perch'; Oyr. *tūlɨ* 'кускуч'.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**tǒj-** four: Tung. ***dügin**; Mong. ***dör-ben, *dö-čin**; Turk. ***dǒrt**; Jpn. ***də-**.

PTung. ***dügin** four (четыре): Evk. *diɣī*; Evn. *diɣi*; Neg. *diɣī*; Man. *dujn*; SMan. *duin* (2738); Jurch. *dujin* (639); Ul. *dui(n)*; Ork. *ǯīn*; Nan. *duī*; Orch. *dī*; Ud. *dī*; Sol. *digī*.

◊ TMC 1,204. Cf. also **deki* 'fourty' (TMC 1, 215; despite Doerfer MT 78-79, cannot be borrowed from Mong. **dö-čin)*.

PMong. ***dör-ben, *dö-čin** 1 four 2 forty (1 четыре 2 сорок): MMong. *dorben* (HY 42, SH), *dorbā̆n* (IM), *durbän* (MA) 1, *dočin* (HY 43), *dučin* (IM), *dučin* (MA) 2; WMong. *dörbe(n)* (L 268) 1, *döči(n)* (L 266) 2; Kh. *döröv* 1, *döč(in)* 2; Bur. *dürbe(n)* 1 *düše(n)* 2; Kalm. *dörwṇ* 1, *döčṇ* 2; Ord. *dörwö* 1, *döči* 2; Mog. *dürbōn*; ZM *dorbɔ̄n* (25-1b); Dag. *durub*, *durəb* 1, *duči(n)*, *duč* 2 (Тод. Даг. 138), *duči* 2 (MD 138), *durube(n)* 1 (MD 139); Dong. *ǯieruan*, *ǯieron* 1; Bao. *deroŋ*, *deraŋ* 1; S.-Yugh. *dörwən*, *dörwen* 1, *döǯin* 2; Mongr. *dēran* (SM 52), *dēren* 1, *tēǯin*, *teǯin* (SM 417) 2.

◊ KW 100, TMN 1, 329, MGCD 231, 232.

PTurk. ***dȫrt** four (четыре): OTurk. *tört* (OUygh.); Karakh. *tört* (MK); Tur. *dört*; Gag. *dört*; Az. *dörd*; Turkm. *dȫrt*; MTurk. *tört* (Бор. Бад., Pav. C.); Uzb. *tọrt*; Uygh. *tö(r)t*; Krm. *dört*; Tat. *dürt*; Bashk. *dürt*; Kirgh. *tört*; Kaz. *tört*; KBalk. *tört*; KKalp. *tört*; Kum. *dört*; Nogh. *dört*; SUygh. *dürt*, *türt*; Khak. *tört*; Shr. *tört*; Oyr. *tört*; Tv. *dört*; Chuv. *tъʷvadъ*; Yak. *tüört*; Dolg. *tüört*.

◊ EDT 534, VEWT 495, ЭСТЯ 3, 284-286, Stachowski 235.

PJpn. ***də-** four (четыре): OJpn. *jo-*; MJpn. *jo-*; Tok. *yó-*; Kyo. *yó-*; Kag. *yó-*.

◊ JLTT 578. Accent unclear (as in other numerals).

‖ EAS 146, KW 100, Владимирцов 360, Poppe 110, Ozawa 154-156, Murayama 1962, 108, JOAL 35-36, TMN 1, 329-330), АПиПЯЯ 71. In TMN 2, 608 Doerfer tries to deny the comparison with TM ("es gibt kein Lautgesetz mo. ö = tu. ü"), which is not justified.

✱**tokʿà** base of a horn, callosity: Tung. ***dokta-**; Mong. ***duku**; Turk. ***Tok**; Jpn. ***takua**.

PTung. ***dokta-** forehead (of an animal) (лоб (животного у верхней части носа), лобные бугры): Evk. *doktonno*; Man. *doqǯiχan*.

◊ TMC 1, 213.

PMong. ***duku** 1 back of the head 2 forehead (1 затылок 2 лоб): WMong. *duqu* (L 278); Kh. *duxa* 1, 2; Bur. *duxa* 2, 1 (Agin.); Kalm. *duxə* 1, 2; Ord. *duxu* 2; Dag. *dox* 1.

◊ Cf. ZM *doqei* 'knob, nodosity' (2-8a). KW 101.

PTurk. ***Tok** 1 hummel 2 base of a horn 3 with a shaved head (1 комолый 2 основание рога 3 бритоголовый): Karakh. *toq* 3 (MK); Khal. ? *toq* 'Gipfel, Spitze'; MTurk. *toqal* (R) 1; Uzb. *tọqɔl* 1, 3; Uygh. *toqal* 1; Krm. *toqal* 'с тупым концом'; Bashk. *tuqal* 1; Kirgh. *toqol* 1; Kaz. *toqal* 1, 2; KBalk. *toqal* 1; KKalp. *toqal* 1; Nogh. *toqal*, *toqalaq* 1, 3; Tv. *toqpaq* 'куцый' (хвост), *doqpaq* 'корноухий'; Tof. ? *to'q* 'крупный о шарообразном'.

◊ VEWT 485, 486 (but not < Mong., despite Räsänen); EDT 464.

PJpn. ***takua** callosity (мозоль): Tok. *tako*.

‖ The meaning 'base of a horn' attested in some Turkic languages is probably original and explains well the semantic development elsewhere (> 'callosity'; 'forehead (of an animal)' etc.).

✱**tokʿV (~ -k-)** to plait, weave: Tung. ***duKu-**; Turk. ***doku-**; Kor. ***tàh-, *th-ìr-**.

PTung. ***duKu-** to strand, plait (вить (веревку)): Neg. *dukte-*; Ul. *dū-*; Nan. *dū-*.

◊ TMC 1, 220-221.

PTurk. ***doku-** to weave (ткать): OTurk. *toqu-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *toqu-* (MK); Tur. *doku-*; Gag. *doqu-*; Az. *toxu-*; Turkm. *doqa-*; Khal. *toqu-*;

MTurk. *toqu-* (Sangl.); Uzb. *tọqi-*; Uygh. *toqu-*; Krm. *toxɨ-*; Tat. *tuqɨ-*; Bashk. *tuqɨ-*; Kirgh. *toqu-*; Kaz. *toqɨ-*; KBalk. ? *toɣustun* 'назв. дерева, из кот. делают челноки'; KKalp. *toqɨ-*; Nogh. *toqɨ-*; SUygh. *toqɨ-*.

◊ VEWT 484-5, EDT 467, ЭСТЯ 3, 253-254 (to distinguish from **toki-* 'to beat'), Лексика 395. Turk. > WMong. *toki-*, Kalm. *tokə-* 'to plait' (KW 398).

PKor. ***tàh-, *th-ɨr-*** 1 to plait, weave 2 to twist, wind (1 плести, ткать 2 крутить, вить): MKor. *tàh-* 1, *thɨr-* 2; Mod. *t:a-* [*t:ah-*] 1, *thɨl-* 2.

◊ Nam 145, Liu 718, KED 418, 1724.

‖ Дыбо 15.

✱**tole** quiet, languid: Tung. ***dulu-**; Mong. ***döli-gen / *dölü-gen**; Turk. ***döle-**.

PTung. ***dulu-*** quiet, peaceful, easy (спокойный, смирный): Evk. *dulu-mkūn*; Evn. *dụlṭm*.

◊ TMC 1, 223.

PMong. ***döli-gen / *dölü-gen*** quiet, peaceful (мирный, спокойный): MMong. *dolüejen* (HY 52); WMong. *döligen*, *dölügen*, *dölgen* (L 267); Kh. *dölgõn* (< WMong.); Bur. *dülgēn* (< WMong.); Kalm. *dölɛ̄n*; Ord. *dölõ(n)*.

◊ KW 98.

PTurk. ***döle-*** tranquil, sedate, quiet (спокойный, тихий, мирный): Karakh. *tölek* (MK); Tur. *döle-k*, *dölen-*; Uzb. *tölek* (Chag.); Chuv. *tülek*.

◊ EDT 498, VEWT 504.

‖ TMC 1, 223 (TM-Mong.), Дыбо 13. A Western isogloss.

✱**tóle (~ -i̯o-, -i̯a-)** progeny, generation: Turk. ***döl**; Jpn. ***də́**.

PTurk. ***döl*** 1 progeny, breed 2 new-born animals (1 потомство 2 приплод): OTurk. *töl* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *töl* (MK Oghuz.) 'season when animals give birth to their young; the newborn young'; Tur. *döl* 1; Az. *döl* 2; Turkm. *döl* 2, 'sperm'; MTurk. *töl* 2 (Sangl.); Uzb. *tọl* 2; Uygh. *töl* 2; Tat. *tül* 'bird ovary'; Bashk. *tül* 'плодовитость; женская половая клетка'; Kirgh. *töl* 2; Kaz. *töl* 2; KBalk. *tölü* 2, 'generation'; KKalp. *töl* 2; Kum. *töl* 2; Nogh. *töl* 2; Khak. *töl* 1; Shr. *töl* 1; Oyr. *töl-dö-* 'to breed'; Tv. *töl* 1.

◊ ЭСТЯ 3, 274-276; EDT 490. Turk. > Mong. *töl* 'new-born young animals'.

PJpn. ***də́*** generation, age (поколение, возраст): OJpn. jo; MJpn. *jó*; Tok. *yó*, *yò*; Kyo. *yò*; Kag. *yó*.

◊ JLTT 575.

‖ A Turkic-Jpn. isogloss; not quite reliable, because the Jpn. form can have many possible protoforms.

✱**tòlu (~ ti̯ùlo)** to spin, turn round: Turk. ***dolga-**; Jpn. ***dər-**; Kor. ***tòr- / *tùr-**.

PTurk. ***dolga-*** to twist, to wrap round (крутить, заворачивать): Karakh. *tolɣa-* (MK); Tur. *dola-*; Az. *dola-*; Turkm. *dola-*; Khal. *tolɣa-n-* 'to

walk around'; MTurk. *tolγa-* (Abush., MA); Uzb. *tọlγa-*; Uygh. *tolγu-*; Krm. *tolγa-*; Tat. *tolγa-n-* (refl.); Bashk. *tula* 'cloth'; Kirgh. *tolγo-*; Kaz. *tolγa-*; Kum. *dola-n-* 'to tinker with smth.'; Shr. *tolγaj* 'turn'; Oyr. *tolγo-*; Tv. *dolγa-*; Tof. *dolγa-*; Chuv. *tъla*, *tъ^{w}lla* 'cloth, petersham'.

◊ VEWT 486, EDT 497, ЭСТЯ 3, 259-260, Федотов 2, 187-188, Ашм. XIV, 254-255, 259.

PJpn. ***dər-** to twist (крутить, изгибать): OJpn. *jor-*; MJpn. *jòr-*; Tok. *yór-*; Kyo. *yór-*; Kag. *yòr-*.

◊ JLTT 787.

PKor. ***tòr- / *tùr-** 1 revolve 2 surround (1 вращаться 2 окружать): MKor. *tòrá-ka-* 'return', *tòrá-pò-* 'look back', *tōr-* 1, *tùrɨ-* 2; Mod. *tol-* 1, *turɨ-* 2.

◊ Liu 223, 229, 239, KED 479, 504.

‖ Martin 245.

✱**tǒŕu** birch bark, vessel made of birch bark: Tung. ***duri**; Mong. ***duru-sun**; Turk. ***Tōŕ**; Jpn. ***túrú(m)pài**; Kor. ***turəi**.

PTung. ***duri** cradle made of birch bark (берестяная люлька): Evn. *dör*; Neg. *duj*; Man. *duri*; SMan. *d́urī* (516); Ul. *duri*; Nan. *duri*; Orch. *duji*; Ud. *düi*.

◊ TMC 1, 217.

PMong. ***duru-sun** liber, bast, bark (specif. birch bark) (лыко, береста): WMong. *duru-sun* (L 276); Kh. *durs*; Bur. *durhan*; Kalm. *dursṇ*; Ord. *durusu*.

◊ KW 103.

PTurk. ***Tōŕ** birch bark 2 birch cover (for a bow) 3 vessel made of birch bark (береста, изделия из бересты): OTurk. *toz* (OUygh.); Karakh. *toz* 'полоска для обертывания лука' (MK); Tur. (Osm.) *toz* 'материал для обертки лука'; MTurk. *toz* 'кора горного миндаля, которой обертывают луки' (Sangl.); Uzb. *tọs* 'березовая кора, идущая на отделку седла'; Tat. *tuz*; Bashk. *tuδ*; Kirgh. *toz* 'чага'; Kaz. *toz*; KKalp. *toz*; Khak. *tos*, dial. *toš*; Shr. *tos*; Oyr. *tos*; Tv. *tos*; Tof. *dos*; Yak. *tuos*; Dolg. *tuos* xā.

◊ VEWT 491-2, EDT 571, Лексика 103. Turk. > WMong. *tous*, *toos*, Kalm. *tōs*, see Clark 1980, 39.

PJpn. ***túrú(m)pài** bucket, pail (ведро, бадья): OJpn. *turub(j)e*; MJpn. *túrúbè*; Tok. *tsùrube*; Kyo. *tsùrúbè*; Kag. *tsurúbe*.

◊ JLTT 557. A rare accent class in MJ: HHL; its modern reflexes are not quite clear.

PKor. ***turəi** bucket, scoop (ведро, черпак): Mod. *ture*.

◊ KED 503.

‖ KW 103, TMN 2, 612 ("was nicht ganz unmöglich wäre"), Лексика 103.

✱**túbù (~ -o-)** end, edge: Tung. ***dubē**; Mong. ***daɣus-**; Jpn. ***túpí**; Kor. ***tūih**.

PTung. ***dubē** end (конец, край): Evk. *duwē*; Evn. *duwet*; Neg. *duwe*; Man. *dube*; SMan. *duwe*, *duwu* 'tip, point, end' (2604); Ul. *duwe*; Ork. *duwe*; Nan. *due*; Ud. *due*.

◊ TMC 1, 218. TM > Dag. *duwē* (Тод. Даг. 137).

PMong. ***daɣus-** to finish (кончать): MMong. *da'us-* (SH), *duson* 'complete' (IM), *dawus-* (MA); WMong. *daγus-* (L 220); Kh. *dūsa-*, *dūla-*; Bur. *dūha-*, *dūda-*; Kalm. *dūs-*; Ord. *dūs-*; Dag. *dausa-* (Тод. Даг. 135); S.-Yugh. *dūs-*.

◊ KW 104, MGCD 233.

PJpn. ***túpí** finish (конец, в конце): OJpn. *tupji*; MJpn. *túfí*; Tok. *tsúi(-ni)*; Kyo. *tsúi(-ni)*; Kag. *tsuí(-ni)*.

◊ JLTT 554. Modern accentuation is not quite clear (probably due to the adverbial status of the word).

PKor. ***tūih** behind, back, North (зад, спина, север, конец): MKor. *tūi* (*tūih-*); Mod. *twī*.

◊ Nam 168, KED 512.

‖ SKE 275-276, АПиПЯЯ 71, Дыбо 12. Cf. perhaps Karakh. (MK) *tuvur-* 'to prick (ears)'.

✱**tùdì (~ -o-)** to sound, howl: Tung. ***dudu-**; Mong. ***düdüne-**; Jpn. ***tùtù-**.

PTung. ***dudu-** to growl, howl (ворчать, бормотать, шуметь): Evk. *duduke-*; Evn. *dudъlči-*; Neg. *dudu-*; Ork. *dudǯi-*.

◊ TMC 1, 219-220.

PMong. ***düdüne-** to howl, growl (реветь, бормотать): WMong. *düdüne-* (L 278); Kh. *düdne-*; Kalm. *düdṇ-*, *dadṇ-*; Ord. *düdüne-*.

◊ KW 71, 104.

PJpn. ***tùtù-** to murmur, whisper (бормотать, шептать): OJpn. *tu-tum(j)ek-*; MJpn. *tùtùják-*, *tutumek-*.

◊ JLTT 776.

‖ TMC 1, 220. An onomatopoeic root, but with good correspondences.

✱**tǔgì** to pound: Tung. ***dug-**; Mong. ***tügsi-**; Turk. ***düg-**; Jpn. ***tùk-**; Kor. ***tìh-**.

PTung. ***dug-** 1 hit, beat 2 batter 3 thresh (1 бить, колотить 2 долбить 3 молотить): Evk. *duγ-* 1, 2; Evn. *dụγ-* 2, *duγ-* 1; Neg. *dụw-* ~ *dụγ-* 2, *dukte-* 1; Man. *du-* ~ *dū-* 1,3; Jurch. *du-ŋu-mij* (464) 1; Ul. *dṵ-čị-* 2; Ork. *dū-* 1, *dṵčị-* 2; Nan. *dū-* 1, *dōčị-* 2; Orch. *dū-* 1, 2; Ud. *dū-* 2, *dukte-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 218-219.

PMong. ***tügsi-** to thresh (молотить): WMong. *tügsi-* (L 850: *tügse-*); Kh. *tügši-*; Kalm. *tükšə-*; Ord. *dügši-* 'battre avec violence (coeur)'; Dag. *turši-*.

◊ KW 414, MGCD 657.

PTurk. ***düg-** to pound (бить, молотить, долбить): Karakh. *tög-* (MK); Tur. *döv-*; Gag. *dü̇-*; Az. *döj-*; Turkm. *döv-*; MTurk. (MKypch.) *tüw-* (AH), *tüj-* (At-Tuhf.); Krm. *tüj-*; Tat. *töj-*; Bashk. *töj-*; Kaz. *tüj-*; KBalk. *tüj-*; KKalp. *tüj-*; Kum. *tüj-*; Nogh. *tüj-*; Chuv. *tü-* / *tə^{w}v-*.

◊ EDT 477, ЭСТЯ 3, 270-272, VEWT 492.

PJpn. ***tùk-** to pound (молотить): OJpn. *tuk-*; MJpn. *tùk-*; Tok. *tsúk-*; Kyo. *tsùk-*; Kag. *tsùk-*.

◊ JLTT 774.

PKor. ***tìh-** to pound (молотить): MKor. *tìh-*; Mod. *č:i-* [*č:ih-*].

◊ Nam 182, KED 1560.

‖ Mong. has t- due to contamination with *tog-si-* 'to hit, knock' q.v. ; Kor. has *tìh-* with irregular vowel (low tone is usual in verbs) due to contamination with *tìk-* 'to dip down, imprint' q.v.

✱**tűjkʿú** to make a sign: Tung. ***duKū-**; Mong. ***doki-**; Turk. ***Tūkrag**; Jpn. ***túnká-**; Kor. ***tjək-**.

PTung. ***duKū-** to write (писать): Evk. *dukū-*; Evn. *dụq-*; Neg. *duki-*.

◊ TMC 1, 221.

PMong. ***doki-** to make a sign (делать знак): WMong. *doki-* (L 257); Kh. *doxi-*; Bur. *doxi-*; Kalm. *dok-*; Ord. *doχi-*.

◊ KW 93.

PTurk. ***Tūkrag (?)** royal sign manual (знак царской власти): Karakh. *tuγraγ* (MK - Oghuz), *tuγra* (IM); Tur. *tuγra*; Uzb. *tuγrɔ*.

◊ VEWT 496. EDT 471, TMN 3, 342-343. The word may belong here if it is not derived < *tūg* 'banner' (< Chin.).

PJpn. ***tú(n)ká-** to let know, inform (сообщать): OJpn. *tuga-*; MJpn. *túga-*; Tok. *tsùge-*; Kyo. *tsúgé-*; Kag. *tsugé-*.

◊ JLTT 772.

PKor. ***tjək-** to note down, to write (записывать): MKor. *tjək-*; Mod. *čək-*.

◊ Nam 155, KED 1424.

‖ All meanings are well explainable from the original 'make, produce a sign'; the diphthong -jə- in Korean is somewhat unexpected and makes us reconstruct PA **tűjkʿú* (otherwise **tűkʿu* would serve just as well).

✱**tújpè (~ d-)** hill, top: Tung. ***dü̇- (~ *düb-)**; Mong. ***dobu / *döbe**; Jpn. ***(d)ípà**.

PTung. ***dü̇- (~ *düb-)** 1 top 2 mountain top 3 taiga region (1 верх 2 вершина горы 3 лесная, таежная местность): Evk. *dī-* 1; Evn. *dī-* 1; Man. *de-n*, *de-le* 1; SMan. *den* 'tall, high' (2399, 2615); Ul. *duwu* 3; Ork. *duwwê* 3; Nan. *duje* 3; Orch. *di-xi* 3; Ud. *dī-* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 202-203.

PMong. ***dobu / *döbe** 1 hill 2 to be convex, protuberant (1 холм 2 быть выпуклым): WMong. *dobu(n)* (L 256: *dobuŋ*), *döbe(n)*; Kh. *dov* 1, *dovoj-* 2; Bur. *dobo* 1; Kalm. *dowṇ*, *döwṇ* 1; Ord. *dowoŋ* 1; Mongr. *toboi-* 2 (MGCD 221).

◊ MGCD 221.

PJpn. ***(d)ípà** rock, cliff (скала): OJpn. *ipa*; MJpn. *ífà*; Tok. *iwá*; Kyo. *íwà*; Kag. *íwa*.

◊ JLTT 429.

‖ Medial -j- should be postulated to account for the vowel (*ü) in PTM and for the otherwise irregular fronting *u > i in Jpn. For a possible reflex in Turkic see under **tʿepʿa*.

✱**tuju** to listen, perceive: Tung. ***duja**; Mong. ***duɣul-**; Turk. ***duj-**; Jpn. ***tua-p-**.

PTung. ***duja** noise; to shout, cry (шум; шуметь, кричать): Evn. *dụ̄ja*, *dụ̄ja-*.

◊ TMC 1, 220. Attested only in Evn., but having possible external parallels.

PMong. ***duɣul-** listen (слушать, слышать): MMong. *dūla-* (MA), *duʼulqa-* (SH) 'verkünden, bekanntgeben'; WMong. *duɣul-* (L 271); Kh. *dūla-*; Bur. *dūla-*; Kalm. *dūlɣə-* (caus.); Ord. *dūl-*.

◊ KW 104.

PTurk. ***duj-** to perceive (by ears or nose), notice (слышать, чуять, замечать): OTurk. *tuj-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *tuj-* (MK); Tur. *duj-*; Gag. *duj-*; Az. *duj-*; Turkm. *duj-*; MTurk. *tuj-* (Sangl.); Uzb. *tuj-*; Uygh. *tuj-*; Krm. *duj-*, *tuj-*; Tat. *toj-*; Bashk. *toj-*; Kirgh. *tuj-*; KKalp. *tuj-*; Nogh. *tuj-*; SUygh. *tuj-*; Chuv. *tuj-*, refl. *tojъn-*.

◊ VEWT 497, EDT 567, ЭСТЯ 3, 290-291, Федотов 2, 241, Ашм. XIV, 92-94. Chuv. may be < Tatar.

PJpn. ***tua-p-** to ask (спрашивать): OJpn. *twop-*; MJpn. *tóf-*; Tok. *tò-*, *tó-*; Kyo. *tó-*; Kag. *tò-*.

◊ JLTT 771. Accent is not quite clear (Kag. *tò-* and the Tokyo variant *tó-* point to **tuàp-*).

‖ The isolated Even parallel is somewhat dubious, but the rest of the forms are well explained by the original meaning 'perceive' (whence both 'listen' and 'ask') and correspond well to each other.

✱**tǔlu (~ -o)** barren: Tung. ***dūla-**; Turk. ***dul(k)**; Kor. ***tur-**.

PTung. ***dūla-** barren, farrow (яловая (о важенке оленя)): Evk. *dūlaɣi*; Nan. (?) *dolboan* ʿyoung, unripe' (of fruits, vegetables) (Он.).

◊ TMC 1, 221. Attested only in Evk., but having probable external parallels.

PTurk. ***dul(k)** widow, widower (вдова, вдовец): OTurk. *tul* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *tul* (MK); Tur. *dul*; Gag. *dul*; Az. *dul*; Turkm. *dul*; MTurk. *tul* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *tul*; Uygh. *tul*; Krm. *tul*; Tat. *tŭl*; Bashk. *tŭl*; Kirgh. *tul*; Kaz. *tŭl*; KKalp. *tul*; Kum. *tul*; Shr. *tul*; Oyr. *tul*; Tv. *dulɣujaq*;

Tof. *tulɣuńaq*; Chuv. *tъlъx* 'orphan'; Yak. *tulājax* 'orphan'; Dolg. *tulājak* 'widow; orphan'.

◊ EDT 490, VEWT 497, ЭСТЯ 3, 292-293, Лексика 293, Ашм. XIV, 258-259, Федотов 2, 189, Stachowski 230.

PKor. ***tur-** barren (бесплодная, яловая): Mod. *tul-*, *tol-*.

◊ KED 478.

‖ KW 409, TMN 3, 349.

✱**tǜĺdi** to hear: Tung. ***dōldī-**; Turk. ***düĺ-ün-**; Kor. ***tɨd-**.

PTung. ***dōldī-** to hear (слышать): Evk. *dōldī-*; Evn. *dōldī-*; Neg. *dōldi-*; Man. *donǯi-*; SMan. *ďonǯi-* (182); Jurch. *doldi-sun* (351), *doldi-u* (354); Ul. *dōldiwu*; Ork. *dolʒi-*; Nan. *dōld'i-*; Orch. *dōgdī-*; Ud. *dogdi-*; Sol. *dōldi-*.

◊ TMC 1, 214-215.

PTurk. ***düĺ-ün-** to think, understand (думать, понимать): OTurk. *tüšü-t-le-n-il-* (OUygh.), *tüšün-* (OUygh. - USp.); Tur. *düšün-*; Gag. *düšün-*; Az. *düšün-*; Turkm. *düšün-*; MTurk. *düšün-* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *tušun-*; Uygh. *tüšün-*, *čüšün-*; Krm. *tüšün-*; Tat. *tošen-*; Kirgh. *tüšün-*; Kaz. *tüsin-*; KKalp. *tüsin-*; Kum. *tüšün-*; Nogh. *tüsin-*; Oyr. *tüžü-met* 'intelligent, reasonable'; Yak. *tüs* 'serious, reasonable'.

◊ VEWT 507, EDT 562, ЭСТЯ 335-336.

PKor. ***tɨd-** to hear (слышать): MKor. *tɨt-* (-r-); Mod. *tɨt-* (-r-).

◊ Nam 173, KED 532.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 48, 290. Korean has a "verbal" low tone.

✱**tǜĺe** clear sky, noon: Tung. ***dōlā**; Mong. ***düli**; Turk. ***düĺ**.

PTung. ***dōlā** clear, open sky (ясный (о небе), открытое небо): Evk. *dōlō*; Evn. *delъd*.

◊ TMC 1, 215.

PMong. ***düli** middle (of day, night) (середина (дня, ночи)): MMong. *duli* (SH, HY 5), *d[ä]li* (IM); WMong. *düli* (L 280); Kh. *dül*; Mongr. *dur* 'midi, milieu du jour' (SM 66).

PTurk. ***düĺ** noon (полдень): Karakh. *tüš* (MK, KB); Tur. *düš* (dial.); Turkm. *düš* (dial.); MTurk. *tüš* (Abush., Sangl.); Uzb. *tuš*; Uygh. *čüš*; Krm. *tüš*; Tat. *töš*; Bashk. *töš*; Kirgh. *tüš*; Kaz. *tüs*; KBalk. *tüš*; KKalp. *tüs*; Kum. *tüš*; Nogh. *tüs*; Oyr. *tüš*; Tv. *dü'š*; Tof. *düš*.

◊ VEWT 507, EDT 559, Лексика 78-79. Turk. > Hung. *dél* 'South, noon', see MNyTESz 1, 606-607.

‖ Владимирцов 366, Лексика 79. A Western isogloss.

✱**tǜĺe (~ -i)** to bend down, fall: Tung. ***dōl-**; Mong. ***döli-**; Turk. ***düĺ-**.

PTung. ***dōl-** 1 to bend 2 to contort (1 выгибать 2 вывихивать): Evk. *dōldī-* 1; Ork. *doltidda-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 215.

PMong. ***döli-** to bend backwards (наклоняться назад): MMong. *dolusgu-* (SH); WMong. *döli-* (L 267: *dölügü* 'slightly inclined'); Kh. *dölö-*; Bur. *düle-*; Kalm. *döli-*.

◊ KW 98.

PTurk. ***düĺ-** to fall, move down (падать, двигаться вниз): OTurk. *tüš-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *tüš-* (MK); Tur. *düš-*; Gag. *düš-*; Az. *düš-*; Turkm. *düš-*; MTurk. *tüš-* (Бор. Бад., Abush., Pav. C.); Uzb. *tuš-*; Uygh. *tüš-*; Krm. *tüš-*; Tat. *tŭš-*; Bashk. *tŭš-*; Kirgh. *tüš-*; Kaz. *tüs-*; KBalk. *tüš-*; KKalp. *tüs-*; Kum. *tuš-*; Nogh. *tüs-*; SUygh. *tüs-*; Shr. *tüš-*; Oyr. *tüš-*; Tv. *düš-*; Yak. *tüs-*; Dolg. *tüs-*.

◊ EDT 560, VEWT 507, ЭСТЯ 3, 330-333, Stachowski 235. Turk. (Bulg.) > Hung. *dől* (MNyTESz 1, 668-669).

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**tumi** drum: Mong. ***düŋgür**; Turk. ***düm-**; Jpn. ***tuntumi**.

PMong. ***düŋgür** shaman's drum (колотушка шамана): WMong. *düŋgür* (L 281); Kh. *düŋger*.

◊ Mong. > Chag. *tüŋür* etc.

PTurk. ***düm-** drum (барабан): Karakh. *tümrüg* (MK Oghuz.); Tur. *dümrü* (Osm.), *dümbek*; MTurk. *dümbek*.

◊ EDT 509, VEWT 504-505.

PJpn. ***tuntumi** drum (барабан): OJpn. *tudumji*; MJpn. *túdúmí*; Tok. *tsuzumí*; Kyo. *tsúzùmì*; Kag. *tsuzumí*.

◊ JLTT 559. Modern dialects point uniformly to **tùntùmì*, but RJ has high tone.

‖ An expressive root, reduplicated in Japanese.

✱**túmu (~ č-, -i, i̯u-o, i̯a-u)** cold, snot: Turk. ***dum**; Jpn. ***túm-**.

PTurk. ***dum** 1 cold 2 cold, flu (1 холодный 2 простуда): OTurk. *tumlɨɣ* 1 (OUygh.), *tumaɣu* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *tum*, *tumlɨɣ* 1 (MK), *tumaɣu* (MK) 2; Tur. *dumaɣ*, *duma* 2, (Osm.) *tumlu* 1; Turkm. *dümev* 2; MTurk. *tumaq* 2 (MA); Uygh. *tumu* 2; Tat. *tomaw* 2; Khak. *tɨmo* 2; Tv. *dumā* 2; Tof. *tumā* 2; Yak. *tɨmnɨ̄* 1, *tumū* 2; Dolg. *tɨmnɨ̄* 1.

◊ VEWT 498, EDT 503, 505, 506, ЭСТЯ 3, 326, Лексика 14-15, Stachowski 238. Turk. > WMong. *tomuɣu*, Khalkha *tomū* 'influenza'. A probable derivative is Turk. **duman* 'fog' (ЭСТЯ 3, 295-296, Лексика 33, Stachowski 230), see TMN 2, 568.

PJpn. ***túm-** cold (холодный): MJpn. *tumeta-*; Tok. *tsùmetai*; Kyo. *tsúmétà-*; Kag. *tsuméta-*.

◊ JLTT 842.

‖ A Turk.-Jpn. isogloss.

✱**tuŋa** cold, frost: Tung. ***doŋota**; Mong. ***daɣara-**; Turk. ***doŋ**.

PTung. ***doŋota** 1 cold, frost 2 to ice up, freeze (1 мороз 2 обледеневать, замерзать): Evk. *doŋoto* 1; Neg. *doŋoto-* 2; Ul. *doqomdu̯-* 1; Ork. *doGdo* 'hoard of frozen fish'.

◊ TMC 1, 216.

PMong. ***daɣara-** to freeze, become cold (замерзать, остывать): MMong. *dara-* (MA); WMong. *daɣara-* (L 218); Kh. *dāra-*; Bur. *dāra-*; Kalm. *dār-*; Ord. *dāra-* 120; Dag. *dāra-* (Тод. Даг. 135), *dāre-* (MD 131); Dong. *daGara-*; Bao. *dār-*; S.-Yugh. *dārā-*; Mongr. *dāra-* (SM 44).

◊ KW 82, MGCD 182.

PTurk. ***doŋ** 1 cold 2 frost 3 frozen 4 freeze, be frozen (1 холодный 2 мороз 3 замерзший 4 замерзать): OTurk. *toŋ-* 4 (OUygh.); Karakh. *toŋ* 2, 3 (MK); Tur. *don* 2; Az. *don* 2, *don-* 4; Turkm. *doŋ* 3, *doŋ-* 4; MTurk. *toŋ-* 4 (Pav. C.); Uygh. *toŋ-* 4, *toŋ* 2, 3; Tat. *tuŋ* 2; Kirgh. *toŋ* 2, *toŋ-* 4; SUygh. *tot* 1; Khak. *tō-r-* 4; Tv. *doŋ* 3, *doŋ-* 4; Tof. *doŋ* 3, *doŋ-* 4; Chuv. *tъʷm* 2 'frost'; Yak. *toŋ-* 4, *toŋ* 3; Dolg. *toŋ-* 4, *toŋ* 3.

◊ VEWT 488, EDT 513, 515, ЭСТЯ 3, 265-267, Лексика 17, Stachowski 226.

‖ TMC 1, 216, АПиПЯЯ 286, Дыбо 11. A Western isogloss.

✱**túŋì** relative by marriage: Tung. ***duŋ-**; Turk. ***düŋür**; Jpn. ***túmà**.

PTung. ***duŋ-** coeval (сверстник, ровесник): Man. *duŋGami*.

◊ TMC 1, 224. Attested only in Manchu, with possible external parallels.

PTurk. ***düŋür** a relative by marriage (1 сват, сваха, посредник при сватовстве 2 свойственник): OTurk. *tüŋür* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *tüŋür* 2 (MK); Tur. *dünür* 1, dial. *dünüš* 'родители новобрачных'; Gag. *dünür* 'сватовство'; Yak. *tüŋür* 2.

◊ EDT 523, Рясянен 1955, 172. Yak. > Evk., Evn. *tuŋur* 2 (TMC 2, 217).

PJpn. ***túmà** spouse (супруг, супруга): OJpn. *tuma*; MJpn. *túmà*; Tok. *tsúma*; Kyo. *tsúmà*; Kag. *tsúma*.

◊ JLTT 555. The Tokyo accent is aberrant (**tsumá* would be expected).

‖ The isolated Manchu parallel is somewhat dubious semantically (not a 'relative by marriage', but a coeval), but the Turkic and Jpn. forms correspond well to each other.

✱**tū́pʹe (~ *tḭ̄pʹi, *č-)** bottom: Mong. ***dow-**; Turk. ***dū̄p**.

PMong. ***dow-** below (внизу): MMong. *dora* (HY 50), *doro* (SH), *dură* (IM), *dură* (MA); WMong. *doura*, *doru* (L 266); Kh. *dor*; Bur. *doro*, *dōro*; Kalm. *dorə*; Ord. *doro*; Mog. *dora*; ZM *dōrɔ̄* (6-8b); Dag. *duar*, *dorōn*, *dōrōn* (Тод. Даг. 137); *dore* (MD 137); Dong. *dodu*, *dəura*, *daura*, *doura*; Bao. *doGoŋ*; S.-Yugh. *dūra*, *duGūr*; Mongr. *dōro* (SM 57, 61).

◊ KW 95, MGCD 220, 225.

PTurk. ***dū̄p** bottom; root (дно; основание; корень): OTurk. *tüp* (*tüb*) (OUygh.); Karakh. *tüp* (*tüb*) (MK); Tur. *dip*; Gag. *dip*; Az. *dib*; Turkm. *dū̄p*; MTurk. *tüb* (Pav. C.), *tüp* (Abush.); Uzb. *tub*; Uygh. *tüp*; Krm. *tüp*; Tat. *tŭp*; Bashk. *tŭp*; Kirgh. *tüp*; Kaz. *tüp*; KKalp. *tüp*; Kum. *tub*; Nogh. *tüp*; SUygh. *tüp*, *top*; Khak. *tüp*; Shr. *tüp*; Oyr. *tüp*; Tv. *düp*; Tof. *düp*; Chuv. *təp*; Yak. *tügex* (?); Dolg. *tügek* (?).

◊ EDT 434-435, VEWT 505, ЭСТЯ 3, 317-319, TMN 2, 652-654 (> Mong. *tüb*, *töb*), Лексика 108-109, Stachowski 234.

‖ A Turk.-Mong. isogloss. The relationship to TM *dō- 'to sit down (of birds)', suggested in TMC 1, 211, is unclear; if it exists, we may be dealing here with an archaic case of *-pʿ-suffixation.

✱**turi** face: Tung. ***duru-n**; Mong. ***düri**; Turk. ***dür**; Jpn. ***tura**.

PTung. ***duru-n** 1 form, outlook 2 pattern, design 3 picture (1 форма, вид 2 узор 3 рисунок): Evk. *durun* 2; Neg. *dujun* / *dujin* 1; Man. *durun* 1, *duru-Gan* 3; SMan. *durun* 1 (2341); Ul. *duru(n)* 1; Ork. *duru(n)* 1; Nan. *durũ* 1 (On.); Orch. *dū(n)* 1; Ud. *dū(n)* 1; Sol. *durũ* 1.

◊ See TMC 1, 225-6.

PMong. ***düri** form, outlook (вид, облик): WMong. *düri* (L 282); Kh. *dür*; Bur. *düre*; Kalm. *dürə*, *dürsṇ*; Ord. *düri*; Mog. ZM *dor* (7-6b) 'affection'; Dag. *dur* (Тод. Даг. 138), *dure* (MD 139).

◊ KW 105, MGCD 245, 246. Mong. > Man. *dursun* (Rozycki 64).

PTurk. ***dür** 1 sort, kind, shape 2 various (1 вид, форма, порода 2 разнообразный): OTurk. *törlüg* 1 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *törlüg* 1 (MK, KB); Tur. *türlü* 1, 2; Gag. *türlü* 1, 2; Az. *dürlü* (dial.) 2; Turkm. *dürli* 2; MTurk. *törlüg* 1 (Sangl.); Uzb. *turli* 2; Krm. *türlü* 2; Tat. *türli* 2; Bashk. *törlö* 2; Kirgh. *tür* 1; Kaz. *türli* 2, *tür* 1; KBalk. *türlü* 2; KKalp. *türli* 2; Kum. *türlü* 2; Nogh. *türli* 2; Chuv. *tə^{w}rlə^{w}* 2.

◊ EDT 546-547, ЭСТЯ 3, 327-328 (loan of forms like Kaz. *tür* < Mong. *düri* is hardly acceptable, despite EDT ibid.).

PJpn. ***tura** face (лицо): OJpn. *tura*; MJpn. *túrà*; Tok. *tsurá*; Kyo. *tsúrà*; Kag. *tsùra*.

◊ JLTT 556. Modern dialects suggest a reconstruction **tùrà*; however, the form attested in RJ is *túrà.*

‖ KW 105, Владимирцов 165, EAS 51, Poppe 23, 82, Miller 1996, 151, АПиПЯЯ 71, Дыбо 12, Лексика 207 (but PT **jŭŕ* is to be separated, despite all the above sources). The TM forms may be < Mong. (see Doerfer MT 76, Rozycki 65), but not necessarily so.

✱**tūri** to wrap, fold: Mong. ***dörseji-**; Turk. ***dŭ̄r-**; Jpn. ***tùtùm-**.

PMong. ***dörseji-** to shrink, shrivel; be folded (коробиться, ежиться, морщиться): WMong. *dörsüji-* (MXTTT); Kh. *dörsij-*; Kalm. *dörsē-* KPC 212.

PTurk. ***dŭ̄r-** to fold, roll together (скручивать, засучивать): OTurk. *tür-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *tür-* (MK); Tur. *dür-*; Gag. *dür-*; Az. *dürmäk* 'бутерброд в виде трубочки'; Turkm. *düjr-*; Sal. *tür-*; MTurk. *tür-* (MA, Pav. C.); Uzb. *turmak-la-*; Uygh. *tü(r)-*; Tat. *tör-*; Bashk. *tör-*; Kirgh. *tür-*; Kaz. *tür-*; KKalp. *tür-*; Nogh. *tür-*; Khak. *tür-*; Shr. *türgek* 'клубок'; Oyr. *tür-*; Tv. *dür-*; Tof. *dür-*; Yak. *tŭ̄r-*.

◊ VEWT 506, EDT 530-531, ЭСТЯ 3, 319-320. Turk. > Hung. *tűr-* 'to tuck', see Gombocz 1912.

PJpn. ***tùtùm-** to wrap (заворачивать): OJpn. *tutum-*; MJpn. *tùtùm-*; Tok. *tsutsúm-*; Kyo. *tsútsúm-*; Kag. *tsùtsùm-*.

◊ JLTT 776.

‖ A good match, but with irregular tone in Jpn.

✱**tùru (~ *tḭùro)** crane: Turk. ***durunja**; Jpn. ***tùrû**; Kor. ***túrúmí**.

PTurk. ***durunja** crane (журавль): OTurk. *turuńja*; Karakh. *turna* (MK); Tur. *turna*; Az. *durna*; Turkm. *durna*; Tat. *torna*; Kirgh. *turuna*; Kaz. *tɨrna*; Tv. *duruj̃ā*; Tof. *duruj̃ā*, *turuja*; Chuv. *tъʷrna*, (dial. Verkh.) *təʷrne*; Yak. *turj̃uja*.

◊ VEWT 501, TMN 3, 199, EDT 551, ЭСТЯ 3, 301-302, Лексика 173.

PJpn. ***tùrû** crane (журавль): OJpn. *turu*; MJpn. *tùrú*; Tok. *tsúru*; Kyo. *tsùrû*; Kag. *tsurú*.

◊ JLTT 557.

PKor. ***túrúmí** crane (журавль): MKor. *túrúmí*; Mod. *turumi*.

◊ Liu 238, KED 504.

‖ Martin 229, Murayama 1962, 110, АПиПЯЯ 71, Лексика 173. Cf. also (phonetically unclear) Mong. *toγuriγun* 'crane' (KW 397).

✱**tū́ti** tube, round vessel: Tung. ***doda-ka(n)**; Turk. ***dū̄tük**; Jpn. ***tútú**.

PTung. ***doda-ka(n)** a vessel made of birch bark (сосуд из бересты): Neg. *dodoxon*; Ork. *dodo, dụdụ*; Orch. *dodō*, *dodoko*.

◊ TMC 1, 212.

PTurk. ***dū̄tük** pipe (трубка, флейта): Karakh. *tütek* 'a spout of an ewer' (MK), *düdük* 'reed pipe, flute' (IM); Tur. *düdük*; Gag. *düdük*; Az. *düdük*; Turkm. *tüjdük*; Sal. *tütülüx* (ССЯ); MTurk. (OKypch.) *düdük* (AH); Uzb. *tutak*; Kirgh. *tütük*; Kaz. *tütik*; KKalp. *tüte*; Kum. *düdük*; Nogh. *düdik*.

◊ VEWT 507, EDT 455.

PJpn. ***tútú** tube (трубка): OJpn. *tutu*; MJpn. *tútú*; Tok. *tsùtsu*, *tsutsú*; Kyo. *tsútsú*; Kag. *tsutsú*.

◊ JLTT 558. RJ *tútú*, Tokyo *tsùtsu* and Kyoto *tsútsú* point directly to **tútú*. However, the Tokyo variant *tsutsú* and Kagoshima *tsùtsú* may indicate a variant **tùtù*.

‖ On TM *-d- see under **tètu*.

Tʿ

✱**tʿà (*tʿè)** that: Tung. ***ta-**; Mong. ***te-re**; Turk. ***ti-(kü)**; Jpn. ***tà-**; Kor. ***tjə́**.

PTung. ***ta-** that (тот): Evk. *tar, tari*; Evn. *tar*; Neg. *taj*; Man. *tere*; SMan. *terə* (2878); Ul. *tāwụ, tị*; Ork. *tari*; Nan. *taja*; Orch. *tī, tei*; Ud. *tei, teji*; Sol. *tajā, tari*.

◊ TMC 2, 164-167.

PMong. ***te-re** that (тот): MMong. *tere* (SH, HY), *tɛrɛ* (IM), *tirǎ* (MA); WMong. *tere* (L 804); Kh. *ter*; Bur. *tere*; Kalm. *terə*; Ord. *tere*; Mog. *tḗ*; ZM ti (26-5); Dag. *tere* (Тод. Даг. 167, MD 224); Dong. *tere*; Bao. *ter*; S.-Yugh. *tere*; Mongr. *te* (SM 416).

◊ KW 393.

PTurk. ***ti-(kü)** that (тот): Gag. *te bu* 'this here', *te o* 'that there'; Turkm. (dial.) *šü-tki,šütüki, bitiki* 'вот этот' (Akhaltek.); Sal. *düγü, tǖ*; MTurk. (OKypch.) *tigi* (Bulgat), *tik* (Ettuhf.); Tat. *tege*; Bashk. *tege*; Kirgh. *tigi*; Kaz. *tigi* (dial.); Khak. *tege*; *ĭ-di* 'so, thus'; Tv. *dȭ*; Tof. *tē*; Yak. *i-ti* 'this'; Dolg. *i-ti* 'this'.

◊ VEWT 479, Räsänen 1957, 36, Котвич 1962, 142, Stachowski 129.

PJpn. ***tà-** that way (так, таким образом): MJpn. *to-ni-kaku-ni*, *tò-zàmà-káú-zámá*.

◊ Attested since Heian, and only in the above expressions meaning "anyway, all directions" (lit. "that way - this way"). JLTT 550, 551.

PKor. ***tjə́** that (тот): MKor. *tjə́*; Mod. *čə*.

◊ Nam 154, KED 1417.

‖ EAS 126, KW 393, Lee 1958, 118, АПиПЯЯ 52, 289, Rozycki 207, Doerfer MT 26 ("Elementarverwandtschaft"). Cf. Mong. *terteγe* 'on that side', *terse* 'inimical, adverse' = Turk. *tetrü* 'opposite side', *ters* 'perverse, wrong'.

✱**tʿā́bá** foot, footwear: Tung. ***tabu-**; Mong. ***tabag**; Turk. ***dāpan**; Jpn. ***tàmp(u)î**.

PTung. ***tabu-** fur footwear (меховая обувь): Evk. *tawur*, *taubun*; Evn. *tēwun*; Nan. *toa-ma* ʿa k. of footwear made of fish skin' (Он.).

◊ TMC 2, 149, 171. TM > Dolg. *tēbin* 'leichte Hausschuhe' (Stachowski 221).

PMong. ***tabag** foot, paw (ступня, лапа): WMong. *tabaγ* (L 760); Kh. *tavag*, *tavxaj*; Bur. *tabgaj*; Kalm. *tawəg* (KPC); Ord. *tawaG*; Mongr. *tawaG* (SM 412).

◊ Mong. > Kaz. *tawa*, VEWT 451, Man. *taba*, TMC 2, 149, Doerfer MT 136.

PTurk. ***dāpan** foot, sole (нога, подошва): Karakh. *taban* (MK); Tur. *taban*; Gag. *taban*; Az. *daban*; Turkm. *dāban*; MTurk. *taban* (Sangl.); Uzb. *tɔbɔn*; Uygh. *tapan*; Krm. *taban*; Tat. *taban*; Bashk. *taban*; Kirgh. *taman*; Kaz. *taban*; KBalk. *taban*; KKalp. *taban*; Kum. *taban*; Nogh. *taban*; SUygh. *tawan*; Oyr. *taman*; Tv. *davan*; Tof. *daman*; Chuv. *toban* (Anatri).

◊ VEWT 462, EDT 441, ЭСТЯ 3, 110-112, Лексика 289, Федотов 2, 249.

PJpn. ***tàmp(u)î** a k. of socks (вид носков): MJpn. *tàbí*; Tok. *tábi*; Kyo. *tàbî*; Kag. *tabí*.

◊ JLTT 536.

‖ KW 385, Лексика 289. Cf. **tʿopʿu*. The Turkic form is quite irregular - very probably a distortion of the expected **tāban* under the influence of **dāp-* 'to trample' q.v.

✸**tʿabi (~ -o)** to pick up, collect: Tung. ***tab-**; Mong. ***teɣü-**.

PTung. ***tab-** to pick up, collect (подбирать, собирать): Evk. *taw-*; Evn. *taw-*; Neg. *taw-*; Ul. *tawčụ-*; Nan. *tao-san-*; Orch. *taw-*; Ud. *tai-*; Sol. *tawiža-*.

◊ TMC 2, 148.

PMong. ***teɣü-** to pick up, collect (подбирать, собирать): MMong. *tu-* (MA 359); WMong. *tegü-* (L 794); Kh. *tǖ-*; Bur. *tǖ-*; Kalm. *tǖ-* (KPC); Ord. *tǖ-*; S.-Yugh. *tǖ-*.

◊ MGCD 656.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✸**tʿǎgè** to unfasten, disentangle: Tung. ***taga-**; Mong. ***tajila-**; Jpn. ***tə̀k-**.

PTung. ***taga-** to hitch, become entangled (зацепиться, запутаться): Evk. *taγa-*; Neg. *tā-*; Man. *ta-*; SMan. *ta-* (420, 1647); Ul. *tā-*; Ork. *tā-*; Nan. *tā-*; Orch. *tā-*; Ud. *ta-*; Sol. *tā-wṵ-*.

◊ TMC 2, 149-150.

PMong. ***tajila-** to untie, unfasten (развязывать): MMong. *ṭajl-* (IM); WMong. *tajila-* (L 768: *tajil-*); Kh. *tajla-*; Bur. *tajla-*; Kalm. *tǎl-* (KPC); Ord. *tǎl-*; Dag. *taila-* (Тод. Даг. 165), *tajle-* (MD 219); Mongr. *tāli-* (SM 414).

PJpn. ***tə̀k-** to untie, unfasten (развязывать, распутывать): OJpn. *tok-*; MJpn. *tòk-*; Tok. *tók-*; Kyo. *tók-*; Kag. *tòk-*.

◊ JLTT 769.

‖ Cf. also TM **tagdī-* 'to pull out' (TMC 2, 150-151), PT **dāga-* 'to stray, disperse, diverge' (ЭСТЯ 3, 119-120) - either a different root, or a variant of the above.

✱**tʿàgo** dirt (dust, clay): Tung. ***tāksa**; Turk. ***Tog**.

PTung. ***tāksa** clay (глина): Evk. *tāksa*; Evn. *tās*; Neg. *tāksa*; Ul. *toaqsa*; Ork. *tōqso*; Nan. *toaqsa*; Ud. *takeä*.

◊ TMC 2, 154.

PTurk. ***Tog** dust (пыль): OTurk. *toγ* (OUygh. - late, Lig. VSOu); Karakh. *toγ* (MK, KB); *toγ-* 'to rise (of dust)'; MTurk. *toγ* (Pav. C., Abush.); Uygh. *toγ* (dial., Malov - Xami); Khak. *tōla-* 'to crumble'; Tv. *toγ-la-* 'to crumble'.

◊ VEWT 483, EDT 463.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**tʿája** to float, slide: Tung. ***tia- (*taj-)**; Mong. ***taji-tu-**; Turk. ***tāj-**; Jpn. ***taju-**.

PTung. ***tia- (*taj-)** to swim, float (плавать): Evk. *tī-* / *čī-* ʿto slip, slide'; Evn. *tā̂-*; Neg. *têču-*.

◊ TMC 2, 172-173, 174.

PMong. ***taji-tu-** to slide, drag one's feet (тащить ноги, шаркать): WMong. *tajituji-*, *tajitulǯa-* (L 769: *tajitalǯa-*, *tajitaγana-*), *tajitgar* (MXTTT); Kh. *tajitgar* 'стоптанный на одну сторону; косолапый'; Kalm. *tā̂ti-*, *tā̂tḷzə-*; Mongr. *dəbārʒa-* 'marcher en chancelant' (cf. WMong. *tajibalǯa-*) (SM 48).

◊ KW 389.

PTurk. ***tāj-** to slide (скользить): OTurk. *taj-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *taj-* (MK); Tur. *taj-* (dial.); Turkm. *tāj-*; MTurk. *taj-* (Sangl.); Uzb. *tɔj-*; Uygh. *taj-*; Krm. *taj-*; Tat. *taj-*; Bashk. *taj-*, *tajɨ-*; Kirgh. *taj-*; Kaz. *taj-*; KBalk. *taj-*; KKalp. *taj-*; Kum. *taj-*; Nogh. *taj-*; SUygh. *taj-*; Khak. *taj-* (dial.); Shr. *taj-*; Oyr. *taj-* (dial. Kumd., Leb.); Tv. *taj-*; Tof. *taj-*.

◊ VEWT 455, EDT 567.

PJpn. ***taju-** to float (плавать (на поверхности)): OJpn. *taju-tap-*.

‖ KW 389. Suffixed forms are perhaps Mong. *tesi-* 'slide', TM **tisa-* 'swim' (TMC 2, 188).

✱**tʿàjrá** a k. of vessel: Mong. ***torku**; Turk. ***TAr**; Jpn. ***tàrápì**; Kor. ***tājá**.

PMong. ***torku** barrel (кадка, бочка): WMong. *torqu* (MXTTT); Kh. *torx*; Bur. *torxo*.

PTurk. ***TAr** raft made of skins (плот из бурдюков): Karakh. *tar* (MK); Tur. *tar* 'wooden raft' (dial.); MTurk. (OKypch.) *tar* (AH).

◊ VEWT 463, EDT 528, Лексика 537.

PJpn. ***tàrápì** a k. of vessel, wash-tub (вид сосуда, корыто): MJpn. *tàráfi*; Tok. *tàrai*; Kyo. *tàráì*; Kag. *taraí*.

◊ JLTT 542. The Tokyo accent is irregular (reflecting a variant **tàrápí*). Cf. also **taru* (not attested in OJ, and with irregular accent correspondences) 'barrel, vat'.

PKor. ***tājá** wash-tub (корыто): MKor. *tàjá*; Mod. *tā̂ja*.

◊ Nam 132, KED 430.

‖ Martin 246. Medial *-j- accounts for -j- in Kor.; Mong. has a frequent secondary labialization *torku < *tarku.

✱**tʹájri** to scatter, disperse: Mong. ***tara-, *tarka-**; Jpn. ***tír-**; Kor. ***tí-**.

PMong. ***tara-, *tarka-** to disperse, scatter (рассеивать, разбрасывать): MMong. *tara* 'scattered' (SH), *tarxa-* 'be scattered' (SH); WMong. *tara-*, *tarqa-* (L 789, 782); Kh. *tara-*; Bur. *tara-*; Kalm. *tarā-*; Ord. *tarā-*; Dag. *tare-* (MD 221), *tarā-*; S.-Yugh. *tarā-*.

◊ KW 380, MGCD 624. Mong. > Chag. *tarqa-* etc. (EDT 529, see also under **tȁro*); Evk. *tara-* (Doerfer MT 126).

PJpn. ***tír-** to fall (of leaves, flowers) (осыпаться, рассеиваться, опадать): OJpn. *tir-*; MJpn. *tír-*; Tok. *chìr-*; Kyo. *chír-*; Kag. *chír-*.

◊ JLTT 768.

PKor. ***tí-** to fall (of flowers) (опадать (о цветах)): MKor. *tí-*; Mod. *či-*.

◊ Nam 178, KED 1527.

‖ Ozawa 245-246. Despite TMN 1, 253, Щербак 1997, 154, Mong. is hardly borrowed from Turkic (the OT form is tar-, while modern Kypchak forms like *tara-*, *tarqa-* are most probably borrowed < Mong.); on Turk. **dar-* see under **tȁro*. Medial *-j- is reconstructed to account for the loss of *-r- in Kor.

✱**tʹȁki** log, rafter: Tung. ***tākan**; Turk. ***TEk-**; Jpn. ***ti(n)kui (~ -əi)**; Kor. ***thír**.

PTung. ***tākan** log, causeway (бревно, коряга, мостки): Evk. *tāken*; Evn. *tāqṭn*; Neg. *tākan*; Man. *tuχan*; Ork. *tō, tōγo*; Nan. *tāqã*; Orch. *tāka*; Ud. *taʹ* (Корм. 292).

◊ TMC 2, 155-156.

PTurk. ***TEk- ?** 1 yurt poles 2 small yurt (1 купольные шесты юрты и скрепляющий их обод 2 небольшая юрта): Kirgh. *aq tiger* 1, *tegirtmek* 2; Kaz. *aq tɨγɨr* 1; Khak. *tek* 'pole, post (for tying horses)' (Abakan, Верб.).

◊ Лексика 502.

PJpn. ***ti(n)kui (~ -əi)** outstanding rafter edges (выступающие концы стропил): OJpn. *tigi*; MJpn. *tigi*; Tok. *chigi*.

PKor. ***thír** frame (рама): MKor. *thír*; Mod. *thɨl*.

◊ Liu 718, KED 1724.

‖ Basically an Eastern isogloss: the Turkic parallels are late attested and somewhat dubious. A common Altaic derivative **tʹȁki-rV* is reflected in PT **TEkir-* (?), PK **thír* and PJ **ti(n)ki-ri*.

✱**tʹaklu** a k. of (foliage) tree: Tung. ***talgīg**; Mong. ***togli**; Jpn. ***tunkai**.

PTung. ***talgī-g (~ -ū̃g)** brushwood, forest with brushwood (валежник, чаща с валежником): Evk. *talgīγ*; Evn. *tālgɨγ*; Neg. *talgɨx*.

◊ TMC 2, 157.

PMong. ***togli** a k. of willow (вид тальника): WMong. *toγli* (L 814); Kh. *togil*.

◊ Cf. also Khalkha *tögle* 'grove'.

PJpn. ***tunkai** box tree (самшит): OJpn. *tug(j)e*; MJpn. *tuge*; Tok. *tsùge*; Kyo. *tsúgé*; Kag. *tsugé*.

◊ JLTT 553. Tokyo and Kyoto point to **túnkái*, but Kagoshima is irregular.

‖ Phonetically plausible (although containing a rare cluster *-kl-), but, as in many cases, the original sort of the tree is difficult to establish.

✱**tʿǎkta** to be angry, swear: Tung. ***tagda-**; Turk. ***Tata-**; Jpn. ***tátár-**.

PTung. ***tagda-** 1 to be angry 2 to be amazed (1 сердиться 2 восторгаться, кичиться): Neg. *tagda-* 1; Man. *taqda-* 2; Ul. *taGda-* 1; Ork. *taGda-* 1; Nan. *taGda-* 1; Orch. *tagda-* 1; Ud. *tagda-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 150, 153.

PTurk. ***Tata-** 1 to become angry 2 irascible (1 остервенеть 2 вспыльчивый, раздражительный): Kirgh. *tatar-* 1; Tv. *tadɨ-la-* 'to nicker, guffaw'; Yak. *tatɨas* 2.

◊ VEWT 467. Cf. Khalkha *tataj* 'an interjection of hate, loathe', perhaps originally < Turkic; the Mong. form = Khak., Oyr., Yak., Kirgh. *tataj*, Tuva *dadaj*.

PJpn. ***tátár-** to swear, damn (ругать, проклинать): OJpn. tatar-; MJpn. *tátár-*; Tok. *tatár-*; Kyo. *tátár-*; Kag. *tatár-*.

◊ JLTT 765. The Tokyo accent is irregular.

‖ The Jpn. suffixed form may reflect either **tʿǎkta-lV* (cf. Tuva *tadɨla-*) or **tʿǎkta-rV* (cf. Kirgh. tatar-).

✱**tʿǎ̀kù** to repair: Tung. ***taku-**; Turk. ***Tagra-**; Jpn. ***tùkùr-**.

PTung. ***taku-** to repair (чинить): Evk. *taku-*; Evn. *taq-*; Ul. *taqu̯-*; Ork. *tāwčị-*; Nan. *taGo-*.

◊ TMC 2, 155.

PTurk. ***Tagra-** to repair (чинить, латать, штопать): Khak. *taγɨra-*; Shr. *taγra-*; Tv. *taara-*; Tof. *dāra-* 'шить, сшивать'.

◊ VEWT 454, Расс. ФиЛ 90.

PJpn. ***tùkùr-** 1 to make 2 to repair (1 делать 2 чинить): OJpn. *tukur-* 1, *tukurop-* 2; MJpn. *tùkùr-* 1, *tùkùròf-* 2; Tok. *tsukúr-* 1, *tsukuró-* 2; Kyo. *tsúkúr-* 1, *tsúkúró-* 2; Kag. *tsùkùr-* 1, *tsùkùrò-* 2.

◊ JLTT 774.

‖ Дыбо 15.

✱**tʿakV** completely: Tung. ***taKa-**; Mong. ***tag**; Kor. ***tà'ǎ-**.

PTung. ***taKa-** 1 completely 2 until, for a while (1 совсем 2 пока, временно): Man. *taqa* 2; Jurch. *ta-ka* (434) 2; Sol. *taxati* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 153.

PMong. ***tag** completely (полностью, совершенно): WMong. *tag* (L 762); Kh. *tag*; Kalm. *tag*; Ord. *taG*.

◊ KW 374. Mong. > Turk. *taq* (VEWT 456).

PKor. ***tà'ǎ-*** all, completely, exhaust (весь, полностью, исчерпывающий): MKor. *tà'ǎ-*, *ta'o-*; Mod. *tā*.

◊ Liu 195, KED 377.

‖ The root is not widely spread, but phonetically and semantically plausible.

✱**tʿǎkʿì** ceremony, sacrifice: Tung. ***taKu-***; Mong. ***taki-***; Turk. ***toku***; Jpn. ***tíká-p-***.

PTung. ***taKu-*** to shamanize (шаманить; лечить): Neg. *takoč-*; Nan. *tao-*.

◊ TMC 2, 154.

PMong. ***taki-*** 1 to respect 2 to sacrifice (1 уважать 2 приносить в жертву): MMong. *taki-* (SH, HYt); WMong. *taki-* (L 770); Kh. *taxi-* 1, 2; Bur. *taxi-* 2; Kalm. *takə-*, *täkə-* 2; Ord. *daχi-* 1,2; Dag. *taki-* (Тод. Даг. 165) 1, (MGCD) *tai-* 2; S.-Yugh. *dakə-* 2.

◊ KW 375, 387, MGCD 628.

PTurk. ***toku*** rite, ceremony (обряд (погребальный, свадебный)): OTurk. *toqu* (OUygh.); Karakh. *toqu* (KB); Tur. *toka* 'wedding present' (dial.), 'handshake'; MTurk. *toqa* (Sangl.), *toqal* 'the least respected wife' (Pav. C.); Uzb. *tọqɔl* 'second wife'; Uygh. *toqal* 'younger wife'; Kirgh. *toqol* 'younger wife'; KBalk. *toqal* 'first wife in respect to others'; KKalp. *toqal* 'younger wife'; Chuv. *tъxlačъ* 'matchmaker'.

◊ EDT 466, Егоров 241 (derives from F.-U. or from *tъxъt* 'progeny' - both quite dubious morphologically), VEWT 485. The semantic development is 'rite, ceremony' > 'wedding' > 'matchmaker' / 'younger wife'.

PJpn. ***tíká-p-*** to swear (клясться): OJpn. *tikap-*; MJpn. *tíkáp-*; Tok. *chìka-*; Kyo. *chíká-*; Kag. *chiká-*.

◊ JLTT 767.

‖ In Turkic one has to suppose **toku* < **taku*, with secondary labialization.

✱**tʿakʿi (~ -u)** knee bow, knee cap: Tung. ***taxi***; Mong. ***takim***; Turk. ***TaK(ɨ)***.

PTung. ***taxi*** knee, knee cap (колено, коленная чашечка): Man. *taǵa*; Ul. *taχi*.

◊ TMC 2, 153.

PMong. ***takim*** knee bow (коленный сгиб): WMong. *takim* (L 770); Kh. *taxim*; Bur. *taxim*; Kalm. *takm̥*, *täkm̥*.

◊ KW 375, 387. Mong. > Kypch. *taqim* etc.; > Evk. *takim* (see Doerfer MT 111; but not Manchu *taǵa*, Ul. *taxi*!) There is also a verb *taki-(ji)-* 'to have crooked limbs' (KW ibid., L 770: 'become bent, crippled').

PTurk. ***TaK(ɨ)*** part of horse's leg (часть ноги лошади): OTurk. *taɣɨ-γ* (OUygh.- YB, *acc*.).

◊ ПДП 425, VEWT 457.

‖ KW 387, Poppe 13, 55. A Western isogloss.

✱**tʹàkʹò** a k. of aquatic animal: Tung. ***tāxVr**; Jpn. ***tàkuà**.

PTung. ***tāxVr** 1 shell, shelled animals 2 crab-octopus 3 horned beetle (1 раковина, раковинные животные 2 краб-осьминог 3 жук-рогоносец): Evk. *tākre* 3; Man. *taχura* 1; Ul. *tajra* 1; Ork. *tāχa* 2; Orch. *taira* 1; Sol. *tāxir* 1.

◊ See TMC 2, 154.

PJpn. ***tàkuà** octopus (осьминог): OJpn. *takwo*; MJpn. *tàkò*; Tok. *táko*; Kyo. *tákò*; Kag. *tàkó*.

◊ JLTT 539. The Tokyo form reflects a variant **tàkuá*.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss. Cf. perhaps also WMong. *taqu* 'a k. of fish' (> Man. *taqu*, Nan. *taqu̯* 'толстолобик').

✱**tʹákʹù** a k. of tree: Tung. ***takti-kān**; Jpn. ***túkúi**; Kor. ***tàk**.

PTung. ***takti-kān** 1 cedar 2 yew 3 fir (1 кедр 2 тис 3 пихта): Evk. *taktikān* 1; Man. *taqta mō* 3; Ud. *taktiɣa* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 154. Хелимский 1991, 88 proposed a borrowing < Sam. **tɨtəŋ*, which is hardly acceptable.

PJpn. ***túkúi** a k. of tree (Zelkwa) (вид дерева (дзельква)): OJpn. *tuki*; MJpn. *túkí*; Tok. *tsuki*.

◊ JLTT 554.

PKor. ***tàk** a k. of tree (paper mulberry) (шелковица бумажная (Broussonetia)): MKor. *tàk*; Mod. *tak*.

◊ Liu 197, KED 390.

‖ An Eastern isogloss; cf. also Chag. *taq* 'Name eines Baumes, der langsam brennt', see SKE 250 (Kor.-Turk.; but it may be < Pers., see TMN 2, 439 and Bailey 42). Possibly more than one root: cf. also OJ *tuga*, mod. *toga* 'a k. of fir tree'.

✱**tʹákʹù** to use: Tung. ***taKura-**; Mong. ***toki**; Jpn. ***túkáp-**; Kor. ***thǎ-**.

PTung. ***taKura-** 1 to use 2 to send on service (1 использовать 2 посылать на службу): Man. *taqura-* 2; SMan. *taqurə-*, *taquru-* (1615) 1; Jurch. *tah-xew-ra-xaj* (401) 2; Ud. *tʹaula-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 155. Man. > Nan. *taqora-* etc. (see ibid.).

PMong. ***toki** comfort, order (удобство, порядок): WMong. *toki* (L 820); Kh. *toχ́*; Kalm. *toxń-* 'to put in order; to recover' (KPC).

◊ Khak. *togun-* 'work' (VEWT 483) may be borrowed < Mong. (cf. *tokino-*).

PJpn. ***túkáp-** to use (использовать): OJpn. *tukap-*; MJpn. *túkáf-*; Tok. *tsùka-*; Kyo. *tsúká-*; Kag. *tsuká-*.

◊ JLTT 773.

PKor. ***thǎ-** to get (money), be paid for service (получать (деньги, плату за услуги)): MKor. *thǎ-*; Mod. *tha-*.

◊ Nam 456, KED 1685.

‖ The root is rather abstract, but seems quite reliable.

✱**tʿákʿù (~ -k-) (?)** salt, to pickle: Tung. ***taK(V)**; Jpn. ***túká-**.

PTung. ***taK(V)** salt, bitter substance (соль, горькое вещество): Evn. *taq*; Neg. *daksun*; Man. *taqan* 'mustard'; Orch. *daksu*.

◊ See TMC 1, 186 (where for the most part Mongolian borrowings are presented), 2, 153. In Negidal and Oroch the initial d- should be apparently explained by Mongolian influence (although the forms cannot be actual Mongolisms because of medial -k-).

PJpn. ***túká-** to pickle (солить, мариновать): Tok. *tsùke-* (tr.), *tsùkar-* (*itr*.); Kyo. *tsúké-* (tr.), *tsúkár-* (*itr*.); Kag. *tsuké-* (tr.), *tsukár-* (*itr*.).

◊ The root should be probably distinguished historically from **túká-* 'to soak' (q.v.).

‖ A somewhat dubious Tung.-Jpn. isogloss: the comparison is possible only if Jpn. **túká-* 'pickle' is distinct from **túká-* 'soak' (see **tʿéku*).

✱**tʿā́la** to plunder, seduce: Mong. ***tala-**; Turk. ***tāla-**; Jpn. ***tárá-s-**; Kor. ***tàr'ái-**.

PMong. ***tala-** to rob (грабить): MMong. *tala-* (SH); WMong. *tala-* (L 771); Kh. *tal-*; Bur. *talāŋ* 'success'; Kalm. *talə-*; Ord. *tala-*; Dag. *tale-* (MD 220).

◊ KW 376. Mong. > Man. *tala-* 'confiscate', see TMN 2, 543, Rozycki 200.

PTurk. ***tāla-** 1 to rob, plunder 2 to harm, slander (1 грабить 2 вредить, клеветать): OTurk. *tala-* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *tala-* 1 (KB); Tur. *tala-* 1; Az. *tala-* 1; Turkm. *tāla-* 1; MTurk. *tala-* 1 (Abush., Sangl.); Uzb. *tala-* 1; Uygh. *tala-* 1; Krm. *tala-* 1; Tat. *tala-* 1; Bashk. *tala-* 1; Kirgh. *tala-* 1; Kaz. *tala-* 1; KKalp. *tala-* 1; Kum. *tala-* 1; Nogh. *tala-* 1; SUygh. *tala-* 1; Khak. *tala-* 1; Oyr. *tala-* 1; Chuv. *tula-* 2; Yak. *talā-* 1 (Пек. 3, 2533).

◊ VEWT 458, TMN 2, N° 923, Ашм. XIV, 119-120, EDT 492 (should be distinguished from **dāla-* 'to bite').

PJpn. ***tárá-s-** to deceive, lure (соблазнять, обманывать): MJpn. *tárá-s-*; Tok. *taras-*.

PKor. ***tàr'ái-** to lure, seduce, coax (соблазнять, заманивать): MKor. *tàr'ái-*; Mod. *tallä-*.

◊ Nam 139, KED 404.

‖ KW 376. Mong. may be < Turk (see TMN 2, 543, Щербак 1997, 152); but Turk. hardly < Samodian, despite Helimski 1995.

✱**tʿàlV (~ -Í-)** open place, open sea: Tung. ***tālgi-**; Mong. ***tala, *tal-b-**.

PTung. ***tālgi-** 1 far from the shore, open sea 2 bay 3 quiet sea surface 4 to become quiet (of wind, weather) (1 далеко от берега, в открытом море 2 залив 3 гладкая поверхность моря 4 стихать (о ветре)): Evk. *tālgu-* 4; Evn. *talargъ̣n-* 4, *talgịn* 2, 3; Man. *talGan* 3; Ul. *talǯị* 1; Ork. *talda* 1; Nan. *talgịa* 1, *talGa* 2, *talị-talị* 3; Orch. *tagga-la*, *tagga-si* 1; Ud. *tagä* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 150, 157. Nan. has probably a secondary vowel shortening; but cf. also **tala* 'well', with a possibility of contaminations.

PMong. ***tala, *tal-b-** 1 steppe, open place 2 quiet, peaceful (1 степь, открытое место 2 мирный, спокойный): MMong. *tala* 'face' (SH); WMong. *tala* 1 (L 771), *talbiγun* 2 (L 773); Kh. *tal* 1, *talbiu(n)* 2, *talbaj* 'square'; Bur. *tala* 1, *taĺān* 'meadow; small lake', *talmaj* 'meadow, square'; Kalm. *talə*; Ord. *tala*; Dag. *tal* (Тод. Даг. 165), tale (MD 220) 1; S.-Yugh. *tala*; Mongr. *talā*.

◊ KW 375, MGCD 622. Mong. > MTurk. *tala*, Yak. *tāla* etc. (VEWT 458); > Man. *talfa*, Nan. *talbon* (Doerfer MT 145, Rozycki 200).

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**tʹaĺpʹV** thigh, hip: Tung. ***talpi**; Mong. ***talbag**; Turk. ***taĺak**.

PTung. ***talpi** thigh, hip (бедро): Ul. *tarpị*; Ork. *talpị*, *talịpụ*; Nan. *talpị*.

◊ TMC 2, 169.

PMong. ***talbag** cushion for sitting (подушка для сидения): WMong. *talbaγ* (L 772); Kh. *talbag*; Kalm. *talwəg*.

◊ KW 376. Mong. > Kirgh. *talpaq* etc. (Лексика 387).

PTurk. ***taĺak** scrotum (мошонка): Karakh. *tašaq* MK, IM; Tur. *tašak*; Gag. *tašaq*; Khal. *taššaq*; MTurk. (MKypch.) *tašaq* (CCum., Ettuhf., Tel., Houts., AH); Uygh. (dial.) *tašaq* (УЯ); Krm. *tašaq*; Kirgh. *tašaq*; KBalk. *tašaq*; Khak. (dial.) *tažax* (Kach.), *tazax* (Sag.) (Joki 1952, 318); Oyr. *tažaq*; Yak. *tasaχ*.

◊ VEWT 466 (should be distinguished from **diāĺ* 'stone'), EDT 562. (D-T 199 think that the Khal. geminate is compensating for vowel length in **diāĺ*, which would be rather unprecedented in Turkic).

‖ Дыбо 46. A Western isogloss. The old meaning of the Turk. form can be reconstructed on the basis of the Mong. loanword *tašaγa* 'hip' (Khalkha *tašā(n)* 'hip, thigh; piece inserted between cloth laps', Bur. *tašān* 'hip, side', Kalm. *tašā* id., Ord. *dašā* id., but Mongor *tašaG* 'scrotum'), see Дыбо 1992. The Turkic form is sometimes derived from **diāĺ* 'stone', with a semantic parallel in Finn. *kivi* 'stone' - *kives* 'testiculi'; let us note, however, both a phonetic discrepancy (**diāĺ* 'stone' has voiced *d- and a long vowel), as well as a semantic inconclusiveness: Finnish *kives* is a diminutive with the first meaning "plummet on a net", whence metaphorically "testicle", whereas no "plummet" or "sinker" meanings are attested anywhere in Turkic.

✱**tʹàma** to taste, munch: Tung. ***tami-**; Mong. ***tamsija-**; Jpn. ***tàmiàs-**.

PTung. ***tami-** 1 to munch 2 to inhale 3 to swallow (1 чавкать 2 вдыхать 3 глотать (воздух, слюну)): Evk. *tam-* 1; Evn. *tam-* 2; Neg. *tamančị-* 'сжать зубы'; Nan. *tamị-* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 158, 159.

PMong. ***tamsija-** to munch; to taste (жевать, пробовать на вкус): WMong. *tamsija-*; Kh. *tamšā-*; Bur. *tamšā-*; Kalm. *tamšā-*; Ord. *tamsuG*, *taŋsuG* 'tasty'.

◊ KW 377. Mong. > Manchu *tamiša-* (see Rozycki 201).

PJpn. ***tàmìas-** to try (пробовать): OJpn. *tam(j)esi* 'example'; MJpn. tames-; Tok. *tamés-*; Kyo. *támés-*; Kag. *tàmès-*.

◊ JLTT 763.

‖ KW 377, Doerfer MT 55 ("onomatopoetisch-verdächtig"). Cf. Oyr., Khak. *tamɨ* 'taste'. Jpn. **tamias-* may be alternatively derived from **tʿemV* q.v.

✱**tʿāma** wall, roof: Tung. ***tamV-**; Mong. ***tama**; Turk. ***Tām**; Jpn. ***tàmùruá**; Kor. ***tám**.

PTung. ***tamV-** shed, cover (for a hut) (навес, покрышка для чума): Evn. *tamana*; Nan. *tamịxị*.

◊ See TMC 2, 159.

PMong. ***tama** wall (стена): WMong. *tama*; Kalm. *tamə*.

◊ KW 377.

PTurk. ***Tām** 1 roof 2 wall 3 hut (1 крыша 2 стена 3 хибара): OTurk. *tam* 2 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *tam* 2 (MK), 1 (IM); Tur. *dam* 1, 3; Gag. *dam* 'shed, barn'; Az. *dam* 1, 3; Turkm. *tām* 2, 3; Sal. *tam* 2; Khal. *dãm* 1 (< Ogh.); MTurk. *tam* 1 (Abush.), 2 (Sangl.); Uzb. *tɔm* 1, 3; Uygh. *tam* 2; Tat. *tam* 2 (KCTT); Kirgh. *tam* 2, 3; Kaz. *tam* 'dug-out, grave'; KKalp. *tam* 'hut'; Kum. *tam* 2; Nogh. *tam* 2; SUygh. *tam* 2; Khak. *tam* 'layer (of earth)'.

◊ VEWT 459 (the root has an irregular **t-/*d-* variation), Лексика 529. TMN 2, N° 834. Turk. > Bao. *dem* 'wall'.

PJpn. ***tàmùruá** plot; camp (участок; лагерь): OJpn. *tamura*; MJpn. *tàmùró*; Tok. *tamuró*, *támuro*; Kyo. *támùrò*; Kag. *tamuró*.

◊ JLTT 541. Dialects reflect a variation between **tàmùruá* and **tàmùruà*.

PKor. ***tám** wall (стена): MKor. *tám*; Mod. *tam*.

◊ Liu 200, HMCH 230, KED 408.

‖ EAS 116, KW 377. Mong. (Kalm.) *tam* may be < Turkic. Although semantically quite plausible, phonetically there are difficulties: PT has a secondary voicing and Kor.-Jpn. have irregular tone (not corresponding to PT length). See VEWT 459.

✱**tʿa̋ma (~ -o)** to bestow, pay: Tung. ***tama-**; Jpn. ***tàmàp-**.

PTung. ***tama-** 1 to pay 2 price (1 платить 2 цена): Evk. *tama-* 1; Evn. *tam-* 1; Neg. *tama-* 1; Ul. *tama-* 1; Ork. *tama-* 1; Nan. *tamã* 2; Orch. *tama-* 1; Ud. *tama-* 1; Sol. *tama-* 1.

◊ See TMC 2, 158-159.

PJpn. ***tàmàp-** 1 to present (*pol.*) 2 to eat (1 преподносить 2 есть): OJpn. *tamap-*, tab-; MJpn. *tàmàf-* 1; Tok. *tabé-* 2; Kyo. *tàbè-*2; Kag. *tabé-* 2.

◊ JLTT 760. The meaning 'eat' is a late specialization < 'present (politely)'.

‖ Miller 1981, 857, АПиПЯЯ 275. A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss. Ramstedt (SKE 254) compares the TM root with different material (Kor. *tam-* 'to fill, put into' etc.), but we prefer this comparison (for Kor. *tam-*, Manchu *tama-*, *tami-* 'to collect' cf. rather Jpn. *tum-* 'to fill, put into', see **tʹamu*).

✸**tʹámu** to put into, gather: Tung. ***tama-**; Mong. ***tama- / *tem-**; Jpn. ***túm-**; Kor. ***tām-**.

PTung. ***tama-** to gather, collect (собирать, подбирать): Man. *tama-*; Nan. *tama-*.

◊ TMC 2, 148.

PMong. ***tama- / *tem-** to gather, collect (собирать): MMong. *temgu-* (SH); WMong. *tama-* (L 774); Kh. *tama-* 'стягивать цепь облавы, собирать разбросанное; прочесывать' (БАМРС); Mongr. *tuŋgu-* 'ramasser, recueillir' (SM 432).

PJpn. ***túm-** to put into, onto (вкладывать, накладывать): OJpn. *tum-*; MJpn. *túm-*; Tok. *tsùm-*; Kyo. *tsúm-*; Kag. *tsúm-*.

◊ JLTT 774.

PKor. ***tām-** to put (into a dish, etc.) (класть, накладывать): MKor. *tām-*; Mod. *tām-*.

◊ Nam 142, KED 409.

‖ EAS 116, SKE 254, Lee 1958, 118, АПиПЯЯ 70, Martin 233. Rozycki 201 considers TM < Mong., which is not excluded.

✸**tʹànŋú** to plunder: Tung. ***tanŋa-**; Mong. ***tonu-**; Jpn. ***tùmí**.

PTung. ***tanŋa-** to capture, plunder (брать в плен, отнимать, грабить): Evn. *tanŋъn-*; Neg. *tanŋan-*; Ork. *tāna-*; Ud. *taŋasi-*.

◊ TMC 2, 161.

PMong. ***tonu-** to plunder (грабить): MMong. *tono-* (SH); WMong. *tonu-* (L 825); Kh. *tono-*; Bur. *tono-*; Kalm. *ton-*; Ord. *tono-*.

◊ KW 400. Mong. > Chag. *tona-* etc. (VEWT 488, Щербак 1997, 211).

PJpn. ***tùmí** sin, crime (грех, преступление): OJpn. *tumji*; MJpn. *tùmí*; Tok. *tsúmi*; Kyo. *tsùmí*; Kag. *tsumí*.

◊ JLTT 556.

‖ Cf. Turk. **Tan-* 'deny, disclaim, be treacherous' (EDT 513-514).

✸**tʹǎnŋV** to count, recite: Tung. ***taŋ-**; Mong. ***taŋna-**; Turk. ***tạnu-**.

PTung. ***taŋ-** to read, count (читать, считать): Evk. *taŋ-*; Evn. *taŋ-*; Neg. *tāŋ-*; Orch. *taŋā̄-*, *taŋi-*; Ud. *taŋi-*.

◊ TMC 2, 161-162.

PMong. ***taŋna-** to search, spy (расспрашивать): WMong. *taŋna-* (L 777); Kh. *tagna-*; Bur. *tagna-*; Dag. *tanslə-*; Dong. *tanǯi-*; S.-Yugh. *tangə-*; Mongr. *tangə-*.

◊ MGCD 621.

PTurk. ***tạnu-** know, get to know (знать, узнавать): Karakh. *tanu-* 'сообщить, приказать' (MK); Tur. *tanɨ-*; Gag. *tanɨ-*; Az. *tanɨ-*; Turkm. *tanɨ-*, (dial.) *tānɨ-*; Sal. *tanɨ-*, *tānɨ-*; MTurk. *tanɨ-* (Abush.); Uzb. *tani-*; Uygh. *tonu-*, *tani-*; Krm. *tanɨ-*; Tat. *tanɨ-*; Bashk. *tanɨ-*; Kirgh. *tānɨ-*; Kaz. *tanɨ-*; KBalk. *tanɨ-*; KKalp. *tanɨ-*; Kum. *tanɨ-*; Nogh. *tanɨ-*; SUygh. *tani-*; Khak. *tanɨ-*; Shr. *tanɨ-*; Oyr. *tanɨ-*; Tv. *tanɨ-*; Tof. *tanɨ-*; Chuv. *tɨn* 'witness'.

◊ VEWT 461, EDT 516. Turk. > MMo, WMong. *tani-* (see Щербак 1997, 153).

‖ Cf. also Kor. *tā̄-* 'to tell, indicate, confess' (SKE 249, EAS 120); MMong. *ta'ul-* (HY 40) 'to understand, distinguish' (< **taŋul-*).

✱**tʿāno** to stretch, pull: Tung. ***tān-**; Mong. ***teneji-**; Jpn. ***tana-pik-**; Kor. ***tǎŋ-kǎi-**.

PTung. ***tān-** to stretch, pull (тянуть): Evk. *tān-*; Evn. *tān-*; Man. *taŋgiqu* 'device for stretching the bow string'; Ul. *tụan-*; Ork. *tōn-*; Nan. *toan-*; Orch. *tāna-*; Ud. *tana-*; Sol. *tan-*.

◊ TMC 2, 160.

PMong. ***teneji-** to stretch (oneself), be stretched (вытягивать(ся)): WMong. *teneji-*, *teniji-* (L 804); Kh. *tenī-*; Bur. *tenī-*; Kalm. *tenī-*; Ord. *tenere-*, *tenī-*.

◊ KW 391. Mong. > Yak. *tenij-* 'be stretched', *tenit-*, Dolg. *tenīt-* 'stretch' (Stachowski 220).

PJpn. ***tana-pik-** to be stretched, spread (растягиваться): OJpn. *tana-pjik-*; MJpn. *táná-fik-*; Tok. *tanabík-*; Kyo. *tánábík-*; Kag. *tanabík-*.

◊ JLTT 763. A compound with **pik-* 'pull'. Accent is not quite clear: RJ and Kagoshima seem to point to high tone, but Tokyo - rather to low.

PKor. ***tǎŋ-kǎi-** to stretch, pull (тянуть, тащить): MKor. *tǎŋkǎi-*; Mod. *taŋgi-*.

◊ Nam 145, KED 414.

‖ SKE 256. Cf. also Karakh. *teŋüč* 'half cubit' (i.e. 'big hand-span', cf. Slav. *pědĭ* id. < *pě-tī* 'to stretch, pull').

✱**tʿǽnV (~ -ē-) (?)** nose, part of face round nose: Mong. ***tanaɣa**; Turk. ***T(i)āna**.

PMong. ***tanaɣa** nose wings, part of face round nose (крылья носа, часть лица вокруг носа): WMong. *tanaɣa*; Bur. *xamaraj tanā*; Kalm. *tanā*.

◊ KW 378.

PTurk. ***T(i)āna-** nostril (ноздря): Tat. *tanaw*; Bashk. *tanau* 'nose'; Khak. *tanɨ̄*; Tv. *tanaq*; Yak. *tanī*.

◊ VEWT 460, Лексика 218. Because of late attestation borrowing from Mong. is not excluded; but it is not quite probable for phonetic reasons.

‖ Poppe 13, 69, АПиПЯЯ 289, KW 378, VEWT 460. A rather complicated case. Both Turkic and Mongolian forms are attested late, and can be borrowed from each other. If Mong. < Turk., then one could perhaps consider instead a possibility of comparing PT **T(i)āna* with Mong. **taŋlaji* 'palate' (whence again Chag. *taŋlaj* etc., see KW 379, VEWT 461-462, and Evk. *taŋilai*, see Doerfer MT 128). However, Mong. **taŋlaji* may be alternatively compared with Turk. **damgak* 'palate' (ЭСТЯ 3, 142; thus in Владимирцов 285, Лексика 230) - if one supposes a secondary assimilative change *t- > *d- in Turkic. PT **damgak* 'palate; gills' may be, in its turn, alternatively compared with Evk. *ǯalgama* 'a piece of skin from deer's chin'. This knot of etymological problems is yet to be untangled.

✱**tʹaŋa** a big number: Tung. ***taŋgu**; Jpn. ***tamura**.

PTung. ***taŋgu** hundred (сто): Neg. *taŋgụ*; Man. *taŋgu*; SMan. *taŋə* (2781); Jurch. *tan-gu* (663); Ul. *taŋGụ*; Ork. *taŋGụ*; Nan. *taŋGo*; Orch. *taŋgu*; Ud. *taŋgu*; Sol. *tangu*.

◊ TMC 2, 163.

PJpn. ***tamura** group, crowd (группа, толпа): OJpn. *tamura*.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss. Somewhat dubious, because in Jpn. the root is confused with **tamura* 'plot, camp, encampment' (see **tʹāma*), while in TM the form may be derived < **taŋ-* 'count' (see **tʹăпŋu*).

✱**tʹáŋe** admiration; condolence: Mong. ***taŋ-**; Turk. ***tāŋ**; Jpn. ***tə́mú-ráp-**.

PMong. ***taŋ-** 1 delicate, tender 2 to wonder, admire (1 тонкий, нежный 2 удивляться, восхищаться): WMong. *taŋki* 1, *taŋna-*, *taŋsi-* 2 (L 777, 778); Kh. *tanx́* 1, *tagna-*, *tanši-* 2; Bur. *tangil* 'effeminate, high-fed'; Kalm. *taŋsəg* 1, *tančḷ-* 'to be tender'; Ord. *taŋχi* 1.

◊ KW 378, 379.

PTurk. ***tāŋ** 1 wonder, surprise 2 wonderful 3 to be surprised (1 удивление 2 удивительный 3 удивляться): OTurk. *taŋ* 1, *taŋsuq* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *taŋ* 1, *taŋsuq* 2 (MK, KB); Tur. *tan-* 3, *tansɨk* 2; *daŋ* 1 (dial.); Az. *daŋ* 1 (dial.); Turkm. *tāŋ* 2; Khal. *tāŋ* 2; MTurk. *taŋ* 1, *taŋsuq* 2 (Abush., Sangl.); Uzb. *tɔŋ* 1; Uygh. *taŋ* 1; Krm. *taŋsɨq* 2; Tat. *taŋ* 1, *tansɨq*, (KCTT) *taŋsɨq* 2; Bashk. *taŋ* 1, *taŋhɨq* 2; Kirgh. *taŋ* 1, *taŋsɨq* 2; Kaz. *taŋ* 1, *taŋsɨq* 2; KKalp. *taŋ* 1, *taŋsɨq* 2; Nogh. *taŋsɨq* 2; Khak. *taŋna-* 3; Oyr. *taŋ* 1; Chuv. *tonsax* 2; Yak. *toŋsuk*, *tomsuk* 1.

◊ VEWT 461, 462, TMN 2, 570, EDT 510-511, 525-526, ЭСТЯ 8, Федотов 2, 248. Turk. > WMong. *taŋsuɣ*, *taŋsu* > Man. *taŋsu*.

PJpn. ***tə́mú-ráp-** to condole, mourn for; to visit (соболезновать, оплакивать; посещать): OJpn. *t(w)oburap-*; MJpn. *tómúráf-*, *tóbúráf-*; Tok. *tòbura-*; Kyo. *tóbúrá-*; Kag. *toburá-*.

◊ JLTT 770.

‖ KW 378 (Turk.-Mong.).

✱**tʹaŋgiri** oath, God: Tung. ***taŋgura-**; Mong. ***taŋgarag**; Turk. ***teŋri / *taŋrɨ**; Jpn. ***tinkir-**.

PTung. ***taŋgura-** 1 to bow (in front of gods while praying) 2 to tell fairy-tales (1 кланяться (перед кумирами во время молитвы) 2 рассказывать сказки): Evn. *taŋrān-* 2; Man. *tanǯura-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 161, 163.

PMong. ***taŋgarag** oath (клятва): WMong. *taŋγaraγ* (L 776: *taŋγariγ*); Kh. *taŋgarag*; Bur. *tangarig*; Kalm. *taŋγərəg* (KPC); Ord. *taŋGarik*; Dag. *taŋgarag* (Тод. Даг. 165).

◊ Mong. > Sol. *taŋarag*, Man. *taŋgarik*, *taŋkari*, see Doerfer MT 139, Rozycki 202.

PTurk. ***teŋri / *taŋrɨ** 1 god 2 sky, heaven (1 бог 2 небо): OTurk. *teŋri* 2 (Orkh.), 1, 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *teŋri* 1, 2 (MK, KB); Tur. *tanrɨ* 1; Az. *tanrɨ* 1; Turkm. *taŋrɨ* 1; Sal. *tanru* (ССЯ) 1; MTurk. *teŋri* 1 (Sangl., MKypch. - CCum., AH et al.); Uzb. *taŋri* 1; Uygh. *täŋri* 1; Krm. *taŋrɨ*, *teŋri* 1; Tat. *täŋre* 1; Bashk. *täŋre* 1; Kirgh. *teŋir* 1, 2; KBalk. *tejri* 1, 2; KKalp. *täŋir* 1; SUygh. *teŋer* 2; Khak. *tigər* 2; Shr. *tegri* 2; Oyr. *teŋeri* 1, 2; Tv. *dēr* 2; Tof. *dēre* 2; Chuv. *tora* 2; Yak. *taŋara* 1; Dolg. *taŋara* 1.

◊ VEWT 474, TMN 2, 577, EDT 523-524, Федотов 2, 252, Stachowski 217. Turk. > Mong. *teŋgeri* > Evk. *tiŋeri*, Sol. *teŋer* (see Doerfer MT 236).

PJpn. ***tinkir-** to swear (клясться): OJpn. *tig(j)ir-*; MJpn. *tígír-*; Tok. *chigír-*; Kyo. *chígír-*; Kag. *chìgìr-*.

◊ JLTT 767. Modern dialects point rather to **tìnkìr-*.

‖ An interesting common Altaic religious / juridical term. The proposed etymology presumes that the meaning 'sky' in Turkic is secondary (< 'God'); if it is not the case, one could accept S. Georg's thesis about a loan in Turkic < Yenisseian **tɨŋgVr-* 'high' (see Georg 2001) - although we must admit that other loans from Yenisseian are unknown to us.

✱**tʹaŋnà** shell, pearl: Tung. ***taŋa**; Mong. ***tana**; Jpn. ***tàmà**; Kor. ***tàŋʼàrí**.

PTung. ***taŋa** bone (whitened from time) (кость (побелевшая от времени)): Evk. *taŋa*.

◊ TMC 2, 162. Attested only in Evk., but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***tana** mother of pearl (перламутр): MMong. *tana* (HY 26, SH); WMong. *tana* (L 776); Kh. *tana(n)*; Bur. *tana*; Kalm. *tanə*; Ord. *tana*; Dag. *taŋ* (Тод. Даг. 165), (M) *tane*; Mongr. *tanā* (SM 408).

◊ KW 377-378. Mong. > Man. *tana* etc., see Doerfer MT 142; > Kypch. *tana*. Hardly < Pers. *dānä* 'fruit stone', despite VEWT 460. Аникин 532.

PJpn. ***tàmà** pearl, jade (жемчуг, яшма): OJpn. *tama*; MJpn. *tàmà*; Tok. *tamá*; Kyo. *tàmá*; Kag. *tamá*.

◊ JLTT 539. The Kyoto accent is not quite regular (pointing rather to **tàmá*).

PKor. ***tàŋ'àrí** shell (раковина): MKor. *tàŋ'àrí*.

◊ Nam 145.

‖ In Jpn. the root has partially contaminated with **čèm(b)a* 'round' q.v. (which may explain the accent disagreement with Kor.). In Turkic cf. Dolg. (Stachowski 216) *tana* 'alter, ausgetrockneter Rentierknochen': semantically most close to the Evk. word (see below), but -n- is strange for a loanword < Evk. *taŋa*.

✸**tˈǎŋu** a k. of black bird: Tung. ***taŋu-**; Mong. ***taɣu**; Jpn. ***tùnkúm(u)í**.

PTung. ***taŋu-** 1 jackdaw 2 bird (1 галка 2 птица): Man. *taŋGuχa* 1; Nan. *taŋGu̯χa* 1; Ud. *tuni* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 163, 213.

PMong. ***taɣu** jackdaw (галка): MMong. *alax ta'un* (HY 13) 'daw, jackdaw'; WMong. *taɣu* (L 766); Kh. *tū*; Bur. *tūn*; Dag. *tāgu* (Тод. Даг. 165).

◊ Mong. > Evk. *tāgu̯*, Sol. *tāɣu̯* (see Poppe 1966, 191); Dag. *tāgu* is most probably a backloan < TM.

PJpn. ***tùnkúm(u)í** blackbird (дрозд): MJpn. *tùgúmí*; Tok. *tsùgumi*; Kyo. *tsùgúmì*; Kag. *tsugumí*.

◊ JLTT 553. The Kyoto accent is aberrant.

‖ One of common Altaic bird names.

✸**tˈápV̀** to trick, caper: Tung. ***tabsa-**; Mong. ***tebede-**; Turk. ***Teb**; Jpn. ***tápá-**.

PTung. ***tabsa-** to caper (шалить, баловаться; беспокоиться (об оленях)): Evk. *tawha-*, *tapsān-*; Evn. *tawsa-*; Ork. *tapsi̯čī-*; Nan. *tapsani* 'get away from me!' (On.)

◊ TMC 2, 149.

PMong. ***tebede-** to fuss, dither; hurry (суетиться; растеряться): WMong. *tebede-* (L 789); Kh. *tevde-*; Bur. *tebde-*.

◊ Mong. > Yak., Dolg. *tietej-* (see Kał. VIII 88, Stachowski 222).

PTurk. ***Teb** trick, device (трюк, шутка): OTurk. *teblig* 'tricky' (Orkh., OUygh.), *teb* (OUygh.); Karakh. *tev* (MK), *tevlig* 'tricky' (MK, KB).

◊ VEWT 468, EDT 434.

PJpn. ***tápá-** to caper, frolic (шалить, баловаться): OJpn. *tapa-k-*, *tapa-r-*, *tapabur-*; MJpn. *táfábúr-*; Tok. *tawaké-*, *tawamuré-*; Kyo. *táwáké-*, *táwámúré-*; Kag. *tawaké-*, *tawamuré-*.

◊ JLTT 766. The Tokyo accent is aberrant (pointing to a variant **tàpà-*).

‖ The final vowel is not clear: Turk. points to *-i, but Jpn. - to *-a or *-o; otherwise quite regular.

✸**tˈápˈà** to worship: Tung. ***tap-**; Mong. ***taji-**; Turk. ***tap-**; Jpn. ***tápútuá-**.

PTung. ***tap-** to encourage, advise (поощрять, советовать): Man. *tafula-*; SMan. *tavələ-* 'to soothe, to console, to comfort' (1506).

◊ TMC 2, 172.

PMong. ***taji-** to sacrifice (приносить жертву): WMong. *taji-* (L 767); Kh. *taj-*; *tavig* 'sacrifice'; Bur. *taj-*; Kalm. *tā̄-*; Ord. *tawik* 'sacrifice'.

◊ KW 388, MGCD 620. Mong. *taji-* > Oyr. *tai-* etc.

PTurk. ***tap-** to serve, worship (поклоняться): OTurk. *tap-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *tap-* (MK, KB); Tur. *tap-ɨn-*; Az. *tapɨn-*; Turkm. *tap-*; MTurk. *tap-* (Sangl., Pav. C.); Uzb. *tɔp-in-*; Uygh. *tev-in-*; Krm. *tabɨn-*; Tat. *tabɨn-*; Bashk. *tabɨn-*; Kirgh. *tabɨn-*; Kaz. *tabɨn-*; KBalk. *tabɨn-*; KKalp. *tabɨn-*; Nogh. *tabɨn-*; Yak. *tap-tā-* 'to love, like'; Dolg. *tap-tā-* 'to love, like'.

◊ VEWT 462, EDT 435, Stachowski 217.

PJpn. ***tápútuá-** to honour, revere (почитать, ценить): OJpn. *taputwob-*; MJpn. *táfútób-*; Tok. *tattób-*, *tōtób-*; Kyo. *táttób-*; Kag. *tattób-*.

◊ JLTT 765.

‖ KW 388, Владимирцов 271, Poppe 13, 42, 47, Дыбо 15 (the root is frequently confused with **tʿébo* q.v.). Mong. is hardly < Turk., despite Щербак 1997, 153 and, despite Doerfer's (TMN 2, 433) attempts at criticism.

✱**tʿăpʿè** to go through: Tung. ***tap**; Mong. ***tawul-**; Turk. ***Top-**; Jpn. ***tə̀pə̀r-**.

PTung. ***tap** through (через, насквозь): Evk. *tapamnak*; Evn. *tabdịč*; Neg. *tap*; Ul. *tap*; Ork. *tap*; Nan. *tap*; Sol. *tawakki-* 'to pierce'.

◊ TMC 2, 164.

PMong. ***tawul-** to go through (проходить мимо, через): WMong. *tuɣul-*, *taɣul-*, *toɣul-* (L 766), *tauli-* (MXTTT); Kh. *tūl-*; Kalm. *tūl-*; Ord. *tūl-*; Mongr. *tṹ-* 'pousser devant soi, emporter (eau, vent)' (SM 427).

◊ KW 413. Cf. also WMong. *taɣura-*, Kalm. *tūr-* 'come through' (KW 413).

PTurk. ***Top-** to go through (проходить сквозь): OTurk. *topul-* 'to pierce' (OUygh.); Karakh. *topul-* 'to pierce' (MK, KB); KKalp. *topɨl-* 'нападать, набрасываться, вторгаться'; Khak. *tobɨr-*; Yak. *tobul-* 'прорубить, пробить'; Dolg. *tobul-*.

◊ VEWT 489, EDT 440, Stachowski 224.

PJpn. ***tə̀pə̀r-** to go through (проходить через): OJpn. *top(w)or-*; MJpn. *tòfòr-*; Tok. *tȍr-*; Kyo. *tŏr-*; Kag. *tȍr-*.

◊ JLTT 770.

‖ Владимирцов 211, Poppe 47, Miller 1981, 854, Street 1985, 640, АПиПЯЯ 67. In Turk. *-ɨ- would be expected; perhaps **topul-* is a result of secondary labialization < **tɨpul-* (**tɨpol-*).

✱**tʿăpʿo(rV)** earth, dust: Tung. ***tap-**; Mong. ***toɣur-**; Turk. ***topra-k**.

PTung. ***tap-** to become dirty (пачкаться): Evk. *taparā-*; Orch. *tapti* 'clay'.

◊ TMC 2, 164.

PMong. ***toɣur-** 1 earth, soil 2 dust (1 земля 2 пыль): MMong. *to'osun* 2 (HY 3, SH), *ṭūsun* 2 (IM); WMong. *toɣusu(n)*; *toɣuraɣ* 2 (L 817, 818); Kh. *tōs* 2; Bur. *tōrog* 2; Kalm. *tōsṇ*, *tōrŋ* 1; Ord. *tōsu*, *tōs* 2, ? *tōsxo* 'terre cuite, brique'; Dag. *tuāral* (Тод. Даг. 169), *tuāse* (MD 226), *tuarəl*, *tuās* 2; Dong. *tura* 1.

◊ KW 405, MGCD 636. Mong. > Evk. *tōraɣ*, see Doerfer MT 131, Rozycki 211.

PTurk. ***topra-k** earth, soil (земля, почва): OTurk. *topraq* (OUygh.); Karakh. *topraq* (MK, KB); Tur. *toprak*; Gag. *topraq*; Az. *torpaG*; Turkm. *topraq*; Sal. *to(:)rɨχ*; Khal. *turpaq*; MTurk. *topraɣ/q*, *tofraɣ/q* (Sangl.); Uzb. *tuprɔq*; Uygh. *tofraq*, *topraq*; Krm. *topraq*, *toprax*; Tat. *tufraq*; Bashk. *tupraq*; Kirgh. *topuraq*; Kaz. *topɨraq*; KBalk. *topraq*; KKalp. *topɨraq*; Kum. *topraq*; Nogh. *topɨraq*; SUygh. *durvaq*; Khak. *tobɨrax*; Shr. *tobraq*; Oyr. *tobraq*; Tv. *dovuraq*; Tof. *to'praq*; Chuv. *tъʷpra*; Yak. *toburax*.

◊ Derived from PT **topra-* 'to turn into dust, dry out'. See VEWT 489, EDT 443, 444, Лексика 99. Turk. > WMong. *tobrag*, Kalm. *towrəg* (KW 404).

‖ Владимирцов 210. A Western isogloss. Mong. has a frequent secondary assimilative labialization (*toɣur-* < *taɣur-*). Cf. also OT (Suv.) (*kir*) *tarča* 'грязь'.

✱**tʿǎrba** a k. of small animal: Tung. ***targa**; Mong. ***tarbagan**; Turk. ***Tabɨrga**; Jpn. ***tàtàkaí**.

PTung. ***targa** 1 beaver 2 tiger's cub (1 бобер 2 тигренок): Man. *tarGan* 2; Ul. *tarGa* 1; Nan. *tarGa* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 168.

PMong. ***tarbagan** tarbagan (тарбаган): MMong. *tarbaqan* (SH); WMong. *tarbaɣa(n)* (L 780); Kh. *tarvaga*; Bur. tarbaga(n); Kalm. *tarwəɣṇ*; Ord. *tarwaGa*; Dag. *tarbəg*, (Тод. Даг. 165) *tarbag*, *tarbug*; S.-Yugh. *tarʁuan*; Mongr. *tōrGa* (SM 424), *tarbuGa*.

◊ KW 381, MGCD 625. Mong. > Manchu *tarbaxi*, *tarbixi* etc. (see Rozycki 203).

PTurk. ***Tabɨrga** musk-deer (кабарга): Khak. *tabɨrɣa* 'tarbagan', *tabɨrɣan* 'flying squirrel'; Shr. *tabɨrɣɨ*; Oyr. *tōrɣɨ*; Tv. *tōrɣu*; Tof. *tōrɣu*.

◊ VEWT 452. Turk. > Russ. *кабарга*, see Аникин 230, 519, 600.

PJpn. ***tàtàkaí** a k. of badger, racoon-dog (вид барсука, енотовидной собаки): OJpn. *tatake*; MJpn. *tàtàké*.

◊ JLTT 542.

‖ The root must have denoted some small wild animal (marmot or racoon-like).

✱**tʿari** a k. of water bird: Tung. ***tarmī**; Mong. ***čirökej**; Turk. ***tArakaj**.

PTung. ***tarmī** a k. of duck (вид утки): Evk. *tarmī*; Neg. *tajmī*; Man. *tarmin ńexe*; Ul. *tarmi*; Nan. *tarmi*; Orch. *taumā*; Ud. *taumä*.

◊ TMC 2, 169.

PMong. ***čirökej** a k. of duck (вид утки): WMong. *čürügü* (L 210); Bur. *šürxɨ* 'teal'; Kalm. *čörkə* 'teal' (KPC).

◊ Mong. > Oyr. *čüräkäj*, Kaz. *šürügüj* etc. (see VEWT 121), whence again Kalm. *šörgə* (KW 366-367).

PTurk. ***tArakaj** 1 snipe 2 hawk 3 a k. of lark 4 a k. of duck (кречетка) 5 corncrake 6 merganser (1 бекас 2 ястреб 3 вид жаворонка 4 утка-кречетка 5 коростель 6 крохаль): Karakh. *tartar* 'a bird like the turtle dove, a water-fowl' (MK)'; Tur. *taraɣaj* 2; MTurk. *taraɣaj* 3; Uzb. *tɔrɣɔq* 4; Kirgh. *tartar* 5; Kaz. *tarɣaq* 'steppe bird', *tartar* 5; Khak. *taraɣaj* 1, *tārt* 5; Oyr. *tarqat* 6; Tof. *tarhat* 6 (ФиЛ 233).

◊ VEWT 463, EDT 536. There are two distinctive formations: **tara-kaj* (a k. of steppe bird, but not quite clear - which), and *tartar (basically corncrake, but attested in MK with the meaning 'a bird like turtle dove, water-fowl'). They may be related, but the latter may also represent a borrowing < Sak. *tatara* 'partridge' (cf. also Armen. *tatrak* 'turtle-dove'), see Bailey 122.

‖ A Western isogloss. Some Turkic forms may have been influenced by **torgaj* 'lark' (q.v.).

✱**tʿaso** wild, wild animal: Tung. ***tasaka**; Mong. ***tosi-**; Turk. ***tosun**.

PTung. ***tasaka** tiger (тигр): Man. *tasχa*; SMan. *tasəhə* (2214); Jurch. *tasxa* (136); Sol. *tasax*.

◊ TMC 2, 169-170. TM > Dag. *tasga*, *tasxa* (Тод. Даг. 166).

PMong. ***tosi-** to be wild, ferocious (быть свирепым, диким): WMong. *tosi-*; Kh. *tošigro-* 'to scold, disparage' (Gomb.); Kalm. *toš-*.

◊ KW 403.

PTurk. ***tosun** wild, undisciplined (дикий, необъезженный): OTurk. *tosun* (OUygh.); Karakh. *tosun* (MK); Tur. *tosun* 'bull-calf; young man'; Az. *tōsun* (dial. ДСАз 385); Turkm. *tosun*; MTurk. *tusan* (Буд.); Uygh. *tosun*; Kirgh. *tusap-sa* 'quarrelsome'; Kaz. *tosɨn* 'unexpectedly', *tosɨrqa-* 'to stand aloof'; Chuv. *tos-* 'to rave'.

◊ EDT 555-556, VEWT 491, TMN 2, 613-614, Ашм. XIV, 175, 180, Федотов 2, 255-256.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**tʿatʿàkʿV** to hit, fight: Tung. ***tatki-**; Jpn. ***tatak-**; Kor. ***tǎthó-**.

PTung. ***tatki-** to hit the target (попадать в цель): Nan. *tatkị-*.

◊ TMC 2, 171. Attested only in Nan., with possible Jpn. and Kor. parallels.

PJpn. ***tàtàk-** 1 to hit 2 to fight (1 ударять, бить 2 сражаться): OJpn. *tatak-* 1, *tatakap-* 2; MJpn. *tàtàk-* 1, *tàtàkáf-* 2; Tok. *taták-* 1, *tataká-* 2; Kyo. *táták-* 1, *tátáká-* 2; Kag. *tàtàk-* 1, *tàtàkà-* 2.

◊ JLTT 764.

PKor. ***tǎthó-** to fight, struggle (биться, сражаться): MKor. *tǎthó-*; Mod. *tathu-*.

◊ Nam 137, KED 389.

‖ Martin 231. An Eastern isogloss.

✱**tʿăt̆ʿe** to reach, arrive at, stay at: Tung. ***tata-**; Jpn. ***tə̀ntùk-**; Kor. ***tàtă̆-d-**.

PTung. ***tata-** to stop, make a camp (останавливаться, располагаться лагерем): Man. *tata-*; Jurch. *tata-* (286).

◊ TMC 2, 171.

PJpn. ***tə̀ntùk-** to reach, attain (достигать): MJpn. *toduk-*; Tok. *todók-*; Kyo. *tódók-*; Kag. *tòdòk-*.

◊ JLTT 768. Cf. also the earlier attested **tə́ntə́kə́-pə́r-* (OJ *todokop(w)or-*, modern *todokōr-*) 'to be delayed, fall behind' (possibly, however, related rather to **tə́ntə́mə́-* 'stop' q.v.).

PKor. ***tàtă̆d-** to arrive, reach, attain (достигать): MKor. *tàtă̆t-* (*tàtă̆r-*); Mod. *tatari-*.

◊ Nam 128, KED 380.

‖ Lee 1958, 107. An Eastern isogloss.

✱**tʿát̆ʿu** rash, scabs: Tung. ***tuta-ril-**; Mong. ***tačir**; Turk. ***tāt (/*tōt)**; Jpn. ***tútú-(n)ká**; Kor. ***tə̀tə́i**.

PTung. ***tuta-ril-** to get scabs (заболеть чесоткой): Evk. *tutaril-*.

◊ TMC 2, 223. Attested only in Evk., but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***tačir** having scanty hair (с редкой растительностью, волосами): WMong. *tačir* (L 762); Kh. *tačir*; Bur. *tašar*; Kalm. *tačṛ*.

◊ KW 385. Mong. **tatir* > Kirgh. *tatɨr* 'steppe'.

PTurk. ***tāt (/*tōt)** 1 rust 2 rash (1 ржавчина 2 пятна на лице): Karakh. *tat* 1 (*totɨq-* 'to get rusty') (MK); Tur. *tatu* 1 (dial.); MTurk. *tot* (Pav. C.), (MKypch.) *tat* 1 (At-Tuhf.); Krm. *tot, tut* 1; Tat. *tut* 1, 2, *tat* (KCTT) 'spot'; Bashk. *tut* 1, 2, dial. *tat* 'scurf in a bucket'; Kirgh. *dat* 1; Kaz. *tot* 1, 'suntan'; KBalk. *tot* 1; KKalp. *tat* 1; Kum. *tot* 1; Nogh. *tot* 1, 2, *tat* 'spot'; SUygh. *dad* 1; Khak. *tat* 1; Shr. *tat* 1; Oyr. *tot* 'sun-tan', *tat* 1; Tv. *dat* 1; Tof. *tadarɨq* 1; Chuv. *tut, tudъ* 2, *todъx* 1, 2; Yak. *tatār* 2.

◊ VEWT 466, EDT 449, Егоров 262, Федотов 2, 256, Лексика 411-412. Length may be reconstructed because of the lack of pharyngealization in Tuva-Tof.

PJpn. ***tútú-(n)ká** illness caused by ticks (болезнь, вызываемая клещами): MJpn. *tútúgá*; Tok. *tsutsuga*.

◊ JLTT 558.

PKor. ***tə̀tə́i** rash, scab (сыпь, струп): MKor. *tə̀tə́i*; Mod. *tədeŋi*.

◊ Nam 148, KED 440.

‖ Лексика 412. An expressive reduplicated root, perhaps with variants **tʿātʿu* and **tʿōtʿu* (cf. Turk. **tōt* and Evk. *tuta-*).

✱**tʿatʿV** to cut, chop: Tung. ***tagdī-**; Mong. ***tata-**; Kor. ***tàtắm-**.

PTung. ***tagdī-** to pull out, tear out, uproot (выдергивать, вырывать): Evk. *tagdī-*; Evn. *tād-*; Neg. *tagdi-*; Man. *tadu-*, *tadura-*; Ul. *taGdi-*; Nan. *tadora-*; Ud. *tagdi-*.

◊ TMC 2, 150-151.

PMong. ***tata-** to chop, grind (рубить, крошить): WMong. *tata-* (L 786); Kh. *tata-*; Bur. *tata-*; Kalm. *tata-* (СЯОС).

PKor. ***tàtǎm-** to trim, prune (подрубать, подрезать): MKor. *tàtǎm-*; Mod. *tadɨm-*.

◊ Nam 128, KED 381.

‖ The TM form can be compared with Mong. and Kor. if it is a contraction of a suffixed form **tʿatʿV-gV-*. On a possible Japanese reflex see under **čʿàro*.

✱**tʿéba** time: Mong. ***tew-ke**; Turk. ***Teb**; Jpn. ***támpì**.

PMong. ***tew-ke** history (история): WMong. *teüke*, *tegüke* (L 808); Kh. *tū̄x*; Bur. *tū̄xe*; Kalm. *tū̄kə* 'story, legend' (KPC); Ord. *tū̄χe(n)* 'livre dʿhistoire'.

PTurk. ***Teb** 1 time 2 day and night (**Teb-lük*) (1 время 2 сутки): MTurk. *tewlük* 2; Uzb. *tävlik* 2; Tat. *täwlək* 2; Bashk. *täw* 'at first', *täwlək* 2; Kaz. *tevlük* 2; KKalp. *tevlik* 2; Shr. *tep* 1; Tv. *teppiže* 'earlier'; Chuv. *talъk* 2.

◊ VEWT 468, Егоров 229, Лексика 69.

PJpn. ***támpì** time, turn (раз, время, случай): OJpn. *tabji*; MJpn. *tábì*; Tok. *tabí*; Kyo. *tábì*; Kag. *tábi*.

◊ JLTT 536.

‖ Владимирцов 256, Poppe 44, VEWT 468, Лексика 69.

✱**tʿèbà** to run: Tung. ***tēb-**; Mong. ***tawlai**; Turk. ***tabɨĺgan**; Jpn. ***tapasir-**.

PTung. ***tēb-** 1 to catch up with 2 to walk behind 3 to run in leaps (1 догонять 2 идти позади кого-л. 3 бежать прыжками): Evk. *tēwul-* 1; Evn. *tewut-* 2; Ud. *tau-mäna-* 4.

◊ TMC 2, 172, 226.

PMong. ***tawlai** hare (заяц): MMong. *taulai* (HY 11, SH), *taulaj*, *tulaj* (MA), *tāwalai* (Lig.VMI); WMong. *taulai*, *tulai* (L 788); Kh. *tūlaj*; Bur. *tūlaj*; Kalm. *tūlā̄*, *tūlā*; Ord. *tūlā̄*; Mog. ZM *itoulä* (21-1); Dag. *tauĺē* (Тод. Даг. 166), *tauĺ*; Dong. *taulei*, *taoləi*; Bao. *toli*; S.-Yugh. *tūlī*; Mongr. *tu̯lī* (SM 430), *tolī*.

◊ KW 413, MGCD 649, TMN 1, 276. Mong. > Evk. *tōlai*, see Doerfer MT 126.

PTurk. ***tabɨĺgan** hare (заяц): OTurk. *tabɨšγan* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *tavɨšγan* (MK, IM), *tavšan* (IM); Tur. *tawšan*; Gag. *tawšan*; Az. *dowšan*; Turkm. *towšan*; Sal. *tōšen* (ССЯ); Khal. *dovušγan*; MTurk. *tawušqan* (Sangl., Abush.); Uzb. *tọšqan*; Uygh. *tošqan*; Krm. *tawšan*; KKalp. *tawšan*; Kum. *tawšan*; Nogh. *tawšan*; SUygh. *tōsqan*; Yak. *tabɨsxan*.

◊ VEWT 453, EDT 447, Щербак 1961, 136, Лексика 164.

PJpn. ***tapasir-** to run (бежать): OJpn. *tapasir-* (*tabasir-*).

◊ The word is traditionally analysed as *ta-* (pref.) + *pasir-* 'run' (v. sub **pʿèĺo*), but no prefix *ta-* seems to be attested. The original stem **tapas-* (= Turk. **tabɨĺ-*) must have been secondary influenced by **pasir-* 'run'.

‖ EAS 109, KW 413, Владимирцов 255, Poppe 13, 44, 77, Новикова 1972, 123-124, Лексика 164, Miller 1970, 128, JOAL 118. Both in Turk. and Mong. there exist also verbal roots (PT **tabɨĺ-* 'to run', e. g. Chag. *tauš-*, *tawuš-* etc.; WMong. *tauli-*, *taɣuli-* 'to chase, pursue', see EAS 109, TMN 1, 276, 2, 616). Despite TMN 1, 277, Щербак 1997, 151, one can hardly speak about borrowing in Mong. from Turkic.

✱**tʹébo** to help, assist, serve: Tung. ***teb-**; Mong. ***tab**; Jpn. ***tá(m)pa-p-**; Kor. ***tōb-**.

PTung. ***teb-** 1 to graze (of deer) 2 to protect (1 пастись (об оленях) 2 охранять, защищать): Evk. *tewej-* 1; Ud. *tegbese-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 226.

PMong. ***tab** 1 pleasure 2 find pleasure in something 3 to love (1 удовольствие, удобство 2 получать удовольствие, удовлетворение 3 любить): MMong. *tab* 4, *taji-* 2, *ta'ala-* 3 (SH), *tāla-* 3 (Lig.VMI), *ta'alam* 3 (HY 37), *ṭala-* 3 (IM), *tāla-* 3 (MA); WMong. *tab* 1 (L 760), *taɣala-* / *tab(a)la-* 2 (L 761, 763), *tabsi-* 'choyer (enfant)'; Kh. *tā, tav* 1; *tāla-* 3; Bur. *tā-taj* 1, *tāla-* 'fondle, strode, kiss'; Kalm. *tab* 1, *tawlə-* 2; Ord. *tātā̆* 'agreeable'; Mog. *tāla-* 3 (Lig.VMI 67); Dag. *tāla-* 2 (Тод. Даг. 165), *tāle-* 3 (MD 218); Mongr. *tā* 1, *dašə-* 'choyer (enfant)' (SM 47).

◊ KW 373, 386, 388, MGCD 618, 620.

PJpn. ***tá(m)pa-p-** to protect, help in conflict (защищать, спасать): MJpn. *tábàf-*, *táfáf-*.

◊ JLTT 760.

PKor. ***tōb-** to help (помогать): MKor. *tōp-* (-w-); Mod. *tōp-* (-w-).

◊ Nam 160, KED 484.

‖ KW 373, 388, Poppe 13, 42, 47, Дыбо 15 (the root is often confused with **tʹápʹa* q.v.).

✱**tʹebV** to put: Tung. ***teb-**; Mong. ***teɣe-**; Turk. ***debir-**; Kor. ***tú-**.

PTung. ***teb-** to put, place (класть, помещать): Evk. *tew-*; Evn. *tew-*; Neg. *tew(u)-*; Man. *tebu-*; Ul. *tew-či-*; Ork. *tewe-* / *teu-*; Nan. *teu-*; Orch. *tewu-*, *teu-*; Ud. *teu-*.

◊ TMC 2, 224-225.

PMong. ***teɣe-** to transport, load (on a carriage) (перевозить, нагружать (на повозку)): MMong. *te'e-* (HY 38, SH); WMong. *tegege-* (L 792); Kh. *tē-*; Bur. *tē-*; Kalm. *tē-*; Ord. *tē-*; Dag. *tē-* (Тод. Даг. 166, MD 222); Mongr. *tē-* (SM 416).

◊ KW 395, MGCD 629. The second -ge- in WMong. is purely orthographic.

PTurk. ***debir-** to capsize, subvert (опрокидывать, ниспровергать): OTurk. *tevir-* (OUygh.); Tur. *devir-*; Gag. *devir-*; Az. *devir-*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 3, 172-173.

PKor. ***tú-** to put, place (класть, помещать): MKor. *tú-*; Mod. *tu-*.

◊ Nam 163, KED 502.

‖ Poppe 14, Rozycki 205-206. Cf. **tʿepʿa* , **tʿèjbo.*

✱**tʿédù** to transmit: Tung. ***tedē-**; Mong. ***teǯije-**; Jpn. ***tútáp-**.

PTung. ***tedē-** to relate, transmit (сообщать, уведомлять, передавать): Evk. *tedēw-*; Neg. *tedew-*; Man. *todo-lo* 'omen, admonition'; Ork. *tede-* 'to notice'; Orch. *tedu-* 'teach'.

◊ TMC 2, 228.

PMong. ***teǯije-** to feed, nourish; raise, educate (кормить; воспитывать, взращивать): MMong. *teǯe'emel* (~ *koʿun*) 'educated child' (HY 32), *teǯi'e-*, *teǯije-* (SH); WMong. *teǯije-*, *teǯige-* (L 808); Kh. *teǯē-*; Bur. *teǯē-*; Kalm. *teǯē-* (KPC); Ord. *teǯē-*; Dag. *teǯē-* (Тод. Даг. 166, MD 223); Dong. *čiəǯə-*; Bao. *čiǯɛ-*; Mongr. *ćiǯē-* (SM 446), *təǯē-*.

◊ MGCD 630.

PJpn. ***tútáp-** to relate, transmit (передавать, сообщать): OJpn. *tutapa-*; MJpn. *tútáfa-*; Tok. *tsùtae-*; Kyo. *tsútáé-*; Kag. *tsutaé-*.

◊ JLTT 775.

‖ All branches may reflect a common Altaic derivative **tʿédù-bV*.

✱**tʿégè (~ -o)** to sit; bed: Tung. ***tege-**; Jpn. ***təkə́**; Kor. ***thǎ-**.

PTung. ***tege-** to sit (сидеть, садиться): Evk. *tege-*; Evn. *tъɣ-*; Neg. *teɣet-*; Man. *te-*; SMan. *te-* (505); Jurch. *teh-biar* (423); Ul. *tēwu*; Ork. *tē-*; Nan. *tēsị-*; Orch. *tē-*; Ud. *tē-*; Sol. *tege-*.

◊ TMC 2, 226-228.

PJpn. ***təkə́** bed (постель): OJpn. *toko*; MJpn. *tókó*; Tok. *tòko*; Kyo. *tókó*; Kag. *tóko*.

◊ JLTT 548.

PKor. ***thǎ-** to ride (ехать верхом): MKor. *thǎ-*.

◊ Nam 456, KED 1684.

‖ Lee 1958, 118, АПиПЯЯ 292. As a noun the PTM root has the meaning "seat, bench", which makes the comparison with Japanese quite plausible. An Eastern isogloss - but cf. notes to **tʿégè(-rV)* 'edge, border'.

✱**tʿégè(-rV)** edge, border: Tung. ***tegē-r (/-n)**; Mong. ***teg**; Turk. ***Tegre**; Jpn. ***təkə́rə**; Kor. ***təh**.

PTung. ***tegē-r /-n** 1 lower edge 2 edge (1 нижний край 2 край): Evk. *teɣēr* (dial. *teɣēn*) 1; Neg. *teɣen* 1; Man. *ten* 2; Ul. *tene* 'beginning'; Ork. *tē(n)* / *teɣe(n)* 1,2; Nan. *tẽ* 2; Orch. *tē* 1; Ud. *tē(n)* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 228.

PMong. ***teg** 1 middle 2 side, direction (1 середина 2 сторона, направление): WMong. *teg* 1, *tege* 2 (L 792); Kh. *teg* 1; Bur. *teg* 1.

PTurk. ***Tegre** surroundings (окружение, округа): OTurk. *tegre* (OUygh.); Karakh. *tegre* (MK); MTurk. *tegre* 'side' (Pav. C.); Uzb. *tegra*; Chuv. *tavra*; Yak. *dieri* 'to, towards'; Dolg. *dieri* 'to, towards'.

◊ EDT 485, VEWT 469, ЭСТЯ 2, 178-179, Stachowski 80.

PJpn. ***tə́kə́rə́** place (место): OJpn. *tokoro*; MJpn. *tókóró*; Tok. *tòkoro*; Kyo. *tókóró*; Kag. *tokóro*.

◊ JLTT 548.

PKor. ***tə́h** edge, border, foundation; yard (край, место, основание; двор): MKor. *thə́* (*thə́h-*); Mod. *thə*.

◊ Nam 457, KED 1699.

‖ Lee 1958, 118, Martin 238. The root seems to be homophonous to **tʿégè* 'sit, bed' and may be in fact derived ('edge, place' < 'sitting place'. The Turkic reflex here seems probable, but rather controversial: the word - if it continues PA **tʿégèrV* - has been heavily influenced both by PT **deg-ir-* 'round' < PA **tega* (hence 'surroundings') and **dẹg-* 'to touch, reach' (< **ti̯okʿe* q.v.).

✸**tʿe̋ja** calm, quiet: Tung. ***teje-**; Mong. ***tajibu-**; Jpn. ***tàjá-, *tàjù-**.

PTung. ***teje-** 1 to live 2 to be quiet, rest (1 жить 2 быть спокойным, отдыхать): Evk. *tiwān-* 1; Evn. *tiwnъ-* 2; Neg. *tejewan-* 1; Man. *teje-* 2; Nan. *tein-* 2 ; Orch. *tēŋkuči-* (caus.).

◊ TMC 2, 174-175, 236.

PMong. ***tajibu-** quiet, calm (спокойный, тихий): WMong. *tajibuu*, *tajibu* (L 767); Kh. *taivū*; Bur. *tajban* 'peace; calm'; Ord. *tǟwū*.

◊ Cf. also *taibu-ra-*, *taibusi-ra-* 'to be quiet', *taibuŋ* 'peace' (borrowing from Chinese is hardly possible).

PJpn. ***tàjá-, *tàjù-** 1 to interrupt (of breath); stop 2 to be tired, lazy (1 прерываться (о дыхании), останавливаться 2 уставать, лениться): OJpn. *taja-* 1; MJpn. *tàjà-* 1, *tàjù-m-* 2; Tok. *taé-* 1; Kyo. *táè-* 1; Kag. *tàè-* 1.

◊ JLTT 761, 766.

‖ Mong. and TM reflect a common derivative **tʿe̋ja-bV*.

✸**tʿe̋jbo** to put, set: Tung. ***tēb-**; Mong. ***tabi-**; Kor. ***tǎ̀bi-**.

PTung. ***tēb-** to set, place (ставить, сажать): Evk. *tēw-*; Evn. *tēw-*; Man. *teben* 'подставка'; Jurch. *tej-bew* 'установленный' (437).

◊ TMC 2, 225.

PMong. ***tabi-** to put, set (класть, ставить): MMong. *talibi* (HY 39), *talbi-* (SH), *talbi-/tabi-* (MA), *ṭal-* (IM), *talb-* (LH); WMong. *tabi-* (L 760), *talbi-* DO 651; Kh. *tavi-*; Bur. *tabi-*; Kalm. *täw-*; Ord. *tawi-*; Mog. *tali-* (Weiers); Dag. *tawi-*, *taẃ-* (Тод. Даг. 165); Dong. *tai-*; Mongr. *tə̄-* (SM 413).

◊ KW 387-388. The origin of -l- in MMong. forms is not quite clear (*talbi-* < **tabi-li-*? or a different root?).

PKor. ***tǎ̀bi-** to become (становиться): MKor. *tǎ̀wì-*, *tǎ̀'òi-*; Mod. *twe-*.

◊ Nam 136, 137, KED 497.

‖ Medial *-jb- should be reconstructed to account for -b- (not -ɣ-) in Mong. corresponding to *-b- in Kor. Cf. **tʿebV*.

✱**tʿěkí** piece, tear into pieces: Tung. ***teke-**; Turk. ***tikö**; Jpn. ***tìnkìr-**; Kor. ***tàhí-**.

PTung. ***teke-** to tear, burst (рвать, лопаться): Evk. *tekē-*; Evn. *tъkъk-*, *tъkъl-*; Ul. *tekē-*; Nan. *tekē-*.

◊ TMC 2, 230.

PTurk. ***tikö** slice, piece (часть, кусок): Karakh. *tikü* (MK); Tur. *tike*; Az. *tikä*; Turkm. *tike*; Khal. *tike*; MTurk. *tike* (Pav. C.); Kirgh. *bir tike* 'a little bit'.

◊ TMN 2, 918, EDT 478.

PJpn. ***tìnkìr-** to tear (into pieces) (разрывать, отрывать): MJpn. *tigir-*; Tok. *chigír-*; Kyo. *chígír-*; Kag. *chìgìr-*.

◊ JLTT 767.

PKor. ***tàhì-** to slaughter animals (резать животных): MKor. *tàhì-*.

◊ Liu 197.

‖ Korean has a usual verbal low tone.

✱**tʿékù** to become thick (of liquids): Tung. ***tekti**; Jpn. ***túka-**; Kor. ***tùthə̀-b-, *tōi-**.

PTung. ***tekti** thick (of liquids) (густой (о жидкостях)): Neg. *tekti*; Ul. *tekti(n)*; Nan. *tekčī*; Orch. *tekse*; Ud. *tekti*.

◊ TMC 2, 230. Cf. perhaps also **teke-* 'преть, истлевать'.

PJpn. ***túk(á)-** to soak (мочить, мокнуть, погружать(ся) в жидкость): OJpn. *tuk-*, *tuka-*; Tok. *tsùke-* (tr.), *tsùkar-* (*itr.*); Kyo. *tsúké-* (tr.), *tsúkár-* (*itr.*); Kag. *tsuké-* (tr.), *tsukár-* (*itr.*).

◊ JLTT 773.

PKor. ***tùthə̀-b-, *tōi-** be thick (of liquids) (быть густым (о жидкостях)): MKor. *tùthāp-*, *túthə́p-* (-w-), *tōi-*; Mod. *tuthəp-* / *tuk:əp-* (-w-), *twē-*.

◊ Nam 167, Liu 234, KED 498, 501, 507.

‖ An Eastern isogloss; see notes to **tʿákʿu*.

✱**tʿèkʿá (~ -k-)** kind, equal, level: Mong. ***teg-si**; Turk. ***tekiŕ** ; Jpn. ***tànk-**.

PMong. ***teg-si** equal, level (равный, ровный): MMong. *tegusi* (HY 54); WMong. *tegsi* (L 794); Kh. *tegš*; Bur. *tegše*; Kalm. *tekšə*; Ord. *degši*; Dag. *terš*, (Тод. Даг. 166) *tegši*, *terši*.

◊ KW 390, MGCD 631. Mong. > Man. *teksi* etc., see Doerfer MT 100, Rozycki 206; Yak. *dexsi*, Dolg. *deksi* (Kał. MEJ 43, Stachowski 78).

PTurk. ***tekiŕ** level (ровный): Turkm. *tekīz*; MTurk. *tekiz* (Pav. C.); Uygh. *tekiz*; Krm. *tegiz*; Tat. *tigez*; Bashk. *tigeδ*; Kirgh. *tegiz*; Kaz. *tegis*; KKalp. *tegis*; Nogh. *tegis*; Chuv. *tagъr*.

◊ VEWT 468, 470. Федотов 2, 165-166 connects the Chuv. form with PT **takir* 'level, smooth' (which is possible if Chuv. < Tat.), in which case the Chuvash form should be removed from this etymology.

PJpn. ***tànk-** 1 kind, class 2 mutually, each other (1 вид, род 2 взаимно, друг друга): OJpn. *tagupji* 1, *tagapji* (ni) 2; MJpn. *tàgùfì* 1, *tàgáfí*

(ni) 2; Tok. *tágui* 1, *tàgai* ni 2; Kyo. *tágúi* 1, *tàgài* ni 2; Kag. *taguí* 1, *tagaí* ni 2.

◊ JLTT 537, 538. Cf. also OJ *tàgàp-* 'to differ from one another' - probably the same root as *tàgápji* ni, but influenced by *tígáp-* 'to differ' (v. sub **tʹéḱʹí).*

‖ KW 390. Despite Doerfer's (TMN 2, 660) criticism, the Turk.-Mong. match seems quite probable.

✱**tʹéḱʹí (~ -k-)** separate, solitary: Mong. ***čig**; Turk. ***tēk**; Jpn. ***tínkáp-**.

PMong. ***čig** separately (отдельно): WMong. *čiγ*, *čiγ čiγ* (L 178-179); Kh. *čig*.

PTurk. ***tēk** 1 odd 2 only, solitary 3 understanding nothing 4 zero 5 vain, in vain (1 нечетный 2 единственный, только 3 ничего не понимающий 4 ноль 5 напрасный, напрасно): OTurk. *tek* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *tek* 2 (MK, KB); Tur. *tek* 1, 2; Gag. *tek* 1, 2; Az. *täk* 1, 2; Turkm. *tǟk* 1, 2; MTurk. *tek* 2 (Sangl.); Krm. *tek* 2; Tat. *tik* 2; Bashk. *tik* 2; Kirgh. *tek* 5; Kaz. *tek* 2; KBalk. *tegaran* 2; KKalp. *tegin* 2; Kum. *tek* 2; Nogh. *tek* 2; Khak. *tik* 3; Shr. *tek* 5; Tv. *tik* 3, *tek* 3, 4.

◊ VEWT 470, TMN 2, 660, EDT 475. Turk. > Mong. Khalkha *teg* ´zero', Kalm. *teg* 'kurz, niedrig' (KW 389).

PJpn. ***tínkáp-** to differ (отличаться): MJpn. *tígáf-*; Tok. *chìga-*; Kyo. *chígá-*; Kag. *chigá-*.

◊ JLTT 767.

‖ The etymology appears quite plausible both semantically (in Jpn. 'differ' < 'to be separate from') and phonetically.

✱**tʹéḱʹo** bottom, foundation: Tung. ***texēn**; Mong. ***taka**; Turk. ***TĒk**.

PTung. ***texēn** root, foundation (корень, основание): Evk. *tekēn*, *tekēr*; Evn. *teken*; Neg. *teken*; Ul. *texe*; Ork. *tekke(n)*; Nan. *texe*; Orch. *teke(n)*; Ud. *tēge*.

◊ TMC 2, 230-231. The stop -k(k)- in Orok is not clear (old interdialectal loan?).

PMong. ***taka** horseshoe (подкова): WMong. *taqa* (L 788); Kh. *tax*; Bur. *taxa*; Kalm. *taxə* (KPC); Ord. *daxa*; Dag. *tak* (Тод. Даг. 165), *take* (MD 219); S.-Yugh. *daG*.

◊ MGCD 627. Mong. > Evk. *taka* etc. (TMC 2, 153, Rozycki 197), Chag. *taqa* etc.

PTurk. ***TĒk** bottom, lower part (дно, нижняя часть): Turkm. *tej*; Khal. *tǟ*; MTurk. *teg* (Sangl.); Uzb. *tag*; Uygh. *täg*; Kirgh. *tek*; Kaz. *tek* 'origin'; KKalp. *tek* 'species, origin'.

◊ EDT 475. Voicing *-k > *-ɣ (-j) in Oghuz points to an original long vowel.

‖ A Western isogloss. Lee 1958, 118 cites MKor. *takar* 'horseshoe' which we were unable to locate.

✱**tʹelbu** dirt: Tung. ***telbe**; Mong. ***tolbu**; Turk. ***TAlagu**; Kor. ***tərə̀b-**.

PTung. ***telbe** dirt, dirty (грязь, грязный): Neg. *telbe*; Ul. *telbeni*; Ork. *telbenuli*; Ud. *telbeni*.

◊ TMC 2, 180.

PMong. ***tolbu** spot (пятно): WMong. *tolbu* (L 821); Kh. *tolbo*; Bur. *tolbo*; Kalm. *tolwə* (KPC); Ord. *tolbo*, *tolmo*.

◊ Mong. *tolbutai* 'spotted' > Manchu *tolbotu* 'a grey horse with circular markings on its side' (see Rozycki 210).

PTurk. ***TAlagu** 1 deadly poison 2 diarrhoea 3 ulcer disease (1 смертельный яд 2 дизентерия 3 болезнь, связанная с язвами): Karakh. *talaɣu* 1, 2; MTurk. *dalau* 1 (Pav. C.); Tat. *talaw* 'a k. of horse disease'; Bashk. *talaw* (dial.) 'Siberian plague'; Kirgh. *talō-lo-n-* 'to become covered by red blots'; Kaz. *talau* 'Siberian plague'; KBalk. *talaw* 'anthrax, plague'; Kum. *talaw* 'malignant tumour'; Nogh. *talav* 'pest, plague'.

◊ VEWT 458, EDT 496. Despite Clauson, hardly derived from *tala-* 'to harm, rob'. Modern Oghuz forms (Tur. dial. *dalak* 'Siberian plague', Az. dial. *dalax* 'cattle disease', Turkm. *dālaq* 'camel disease') are restructured on analogy with **d(i)ālak* 'spleen' (v. sub **ti̯ṓle*). A similarly reinterpreted form is Chuv. *talak* 'some inner disease of cattle' - borrowed from Tatar *talawu* (see above), but restructured under the influence of the borrowed *talaq* 'spleen'.

PKor. ***tə̄rə̀b-** to be dirty (быть грязным): MKor. *tə̄rə̀p-* (-w-); Mod. *tə̄rəp-* (-w-).

◊ Nam 149, KED 442.

‖ In Kor. the reflex is hard to distinguish from that of **tʿḕŕu* q.v.

✸**tʿḗlù** string, spreader, to spread: Tung. ***tel-**; Mong. ***tele-**; Turk. ***tēl**; Jpn. ***túrù**.

PTung. ***tel-** 1 to cock (a cross-bow) 2 to spread a carcass, to skin 3 spreader (1 насторожить (самострел), натянуть (стрелу) 2 распластывать, свежевать 3 поперечная палка у вертела): Evk. *telbe-* 1, *telge-* 2; Evn. *telgъ-* 2; Neg. *telge-* 2; Ul. *telǯeči-* 2; Ork. *telde-* 2, *telbe* 3; Nan. *telgeči-* 2; Orch. *tegge-* 2; Ud. *tegesi-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 231.

PMong. ***tele-** to protract, spread (skins, clothes) (растягивать (шкуры, ткани, лук)): WMong. *tele-*, *teli-* (L 797); Kh. *tele-*; Bur. *telǖr* 'litter, stretcher'; Kalm. *tel-*; Ord. *tele-*; Mongr. *terge-* (SM 418).

◊ KW 390.

PTurk. ***tēl** 1 wire, string 2 thong 3 strand (1 волосок, струна, проволока 2 ремешок, которым привязан наконечник стрелы 3 прядь, пучок нитей): Karakh. *tili* 2 (MK); Tur. *tel* 1; Gag. *tel* 1; Az. *tel* 1; Turkm. *til* 1; Kum. *tel* 1; Nogh. *tel* 1; Chuv. *tal* 3.

◊ VEWT 471, EDT 491. Turk. > NPers., Kurd., Osset. *tel* etc. Bailey 129 cites Saka *ttīla* 'thread, wire' and considers it the source of Turkic forms, tracing it back to **tarϑrya* - cf. Pers. *tār* < **tarϑra*. However there are no direct Iranian parallels for the Saka form (cf. Аб. 3, 288, maintaining that the Osset. and Kurd. form do not go back to Proto-Iranian but are borrowed from neighbouring languages); so the word may well be a Turkism in Saka and other Iranian languages. The Turkic origin is also corroborated by the Chuv. parallel.

PJpn. ***túrù** bow-string (тетива): OJpn. *turu*; MJpn. *túrù*; Tok. *tsurú*; Kyo. *tsúrù*; Kag. *tsurú*.

◊ JLTT 557.

‖ Despite Doerfer MT 52, TM cannot be borrowed from Mong.

✱tʿélV young lamb, calf: Mong. ***tölüge**; Turk. ***Tḗl**.

PMong. ***tölüge** last year's lamb (прошлогодний ягненок): WMong. *tölöge*, (L 834) *tölüge(n)*; Kh. *tölög*, *tölgö*; Bur. *tülge(n)*; Kalm. *töləg* (KPC); Ord. *tölögö*; Dag. *tulgu*; S.-Yugh. *tölöge*.

◊ MGCD 646.

PTurk. ***Tḗl** 1 to put the kid or calf to a different milch-ewe or cow 2 a kid or calf sucking two milch-ewes or cows (1 отдать ягненка другой кормящей самке 2 теленок, сосущий двух маток): Karakh. *tel-* (MK) 1; Tat. *tile-* 1; Bashk. *tile-* 1; Kirgh. *teli-* 1, *tel* 2; Kaz. *tel-* 1, *tel* 2; KKalp. *teli-* 1; Oyr. *telkin* 'roe (female)'; Tv. *tel* 2; Yak. *tīl* 2, *tilij-* 1.

◊ EDT 490 (sub 'to pierce'), VEWT 471. Turk. > MMo, WMong. *tel, teleγe* id. (see Щербак 1997, 166).

‖ A Turk.-Mong. isogloss. Mong. has -ö- under the secondary influence of *töl* 'newborn young animals' (< Turk. **döl* q. v.).

✱tʿèlV (~ -Í-) to sober up: Tung. ***tēl-**; Mong. ***telere-**.

PTung. ***tēl-** to sober up, come to one's senses (протрезвиться, опомниться): Evk. *tēl-*; Evn. *tel-*; Ork. *tēli-*.

◊ TMC 2, 231.

PMong. ***telere-** to sober up, come to one's senses (трезветь, приходить в чувство): WMong. *telere-* (MXTTT); Kh. *telre-*; Bur. *teler-*.

‖ TMC 2, 231. A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✱tʿĕma (~ -o) net string, net needle: Tung. ***teme-**; Mong. ***tamasu**; Turk. ***temen**; Jpn. ***tamua**.

PTung. ***teme-** 1 big needle 2 axle 3 sledge stick 4 net 5 to hang the net (1 большая игла 2 ось 3 палка-тормоз, остол 4 сеть 5 вешать сеть): Evk. *temek* 3; Neg. *teme* 1, *temti* 4; Man. *temene ulme* 1, *temun* 2, *tomoo* 1; Ul. *temti* 4; Ork. *temetči* 'черпалка'; Nan. *temčiku* 4, *temnegu-* 5.

◊ TMC 2, 196, 234, 235. Man. *temene* may be < Mong. < Turk. (cf. Doerfer MT 142), but for other forms it is unlikely.

PMong. ***tamasu** coating, hand seam, net string (обшивка, строчка (рукодельная), веревка сети): WMong. *tamasu* (MXTTT); Kh. *tams*; Bur. *tamha*; Mongr. *tamu-* 'filer, tordre du fil, des cordes' (SM 408).

PTurk. ***temen** big needle (большая игла): OTurk. *temen* (OUygh.); Karakh. *temen jigne* (MK, IM); Tur. *tebene* (dial.); Az. *tämänä*; Turkm. *temen*; Khal. *temen*; MTurk. *teben* (Pav. C.), (MKypch.) *temen* (CCum.); Uzb. *temen*; Uygh. *tömünä*; Bashk. *tibän enä*; Kirgh. *temene*; Kaz. *teben*; KKalp. *teben*; Nogh. *teben*; Khak. *tibe əŋe*; Oyr. *temene*, *tebene*; Tv. *tevene*.

◊ VEWT 472, EDT 507. Turk. > WMong. *tebene, temene* id. (KW 391, TMN 4, 278-279, Щербак 1997, 154).

PJpn. ***tamua** a k. of net (рыболовная сеть на ободе с длинной рукояткой): Tok. *tamo*.

‖ Most sources indicate that the root was used as a fishing term (either a string in the net or a needle for the net). Morphologically cf. the match between PT **temen* and Manchu *temene ~ temun*.

✱**tʿème (~ -o-)** scarce, rare: Tung. ***temu-**; Jpn. ***tàmà-**; Kor. ***tɨ́mɨ́r-**.

PTung. ***temu-** 1 in vain 2 barely, scarcely (1 напрасно 2 чуть, едва): Evk. *tomokūn* 1; Ul. *tembu* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 196, 233.

PJpn. ***tàm(p)à-** scarce, poor (скудный, бедный): OJpn. *tomo-si*; MJpn. *tòmò-si*; Tok. *toboshí-*, *tòboshi-*; Kyo. *tóbóshì-*; Kag. *tobóshi-*.

◊ JLTT 842. Kagoshima and one of the Tokyo variants point to a variant with high tone in PJ.

PKor. ***tɨ́mɨ́r-** rare (редкий): MKor. *tɨ́mɨ̀r-*; Mod. *tɨmul-*.

◊ Nam 171, KED 526.

‖ Whitman 1985, 126, 218. An Eastern isogloss.

✱**tʿèmo (~ t-)** to burn, kindle: Turk. ***Tạm-**; Jpn. ***tàmà-s-**.

PTurk. ***Tạm-** 1 to burn (tr.) 2 to kindle 3 to become excited (1 жечь 2 зажигать 3 возбуждаться 4 загораться): OTurk. *tam-* 4, *tamdur-* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *tamδur-* 2 (MK); Uygh. *tamet-* 2 (Lobn.); Tat. *tamɨz-* 2 (dial.); Kirgh. *tam-* 4, *tamɨz-* 2; Kaz. *tamɨz-* 2; KKalp. *tamɨz-* 2; Nogh. *tamɨz-* 2; SUygh. *tam-* 4, *tam-dɨr-* 1; Khak. *tam-ɨl-* 4, *tamɨs-* 2; Yak. *tɨmɨt-* 3, *tɨm-tɨk* 'лучина'.

◊ VEWT 459b, EDT 504, Лексика 363. Clauson thinks the root is < Chin., but this is highly improbable.

PJpn. ***tàmà-s-** to burn, light (зажигать): OJpn. *tomos-*; MJpn. *tomos-*; Tok. *tòmos-*, *tomós-*; Kyo. *tómós-*; Kag. *tòmòs-*.

◊ JLTT 770.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 286. A Turk.-Jpn. isogloss. Cf. perhaps TM: Ud. *tumpali* 'capsule', Evn. *tumtej* 'star' (TMC 2, 213).

✱**tʿèmu** boat, raft: Tung. ***tēmu**; Mong. ***tamara-**; Jpn. ***tumu**.

PTung. ***tēmu** 1 raft 2 boat (1 плот 2 лодка): Evk. *tēmu* 1; Evn. *tem* 1; Neg. *tem* 1; Man. *temčiku* 2; Ul. *temu(n)* 1; Ork. *temu* 1; Nan. *temu* 1, *temčiẽ* 2; Orch. *temmu* 1, *temtiye* 2; Ud. *temtige* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 234.

PMong. ***tamara-** to float, to swim (плавать): Bur. *tamara-*.

◊ Attested only in Bur., but having probable external parallels.

PJpn. ***tumu** big boat (большая лодка): OJpn. *tumu*.

‖ Phonetically and semantically plausible, but rather sparsely attested in Mong. and Jpn.

✸**tʹemV** to grope, search: Tung. ***temi-**; Mong. ***temteri-**.

PTung. ***temi-** to grope (ощупывать): Evk. *temi-*; Evn. *temi-*; Neg. *temikte-*; Ul. *temuru-*; Ork. *temiri-*; Nan. *temiri-*; Ud. *teme-* (Корм. 298).

◊ TMC 2, 233-234.

PMong. ***temteri-** to grope, search by feeling (ощупывать, искать наощупь): WMong. *temteri-* (L 800); Kh. *temtre-*; Bur. *temter-*; *temge* 'наугад'; Kalm. *temtṛ-* (KPC); Ord. *temtere-*; Dag. *temilē-*, (Тод. Даг. 167) *temīlē-*; Dong. *čiančialu-*; Mongr. *tendili-* (SM 415), *temdələ-*.

◊ MGCD 631. Cf. also **temüči-* 'to strive' (KW 391) > Man. *temše-* etc.; Tel. *tämdän-*. The Dag. form may be < TM.

‖ SKE 261, TMC 2, 234. A Mong.-Tung. isogloss; but for a possible Jpn. parallel see **tʹama,* and for a possible derivative reflected in Turkic and Japanese see **tʹìntʹa*.

✸**tʹeŋa** to kick, shake: Tung. ***teŋ-**; Mong. ***taŋga-**; Turk. ***TEŋ-**.

PTung. ***teŋ-** to flutter, shake, wave; throw; jump (колыхаться, трястись; бросать; прыгать): Man. *teŋgelǯe-*, *teŋki-*, *teŋne-*; Jurch. *tiŋ-da-mai* 'to release' (400).

◊ TMC 2, 236.

PMong. ***taŋga-** 1 to kick 2 to be overthrown (1 лягаться 2 опрокидываться): WMong. *taŋɣara-* 1 (MXTTT); Kh. *taŋgara-* 1; Bur. *taŋgar-* 1, *taŋgaj-* 2; Ord. *taŋGā̃-* 'être couché sur le dos'; Mongr. *taŋGə̄-* 'être couché sur le dos' (SM 409).

PTurk. ***TEŋ-** to soar, fly (парить): Karakh. *teŋ-* (MK); Tur. (dial.) *tüŋ-*.

◊ EDT 514. See also Татаринцев CT 1984 , 4, p. 78-81.

‖ An expressive Western isogloss.

✸**tʹèŋà** lowland: Tung. ***tēŋ-**; Turk. ***tEŋ**; Jpn. ***tànì**.

PTung. ***tēŋ-** 1 plain, lowland 2 low bank 3 pool 4 wide lake (1 равнина 2 низкий берег 3 лужа 4 широкое озеро): Evk. *tēn* 1, *teŋkī* 1; Evn. *teŋkъ* 'forest'; Neg. *teŋ* 2; Man. *teŋgin* 4; Ork. *teŋesi* 'mountain pass'; Nan. *tēŋki* 3; Orch. *teŋki* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 235, 236. Evk. > Dolg. *tēn* 'plain' (Stachowski 221).

PTurk. ***tEŋ** 1 pool 2 big river (1 пруд 2 большая река): Karakh. (?) *teŋ* (MK) 1; Tur. (Osm.) *ten* 2; MTurk. *tin* 2 (R.).

◊ VEWT 473, EDT 512. Chag. > Kalm. *teŋ* 'Don'.

PJpn. ***tànì** valley (долина): OJpn. *tani*; MJpn. *tànì*; Tok. *taní*; Kyo. *tánì*; Kag. *taní*.

◊ JLTT 541.

‖ Turk. **deŋgiŕ* 'sea' (ЭСТЯ 3, 194-195; > Mong. *teŋgis*, see Clark 1980, 39) may also belong here (with a secondary voicing). See SKE 280, EAS 145. Cf. **tʹi̯oŋe* 'air or water space'.

✱**tʿèŋo** a k. of flying insect: Tung. ***teŋer- / *toŋor-**; Jpn. ***tàm-**; Kor. ***toŋʿăi**.

PTung. ***teŋer- / *toŋor-** 1 a k. of butterfly 2 spider (1 назв. бабочки 2 паук): Neg. *toŋorawkī* 1; Ork. *tēneŋǯi*, *tegenenǯi* 2; Orch. *teŋeje* 2; Ud. *teŋe* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 198, 237.

PJpn. ***tàm-** dragon-fly (стрекоза): MJpn. *tombau*, *tombo*; Tok. *tòmbo*; Kyo. *tòm̀bó*; Kag. *tombó*.

◊ JLTT 550.

PKor. ***toŋʿăi** gad-fly (овод): MKor. *toŋʿăi*.

◊ Liu 233.

‖ An Eastern isogloss. Cf. perhaps Mong. *temeγel-ǯirgene* 'dragonfly' (folk-etymologically merging with *temeγen* 'camel').

✱**tʿĕ̀pá** to catch, embrace, armful: Tung. ***tēbe-**; Mong. ***teberi-**; Jpn. ***tàmpá**; Kor. ***tàpɨ́r-**.

PTung. ***tēbe-** 1 to catch 2 to embrace (1 ловить 2 обнимать): Evk. *tewe-* / *tēwē-* 1; Evn. *tew-* 1, *tewel-* 2; Neg. *tewen-* 1; Man. *tebeĺe-* 2; SMan. *tivələ-*, *tevilə-* (1494).

◊ TMC 2, 226.

PMong. ***teberi-** 1 to embrace, grasp 2 armful (1 обнимать, хватать 2 охапка): MMong. *tɛbɛr-* (IM), *tibäri-* (MA), *teberi-* (SH), *tebəri-* (LH); WMong. *teberi-*; Kh. *tevri-* 1, *tever* 2; Bur. *teber(i)-*; Kalm. *tewr-*; Ord. *tewere-* 1; Dag. *teuŕē-* (Тод. Даг. 167, MD 224) 1, *teur* 2; Dong. *čieru-* (*čiaoru-*); Bao. *tēre-*; S.-Yugh. *tewerde-* 1, *tewer* 2; Mongr. *twēri-*, *tōri-* (SM 425, 437) 1, (MGCD *tērə-*), *tēr* 2.

◊ KW 395, MGCD 629, 630.

PJpn. ***tàmpá** bundle (связка): MJpn. *taba*; Tok. *tába*; Kyo. *tàbá*; Kag. *tabá*.

◊ JLTT 536.

PKor. ***tàpɨ́r-** to lead, take smn. with (вести, брать с собой): MKor. *tàpɨ́r-*; Mod. *təbul-*.

◊ Nam 150, KED 443.

‖ Poppe 14, 45. Despite Doerfer MT 52, TM cannot be borrowed from Mong. The Kor. verb has a typical low tone. Kor. *tabal* 'bundle, bunch' (see Martin 227), which we have attributed to PA **tʿĕpʿá*, seems to be a better match for Jpn. **tà(n)pá*, but Jpn. also has **ta(m)pua* 'knot of hair', and the two roots actively interacted in the Kor.-Jpn. area.

✱**tʿĕpʿá** tuft (of hair): Tung. ***teb-**; Mong. ***tab, *tebeg**; Turk. ***tepö (-ü)**; Jpn. ***tampua**; Kor. ***tapar**.

PTung. ***teb-** 1 rags 2 tail on shaman's belt (1 лохмотья 2 хвост на поясе шамана): Evk. *tewdukē* 1; Sol. *tabxa* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 148, 225.

PMong. ***tab, *tebeg** 1 tuft of hair attached to a metal ring (for play); shuttlecock 2 long hair on back of head (1 пучок волос, прикрепленный к металлическому кольцу (для игры); волан 2 волосы на макушке, хохол): WMong. *tebeg* 1, 2 (L 789), tab 2 (L 760); Kh. *teveg* 1, *tav* 2; Bur. *tebeg* 1; Kalm. *tewəg* 2 (KPC); Ord. *teweg* 1; S.-Yugh. *tebeg*.

◊ MGCD 629. Cf. also *tobi*, Khalkha *tov́* 'тюбетейка'.

PTurk. ***tepö (-ü)** hill, top; top of head (холм, вершина): OTurk. *töpü*; Karakh. *tepe* (Tefs.), *töpü* (KB); Tur. *tepe*, dial. *depe*; Gag. *tepe*; Az. *täpä*; Turkm. *depe*; MTurk. *tepe*, *töpe* (MA, Pav. C.); Uzb. *tepa*; Uygh. *töpä*; Krm. *tebe*; Tat. *tübɛ*; Bashk. *tübɛ*; Kirgh. *töbö*; Kaz. *töbe*; KBalk. *töbe*; KKalp. *töbe*; Kum. *töbe*; Nogh. *töbe*; Oyr. *töbö*; Tv. *tʿej*; Chuv. *tübə*, *töbe* (NW); Yak. *töbö*; Dolg. *töbö*.

◊ VEWT 494, 505, TMN 2, 450-452, EDT 436, ЭСТЯ 3, 197-199, Лексика 201, Stachowski 227. The original meaning was probably 'crest, top of head': cf. Kirgh. *tüpök* 'бунчук', Chuv. *tə^{w}bek* 'crest, top of head'. Forms with d- in Oghuz may be a trace of a different root (see below); but Kirgh. *döbö* and Uygh. *döwä* are most probably < Mong. *döbe*.

PJpn. ***tampua** knot of hair on back of head (узел волос на затылке): MJpn. *tabo*; Tok. *tabo*.

◊ JLTT 537.

PKor. ***tapar** bundle, bunch (связка): Mod. *tabal*.

◊ Nam 385.

‖ Владимирцов 258. The root is rather difficult to distinguish from **tʿēpa* 'to catch, embrace' and from **tʿòpʿu* 'round, clot' : an expressive sound shape, liable to mergers. Note that within Turkic there may have also been a confusion of this root with PA **tújpè* 'hill, top', cf. some Oghuz forms with d- (Doerfer TMN 1, 450-452 attempts to connect Turk. **tepe* with Mong. *deɣe-* 'above', which has a different, quite plausible etymology). The original meaning of **tʿepʿa* could be "top of head" (whence "tuft of hair on top or back of head"): cf. the common Turk.-Mong. derivative **tʿepʿa-lV* 'spot on the forehead of an animal' (WMong. *tögele*, Khalkha *tṓĺ*; Turkm. *depel*, Az. *täpel*, Kirgh. *töböl* etc.), see Владимирцов 213, KW 408, ЭСТЯ 3, 200.

✸**tʿepʿà** to cover, obstruct: Tung. ***tepku**; Jpn. ***tapa-**; Kor. ***tə̀ph- / *tùph-**.

PTung. ***tepku** sheath, sack (чехол, мешок): Evk. *tepku*; Evn. *tъpkun*; Neg. *tepke*; Man. *tebku* 'uterus'; Ork. *tupo*; Orch. *tekpu*, *tepku*; Ud. *tekpu*.

◊ TMC 2, 237. TM > Dag. *tebke* 'sack, sheath' (Тод. Даг. 166).

PJpn. ***tapa-** to obstruct, shut (препятствовать, закрывать): OJpn. *tapa-*; MJpn. *tafa-*.

◊ JLTT 761.

PKor. ***tə̀ph- / *tùph-** to cover (покрывать): MKor. *tə̀ph-*, *tùph-*, *tùp-*; Mod. *təp-* [*təph-*].

◊ Nam 153, 168, KED 454.

‖ SKE 263, PKE 203, EAS 49. An Eastern isogloss. Cf. **tʿebV* and Bur. *tebtēr* 'cover (of pot)' - a word of obscure origin. For Jpn. cf. alternatively: WMong. *čeger*, Khalkha *cēr* 'taboo, prohibition', Turk. *čeper* 'fence, protecting fender', see Владимирцов 211-212; cf. also Oroch *čeppe-* 'to sin'?.

✸**tʿěpʿa** to hit, tip over: Tung. ***tep-**; Mong. ***taɣ- / *tuji-**; Turk. ***Tap-la-**; Jpn. ***tàpú-**.

PTung. ***tep-** 1 to hit (with a heavy object); to kill (a deer) 2 to trample 3 to dance 4 to cut through 5 to shoot (1 ударять (тяжелым предметом); закалывать (оленя) 2 топтать 3 плясать 4 пробивать, прорезать 5 стрелять): Evk. *tepū-* 1, *tepte-* 2, *tepti-* 4; Evn. *tepseŋnī-* 2; Neg. *tepekele-* 5; Nan. *tepete-* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 237, 238. Cf. also an expressive variant **tapta-* 'to clap' (TMC 2, 164).

PMong. ***taɣ- / *tuji-** 1 to dump, capsize 2 to cut, sharpen (1 сбрасывать (всадника), опрокидывать 2 обрезать, точить): MMong. *tujla-* 'брыкаться' (MA 354); WMong. *tujila-* (L 840) 1 , *taɣari-* (L 765), *tajiri-* (KW) 2; Kh. *tujla-* 1, *tajra-* 2; Bur. *tajra-* 2; Kalm. *tūĺ-* 1, *tā̆r-* 2; Ord. *tuila-* 1, *tāri-* 2; Dag. *tāri-* 2; S.-Yugh. *tār-* 2.

◊ KW 388, 413, MGCD 622.

PTurk. ***Tap-la-** 1 to chop off splinters 2 to forge, hammer (1 тесать 2 ковать 3 трамбовать): Az. *tapdala-* 2; MTurk. *tapla-* 'бить, выравнивать' (Pav. C.); Uzb. *tɔpta-* 3; Uygh. *tapta-* 1, 2, 3; Krm. *tapta-* 1, 2, 3; Tat. *tapta-* 1, 2, 3; Kirgh. *tapta-* 1, 2, 3; Kaz. *tapta-* 1, 2, 3; KBalk. *tabla-* 'to hammer'; Kum. *tapta-* 1, 2, 3; Nogh. *tapta-* 1, 2, 3; Khak. *tapta-* 2, 3; Oyr. *tapta-* 1, 2, 3; Tv. *tapta-* 1, 2, 3; Chuv. *tupta-* 2, 3; Yak. *taptaj-* 2, 3.

◊ VEWT 462, ОСНЯ 2, 108-109, Ашм. XIV, 48.

PJpn. ***tàpú-** 1 to tip over, collapse 2 to dump, capsize, topple (1 спотыкаться, опрокидываться 2 опрокидывать): OJpn. *tapura-* 1, *tapus-* 2; MJpn. *tàfúra-* 1, *tafus-* 2; Tok. *taoré-* 1, *taós-* 2; Kyo. *táóré-* 1, *táós-* 2; Kag. *tàòrè-* 1, *tàòs-* 2.

◊ JLTT 763.

‖ The root should be distinguished from **tā̆pʿV* and **tʿi̯ópʿe* q.v., although they certainly tend to be confused.

✸**tʿèpʿà** to endure, abstain: Mong. ***tebči-**; Turk. ***TEpiŕ**; Jpn. ***tàpà-**.

PMong. ***tebči-** to abstain from, abandon (воздерживаться от, покидать): MMong. *tebči-* 'hingeben' (HYt); WMong. *tebči-* (L 789); Kh. *tewči-*; Bur. *tebše-*; Kalm. *tewč-* 'to endure' (KPC); Ord. *debči-*.

◊ Mong. > Manchu *tebči-* 'to endure, to suffer' (see Rozycki 204).

PTurk. ***TEpiŕ** envy (зависть): Karakh. *tepiz*, *tepze-* 'to envy' (MK, KB).

◊ EDT 448.

PJpn. ***tàpà-** to endure (терпеть): OJpn. *tapa-*; MJpn. *tàfá-*; Tok. *taé-*; Kyo. *tàè-*; Kag. *tàè-*.

◊ JLTT 761.

‖ The parallel seems plausible, with the semantic developments *'endure' > 'envy'; *'endure' > 'shun, abstain'.

✱**tʹepʹV** warm, to burn: Tung. ***tepe-**; Turk. ***tẹpi-**; Kor. ***tə̀b-**.

PTung. ***tepe-** 1 to catch fire, to burn 2 to burn through (1 разгораться, пылать 2 сгорать, прогорать): Man. *tefe-* 2; SMan. *tiavə-* 1; Nan. *tepe-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 238.

PTurk. ***tẹpi-** 1 to dry, become dry 2 to suffer from heat (1 сохнуть 2 страдать от жары): Az. *täpi-* 1; Turkm. *tebi-* 1; Chuv. *tip-* 1, 2.

◊ Räsänen (VEWT 253) and Федотов (2, 233) think that the Chuv. form reflects PT **kep-*, but this is impossible for phonetic reasons.

PKor. ***tə̀b-** be warm (быть теплым): MKor. *tə̄p-* (*tə̀w-*); Mod. *tə̄p-* (-w-).

◊ Nam 153, KED 451.

‖ The parallel seems reliable, although voicing in Korean is not clear (note a similar case in **tʹi̯ópʹa*).

✱**tʹèra** pair, to compare: Tung. ***tērī**; Jpn. ***tàtùap-**.

PTung. ***tērī** 1 couple, pair 2 equal (1 пара 2 одинаковый): Evk. *tērī* 1; Evn. *tēri* 1; Neg. *tējī* 1; Nan. *terini* 2; Orch. *tējī* 1; Ud. *tie* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 239.

PJpn. ***tàtuàp-** to compare (сравнивать, уподоблять): OJpn. *tat(w)op(a)-*; MJpn. *tàtòf(a)-*; Tok. *tatoé-*; Kyo. *tátóé-*; Kag. *tàtòè-*.

◊ JLTT 765.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss.

✱**tʹéra (~ -u)** hair, wool, thread: Tung. ***terge-**; Turk. ***TAram**; Kor. ***tə̀rh(í)**.

PTung. ***terge-** 1 deerskin, cloth made of deerskin 2 footwear made of deerskin (1 ровдуга, замша из оленьей шкуры 2 обувь из ровдуги): Evk. *tergekse* 1; Evn. *tergъs* 1; Neg. *tergemi* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 238-239.

PTurk. ***TAram** 1 sinew, sinew thread 2 strand (1 сухожилие, жильная нить 2 прядь, клок (волос)): Uzb. *taram* 2; Uygh. *taram* (R) 1; Tat. *taram* 2; *taramiš* (KCTT) 1; Bashk. *taramiš* 1; Kirgh. *taramiš* 1; Kaz. *taramɨs* 1; KKalp. *taramɨs* 1; Nogh. *taramɨs* 1; Shr. *taram* 1; Oyr. *taram* (R) 1.

◊ VEWT 463. Usually considered to be derived from **tar-* 'to be divided, go apart', which is rather strange semantically.

PKor. ***tə̀rh-** 1 hair 2 feather (1 волос 2 перо): MKor. *thə̀rí*, *thə̀rə̀k*; Mod. *thəl* 1.

◊ Nam 458, KED 1702.

‖ SKE 280, АПиПЯЯ 296. This comparison seems better than relating the Korean word to Turk. **tel* 'wire' (SKE 282). Equally unconvincing is Doerfer's (TMN 1, 244) attempt of deriving the Turk. forms from an Iranian source.

✱**tʿȅrbò** a big cutting instrument: Tung. ***terin**; Mong. ***tarbagaj**; Turk. ***törpi-gü**; Jpn. ***tàtì**.

PTung. ***terin** back of axe (обух (топора)): Evk. *terin*; Evn. *terъn*; Neg. *tejin*; Man. *teru* 'шпенек у мотовила; anus'; Ork. *terkile-* 'hit with back of axe'; Nan. *teri(n)*.

◊ TMC 2, 239.

PMong. ***tarbagaj** carpenter's axe (плотницкий топор): Bur. *tarbagaj hüxe*.

PTurk. ***törpi-gü** file, rasp (напильник): Karakh. *törpigü* (MK); Tur. *törpü*; Gag. *törpü*; Az. *törpü*; Turkm. *törpi*; MTurk. *dörbi* (Pav. C.); Bashk. *törpö* (dial.); Kirgh. *türpü*; Kaz. *türpi*; KKalp. *türpi*; Nogh. *türpi*; Tv. *dürbǖ*.

◊ VEWT 495, EDT 533.

PJpn. ***tàtì** big sword (большой меч): OJpn. *tati*; MJpn. *tàtì*; Tok. *táchi*; Kyo. *táchì*; Kag. *tachí*.

◊ JLTT 543.

‖ One should also note Ul. *tarpigda* 'a k. of knife' (TMC 2, 169; from a Mong. form like **tarpagaj*?).

✱**tʿerkʿo (*tʿerVkʿo)** to think: Tung. ***terge-**; Mong. ***tariki**; Turk. ***TẹrKe-**.

PTung. ***terge-** 1 to think 2 to doubt (1 думать 2 сомневаться): Evk. *terge-* 1; Ul. *terge-* 2; Nan. *tergede-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 238.

PMong. ***taraki / *tariki** 1 brain, mind 2 head (1 мозг, ум 2 голова): WMong. *tariki(n)*, *taraki(n)* 1 (L 781); Kh. *tarx́* 1; Bur. *tarxi* 1,2; Kalm. *tärkə*; Ord. *tariχi*; Mongr. *taraGśʒ́i* (SM 410), *taraGśī* 1.

◊ KW 387, MGCD 626.

PTurk. ***TẹrKe-** to observe, research (исследовать, обдумывать, расследовать): MTurk. *te/irke-* 1 (Pav. C.); Uzb. *terga-* 'to interrogate'; Uygh. *tärgäw* 'examination, inquiry'; Krm. *terge-*; Kirgh. *terge-*; Kaz. *terge-*; KBalk. *terge-*; KKalp. *terge-*; Kum. *terge-*; Nogh. *terge-*; Chuv. *tirge-* 'to judge, discriminate'.

◊ VEWT 475, Федотов 2, 236-237 (the meaning 'judge, discriminate' cannot be explained from Arab. *terk* 'leave').

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**tʿȅ́ra (~ -o)** eagle, vulture: Tung. ***ter-**; Mong. ***tarbalǯi**; Turk. ***dAŕ**; Jpn. ***tátú**.

PTung. ***ter-** falcon, hawk (сокол, ястреб): Evn. *tērŋa*, *terŋē*.

◊ TMC 2, 239.

PMong. ***tarbalǯi** a k. of eagle (небольшой орел с черной спиной и пестрыми крыльями): MMong. *tarbaǯi* 'a k. of bird' (MA); WMong. *tarba(l)ǯi* (L 780); Kh. *tarvalǯ* (БАМРС); Bur. *tarba(l)ža*; Kalm. *tarwəǯi*.

◊ KW 381. Mong. > Oyr. *tarbalǯin*, Man. *tarbalǯi*, *turbelǯi* (see Doerfer MT 131, Rozycki 203).

PTurk. ***dAŕ** vulture (стервятник): Turkm. *dazzarkel*; Uygh. *tasqara* (dial., Malov - Xami); Bashk. *taδγara*; Kirgh. *tazqara*; Kaz. *tasqara*; Khak. *tasxa* 'owl'; Oyr. *tas quš* (Верб.); Tv. *das*.

◊ Turk. > Kalm. *tas* (KW 381-382).

PJpn. ***tátú** dragon (дракон): OJpn. *tatu*; MJpn. *tátú*; Tok. *tàtsu*; Kyo. *tátsú*; Kag. *tátsu*.

◊ JLTT 544.

‖ EAS 111. Cf. also WMong. (L 779) *tarasu* 'sp. of small eagle'. The root is practically homonymous with **tʿeŕo* 'bald' (q.v.) and may be in fact a specialization of the latter, as a 'bald eagle' (note that this is the traditional etymology of the Turkic word).

✱**tʿeŕo** bald: Mong. ***tar-**; Turk. ***daŕ (~-ā-)**; Kor. ***tăi- / tǎrk**.

PMong. ***tar-** 1 bald 2 scab (on head) (1 лысый 2 парша): MMong. *tarasun* 'bald, naked' (HY 48), *ṭərγa* 1 (IM); WMong. *tar* 1, *taraγai* 2; Kh. *tar* 'having sparse hair' (БАМРС); Kalm. *tar* 1; Mongr. *tarGə* 'chauve, rasé (tête), nu (terre)'.

◊ KW 380. Mong. > Yak. *taraγaj*, Dolg. *tarakaj* 'bald' (Stachowski 217).

PTurk. ***daŕ (~-ā-)** bald (лысый): OTurk. *taz* (OUygh.); Karakh. *taz* (MK); Tur. *daz*; Az. *daz*; Sal. *taz* (ССЯ); MTurk. *taz* (Sangl.); Uzb. *tɔz*; Uygh. *taz*; Krm. *taz*; Tat. *taz*; Bashk. *taδ*; Kirgh. *taz*; Kaz. *taz*; KKalp. *taz*; Nogh. *taz*; Khak. *tas*; Shr. *tas*; Oyr. *tas*; Tv. *tas*; Tof. *tas*.

◊ VEWT 467, EDT 570, ЭСТЯ 3, 124. Turk. > Hung. tar 'bald', see MNyTESz 3, 847.

PKor. ***tăi- / tǎrk** 1 a bald head 2 cracks (on hands and feet, from cold) (1 лысая голова 2 трещины (на руках и ногах, от холода)): MKor. *tǎrk* 2; Mod. *tä-məri* 1.

◊ Liu 185, KED 426.

‖ EAS 111, KW 380, SKE 250, Poppe 13. Despite Щербак 1997, 154 we cannot assume borrowing in Mong. from Turkic. Turkic has a secondary voiced d- (one of the cases of voicing in front of -ŕ-); but a contamination of two roots is also not excluded: cf. also Mong. *dar-gar*, *dars-gar* (L 233: *darsa-γar*) 'rough, warped (of skin)'. Cf. also notes to **tʿĕŕa* (~ -o) 'eagle, vulture'.

✱**tʿèŕù** dirt, dung: Tung. ***tērgēn**; Turk. ***tEŕek**; Jpn. ***tùtì**; Kor. ***tār-**.

PTung. ***tērgē-** pool, swamp (лужа, болото): Evk. *tērgēn*.

◊ TMC 2, 239. Attested only in Evk., but having probable external parallels.

PTurk. ***tEŕek** dung (навоз): OTurk. *tezek* (OUygh. - YB); Karakh. *tezek* (MK); Tur. *tezek*; Gag. *tezek*; Az. *täzäk*; Turkm. *tezek*; Sal. *tesex*, *tözex* (ССЯ); Khal. *täzäk*; MTurk. *tezek* (Sangl., MA); Uzb. *tezak*; Uygh. *tezäk*; Krm. *tezʹak*; Tat. *tizäk*, *kizäk*; Bashk. *tiδäk*; Kirgh. *tezek*; Kaz. *tezek*; KBalk. *tezgek*; KKalp. *tezek*; Kum. *tezek*; Nogh. *tezek*; Khak. *tizek*; Shr. *tezek*; Oyr. *tezek*; Tv. *deʹs* 'clotted blood'; Tof. *deʹs* 'clotted blood' (Рас. Фил); Chuv. ? *tirəs*.

◊ VEWT 477, TMN 2, 508, EDT 574, Федотов 2, 236. Chuv. > Tat., Bashk. *tires*.

PJpn. ***tùtì** earth (земля): OJpn. *tuti*; MJpn. *tùtì*; Tok. *tsuchí*; Kyo. *tsúchì*; Kag. *tsuchí* (*tsuT*).

◊ JLTT 557.

PKor. ***tər-** dirty, become dirty (грязный, пачкаться): MKor. *tər-m-*.

◊ Nam 153.

‖ Contaminations with **tʹōŕe* (in Kor. also with **tʹelbu*) were possible.

✱**tʹi** thou: Mong. ***či**.

PMong. ***či, *ta** 1 thou 2 you (pl.) (1 ты 2 вы (мн.)): MMong. *či*, *čino* (gen.) (HY 31, SH), *či*, *čenäi* (gen.) (IM), *či*, *činu*, *čini* (gen.) (MA) 1, *ta*, *tano* (gen.) 2 (SH); WMong. *či* 1, *činu* (gen.), *ta* 2; Kh. *či*, *činij* (gen.) 1, *ta* 2; Bur. *ši*, *šenī* (gen.) 1, *ta*, *tānar*, *tānad* 2; Kalm. *či*, *činə* (gen.) 1, *tadṇ* 2; Ord. *či*, *čini* (gen.) 1, *ta* 2; Mog. *či-*, *činɛi* (gen.) 1, *to* 2; ZM *či*, *činei* (gen.) (26-3, 26-10a); Dag. *šī*, *šinī* (gen.) 1 (Тод. Даг. 183, MD 215), *tā* 2 (Тод. Даг. 164, MD 218); Dong. *čə* (*čɨ*), *čəni*, *čəji* (gen.), *ta* 2; Bao. *čə* (*či*), *čənə* (gen.), *čose* ~ *čase* (Abl.) 1, *ta* 2; S.-Yugh. *čə* 1, *ta* 2; Mongr. *ći*, *ćini* (gen.) (SM 441, 450) 1, *ta* (SM 404) 2.

◊ KW 438, MGCD 619.

‖ Mongolian has alone preserved the Nostratic 2d p. stem **tʹi*; other Altaic languages have retained only the other stem *si (**sia̯*), with the oblique stem *nV.

✱**tʹĭbŋe** camel, elk: Tung. ***tibŋa**; Mong. ***teme-ɣen**; Turk. ***debe**.

PTung. ***tibŋa** male deer, elk (олень-самец, лось): Evk. *tiŋer*; Ul. *ťaŋa*; Orch. *tipaŋa*.

◊ TMC 2, 185.

PMong. ***teme-ɣen** camel (верблюд): MMong. *temeʹen* (SH), *temejen* (HY 11), *temē* (IM), *təmēn* (LH), *təmən*, *timen* (MA); WMong. *temege(n)* (L 800); Kh. *temēn*; Bur. *temē(n)*; Kalm. *temɛ̄n*; Ord. *temē(n)*; Mog. *temɔ* (Weiers); Dag. *temē* (Тод. Даг. 166, MD 223); S.-Yugh. *temen*; Mongr. *timēn* (SM 420), *təmēn*.

◊ KW 390, MGCD 631. Mong. > Evk. *temeɣēn* etc., see Poppe 1966, 191, Doerfer MT 77-78, Rozycki 206.

PTurk. ***debe** camel (верблюд): OTurk. *tebe* (Orkh.), *teve* (OUygh.); Karakh. *teve* (*tevej*) (MK); Tur. *deve*; Gag. *devä*; Az. *devä*; Turkm. *düje*;

Sal. *töje*, *töüvä*, *tüvi*; MTurk. *deve* (Pav. C.), *teve* (Abush., Pav. C.); Uzb. *tuja*; Uygh. *tögä*; Krm. *tüje*, *deve*; Tat. *dŭjä*; Bashk. *dŭjä*; Kirgh. *tȫ*; Kaz. *tüje*; KBalk. *tüje*; KKalp. *tüje*; Kum. *tüje*; Nogh. *tüje*; SUygh. *te, ti*; Khak. *tibe*; Oyr. *tȫ, tebe*; Tv. *teve*; Tof. *tebe* (Рас. ФиЛ); Chuv. *tə^{w}ve*; Yak. *taba* 'deer'; Dolg. *taba* 'deer'.

◊ EDT 447-448, VEWT 468, ЭСТЯ 3, 313-315, Лексика 445, Stachowski 214. Turk. > Hung. *teve*, see Gombocz 1912.

‖ EAS 88. A Western isogloss. Initial *d- in Turkic is due to assimilation, but borrowing in Mong. from Turk. cannot be accepted, despite TMN 2, 671, Щербак 1997, 154.

✱**tʿijV** louse: Tung. ***ti-kte**; Turk. ***Ti-**.

PTung. ***ti-kte** louse (вошь): Man. *čixe*; SMan. *čixē* (2255); Ul. *tiqte*; Ork. *tikte*; Nan. *čikte*.

◊ TMC 2, 179. Derived from a root **ti*(:)-, cf. PTM **tī-le-*/**tī-na-* 'to search for lice in one's hair' (see TMC 2, 181 and SKE 165).

PTurk. ***Ti-** a k. of biting insect (вид кусающего насекомого): OTurk. *ti-ler* (OUygh.).

◊ See EDT 501: the word is located in a list of harmful biting insects, between flies and ants.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss. Very poorly attested in Turkic; but cf. a further Nostratic etymology (Ural. **täjV*, Kartv. **ṭil-*) in МССНЯ 335.

✱**tʿǐ[kʿ]ù** to stuff into, press into: Tung. ***tiki-**; Mong. ***čiki-**; Turk. ***tɨki-**; Jpn. ***túk-**; Kor. ***tùk-**.

PTung. ***tiki-** to fit, be placed into (вмещать, помещаться): Ul. *tiki-*; Nan. *čiqi-*; Orch. *tiki-*; Ud. *tixi-*.

◊ TMC 2, 178.

PMong. ***čiki-** to stuff into, press into (набивать, вдавливать): MMong. *čiqiqsan* 'chock-full' (MA); WMong. *čiki-* (L 181); Kh. *čixe-*; Bur. *šexe-*; Kalm. *čikə-*; Ord. *ǯike-*; Mog. *čikänä* 'packt voll' (Ramstedt 1906); Dag. *čike-* (Тод. Даг. 181), *čiki-* (MD 129); Dong. *čəqi-*, *čɨGəi-*; Bao. *čiχə-*; S.-Yugh. *čiGə-*; Mongr. *ćigi-* (SM 448).

◊ KW 439, MGCD 573.

PTurk. ***tɨki-** to stuff in, press in (набивать, вдавливать, втыкать): OTurk. *tɨq-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *tɨq-* (MK); Tur. *tɨka-*; Gag. *tɨqa-*; Az. *tɨx-*; Turkm. *dɨq-*; MTurk. *tɨq-* (Sangl.); Uzb. *tiq-*; Uygh. *tiq-*; Krm. *tɨq-*; Tat. *tɨq-*; Bashk. *tɨq-*; Kirgh. *tɨq-*; Kaz. *tɨq-*; KKalp. *tɨq-*; Kum. *tɨq-*; Nogh. *tɨq-*; Khak. *tɨx-*; Shr. *tɨqta-*; Oyr. *tɨq-*; Tv. *dɨɣɨ-*; Tof. *tɨɣɨ-*; Chuv. *čɨx-*.

◊ VEWT 477-478, EDT 465, ЭСТЯ 3, 337-340, Мудрак 75. The Turkm. form with a voiced d- is quite irregular and probably reflects a merger with **dik-* 'to insert, plant vertically'.

PJpn. ***túk-** to poke, thrust (засовывать, протыкать): OJpn. *tuk-*; MJpn. *túk-*; Tok. *tsùk-*; Kyo. *tsúk-*; Kag. *tsúk-*.

◊ JLTT 773.

PKor. ***tìk-** to dip down, imprint (вдавливать, погружать): MKor. *tìk-*; Mod. *č:ik-*.

◊ Nam 181, KED 1540.

‖ KW 439, Poppe 15, 16, 55, Мудрак Дисс. 37-38. Cf. also Kor. *tìk-mə̀k-* = MJpn. *túí-pam-* 'to peck' (lit. 'press and eat'). In TM one would rather expect *-x-; this means perhaps that we could reconstruct **tʿĭ́kù*, with assimilation in Mongolian.

✸**tʿikʿV** to fear, hate: Tung. ***tiKun-, *tiKul-**; Mong. ***čikul**; Turk. ***tik-**.

PTung. ***tiKu-n-, *tiKu-l-** to be angry (сердиться): Evk. *tikul-*, *tikun-*; Evn. *tịqụl-*; Sol. *tegul-*.

◊ TMC 2, 179.

PMong. ***čikul** rage, irritability, nervousness (гнев, вспыльчивость): MMong. *čiqul* (HY 54); WMong. *čiqul*, *čuqul* (L 193); Kh. *cuxal*; Bur. *suxal*; Kalm. *cuxḷ* (KPC); Ord. *ǯuxuldu-* ' to lose countenance, to be troubled'.

PTurk. ***tik-** to hate, fear (ненавидеть, бояться): Tur. *tiksin-*; Az. *diksin-*; Turkm. *tiksin-*; Kirgh. *tikireŋde-* 'to assault viciously'; Kaz. *tik-baqaj* 'stubborn, violent', *tikireŋde-* id.; KBalk. *tiklik* 'tension (of relations)'.

◊ Somewhat unclear voicing in Az. See Дыбо 1991.

‖ Дыбо 14. A Western isogloss.

✸**tʿĭ̀má** (low) noise, sound, to make noise: Tung. ***tim-**; Mong. ***čimeɣe**; Turk. ***Tiŋ(mi)**; Jpn. ***tàmár-**; Kor. ***tamɨr-**.

PTung. ***tim-** 1 calm (of weather) 2 calm, silent 3 to speak silently, move lips 4 night silence (in the forest) (1 затишье (о погоде) 2 притихнув, примолкнув 3 шевелить губами, ворчать 4 тишина (ночью в лесу)): Evk. *temelken* 4; Evn. *tịmъ̣rъ̣n* 1, *timne-* (folkl. *tīnme-*) 3; Nan. *čịmo-čịmo* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 182, 235. Cf. also Evk. (Kamn.) *tamurga-* 'to become silent'.

PMong. ***čimeɣe** sound, noise; noisy (шум, звук; шумный): MMong. *čime'en* (HY); WMong. *čimege(n)*, *čime* (L 185); Kh. *čimē*; Bur. *šemē(n)*; Kalm. *čimɛ̄n*; Ord. *čimē*; Mongr. *čimē*.

◊ KW 440, MGCD 570.

PTurk. ***Tiŋ(mi)** 1 sound 2 to talk 3 to grumble (1 звук 2 говорить 3 ворчать): Karakh. [*tɨnma* 'do not speak' (MK - Oghuz.)]; Tur. *tɨn-* 2, Osm. *tɨn-*, *dɨn-* 2; Az. *din-* 2; MTurk. (MKypch.) *tɨn-* 2 (Houts.); Tat. *tɨn-sɨz* 'wordless'; Khak. *təmel-* 3; Tv. *diŋmi* 'rumble, thunder'; Chuv. *čən-* 2, *čəm-sər* 'wordless'; Yak. *tiŋij-* 'to produce loud thumping sounds'.

◊ Мудрак Дисс. 86, EDT 514. Clauson regards the Oghuz verb as a metaphor from *tɨn-* 'breathe', which is hardly the case (although some contaminations with this root, as well as with **Tim-* 'silent', were possible).

PJpn. ***tàmár-** to be silent (молчать): Tok. *damár-*; Kyo. *dàmàr-*; Kag. *dàmàr-*.

◊ JLTT 680. Initial voiced d- is secondary (probably expressive).

PKor. ***tamɨr-** to close the mouth, be silent (закрывать рот, молчать): MKor. *tamɨr-*; Mod. *tamul-*. ◊ Liu 193, KED 385.

‖ Мудрак Дисс. 39, 86.

✸**tʿìntʿa** to search: Turk. ***tint-**; Jpn. ***tàntùna-**.

PTurk. ***tint-** to search (искать, обыскивать): Tur. (dial.) *dindik-le-* (SDD 1, 440); Turkm. *tinte-*; MTurk. (MKypch.) *tint-* (CCum.); Uzb. *tinti-*; Uygh. *tinti-*; Krm. *tint-*; Tat. *tente-*; Bashk. *tente-*; Kirgh. *tint-*; Kaz. *tinti-*; KBalk. *tint-*; KKalp. *tint-*; Kum. *tüntü-*, *tünt-*; Nogh. *tint-*; Oyr. *tinti-*, dial. *tɨndɨ-* (Баск. Леб., Кум.). ◊ VEWT 481, ЭСТЯ 8.

PJpn. ***tàntùna-** to search for, ask (искать, спрашивать): OJpn. *taduna-*; MJpn. *tàdùna-*; Tok. *tazuné-*; Kyo. *tázúné-*; Kag. *tàzùnè-*.

◊ JLTT 766.

‖ A Turk.-Jpn. isogloss: but a possibility exists that the root is actually a contraction < **tʿemi-tʿa*, derived from PA **tʿemV* q.v. (for the parallel PT *tint- : Mong. *temteri-* see KW 391).

✸**tʿípʿò (~ t-, -e-, -b-, tʿapʿe, tʿi̯opʿe, tʿi̯apʿe)** far: Jpn. ***tə́pə́-**; Kor. ***ptɨ́-**.

PJpn. ***tə́pə́-** far (далекий): OJpn. *top(w)o-*; MJpn. *tófó-*; Tok. *tȍ-*; Kyo. *tṓ-*; Kag. *tṓ-*. ◊ JLTT 842.

PKor. ***ptɨ́-** to be separated, have an interval (быть отделенным, иметь промежуток): MKor. *ptɨ́-*; Mod. *t:ɨ-*.

◊ Nam 173, KED 523.

‖ A Kor.-Jpn. isogloss; not quite secure because of vowel reduction and metathesis in Korean (for a similar case cf. Kor. **psɨ́r-* 'sweep' < PA **šĭpʿV*).

✸tʿi̯opʿo straw: Turk. ***topon**; Kor. ***tìp**.

PTurk. ***topon** 1 straw 2 chaff, bran (1 солома 2 мякина, полова): Karakh. *topun* 'wheat chaff' (MK; EDT glosses 'a lump of food', probably incorrectly); Turkm. (dial.) *tovān*, *tofān* 1; Uzb. *tọpɔn* 2; Uygh. *topan* 2; Krm. *toban* 1; Tat. dial. *tuban* 2 (Тумашева 216); Kirgh. *tɨpɨn* 2; Kaz. *topan* 2; KKalp. *topan* 2; Shr. *toban* 'хлебная пыль, труха'.

◊ ЭСТЯ 8; despite Tekin 1969, 65 should be kept distinct from **topraq* 'dust'.

PKor. ***tìp** straw (солома): MKor. *tìp*; Mod. *čip*. ◊ Nam 182, KED 1559.

‖ SKE 35. A Turkic-Korean isogloss; cf. perhaps Evk. *tapčikākti*, *teptekēkti*, *topčikakta* 'name of a weed' (TMC 2, 164).

✸**tʿire (~ -ŕ-, -i)** head: Tung. ***tiru-**; Mong. ***teriɣün**.

PTung. ***tiru-** head pillow (подушка, изголовье): Evk. *tirū*; Evn. *tiru*; Neg. *tijū*; Man. *čirku*; SMan. *čunuku* (520); Ul. *tireptu(n)*; Ork. *tireptu(n)*; Nan. *čireŋku*; Orch. *tireptu(n)*; Ud. *tiu*, *tieu*; Sol. *teru*.

◊ TMC 2, 187.

PMong. ***teriɣün** 1 head 2 before, first (1 голова 2 первый, впереди): MMong. *teri'un* (HY 45, SH), *tīrgɛn* (IM), *tirun* / *tirūn* (LH) 1; WMong. *terigün* 1, 2 (L 805); Kh. *türū̃*, *tergū̃n* 2; Bur. *türū̃(n)* 2; Kalm. *türū̃n* 2; Ord. *terigū̃n* 2 <lit.; Dag. *turūn* 1, 2 (Тод. Даг. 169), *teregun* (MD 224) <lit.; Dong. *čiaurun*, *čiərun* 1, 2; Bao. *teroŋ* 1; S.-Yugh. *turū̃n* 1, 2; Mongr. *turū* (SM 435) 2, *turoŋ* (SM 436) 1.

◊ KW 416, MGCD 634, 639, 660.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✸**tʿíri** to press, make a support: Tung. ***tirē-**; Turk. ***dīre-**; Kor. ***tìrɨ̀-**.

PTung. ***tirē-** to press, insert, make a support (давить, вдавливать, вставлять, подпирать): Evk. *tirē-*; Evn. *tiruke-*; Neg. *tijē-*; Man. *čir-ge-*; Ul. *tire-*; Ork. *čire-*; Nan. *čire*; Orch. *tije-*; Sol. *tir(e)-*.

◊ TMC 2, 187-8.

PTurk. ***dīre-** 1 to support 2 support (1 подпереть 2 подпорка): OTurk. *tirek* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *tire-* 1 (MK), *tirek* 2 (Tefs., IM); Tur. *dire-* 1, *direk* 2; Gag. *direk* 2; Az. *dirä-* 1, *diräk* 2; Turkm. *dīre-* 1, *dīrek* 2; Sal. *tirək* 2 (Kakuk); MTurk. *tire-* 1, *tirek* 2 (Sangl.); Uzb. *tira-* 1, *tirak* 2; Uygh. *tiräk* 2; Krm. *direk* 2; Tat. *terä-* 1, *teräk* 2; Bashk. *terä-* 1, *teräk* 2; Kirgh. *tire-* 1; Kaz. *tire-* 1, *tirek* 2; KKalp. *tire-* 1; Kum. *tire-* 1, *tirew* 2; Nogh. *tire-* 1, *tirew* 2; Khak. *təre-* 1, *təreg* 2; Chuv. *čarak* 2; Yak. *tirā̃-*, *tirex* 2.

◊ VEWT 481, EDT 533, 543, TMN 2, 655, ЭСТЯ 3, 237-239, Егоров 317, Федотов 2, 392.

PKor. ***tìrɨ̀-** to press, to stick (вдавливать, вставлять): MKor. *tìrɨ̀-*; Mod. *čirɨ-*, *č:irɨ-*.

◊ Nam 179, KED 1530.

‖ EAS 150, SKE 35, Мудрак Дисс. 36-37. One of the cases of secondary voicing (*t- > *d- before the following *r, *ŕ) in Turkic.

✸**tʿìro** to take, snatch: Tung. ***tī-**; Jpn. ***tər- (~-ua-)**; Kor. ***tɨ̀r-**.

PTung. ***tī-** to deprive, take away (отнимать, отбирать): Evk. *tī-*; Evn. *tẽ-*; Neg. *tị-žajama* ʿthief'; Ul. *tī-*; Nan. *čī-*; Ud. *tī-*; Sol. *tī-n-*.

◊ TMC 2, 173-174.

PJpn. ***tər- (~ -ua-)** to take (брать): OJpn. *t(w)or-*; MJpn. *tòr-*; Tok. *tór-*; Kyo. *tòr-*; Kag. *tòr-*.

◊ JLTT 771.

PKor. ***tɨ̀r-** to hold, lift (держать, нести; поднимать): MKor. *tɨ̀r-*; Mod. *tɨl-*.

◊ HMCH 336, KED 535.

‖ Martin 233, АПиПЯЯ 279. An Eastern isogloss; Korean has a usual verbal low tone.

✱**tʹiru (~ -i̯u-)** morning: Tung. ***tirga (~ -ü-)***; Jpn. ***tutə (~ -ua)***.

PTung. ***tirga (~ -ü-)*** midday (полдень, днем): Evk. *tirga*; Evn. *tịrgъ̣n*; Neg. *tịdga*; Orch. *tigga*.

◊ TMC 2, 186-187.

PJpn. ***tutə (~ -ua)*** in the morning (утром, рано): MJpn. *tùtó*; Tok. *tsúto*, *tsutó*; Kyo. *tsútò*; Kag. *tsúto*.

◊ JLTT 558. Accent not quite clear: modern dialects point rather to **tútò*.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss.

✱**tʹíŕge** to run, flee: Tung. ***tirgī-***; Mong. ***terge-***; Turk. ***tēŕ-***.

PTung. ***tirgī-*** 1 to walk 2 (to ride) quickly 3 easily gliding (1 идти пешком 2 скоро, рысцой (ехать) 3 easily gliding): Evk. *tirgī-* 1; Man. *čir* (seme) 2; Nan. *čirgiliečigde* (On.) 3.

◊ TMC 2, 187, 400.

PMong. ***tergil-*** to run away, flee (убегать): WMong. *tergil-*, *tergid-* (KW 393); Kh. *teregle-* (БАМРС); Bur. *teŕjel-*, *tergel-*, *tergede-*; Kalm. *tergl-*; Mog. ZM *tirä* 'defile' (18-5a); Dag. *tergul-*.

◊ KW 393.

PTurk. ***tēŕ-*** 1 to run away, flee 2 swift; scary, shy (1 убегать 2 быстрый; пугливый, робкий): OTurk. *tez-* 1 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *tez-* 1 (MK); Tur. *tez* 2; Az. *täz-* 1, *täz* 2; Turkm. *tez-* 1, *tīz* 2; Khal. *täz-* 1; MTurk. (MKypch.) *dez-* 1 (AH); Uygh. *täz-* 1; Khak. *tis-* 1; Tv. *des-* 1; Tof. *des-* 1; Chuv. *tar-* 1; Yak. *tehī* 2; Dolg. *tehī* 2.

◊ VEWT 477, EDT 572, Stachowski 220. Turk. > Pers. *tīz* (not vice versa, as sometimes suggested).

‖ KW 393, Poppe 14, 104, АПиПЯЯ 295. A Western isogloss. Cf. also Turk. **Terk* 'quick, hurry' (VEWT 475), WMong. *terkei*, Kalm. *terkē* (KW 393).

✱**tʹi̯age** a k. of vessel: Tung. ***tige (~ -ü-)***; Mong. ***toguɣa(n)***; Turk. ***t(i)agar(a)***.

PTung. ***tige (~ -ü-)*** dish(es) (посуда): Evk. *tiγe*; Neg. *tige*.

◊ TMC 2, 176.

PMong. ***toguɣa(n)*** kettle (котел): MMong. *toxoʹan* (HY 21), *toqoʹan* (SH), *ṭuγān* (IM), *tuγan* (MA); WMong. *toγuγa(n)* (L 817); Kh. *togō*; Bur. *togō(n)*; Kalm. *toγāčə* 'cook'; Ord. *toGō(n)*; Dag. *tugā*, *tuɯā* (Тод. Даг. 169), *tuā* (MD 226); Dong. *tuG(u)an*; Bao. *tuGuŋ*; Mongr. *tuGō* (SM 428).

◊ KW 397. Mong. > MTurk. *toγan* (see Щербак 1997, 210).

PTurk. ***t(i)agar(a)*** 1 an earthenware dish 2 trough (1 глиняное блюдо 2 корыто): Karakh. *taγara* (Tefs.) 1; Tur. *ṭagar* 'dish' (Osm.); Turkm. *taGara* 2; Uzb. *taγar* 1; Tat. *taγaraq* 2; Tv. *tāqtɨg* 'barrel'.

◊ EDT 471, VEWT 454, Радлов 3, 796-797. Should be distinguished from **dagar* 'sack' (confused in ЭСТЯ 3, 120-122 and TMN 2, 512-519 - here with an additional confusion with **dabar* 'wares').

‖ A Western isogloss. Mong. *toguγan must be a case of labial attraction < *tagu-γan. But cf. also *tʿi̯áku, as well as Kor. tok ʿearthenware vessel', togani 'earthenware dish in which metal or glue is melted' (< Mong.?); cf. also a Wanderwort in Tung. (Ul. tukuru etc. 'bottle'), Ainu tokkuri, Jpn. tok(k)uri 'bottle', Kor. tuguri 'round metal dish'.

✱**tʿi̯ákù** a k. of vessel: Tung. ***tuku- ~ *taku-**; Mong. ***tagsi**; Turk. ***tekne**; Jpn. ***túkì**; Kor. ***tói**.

PTung. ***tuku- ~ *taku-** funnel (for pouring liquid) (воронка (для наливания жидкости)): Ul. *tuquṇ(n)*, *taqu(n)*.

◊ TMC 2, 155. Attested only in Ul., with probable external parallels.

PMong. ***tagsi** cup (чашка): WMong. *taγsi* (L 766); Kh. *tagš*; Bur. *tagša*.

◊ Mong. > Kaz. *tegäš*, Sib.-Tat. *tigäc* 'vessel' (VEWT 469).

PTurk. ***tekne** trough, pan (корыто, лохань, квашня): Karakh. *tekne* (MK, IM); Tur. *tekne*; Gag. *teknä*; Az. *täknä*; MTurk. *tegene* (MA), *tegene*, *tekene* (MKypch. - CCum., AH); Uygh. *täŋlä*, *täŋnä*; Krm. *tekne*; Tat. *tigänä*; Bashk. *tägäs* 'чаша' (dial.); Kirgh. *degene* (Chuj.); Kaz. *tegene*, *tegeš* (Dim.) 'чаша'; KBalk. *tegene*; Nogh. *tekene*; Chuv. *tagana*.

◊ VEWT 470-471, EDT 484, Егоров 228, Федотов 2, 165. Turk. > Hung. *teknő*, Mari *tagina* (Gombocz 1912, 18, 227).

PJpn. ***túkì** cup, vessel (чашка, сосуд): OJpn. *tukji*; MJpn. *túkì*; Tok. (*saka-)zuki*.

◊ JLTT 554.

PKor. ***tói** a measure of capacity (1/10 mal); measuring basket (мера емкости): MKor. *tói*; Mod. *twe*.

◊ Nam 161, KED 496.

‖ Except for open *-e- in Turkic (one would expect *-ę-) correspondences seem regular - but the root is very similar to *tʿi̯age q.v., as well as to some regional Wanderwörter, so there may have been some confusion of different etyma.

✱**tʿi̯ȁku** a horned animal: Tung. ***tōKī**; Mong. ***togij**; Turk. ***teke**.

PTung. ***tōKī** elk (лось): Evk. *tōkī*; Evn. *tōkị*; Neg. *tōkị̄*; Man. *toχo*; Ul. *tō*; Ork. *tō*; Nan. *tō*; Orch. *tōki*; Sol. *tōxi*.

◊ TMC 2, 191-192. Evk. > Dolg. *tōkī* (see Stachowski 227).

PMong. ***togij** grown-up elk (взрослый лось): WMong. *togij* (БАМРС); Kh. *togi*.

PTurk. ***teke** he-goat (козел): OTurk. *teke* (OUygh.); Karakh. *teke* (MK, IM); Tur. *teke*; Gag. *teke*; Az. *täkä*; Turkm. *teke*; Khal. *täkä*; MTurk. *teke* (Sangl.); Uzb. *taka*; Uygh. *tekä*; Krm. *teke*, *tege*; Tat. *täkä* 'козел, баран'; Bashk. *täkä* 'he-goat, ram'; Kirgh. *teke*; Kaz. *tekä*; KBalk. *teke*; KKalp. *teke*; Kum. *teke*; Nogh. *teke*; SUygh. *teke*; Oyr. *teke*; Tv. *deʿge*, te ([*dhe*]); Tof. *te'he*; Chuv. *taga* 'he-goat, ram'.

◊ See VEWT 470, EDT 477, Лексика 154, 428. Turk. > Mong. *teke* 'he-goat' (KW 390; TMN 2, 529, Щербак 1997, 154) (> Man., Sol. *texe* id., see Doerfer MT 100; Oyr. *teke* - instead of the expected **tege* - may be also borrowed back < Mong.). The Tur. dialectal form *deke*, despite Doerfer, can hardly justify a reconstruction of PT *d-.

‖ A Western isogloss. See Дыбо 7, Лексика 154. The parallel seems probable, but PT should rather have a closed *ę. There may have been some confusion between this root and another one, represented by PT **Tagɨ* 'female kulan' (OT *tayɨ*, see EDT 466; Bulg. *toxə* 'horse') and borrowed in (or corresponding to?) Mong. *taki* 'wild horse'.

✱**tʿi̯àkʿà** hen; duck: Tung. ***tiaku**; Mong. ***takija**; Turk. ***tiakɨgu (/ -ŋu)**; Jpn. ***tàkà(m)pái**.

PTung. ***tiaku** 1 hen 2 quail (1 курица 2 куропатка): Evn. *tā̄qčaqa* 2; Man. *čoqo* 1; SMan. *čoqō* 'chicken' (2198); Jurch. *tixo* (161) 1; Nan. *čịqo* 1; Orch. *čoko* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 172, 403.

PMong. ***takija** hen (курица): MMong. *takija* (HY 13, SH), *taqija* (LH), *tayaqū* (Lig.VMI); WMong. *takija(n)* (L 770); Kh. *taχ́ā*; Bur. *taχ́ā*; Kalm. *takā(n)*; Ord. *daχā*; Dong. *tɨGa*, (Тод. Дн.) *tɨqa*; Bao. *təχa*, (Тод. Бн.) *texa*; S.-Yugh. *daqa*, *daχGa*; Mongr. *taGau*.

◊ KW 375, MGCD 628.

PTurk. ***tiakɨgu (/ -ŋu)** hen, fowl (курица): OTurk. *taqɨɣu* (OUygh.); Karakh. *taqaɣu* (MK); Tur. *tavuk*; Gag. *tauq*; Az. *tojuG*; Turkm. *towuq*; Sal. *tox* (Kakuk); MTurk. *tayuq*, *tawuq* (Sangl.); Uzb. *tɔwuq*; Uygh. *toxa*, *toxu*; Krm. *tawuq*; Tat. *tawɨq*; Bashk. *tawɨq*; Kirgh. *tōk*; Kaz. *tawɨq*; KBalk. *tawuq*; KKalp. *tawɨq*; Kum. *tawuq*; Nogh. *tawɨq*; SUygh. *taqayɨ*; Khak. *tayax*, *taŋax*; Oyr. *taqā*; Tv. *da'γā*; Tof. *taqqɨńaq* (perhaps < Mong.); Chuv. *čъxъ*.

◊ VEWT 457, EDT 468, TMN 2, 441-442, Егоров 321. Turk. > Hung. *tyúk*, see Gombocz 1912.

PJpn. ***tàkà(m)pái** teal, duckling (чирок, утенок): OJpn. *takabe*; MJpn. *tàkàbé*.

◊ JLTT 538.

‖ KW 375, Владимирцов 206, Мудрак Дисс. 199-200. Despite Щербак 1997, 152, not borrowed in Mong. < Turk. Doerfer's (TMN 2, 443-444) criticism is also hardly substantial.

✱**tʿi̯ā́kʿù** shelf: Tung. ***tuK-**; Turk. ***tĀkan**; Jpn. ***túkú-wái**.

PTung. ***tuK-** 1 prop (in a tent) 2 bars, shelves (in a wooden baking device) (1 подпорка (в палатке, чуме) 2 перекладины, полки (в деревянном ставне, в котором готовят хлебы и кушанье на пару)): Evk. *tukta* 1; Evn. *toqъrụqan* 1; Man. *tuqda* 2;

◊ TMC 2, 191, 209.

PTurk. ***tĀkan** 1 trestle, rack 2 tripod 3 kettle (1 подвеска, козлы 2 тренога 3 котел): Karakh. *taqan* 3 (IM); Tur. *daɣan* 2 (dial.); Turkm. *tā-Gan* 2; Tat. *taɣan* 1; Bashk. *taɣan* 1; Kaz. *taɣan* 2; Khak. *taxxan* 2 (Kyz. - Joki); Oyr. *taɣan* 2 (dial. - Баск. Кум.).

◊ Räsänen (Рясянен 1955, 134) derives the forms from *tak-* 'to adhere', but vowel length clearly contradicts it. Quite dubious, because of geographic distribution, is the derivation of the word from Greek τήγανον 'frying pan' (see Аникин 521-522). The Greek word itself has no satisfactory etymology (see Frisk 2, 845).

PJpn. ***túkú-waí** table (стол): OJpn. *tukuwe*; MJpn. *túkúwé*; Tok. *tsùkue*; Kyo. *tsúkúé*; Kag. *tsukúe*.

◊ JLTT 555 (see there on the possibility of reconstructing **tuku-jai).*

‖ TMC 2, 153.

✸**tʿi̯ȁlo** to hang, strap: Tung. ***tōli**; Mong. ***telej**; Turk. ***TAlk-**; Jpn. ***tàr-**; Kor. ***tắr-**.

PTung. ***tōli** belt, strap for trousers (ремень, гашник (у штанов)): Evk. *tōl*; Man. *toli*; Ud. *tolixe*.

◊ TMC 2, 232-233, Bac. 392.

PMong. ***telej** belt for trousers (ремень для брюк): WMong. *telei* (L 798); Kh. *telē*, *telij*.

◊ Mong. > Evk. *teleɣī* etc., see TMC 2, 232-233 (despite Rozycki 206, who regards the Mong. and TM forms as genuine cognates).

PTurk. ***TAlk-** tension of cords (натяжение веревок): Karakh. *talqɨɣ*; *talɣuč* 'poles for fastening burden on animal's back', *talɣuq* 'wedge for fastening the axe blade' (MK).

◊ EDT 496.

PJpn. ***tàr-** to hang (висеть): OJpn. tar-; MJpn. *tàra-*; Tok. *taré-*; Kyo. *tàrè-*; Kag. *tàrè-*.

◊ JLTT 764.

PKor. ***tắr-** to hang, fasten (вешать, прикреплять): MKor. *tắr-*; Mod. *tal-*.

◊ Nam 140, KED 403.

‖ A rare case of high tone in a verbal stem in Korean. The unmistakable identity of PM **telej* = PTM **tōli* suggests that the association of Mong. *teleji* 'belt' with tele- 'to spread' is secondary, due to the merger of the roots **tʿi̯ȁlo* and **tʿḗlù* (q.v.).

✸**tʿi̯ā́ĺke** to splash, overflow: Tung. ***tilka-**; Mong. ***čilga-**; Turk. ***d(i)āĺ(ɨ)-**.

PTung. ***tilka-** to splatter, overflow (разливаться, выплескиваться): Evk. *tilka-*; Evn. *tịlqъn-*; Ul. *čịlčan-*; Nan. *čịlqa-*.

◊ TMC 2, 180-181.

PMong. ***čilga- / *čalgi-** to splash, splatter, overflow (расплескивать, переливать(ся) через край): WMong. *čilga-*, (L 163) *čalgi-*; Kh. *calgi-*; Bur. *salgi-*, *šalšagana-*, *šald*; Ord. *čalgi-*.

PTurk. ***d(i)āĺ(ɨ)-*** to overflow (переливаться через край, разливаться): OTurk. *taš-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *taš-* (MK); Tur. *taš-*; Gag. *taš-*; Az. *daš-*; Turkm. *dāš-*; MTurk. *taš-* (Sangl.); Uzb. *tɔš-*; Uygh. *taš-*; Krm. *taš-*; Tat. *tašɨ-*; Kirgh. *tašɨ-*; Kaz. *tasɨ-*; KKalp. *tasɨ-*; Kum. *tašɨ-*; Nogh. *tasɨ-*; SUygh. *tasɨ-*; Khak. *tas-*; Oyr. *tašqɨn* 'flood'; Tv. *dažɨ-*; Yak. *tahɨj-*.

◊ VEWT 466, EDT 559, ЭСТЯ 3, 169-170.

‖ Дыбо 13. A Western isogloss.

✱**tʿi̯àma** ball, round, curved: Tung. ***tiam-***; Jpn. ***tàma***.

PTung. ***tiam-*** sledge bow (дуга (у нарты)): Neg. *tẽ̂mkān*; Ul. *tẽ̂mbu̯*; Ork. *či̯mbo*; Nan. *či̯amboã*; Orch. *tẽ̂mbua*.

◊ TMC 2, 172.

PJpn. ***tàma*** 1 ball 2 egg (1 шарик 2 яйцо): OJpn. *tama* 1; MJpn. *tàmà* 1; Tok. *tamá* 1, *tamágo* 2; Kyo. *tàmá* 1, *tàmágò* 2; Kag. *tamá* 1, *tamagó* 2.

◊ JLTT 539, 540. RJ has both *tàmà* and *tàmá* (the former reflected in Tokyo, the latter in Kyoto).

‖ An expressive Tung.-Jpn. isogloss; like most words for 'round', not quite reliable.

✱**tʿi̯ame (?)** to crush, pound, knead: Tung. ***timre***; Mong. ***čimar***; Turk. ***Tam-**.

PTung. ***timre*** 1 crumbs 2 flour made of dried meat (1 крошки 2 мука из сушеного мяса): Evk. *timre*; Evn. *tīmrъ*; Neg. *timne*.

◊ TMC 2, 182.

PMong. ***čimar*** flour kneaded with butter (мука, замешанная с маслом): WMong. *čimar* (MXTTT); Kh. *čamar*; Bur. *šamarha(n)* 'fried flour'.

PTurk. ***Tam-*** to churn butter (сбивать масло): Karakh. *tamɨn-* (MK).

‖ A Western isogloss. If Sukhebaatar (212) is right in deriving the Mong. form < Tib. *phye-mar* 'flour and butter', the existence of this Altaic root becomes rather dubious.

✱**tʿi̯árko** a k. of carriage: Tung. ***turki***; Mong. ***terge***; Kor. ***tə̀rkó***.

PTung. ***turki*** sleigh, *narta* (нарта): Evk. *turku*; Evn. *tu̯rqi̯*; Ul. *tu̯či̯*; Ork. *tu̯tči̯*; Nan. *toki̯*; Orch. *tukki*; Ud. *tuxi*.

◊ TMC 2, 220. Evk. > Dolg. *turku* (Stachowski 232).

PMong. ***terge*** vehicle (повозка): MMong. *tergan* (HY 17, SH), *tirgän* (MA), *terge(n)*; WMong. *terge(n)* (L 805); Kh. *terge*; Bur. *terge(n)*; Kalm. *tergn̥*; Ord. *terge(n)*; Dag. *terge*, *tereg* (Тод. Даг. 167), *terehe* (MD 224); Dong. *čiege*; S.-Yugh. *tergen*; Mongr. *tērge* (SM 417), *tərge*.

◊ KW 393, MGCD 634. Mong. > Uygh. *tergän* etc. (see Лексика 534); Evk. *terge* etc., see Doerfer MT 104, Rozycki 176, 207.

PKor. ***tə̀rkó*** light carriage (легкая повозка): MKor. *tə̀rkóčí*; Mod. *talguʒi*.

◊ Nam 140, KED 402.

‖ SKE 253.

✸**tʿi̯ăru** to curse: Tung. ***turē-**; Mong. ***tarki-**; Turk. ***Tẹrk-**.

PTung. ***turē-** to curse; to speak (бранить, ругать; говорить): Evk. *turē-*; Evn. *tȫre-*; Neg. *tūjē-*; Sol. *tūrē-*.

◊ TMC 2,222.

PMong. ***tarki-** to curse (ругать, браниться): WMong. *tarki-da-* (MXTTT); Kh. *tarxida-*; Dag. *tareke-* 'fight' (MD 221).

PTurk. ***Tẹrk-** to curse, despise (упрекать, ругать): MTurk. *te/irke-* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *terga-*; Uygh. *tärgi-*; Tat. *tirgɛ-*; Bashk. *tirgä-*; Yak. *tirē-* 'to threaten'.

◊ VEWT 481.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✸**tʿi̯árV (~ -ŕ-)** to melt: Tung. ***tiar-**; Jpn. ***tə́rə́-**.

PTung. ***tiar-** to melt (fat), roast (топить (жир), жарить): Evn. *tā̆r-*; Neg. *tê̆j-*; Man. *čaru-*; SMan. *čarə-* (382); Ork. *čịrụ-*; Nan. *čịro-*; Orch. *tiru-*.

◊ TMC 2, 173.

PJpn. ***tə́rə́-** to melt (плавиться): MJpn. *toroka-*, *tórómós-*; Tok. *tòroke-*; Kyo. *tóróké-*; Kag. *toroké-*.

◊ JLTT 771.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss. Not quite secure because of the vocalic correspondence.

✸**tʿi̯àsá** very: Tung. ***tias-**; Mong. ***tasu**; Turk. ***tAs**; Jpn. ***tàsí-**; Kor. ***tàsí**.

PTung. ***tias-** quite, completely (сплошь, совершенно, полно́): Neg. *tê̆s*; Ul. *tê̆s*; Ork. *tês*; Nan. *tịas*; Orch. *tā̆s*, *tias*; Ud. *teäsi*.

◊ TMC 2, 173.

PMong. ***tasu** quite, completely (совсем, совершенно): WMong. *tasu* (L 784); Kh. *tas*; Bur. *taha*; Kalm. *tas*; Ord. *tas* 'idée de fermeté, dʿobstination, dʿintensité; aussi: absolutement, strictement, tout droit'.

◊ KW 381.

PTurk. ***tAs** 1 bad 2 quite (1 плохой, дурной 2 совсем): Karakh. *tas* 1 (MK - Oghuz, IM); Turkm. *tas* 2; MTurk. (MKypch.) *tas* 1 (Houts., Ettuhf., Bulgat.); KBalk. *tas* 1; Khak. *tas-xara* 'quite dark'; Tv. *tas* 'excellent!'.

◊ VEWT 465, EDT 554.

PJpn. ***tàsí-** 1 certainly, verily 2 exact (1 точно, совершенно 2 точный): OJpn. *tasi-ni* 1, *tasi-ka* 2; MJpn. *tàsí-ka* 2; Tok. *táshika* 2; Kyo. *tàshíkà* 2; Kag. *tashiká* 2.

◊ JLTT 542.

PKor. ***tàsí** again (опять, снова): MKor. *tàsí*; Mod. *tasi*.

◊ Liu 195, KED 386.

‖ Irregular tone and vowel in Korean may suggest a possibility of loan (< OJ *tasi*). Cf. also Mong. *tasija* 'lie' (> Man. *tašan*, *tašara-* etc., see Doerfer MT 119).

✱**tʹi̯olge** a k. of vehicle: Tung. ***tolga**; Mong. ***telegen**; Turk. ***Tilgen (~ -e-)**.

PTung. ***tolga** sleigh (with dogs) (нарта (собачья)): Evk. *tolgokī*; *tolgodō-* 'to go in a sleigh'; Neg. *tolgoxī*; Nan. *tolkị*.

◊ TMC 2, 194.

PMong. ***telegen** vehicle (повозка, телега): MMong. *telege(n)* (SH).

PTurk. ***Tilgen** wheel (колесо): OTurk. *tilgen*, *tilken* (OUygh.).

◊ EDT 499.

‖ A Western isogloss. MMong. may be < Turkic (though not necessarily); a Mongolian source is probable for Chag. *tälgän*, Nogh. dial. *telegen*, KKalp. *telegen*, see Лексика 534-535 with literature.

✱**tʹi̯ò̀lgu** moon: Mong. ***tergel**; Jpn. ***tùkùi**; Kor. ***tǎr**.

PMong. ***tergel** full moon (полнолуние): MMong. *tergel* (SH); WMong. *tergel* (L 805); Kh. *tergel*; Bur. *terged hara*; Kalm. *tergel* (СЯОС).

◊ Mong. > Evn. *tärkan-*.

PJpn. ***tùkùi** moon (луна): OJpn. *tuki*; MJpn. *tuki*; Tok. *tsukí*; Kyo. *tsúkì*; Kag. *tsúT*.

◊ JLTT 554.

PKor. ***tǎr** moon (луна): MKor. *tǎr*; Mod. *tal*.

◊ Nam 140, KED 401.

‖ Martin 236, АПиПЯЯ 94, 278, Vovin 2000.

✱**tʹi̯ò̀lo** to shine, reflect: Tung. ***tī-**; Mong. ***tolui**; Jpn. ***tàir- (~ tìar-)**.

PTung. ***tī-** to become full (of moon) (наступать (о полнолунии)): Evk. *tī-*; Neg. *tị-*.

◊ TMC 2, 173.

PMong. ***tolui** reflecting surface, mirror (отражающая поверхность, зеркало): MMong. *toli* (HY 21), *tūli* (Lig.VMI), *tuluj* (MA); WMong. *tolui*, *toli(n)* (L 821); Kh. *toĺ*; Bur. *toli*; Kalm. *tolə*; Ord. *toli* 'metal mirror'; Dag. *toli* (Тод. Даг. 168, MD 225: 'a round iron object used by shamans'); S.-Yugh. *tōlə*; Mongr. *tōlə*.

◊ KW 399, MGCD 639, TMN 1, 274. Mong. > Evk. *tōlên* etc., see Doerfer MT 82, Rozycki 210; Chag. *toli* (Lig. VMI 69).

PJpn. ***tàir- (~ tiàr-)** to shine (светить): OJpn. *ter-*; MJpn. *tèr-*; Tok. *tér-*; Kyo. *tèr-*; Kag. *tèr-*.

◊ JLTT 767.

‖ The Jpn. diphthong is not quite clear. It is interesting also to mention Turkic data: cf. Karakh. *tolun* in *tolun* aj 'full moon' (MK, see EDT 501), with *tolun* formally being a participle from **dol-* 'to be filled', but in fact used only in this phrase in the sense of "full moon". Modern

Turkish has *dolunaj* 'full moon' with d- (just as in *dol-* 'be filled'), but the verb *tolun-* 'to become full (of moon)' - which would correspond quite regularly to PA **tʹi̯ȍlo*. One should reckon with a possibility of rather archaic contamination in Turkic (since most languages do not distinguish between the reflexes of *t- and *d-).

✱**tʹi̯oŋe** air or water space: Tung. ***tuŋ-**; Mong. ***töŋk-**; Kor. ***taŋh / *təŋh**.

PTung. ***tuŋ-** 1 lake 2 backwater (1 озеро 2 заводь): Evk. *tuŋer* 1, *tuŋuke* 2; Evn. *töŋēr* 1; Neg. *töŋēr* 1; Man. *tuŋgu* 'abyss, deep place'; Ud. *toŋi*, *tuŋi* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 215, 217.

PMong. ***töŋk-** 1 to hollow out 2 hollow, groove 3 deep valley (1 опустошать, выковыривать 2 полость 3 ложбина, впадина): WMong. *töŋki-* 1, *töŋkilge* 2 (L 835); Kh. *tönxö-*, *töngö-* 1, *tönxlög* 2; Bur. *tünxi-* 1; Kalm. *töŋgə* 3; Ord. *töŋχȫ-* 'piquer ou crever à coup de bec'.

◊ KW 407.

PKor. ***taŋh / *təŋh** hollow, empty (полый, пустой): Mod. *thaŋ*, *thəŋ*.

◊ KED 1694, 1704.

‖ Doerfer (TMN 3, 207) considers the Kalm. form to be the source of TM, which is hardly plausible. Cf. **tʹȅŋa* 'lowland'.

✱**tʹi̯opʹè** to search: Mong. ***taɣa-**; Turk. ***tăp-**; Jpn. ***təp-**; Kor. ***toph-**.

PMong. ***taɣa-** to guess (угадывать): MMong. *ta'a* 'jealousy, doubt' (HY 37); WMong. *taɣa-* (L 763); Kh. *tā-*; Bur. *tā-*; Kalm. *tā-* (KPC); Ord. *tā-*; Dag. *tauli*, *tauĺ* (Тод. Даг. 166) 'riddle' (= WMong. *taɣaburi*); Dong. *ta-*; Bao. *tā-*; S.-Yugh. *tā-*; Mongr. *tā-* (SM 404).

◊ MGCD 619. Mong. *taɣa-* > Yak., Dolg. *tāj-*; *taɣaburi* > Yak. *tābɨrɨn*, Dolg. *tābɨrīn* (Kał. MEJ 56, Stachowski 218-219) > Evn. *tābɨrɨn* (TMC 2, 149).

PTurk. ***tăp-** to find (находить, встречать): OTurk. *tap-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *tap-* (MK); Tur. *tap-*, dap- (dial.); Az. *tap-*; Turkm. *tap-*; Sal. *ta'p-* (ССЯ); MTurk. *tap-* (Sangl.); Uzb. *tɔp-*; Uygh. *tap-*; Krm. *tap-*; Tat. *tap-*; Bashk. *tap-*; Kirgh. *tap-*; Kaz. *tap-*; KBalk. *tap-*; KKalp. *tap-*; Kum. *tap-*; Nogh. *tap-*; SUygh. *tap-*; Khak. *tap-*; Shr. *tap-*; Oyr. *tap-*; Tv. *tɨp-*; Tof. *tɨ'p-*; Chuv. *top-*; Yak. *tap-* 'to hit the target'; Dolg. *taptar-* 'sich fangen lassen'.

◊ VEWT 462, EDT 435, Федотов 2, 248, Stachowski 217.

PJpn. ***təp-** to woo (ухаживать, свататься): OJpn. *top-*.

PKor. ***toph-** to search for, to seek everywhere (искать всюду, обыскивать): Mod. *thoph-*.

◊ KED 1715.

‖ Владимирцов 208, Poppe 13, 47, PKE 222, KW 386. Mong. cannot be < Turk., despite TMN 2, 429, Щербак 1997, 153 (although the vowel

correspondence is not quite satisfactory: one would expect -e- in Mong.).

✱**tʿi̯ŏpʿé** to trample: Tung. ***tubu- (~ -p-)**; Mong. ***teɣe- / *teji- / *tübü-**; Turk. ***tep- / *dēp-**; Jpn. ***túmpú-**; Kor. ***tjap- (?)**.

PTung. ***tubu- (~ -p-)** 1 to step, trample 2 stirrup 3 track (1 ступать, топтать 2 стремя 3 след): Evk. *tū(w)*- 1; Evn. *tṓ*- 1; Neg. *tụasan* 3; Man. *tufon*, *tufun* 2; Jurch. *tuw-fu* (231) 2.

◊ TMC 2, 202-203.

PMong. ***teɣe- / *teji- / *tübü-** 1 to kick (with a foot, leg), scratch earth (with a foot) 2 to trample (1 пинать, царапать землю (ногой) 2 топтать, топать): MMong. *teʼure*- 'to crush, trample' (SH); WMong. *teɣe*-, *tejir*- 1 (L 797: *tejire*-), *tübür*- 2 (L 848: *tübere*-); Kh. *tijre*-; Bur. *tijre*- 2,1; Kalm. *tē*-, *tīr*- 1, *tüwr*- 2; Ord. *tüwerē*, *tewerē* 'bruit de sabots dʿanimaux frappant le sol en courant'.

◊ KW 395, 417.

PTurk. ***tep- / *dēp-** to stamp, tramp (топтать, пинать): Karakh. *tep*- (MK, KB); Tur. *tep*-, dial. *dep*-; Gag. *tep*-; Az. *täp*-, *däp*-; Turkm. *dep*-, *dǟb-š-e*-; Khal. *täp*-; MTurk. *tep*- (Sangl.); Uzb. *tep*-; Uygh. *täp*-; Krm. *tep*-; Tat. *tip*-; Bashk. *tip*-; Kirgh. *tep*-; Kaz. *tep*-; KBalk. *teber*-; KKalp. *tep*-; Kum. *tep*-; Nogh. *tep*-; SUygh. *tep*-; Khak. *tep*-, *tip*-; Shr. *tep*-; Oyr. *tep*-; Tv. *teʼp*-; Chuv. *tab*-; Yak. *tep*-; Dolg. *tep*-.

◊ VEWT 474, EDT 435, ЭСТЯ 3, 195-197, Stachowski 221.

PJpn. ***túmpú-** 1 to be trampled, destroyed 2 to trample, break, destroy (1 быть растоптанным, разрушаться 2 растаптывать, разламывать, разрушать): MJpn. *túbúra*- 1; Tok. *tsùbure*- 1, *tsùbu-s*- 2; Kyo. *tsúbúré*- 1, *tsúbús*- 2; Kag. *tsuburé*- 1, *tsubús*- 2.

◊ JLTT 772.

PKor. ***tjap- (?)** to kill, slaughter (убивать, резать (животных)): Mod. *čap*- (NKor. *tjap*-).

◊ KED 1398 regards the word as a metaphorical variant of *čap*- 'to hold, catch'; but SKE 23 gives a dialectal form *tjap*- which might suggest a different origin.

‖ Владимирцов 272. Cf. **tấpʿV*, **tʿẽpʿa* (with a possibility of mergers). The Turk. variant **dēp*- is secondary, probably under the influence of **dāp*- < **tấpʿV*, but may be rather old: cf. the match PT **dep-se*- : PM **deb-se*- 'to stamp, tramp' (a secondary loan is hardly possible in this case).

✱**tʿi̯opʿu** limit, completely: Tung. ***tiap**; Mong. ***tujil**; Turk. ***top**.

PTung. ***tiap** extremely, completely (до конца, целиком, напролет): Nan. *tịap*; Orch. *tiap*; Ud. *tofu*.

◊ TMC 2, 174.

PMong. ***tujil** end, limit, extremity (конец, предел): WMong. *tujil* (L 839); Kh. *tujl*; Bur. *tujl*; Kalm. *tū̄l* (СЯОС); Ord. *tuil*.

PTurk. ***top** all, completely; complex, collection (весь, целиком; совокупность): OTurk. *top* (OUygh.), *top-la-* 'to collect' (Orkh., OUygh. - YB); Tur. *top*; Gag. *top*; Az. *top*; Turkm. *top*; MTurk. *top* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *tọp*; Uygh. *top*; Krm. *top*; Tat. *tupliq* 'place where cattle is lying', *tupla-* 'to collect'; Bashk. *tup*; Kirgh. *top*; Kaz. *top*; KKalp. *top*; Kum. *topla-* 'to collect'; Nogh. *top*; Yak. *tobō-* 'to gather'.

◊ VEWT 489, EDT 493. Clauson considers the form *top* (rare in OUygh.) to be contracted < *tolp* < *tolup* < *tol-* 'to be full', which is quite dubious phonetically.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**tʿi̯òra** to cultivate (earth): Mong. ***tarija-n**; Turk. ***TArɨ-**; Jpn. ***tà**.

PMong. ***tarija-n** crops (зерно): MMong. *tarijan* (HY 4), *tarijat* (pl.) (SH), *tariān* (IM); WMong. *tarijan*; Kh. *taria*; Bur. *taŕā(n)*; Kalm. *tarān* (KW), *tärēn* (KPC); Ord. *tarā*; Dag. *tarē*, (Тод. Даг. 165) *taŕē*; Dong. *taran* (Тод. Дн.); Bao. *taraŋ* (Тод. Бн.); S.-Yugh. *tarālǯin*; Mongr. *tarā* (SM 410).

◊ KW 380, MGCD 625. There exists also a verb WMong. *tari-* 'to sow, plant', but this may be borrowed from Turk. (see TMN 1, 244-245, 2, 480-482, Щербак 1997, 153). On the other hand, the isolated Oyr. dial. *tarān* 'millet, crops' is most probably < Mong. *tarijan*. Mong. *tari-* > Evk., Man. *tari-* etc. (see TMC 2, 168, Doerfer MT 77, Rozycki 203).

PTurk. ***TArɨ-** to cultivate (ground) (возделывать (землю)): OTurk. *tarɨ-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *tarɨ-* (MK, KB); MTurk. *tarɨ-* (Abush., Sangl.); Uygh. *teri-* (dial.); SUygh. *tarɨ-*; Khak. *tarɨ-*; Oyr. *tarɨ-*; Tv. *tarɨ-*; Tof. *tarɨ-*.

◊ EDT 532, ЭСТЯ 3, 157-159 (confused with **dạrɨ-g* 'millet' q. v. sub **tăra).*

PJpn. ***tà** field (cultivated) (поле (обработанное)): OJpn. ta; MJpn. *tà*; Tok. *tá*; Kyo. *tầ*; Kag. *tà*.

◊ JLTT 536. Cf. also *tagayas-* 'to cultivate, plough (earth)'.

‖ KW 380, 387, Poppe 62, Мудрак 181. Jpn. reflects a suffixed form **tʿi̯òr(a)-gV* (cf. Mong. *tari-jan*). Cf. **tăra*: if PT **dạrɨ-g* 'millet' is derived from this root, then Mong. **tarija-n* should be considered a Turkism, and the reconstruction should be emended to **tVra*.

✱**tʿi̯ò̀re** hired labour: Tung. ***tōrī-**; Mong. ***türije-sü**; Turk. ***ter**; Jpn. ***tùtuà-ma-**.

PTung. ***tōrī-** 1 wages, dowry 2 to hire (1 плата, калым 2 нанимать): Evk. *tōrī* 1; Evn. *torị* 1; Neg. *tōjị̄* 1; Man. *turi-* 2, *turigen*, *turixen* 'rent'; SMan. *ťuri-* 2 (968); Ul. *torị(n)*, *turi(n)* 1; Ork. *torị* 1; Nan. *torị* 1; Orch. *toji* 1; Ud. *toi* 1; Sol. *turgundē-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 199-200, 219. Man. > Nan. *turī*, Ul. *turi(n)*; > Dag. *turgun* 'rent' (MGCD 659). The Manchu form cannot be borrowed < Mong., despite Rozycki 213 (the only similar form - Dag. *turgun* - is itself most probably < TM, see above).

PMong. ***türije-sü** rent (рента, аренда): WMong. *türijesü(n)* (L 855); Kh. *türēs*; Bur. *türse*; Ord. *türēsü*.

PTurk. ***ter** 1 hired labour 2 wages (1 работа по найму 2 зарплата): Karakh. *ter* 1, 2 (MK, IM); Tur. *ter oɣlan* 'hired worker'; MTurk. *ter* 2

(MA); Kirgh. *maŋdaj teri* 2 (contamination: lit. 'forehead sweat'); Tv. *xol deri* 2 (contamination: lit. 'arm sweat'); Chuv. *tar(a)* 1; Yak. *terij-* 'to organize'.

◊ VEWT 474, EDT 528, Лексика 353, Федотов 2, 176 (the root should be kept distinct from **der* 'sweat'.

PJpn. ***tùtuà-ma-** to serve, be hired (служить, быть нанятым): OJpn. *tutwoma-*; MJpn. *tùtòma-*; Tok. *tsutomé-*; Kyo. *tsútómé-*; Kag. *tsùtòmè-*.

◊ JLTT 776.

‖ An interesting Common Altaic term indicating some sort of economic relations.

✱**tʿi̯ór(g)e** support, beam: Tung. ***turga-**; Mong. ***terki-**; Turk. ***Terki**; Jpn. ***túrí-(n)kə́i**; Kor. ***tòrí**.

PTung. ***turga-** prop, support (подпорка, подставка): Evk. *turga*; Evn. *tọr*; Neg. *tojga*, *tuju*; Ul. *tụžakụ*; Nan. *tojGa*; Orch. *tugia-* 'to prop'; Ud. *tuga*.

◊ TMC 2, 218, 220.

PMong. ***terki-** dais (платформа): Dag. *terkin* (Тод. Даг. 167).

◊ Cf. Man. *terki(n)* < Mong.?

PTurk. ***Terki** table, portable table (столик): Karakh. *tergi* (MK, KB); MTurk. *tirki* (CCum.); Krm. *tirki* 'sacrificial table'.

◊ VEWT 475, EDT 544.

PJpn. ***túrí-(n)kə́i** ceiling beam (потолочная балка): MJpn. *túrígí*; Tok. *tsurigi*.

PKor. ***tòrí** cross-beam (поперечная балка): MKor. *tòrí*; Mod. *tori*.

◊ Liu 225, KED 465.

‖ On Turk. **dīre-*, **dīre-k* see under **tʿíri-* (a contamination). The Mong. (Dagur) and Manchu forms may ultimately have a Turkic origin.

✱**tʿi̯ȍso** help, benefit: Tung. ***tisū-**; Mong. ***tüsi-**; Turk. ***Tus-**; Jpn. ***tàsùka-**; Kor. ***thas**.

PTung. ***tisū-** 1 to clear the way for a caravan; help a child learn to walk 2 to drive deer (1 расчищать путь для каравана; учить ребенка ходить 2 гнать оленей): Evk. *tisū-* 1; Evn. *tịsъ̣sъ̣n-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 188-189.

PMong. ***tüsi-** to assist, help, rely on (помогать, полагаться на): MMong. *tüši-* 'belehnen' (HYt); WMong. *tüsi-* (L 856); Kh. *tüši-*; Kalm. *tüš-*; Ord. *düši-*.

◊ KW 417, TMN 1, 269.

PTurk. ***Tus-** 1 profit, benefit 2 to be profitable (1 выгода 2 быть выгодным): OTurk. *tusu* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *tusu* 1 (MK), *tus-* 2, *tusuɣluɣ*

'good service' (KB); Khak. *tuza*; Oyr. *tuza*; Tv. *duza*; Yak. *tuha*; Dolg. *tuha-lā-* 'be helpful', *tuhan-* 'use'.

◊ VEWT 501, Stachowski 230. Turk. > MMong. (MA) *tusa*, WMong. *tusa* 'help, service' (see Clark 1977, 157, Щербак 1997, 159; not vice versa, despite Sinor 1970), whence Man. *tusa* etc., see Doerfer MT 100, and possibly some modern Turkic forms as backloans.

PJpn. ***tàsùka-*** to help (помогать): OJpn. *tasuka-*; MJpn. *tàsùka-*; Tok. *tasuké-*; Kyo. *tásúké-*; Kag. *tàsùkè-*.

◊ JLTT 764.

PKor. ***thas*** reason; trust (причина; доверие): MKor. *thas*; Mod. *that* [*thas*] 'reason; fault'.

◊ Liu 712, KED 1694.

‖ Within Jpn. the form is analysed as a compound **ta* 'hand' + **suka-* 'help', which is probably a folk etymology in view of the external evidence; cf. especially Kor. *thas* which points to **tasVh-* = Jpn. **tàsùkà-*. Not quite clear is the position of several forms: WMong. *tos-* 'to receive, encounter' (maybe, following Clark 1980, 41 < Turk. **dūĺ-* 'to meet' - although the latter is certainly borrowed as WMong. *tus-* 'to hit upon, fall to one's share', so this would be a somewhat unusual etymological doublet); Manchu *tusu-* 'to marry, celebrate marriage' (could be a Mong. loanword, but the semantics is strikingly different). Finally there is MKor. *tǎsk-* 'to love, like'. This evidence suggests a possibility of a separate PA root **tʿoso* (**tʿosu*) 'to present to the guest, to celebrate'; but a possibility of later interdialectal loans of the reflexes of **tʿi̯ȍso* should also be considered.

✱tʿi̯ùbu stick, staff: Jpn. ***tùwái***; Kor. ***tìp(h)-***.

PJpn. ***tùwái*** staff (посох, палка): OJpn. *tuwe*; MJpn. *tùwé*; Tok. *tsúe*; Kyo. *tsùé*; Kag. *tsué*.

◊ JLTT 553.

PKor. ***tìp(h)-*** 1 to carry a cane, stick 2 walking stick (1 нести палку, шест 2 посох, палка): MKor. *tìp-* 1; Mod. *čip-* (*čiph-*) 1, *čiphäŋi* 2.

◊KED 1538, 1559.

‖ SKE 34. A Kor.-Jap. isogloss, with Kor. -ph- < *-bV-k- and usual verbal low tone. In TM cf. perhaps Ewk. *tūwkē* 'stick in a cross-bow' (cf. the Kor. form), Ulch. *tuj-ǯe-* 'to make ready a cross-bow', possibly pointing to PTM **tub(i)-* 'stick in a cross-bow'.

✱tʿi̯udu a period of time: Mong. ***tuǯi***; Turk. ***Tɨdɨn***; Jpn. ***tùnâi***.

PMong. ***tuǯi*** always; throughout some time (всегда; в течение какого-л. времени): WMong. *tuǯi* (L 848); Kh. *tuǯ*.

PTurk. ***Tɨdɨn*** time, appointed time (срок): OTurk. *tɨdɨn* (OUygh.); Karakh. *tɨδɨn*; Bashk. *tɨna* (3 Sg. Dat.) 'промежуток рабочего времени от одной передышки до другой'.

◊ EDT 457.

PJpn. ***tùnâi** long-lasting, always (всегда, вечно, долго): OJpn. tune; MJpn. *tùné*; Tok. *tsúne*; Kyo. *tsùnê*; Kag. *tsùné*.

◊ JLTT 556.

‖ Jpn. **tuna-* < **tuda-n* with nasal assimilation (= OT *tıdın*).

✱**tʿi̯ŭ̆ge (~ -o)** quay, harbour: Tung. ***tügde-**; Mong. ***tuguj**; Jpn. ***tù**.

PTung. ***tügde-lē-** 1 to cross a bridge 2 bridge, log (1 перейти по бревну, мостику 2 мостик, бревно): Evk. *tigdelē-*, *digde-* 1, *tigdelēn* 2; Evn. *tildraun* 2; Ork. *tugdule* 2, *tugdule-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 204; 2, 175-176.

PMong. ***tuguj** brow, gangway, causeway (мостки, сходни): WMong. *tuγui* (MXTT); Kh. *tuguj* (MXTT), *dugui-ca-* 'cross a bridge'; Bur. *dugı*.

◊ Mong. > Neg. *toγı̣* 'quay, harbour, low shore' etc. (TMC 2, 190).

PJpn. ***tù** ford (переправа; гавань): OJpn. *tu*; MJpn. *tù*; Tok. *tsú*; Kyo. *tsū́*; Kag. *tsú*.

◊ JLTT 552. Kyoto and Kagoshima point rather to **tú*, but RJ has a low tone with corresponding high accent in Tokyo.

‖ An interesting Mong.-Tung.-Jpn. match.

✱**tʿi̯úgo** cover: Tung. ***tüksa**; Mong. ***tuγurga**; Turk. ***Tugur**; Jpn. ***tu-i**; Kor. ***tù'əi**.

PTung. ***tüksa** house cover made of birch bark (берестяная покрышка (жилища)): Evk. *tiksa*; Evn. *tı̣s*; Neg. *tı̣ksa*; Man. *tuqsa*; Ul. *tu̯iqsa*; Nan. *tı̣sa* (Kur-Urm.); Orch. *tuksa*; Ud. *tukeä*, *tukä*.

◊ TMC 2, 179.

PMong. ***tuγurga** felt walls (covering) of a house (войлочные стенки юрты): MMong. *to'urqa*, *tu'urqa* (SH); WMong. *tuγurγa* (L 839); Kh. *tūrga*; Bur. *tūrga*; Kalm. *tūrγə*; Ord. *tūrGa*.

◊ KW 413. Mong. > Oyr. *tūrγa*. Cf. also WMong. *tuγurma*, Kalm. *tūrmə* id.

PTurk. ***Tugur** 1 a k. of tent 2 tent covering (1 вид шатра 2 покрышка шатра): Tur. *turluk* (dial.) 2; Turkm. *durluq* 2; MTurk. *tuγur* 1, *tuγurluq* 2 (Pav. C.); Kirgh. *tūrduq* 2; Kaz. *tuwırluq* 2; KKalp. *tuwırluq* 2.

◊ Лексика 515. Tur. *turluk*, Turkm. *durluG* show irregular reflexation; we may be dealing with some interlingual loans here; the quality of the initial dental in PT is thus not quite clear.

PJpn. ***tu-i** grass for roof covering (трава (для крыши)): OJpn. *ti* (*tu-*); Tok. *chi*.

◊ JLTT 545. For -u- cf. *tu-bana* 'flower of the *ti* grass'.

PKor. ***tù'əi** covering, cover (покрышка, крышка): MKor. *tù'ói*; Mod. *t:uk:əŋ*.

◊ Nam 166, KED 501.

‖ KW 413, Лексика 515. In Kor. cf. also *thúkú* 'helmet'.

✱**tʿi̯ukV** to fall, drop: Tung. ***tüK-, *tügde**; Kor. ***tīd-**.

PTung. ***tüK-, *tügde** 1 rain 2 to fall, drop (1 дождь 2 падать, опадать): Evk. *tigde* 1, *tik-* 2; Evn. *tīd* 1, *tik-* 2; Neg. *tigde* 1, *tik-* 2; Man. *tuxe-* 2; Jurch. *tu-ho-* 2; Ul. *tugde* 1, *tū-* 2; Ork. *tugde* / *tugǯe* 1, *tū-* 2; Nan. *tugde* 1, *tū-* 2; Orch. *tigde* 1, *tī-* 2; Ud. *tigde*; Sol. *tiki-* 2, *tegde-* 'to rain'.

◊ TMC 2, 175. Derived from **tük-* 'to fall' (see ibid. 177-178).

PKor. ***tīd-** to fall, drop (падать, капать): MKor. *tīt-* (-r-); Mod. *tit-* (-r-).

◊ Nam 173, Liu 251, KED 532.

‖ PKE 211. A Tung.-Kor. isogloss (both TM and Kor. reflect a suffixed form **tʿi̯uk-dV*).

✱**tʿi̯ŭkʿe (~ -i)** hair (on body): Tung. ***tiKi (~ -ü-)**; Mong. ***tokum**; Turk. ***tūk**.

PTung. ***tiKi (~ -ü-)** hair on skin (шерсть на шкуре): Evk. *tikikta*; Evn. *tīken*; Neg. *tịkta*; Orch. *tikta*.

◊ TMC 2, 178.

PMong. ***tokum** 1 saddle blanket 2 to saddle (1 попона 2 седлать): MMong. *toxu* (HY 39), *toqu'ul-* 2 (SH), *ṭoγu-* (IM), *tuγut* (LH); WMong. *toqut* 1, *toqu-* 2 (L 829, 830); Kh. *toxut*, *toxot* 1, *toxo-* 2; Bur. *toxot* 1, *toxo-* 2; Kalm. *toxət* 1, *toxə-* 2; Ord. *doxot* 1, *doxo-* 2; Dag. *toku*, *toko* 1, *togu-* 2 (Тод. Даг. 168 *toxo-*, *togo-*), *toke* 1, *tohe-*, *toke-* 2(MD 225); Dong. *toγun* 1, *toγu-* 2; Bao. *toχə-* 2; S.-Yugh. *toGot* 1, *toGo-* 2; Mongr. *tuGun* (SM 429), *tuGut* 1, *tuGu-* (SM 428) 2.

◊ KW 397, MGCD 363, 642, 643. Mong. > Oyr. *toqi-*, *toqut* etc. (see TMN 1, 272, 274, Лексика 544-545); > Evk. *toku-*, *tokut* etc. (see Poppe 1966, 196, Doerfer MT 104, Rozycki 209).

PTurk. ***tūk** 1 feather 2 (animal's) hair 3 (body) hair 4 fur 5 hair (1 перо 2 шерсть (животного) 3 волос (на теле) 4 мех 5 волос): OTurk. *tü* 1, 3 (OUygh.); Karakh. *tü* 3 (MK, KB); Tur. *tüj* 1-5; Gag. *tüj* 1, 2, 3; Az. *tük* 1,2,3,5; Turkm. *tüj* 2,3; Sal. *tüx*, *ʒüx* 2 (ССЯ); Khal. *tīk* 3; MTurk. *tük*, *tüj*, *tüg* 3 (Sangl.); Uzb. *tuk* 3; Uygh. *tük* 2, 3; Krm. *tik*, *ťuk* 2, 3; Tat. *tök* 1, 2, 3; Bashk. *tök* 2, 3; Kirgh. *tük* 2, 3; Kaz. *tük* 3; KBalk. *tük* 1, 2, 3; KKalp. *tük* 1, 2, 3; Kum. *tük* 3; Nogh. *tük* 1, 2, 3; Khak. *tük* 1, 2, 3; Shr. *tük* 1; Oyr. *tük* 1, 2, 3; Tv. *dük* 3, 5; Tof. *dük* (Рас. ФиЛ), *tük* 2, 3, 5; Chuv. *tə^{w}k* 1, 3; Yak. *tū̄* 1, 2, 3, 4; Dolg. *tū̄* 1, 2.

◊ VEWT 503; EDT 433 (: originally only 'body hair', opposed to *sač* 'hair of head', *kil* 'hair (in general)' and *jüg* 'feather'); Лексика 197-198; Stachowski 236. Loss of *-k in OT and Yak. is not quite clear (perhaps a rather unique development of the final *-ūk).

‖ АПиПЯЯ 282, Дыбо 10, Лексика 198. A Western isogloss.

✱**tʿi̯ula (~ -u)** to intend, reason: Tung. ***tul-**; Mong. ***tula**; Turk. ***Tɨlda-**.

PTung. ***tul-** 1 to promise 2 to contemplate 3 plan, intention (1 обещать 2 обдумывать, предполагать 3 план, намерение): Evn. *tuleg-* 1, *tulbajal-* 'look at smth. peacefully'; Man. *tulbi-* 2, *tulbin* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 210, 212.

PMong. ***tula** because, for the sake of (потому что, ради): MMong. *tula* (SH, HY); WMong. *tula* (L 840); Kh. *tul*, *tuld*; Bur. *tula*; Kalm. *tulə*; Ord. *tula*; Dag. *tualda*, *tualā(n)* (Тод. Даг. 168), *tuale* (MD 227); Dong. *dula*.

◊ KW 409, MGCD 651, 652.

PTurk. ***Tɨlda-** 1 to allow, refer to 2 reason, excuse (1 обосновывать, ссылаться 2 причина, повод): OTurk. *tɨlda-* 1, *tɨldaɣ* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *tɨlda-* 1 (KB), *tɨldaɣ* 2 (MK); MTurk. *dɨldaɣ* 2 (Houts.); Tat. *tɨldaq* 2.

◊ VEWT 478, EDT 494 (but not derived from **dɨl* 'tongue'!).

‖ KW 409. A Western isogloss.

✱**tʿi̯ule (~ -o)** to weaken, be exhausted: Tung. ***tüla-**; Mong. ***tul-**.

PTung. ***tüla-** 1 to become exhausted 2 to stop growing, weaken 3 to miss time, opportunity (1 истощаться, обессилевать 2 остановиться в росте, захиреть 3 упускать время, просрочивать): Evk. *tila-* 1; Evn. *ṭil-* 2; Man. *tuli-* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 180, 210. Man. > Dag. *tuli-* 'to miss' (Тод. Даг. 169).

PMong. ***tul-** 1 weak, powerless 2 to be exhausted 3 lonely 4 awkward, shy (1 слабый, бессильный 2 истощаться 3 одинокий 4 смущенный, робкий): WMong. *tulaki* 1 (L 840), *tulɣui* 3, (L 841) *tulɣur* 4; Kh. *tulxi* 1, *tulgar* 4; Bur. *tuli-* 2; Kalm. *tulɣū* 3.

◊ KW 409.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**tʿi̯ǜni** night, yesterday, dark: Tung. ***tīnu-**; Mong. ***tüne**; Turk. ***tün**.

PTung. ***tīnu-** yesterday (вчера): Evk. *tīnewe*; Evn. *tīniw*; Neg. *tīnuwej*; Ork. *čine / čiṅē*; Orch. *tinew*; Ud. *tineneŋi*; Sol. *tīnuɣ*, *tīnuge*.

◊ See TMC 2, 183-184.

PMong. ***tüne** dark (темный): MMong. *tun* (SH) 'thick black forest'; WMong. *tüne(n)* 'dark', *tün* 'forest' (L 853); Kh. *tüner*; Bur. *tünxij-* 'to become dark'; Kalm. *tünə* 'dark; forest'; Ord. *tüner*, *tünir*.

◊ KW 415.

PTurk. ***tün** 1 night 2 yesterday (1 ночь 2 вчера): OTurk. *tün* 1 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *tün* 1 (MK, KB), *dün*, *tün* 'night, dark' (IM); Tur. *tün* 1, *dün* 2; Gag. *dün* 2; Az. *dünän* 1; Turkm. *tün* 1, *dũn* 2; MTurk. *tün* 1 (Abush.), 'dark' (Sangl.); Uzb. *tun* 1; Uygh. *tün* 1; Krm. *tün* 1; Tat. *tön* 1; Bashk. *tön* 1; Kirgh. *tün* 1; Kaz. *tun* 1; KBalk. *tün* 1; KKalp. *tün* 1;

Kum. *tun, tün* 1; Nogh. *tün* 1; SUygh. *tune, tün* 1; Khak. *tün* 1, 'dark'; Shr. *tün* 1; Oyr. *tün* 1; Tv. *dün* 1; Tof. *dün* 1; Yak. *tū̄n* 1; Dolg. *tū̄n*.

◊ VEWT 505, EDT 513, ЭСТЯ 3, 315-316, Лексика 81, Stachowski 236. Cf. also Yak. *tüŋ* 'dark, darkness' (< **tün-Vk*). The variant **dū̄n*, reflected in some languages, is obviously due to a secondary influence of **dū̄ĺ* 'dream' (v. sub **tʹūĺke*), as well as the archaic compound **tü-gün* 'yesterday' (*'that day'), preserved in: Tur. dial. *dühün*, SUygh. *tugin*, Tuva, Tof. *dū̄n.*

‖ EAS 148, Владимирцов 165, Poppe 112, Лексика 81. A Western isogloss. Despite TMN 2, 574, not borrowed in Mong. < Turk.

✸**tʹi̯ŭnŋá** a k. of predator: Tung. ***tuŋ-si-***; Mong. ***činua***; Turk. ***Toŋa (?)***; Jpn. ***tànúkí***.

PTung. ***tuŋ-si-*** 1 bear's head 2 bear's forehead 3 name of a mythical predator (fox-like, devouring tigers and dragons) (1 голова медведя 2 лоб медведя 3 назв. мифического хищника (похожего на лису, пожирающего тигров и драконов)): Evk. *tuŋsuku* 1; Neg. *texseke* 2; Man. *tuŋsitun* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 216.

PMong. ***činua*** wolf (волк): MMong. *čino* (HY 10, SH), *čana* (IM), *čina* (MA); WMong. *činua* (L 190); Kh. *čono(n)*; Bur. *šono*; Kalm. *čonə*; Ord. *čino*; Mog. *činō*; ZM *čenɔ̄* (21-5); Bao. *čina*, *čɨna*; Mongr. *čunō*, *čuna* (Minghe).

◊ KW 444, MGCD 575. Mong. > Evk. *činukaj*, see Poppe 1972, 97 (probably with secondary suffixation).

PTurk. ***Toŋa (?)*** tiger (тигр): OTurk. *toŋa* (Orkh.) 'a military title', (OUygh.) 'hero'; Karakh. *toŋa* (MK).

◊ EDT 515 (with some doubts about the original meaning of the word).

PJpn. ***tànúkí*** racoon dog (енотовидная собака): MJpn. *tànúkí*; Tok. *tánuki*; Kyo. *tànúkì*; Kag. *tanukí*.

◊ JLTT 541.

‖ Mong. -n- points to *-nŋ-; TM **tuŋsi-* perhaps < **tunŋV-si-*.

✸**tʹi̯ùŋo (~ -e)** staff: Tung. ***tüjŋe(-pun)***; Mong. ***tujiban***; Jpn. ***tùmìpá***.

PTung. ***tüjŋe(-pun)*** staff (посох): Evk. *tijewun*; Evn. *tijun*; Neg. *tijewun*; Man. *tejfun*; SMan. *teifun* (676) 'walking stick, staff'; Ul. *tinepu(n)*; Ork. *teiŋgeptu(n)*; Nan. *tunepũ*; Orch. *tijō*, *tijeu(n)*; Ud. *tiu*, *tieu(n)*.

◊ TMC 2, 176.

PMong. ***tujiban*** stick, cudgel (палка, дубина): WMong. *tujiban* (MXTTT); Kh. *tujvan*.

PJpn. ***tùmìpá*** sword-guard (гарда): OJpn. *tum(j)ipa*; MJpn. *tùmìbá*; Tok. *tsúba*; Kyo. *tsùbâ*; Kag. *tsubá*.

◊ JLTT 552.

‖ The *-pʹV is probably an original suffix, but reconstructable already for PA.

✱**tʹi̯upʹi** dust, smoke; to rise (dust, smoke): Tung. ***tip-**; Turk. ***tüpi**.

PTung. ***tip-** 1 to rise (of dust, smoke) 2 dirt, smear (with dirt, clay) (1 подниматься (о пыли, дыме) 2 грязь, пачкать): Evk. *tipī-* 1, *tipa-* 2; Neg. *tip-* 2; Man. *čifa-* 2; SMan. *čiva-* 2 (2440); Ul. *čiptan* 2; Ork. *čipa* 2; Nan. *čipčã* 2; Orch. *tipa* 2; Ud. *têfakta* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 180, 185.

PTurk. ***tüpi** 1 high wind 2 dust-storm, storm (1 вьюга 2 пылевая буря): Karakh. *tüpi* 1 (MK); Tur. *tipi* 2; Uzb. (dial.) *dübüläj* 2; KKalp. *dübelej* 2; Tv. *düvü* 2; Tof. *töpʹö* 2; Yak. *tibī* 1, *tip-* 'to blow'; Dolg. *tibī* 1, *tip-* 'to blow (of a snowstorm)'.

◊ EDT 436, VEWT 503, Лексика 48, Stachowski 222, 223. The Uzb. and KKalp. forms may reflect a merger with PT **tüge-le(j)* (v. sub **tʹüge).*

‖ АПиПЯЯ 287. A Turk.-Tung. isogloss. TM also has variants **tilpa-* / **tilba-* (see TMC 2, 180) meaning both 'dirt, smear' and 'snowstorm' and having arisen due to contamination with **tʹelbu* q. v.

✱**tʹi̯ŭpʹo** nail; hoof: Tung. ***tüpa, *tüp-ken**; Mong. ***tuwra, *turuɣu**; Turk. ***tubńa-k**; Jpn. ***túmá-i**; Kor. ***tòph**.

PTung. ***tüpa, *tüp-ken** 1 nail, peg 2 (*finger)nail* (1 гвоздь, колышек 2 ноготь): Evk. *tipken* 1; Evn. *tipkir*, *tipken* 1; Neg. *tipkēn* 1; Ul. *tukpe(n)* 1; Ork. *tupke(n)/-kpen* 1; Nan. *tukpẽ* 1; Orch. *tipa* 2, *tippe* 1; Ud. *tikpe(n)* 1; Sol. *tikkēsũ* 1.

◊ TMC 2,185-186. A suffixless form **tüpa* is reflected in Oroch *tipa* 'fingernail'(vs. tippe 'nail, peg'). TM > Dag. *tibke-* 'to nail', *tibkēs* 'nail' (Тод. Даг. 167).

PMong. ***tuwra, *turuɣu** 1 hoof 2 lower hard part of hoof (1 копыто 2 нижний край копыта): MMong. *turuʹun* (HY 15), tar (IM) 1, *turwun* (Lig.VMI), *turu* (MA); WMong. *turuɣu*, *taura*, *tuɣurai* 1; *tuɣur(a)* 2 (L 839); Kh. *tūr*, *tūraj*, *turū* 1; Bur. *turū(n)* 1; Kalm. *turūn* 1; *tūr* 2; Ord. *tūrã̄* 1; Dag. *torō* (Тод. Даг. 168) 1; S.-Yugh. *turūn* 1.

◊ KW 412, 413, MGCD 649. Cf. also *tujila-* 'to hit with hooves, feet (of a horse)'.

PTurk. ***tubńa-k** hoof (копыто): Karakh. *tujaɣ* (MK), *tujnaq* (IM); Tur. *dujnak*; Turkm. *tojnaq*; Sal. *cʹɨnaɣ* (ССЯ); MTurk. *tuwaq* (Sangl., Abush.), (MKypch.) *tujaq* (AH); Uzb. *tujɔq*; Uygh. *tuwaq*; Krm. *tujaq*; Tat. *tojaq*; Bashk. *tojaq*; Kirgh. *tujaq*; Kaz. *tujaq*; KBalk. *tujaq*; KKalp. *tujaq, dojnaq* (< Turkm.); Kum. *tujaq*; Nogh. *tujaq*; SUygh. *tujaɣ*, *tɨjɨɣ*; Khak. *tujɣax*; Shr. *tujɣaq*; Oyr. *tujɣaq*; Tv. *dujuɣ*; Tof. *dujũuɣ* (Рас. ФиЛ), *tujuɣ*; Yak. *tujax*; Dolg. *tuńak*.

◊ VEWT 499-500, EDT 519, Лексика 147, Федотов 2, 259-260, Stachowski 230. Chag., Uygh. *tuwaq* point to a labial *-b- in the stem, while Yak. -j̃- and -j- in other languages - to *-ń-: these reflexes can only be reconciled if we accept a cluster like *-bń- in the protoform (perhaps a contraction < **tupi-nak* or *sim.).*

PJpn. ***túmái** finger-nail, claw (ноготь, коготь): OJpn. *tume*; MJpn. *túmé*; Tok. *tsùme*; Kyo. *tsúmé*; Kag. *tsúme*.

◊ JLTT 555. Cf. also OJ *tubu-busi* (~ -p-) 'ankle'.

PKor. ***tòph** finger-nail, toe-nail (ноготь): MKor. *thòp*; Mod. *son-thop*.

◊ Nam 459, KED 1708.

‖ EAS 98, Владимирцов 293, Poppe 66 (Turk.-Mong.), Martin 228, АПиПЯЯ 96-97, 278, Лексика 147. Despite Doerfer's (TMN 2, 647-648) doubts, the Turk. form cannot be separated from the others, although it shows a somewhat peculiar phonetic development. PJ **túmá-* < **túpá-n-*: cf. also OJ *tubunak(j)i* 'ankle' (= PT **tubńak*, Evn. *tuwnuke*).

✸**tʿi̯ŭ̆re** straps for hanging: Tung. ***türü**; Turk. ***terkü (~ -i-)**; Jpn. ***túr-**; Kor. ***tìrí-**.

PTung. ***türü** straps (ремни, подвязки): Evk. *tirī*; Evn. *ṭiṛi*; Man. *turu*.

◊ TMC 2, 187.

PTurk. ***terkü (~ -i-)** saddle straps (торока): Karakh. *tergü* (MK); Tur. *terki* 'rear saddlebow'; Az. *tärk* 'place behind the saddle'; Turkm. *tirkiš*; MTurk. *terki* (Pav. C.), (MKypch.) *tergü* (Houts.); Khak. *tirgə*; Shr. *terig*; Oyr. *terki*; Tv. *dergi*; Chuv. *türt* 'back, back side', *türt-lə̑x* 'чресседельник'; Yak. *törgǖ*.

◊ VEWT 475-476, EDT 544, TMN 2, 499-500. The stem is connected - in a somewhat unclear fashion - with **tirke-* 'to hitch' (derived from *tiz-* 'to string' in Хелимский 1986 and Дыбо 1995, 282 - but the latter should be properly reconstructed as **dir̓-*, so this derivation is by no means certain). External evidence suggests that *-i- is original here; the vowel *-e- in **terkü* may be due to the influence of **dēr-ke-* 'to gather; equip' (see **dēr-).*

PJpn. ***túr-** to hang (вешать, подвешивать): Tok. *tsùr-*; Kyo. *tsúr-*; Kag. *tsúr-*.

◊ JLTT 775. The root should be distinguished from **túr-* 'to fish, angle' (q.v. sub **tʿŏbru).*

PKor. ***tìrí-** to hang (висеть, вешать): MKor. *tìrí-*; Mod. *tɨriu-*.

◊ Nam 171, KED 526.

‖ The root seems reliable, although the vocalism is not quite certain: see above the notes on variation *e/i in Turkic; Kor. -ɨ- is also unexpected.

✸**tʿi̯uri (~ *tʿi̯oro, -ŕ-)** fish roe: Tung. ***tiru-kse**; Mong. ***türi-sü**.

PTung. ***tiru-kse** fish roe (икра): Evk. *tirukse*, *tirēkse*; Evn. *tīs*; Neg. *tise*; Man. *čerguwe*, *čerxuwe*; Ork. *tersu* 'нерестилище'.

◊ TMC 2, 189. Sol., Ul. *turse* < Mong.

PMong. ***türi-sü** fish roe (икра): WMong. *türisü(n)* (L 855); Kh. *türs*; Bur. *türhe(n)*; Kalm. *türsṇ*.

◊ KW 416.

‖ KW 416, Poppe 112. A Mong.-Tung. isogloss; regarded as a loan in Mong. from Tung. by Doerfer MT 47-48, which is rather dubious.

✱**tʿi̯ùru** to hold, obstruct: Tung. ***tūrī-**; Mong. ***tor-**; Turk. ***tɨrɨ-k**; Jpn. ***tùtu-m-**.

PTung. ***tūrī-** 1 to hold, support 2 support (n.) (1 удерживать, подпирать 2 опора): Evk. *tūrī-n* 1; Evn. *tör-* 1; Neg. *tuju* 2; Ul. *turu-wen-* 1; Ork. *toro-ŋolo-* 1; Nan. *turi-n-, turū-* 1; Orch. *turi-* 1; Sol. *terũ* 2.

◊ TMC 2,220.

PMong. ***tor-** to get stuck, to be stopped, to become tangled in smth. (натыкаться, задевать, запинаться, удерживаться на ч.-л.): WMong. *tor-* (L 825); Kh. *toro-*; Bur. *toro-*.

PTurk. ***tɨrɨ-k** latch, obstruction (запор, засов): Tur. *tɨrkaz*; Az. *tɨrɨG*; Tv. *tɨrɨq*; Tof. *tɨrɨq*.

◊ VEWT 479.

PJpn. ***tùtu-m-** to be hindered, blocked (натыкаться на препятствие, задерживаться): OJpn. *tutum-*; MJpn. *tùtum-*.

◊ JLTT 776.

‖ Cf. **tʿi̯ór(g)e* 'support, beam' - a source of possible contaminations.

✱**tʿi̯ŭŕe** leg; knee: Tung. ***türē-kse**; Mong. ***türej**; Turk. ***dīŕ**; Kor. ***tàrí**.

PTung. ***türē-(kse)** boot-top (голенище): Evk. *tirēkse*; Neg. *tijekse*; Man. *ture*; Ul. *turekse*; Ork. *tureske*; Nan. *turekse*; Orch. *tijekse*; Ud. *tiehe*.

◊ TMC 2, 188.

PMong. ***türej** boot-top (голенище): WMong. *türei, türüi* (L 854); Kh. *türij*; Bur. *türī*; Kalm. *türē*; Ord. *türī*; Dag. *turī* (Тод. Даг. 169), *tur*; S.-Yugh. *turē*; Mongr. *turī* (SM 434), *turē*.

◊ KW 415, MGCD 660.

PTurk. ***dīŕ (*dŭŕ)** knee (колено): OTurk. *tiz* (Orkh.); Karakh. *tizle-* (MK) 'to press with one's knees'; Tur. *diz*; Gag. *diś*; Az. *diz*; Turkm. *dīz*; Sal. *tüzy, tizy*; Khal. *tīz*; MTurk. *diz* (Pav. C., MA); Uzb. *tiz*; Uygh. *tiz*; Krm. *tɨz*; Tat. *tez*; Bashk. *teδ*; Kirgh. *tize*; Kaz. *tize*; KBalk. *tiz*; KKalp. *dize*; Kum. *tiz*; Nogh. *tiz*; SUygh. *dɨz*; Khak. *təzek*; Shr. *tize* (R., Верб.); Oyr. *tize*; Tv. *diskek*; Tof. *tiskek*; Chuv. *čər-puśśi*; Yak. *tühex*.

◊ VEWT 482, EDT 570, ЭСТЯ 3, 336-337, Егоров 323, Лексика 284.

PKor. ***tàrí** leg (нога): MKor. *tàrí*; Mod. *tari*.

◊ Nam 129, KED 383.

‖ EAS 112, KW 415, Владимирцов 361, Poppe 112, Дыбо 6, Мудрак Дисс. 39, Лексика 286, Doerfer MT 69-70. Despite АПиПЯЯ 282, Mongolian and Tungus forms should be still considered as genetically related to PT **dīŕ* (**dīŕ*), and the reconstruction must be changed accordingly. This is one of the few cases of secondary voicing in PT (before *ŕ, *r): the original voiceless reflex is preserved within the Common Turkic derivative **tir-sgek* 'elbow' (Лексика 247-248) (= TM **türē-kse*; the latter form, despite Rozycki 213, cannot be borrowed < Mong.).

✱**tʿi̯ūŕi** to suffer, endure: Mong. ***türü-**; Turk. ***döŕ-**.

PMong. ***türü-** 1 to suffer, be in need 2 to torment (2 нуждаться, страдать 2 огорчать): WMong. *türü-* 1, *türege-* 2 (KW); Kalm. *tür-* 1, *türē-* 2.

◊ KW 415-416.

PTurk. ***döŕ-** to suffer, endure (терпеть, переносить, страдать): Karakh. *töz-* (MK); Tur. *döz-* (dial.); Az. *döz-*; Turkm. *döz-*; MTurk. *töz-* (MA, Pav. C.); Krm. *töz-*; Tat. *tüz-*; Bashk. *tüδ-*; Kaz. *töz-*; KBalk. *töz-*; Nogh. *töz-*; SUygh. *tüz-*; Oyr. *tüzünük* ʿpatient'.

◊ ЭСТЯ 3, 272-273, EDT 572. Turk. Bulg. > Hung. *tür-*, see Gombocz 1912, MNyTESz 3, 1014 (Chuv. *tüs-* < Tat.).

‖ KW 416. A Turko-Mong. isogloss; in TM cf. perhaps Neg. *tojkụ* 'death', *tojkụw-* ʿto become ill (unexpectedly)'.

✱**tʿi̯uŕ(k)u** quick, swift: Tung. ***tur-ku-**; Mong. ***tür(ge-n)**; Turk. ***dɨŕ-**.

PTung. ***tur-ku-** 1 to jump 2 to swoop (of a wind gust) (1 прыгать 2 налетать (о порыве ветра)): Evk. *turku-* 1; Ud. *tuku-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 220.

PMong. ***tür(ge-n)** quick, swift (быстрый; кратковременный): MMong. *turgen* (HY 52), *turken* (MA 359); WMong. *tür*, *türgen* (L 854, 855); Kh. *tür*, *türgen*; Bur. *türge(n)*; Kalm. *türgṇ*; Ord. *türgen*; Dag. *turegun* (MD 228); S.-Yugh. *turgen*.

◊ KW 416, MGCD 659. Mong. > Evk. *turgen* etc. (TMC 2, 219, Doerfer MT 82, Rozycki 213); Yak., Dolg. *türgen* (Kał. MEJ 20, Stachowski 235).

PTurk. ***dɨŕ-** 1 to run away 2 to strive 3 to flounce, squib 4 to dash, race 5 tumble-weed (1 убегать 2 стремиться, рваться 3 суетиться, метаться 4 мчаться 5 перекати-поле): Az. *dɨzɨx-* 1; Turkm. *dɨza-* 2; Tat. *tɨz-bɨz kil-* 3; Bashk. *tɨzdap* kit- 1; Kirgh. *tɨz qoj-* 4; Kaz. *tɨzɨlda-* 4; KKalp. *tɨzɨlda-* 4; Nogh. *tɨzban* 5.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**tʿi̯ù̀tʿu** a k. of ungulate: Tung. ***tūte-**; Turk. ***Titir (~ -ɨ-)**; Kor. ***tot(h)**.

PTung. ***tūte-** a 4-year-old elk (четырехгодовалый лось): Evk. *tūte-kēn*.

◊ TMC 2, 224. Attested only in Evk., but having probable Turk. and Mong. parallels.

PTurk. ***Titir (~ -ɨ-)** female camel (самка верблюда): OTurk. *titir* (OUygh. - YB); Karakh. *titir* (MK); MTurk. *titir* (Houts.).

◊ VEWT 482, EDT 458-459.

PKor. ***tot(h)** pig (свинья): MKor. *tot*, *toth*.

◊ Nam 159, 161.

‖ In Turk. one has to accept secondary fronting (**titir* < **tɨtɨr* - if the attested form is not actually *tɨtɨr*, just wrongly vocalized). It is also tempting to compare OJ *t(w)od(w)o*, mod. *todo* ʿeared seal, Eumetopias

jubatus' (for a very similar semantic relation cf. PA **tǎŋo*), but the vocalism is not quite clear.

✱**tʿŏbru** net, network: Tung. ***turku-**; Mong. ***towr**; Turk. ***tor**; Jpn. ***túrí**; Kor. ***tǎràčhí**.

PTung. ***turku-** to get caught (in a trap, net) (попадать в ловушку, в сеть): Evk. *turku-*; Neg. *tojkị-*; Ul. *tụčụ-*; Ork. *tụtụ-*; Nan. *tojqo-*; Orch. *tokko-*, *tukku-*; Sol. *tụkkụtã* bi.

◊ TMC 2, 220.

PMong. ***towr** net, cage (сеть, клетка): MMong. *tor* (IM), *tur* (MA); WMong. *tour* (L 829); Kh. *tor*; Bur. *tor*; Kalm. *tor*; Ord. *tor*; Mog. tor; S.-Yugh. *tor*; Mongr. *tōr* (SM 424).

◊ KW 401, MGCD 641.

PTurk. ***tor** net for catching birds or fish (сеть): OTurk. *tor* (OUygh.); Karakh. *tor* (MK, KB); Tur. *tor*; Az. *tor*; Turkm. *tor*; Khal. *tŭr*; MTurk. *tor* (Abush., Sangl.) 'net, hair net'; Uzb. *tọr*; Uygh. *tor*; Bashk. *tur*; Kirgh. *tor*; Kaz. *tor*; KKalp. *tor*; Kum. *tor*.

◊ TMN 2, N° 954, EDT 528, Лексика 419-420. The relationship to **duŕak* 'trap' (ЭСТЯ 3, 289-290, Лексика 420-421) is not quite clear.

PJpn. ***túr-** fishing (with a rod, angle) (рыбная ловля): OJpn. *tur-* 'to fish'; MJpn. *túrí*; Tok. *tsùri*; Kyo. *tsúrí*; Kag. *tsúri*.

◊ JLTT 556. One has to suppose a rather natural semantic development: 'to fish with a net' > 'to fish (in general)' > 'to fish with a rod, to angle'.

PKor. ***tǎràčhí** basket (корзина): MKor. *tǎràčhí*; Mod. *taräk:i*.

◊ Nam 135, KED 382.

‖ KW 401. Mong. is not < Turk., despite TMN 2, 606-607, Щербак 1997, 158, Sukhebaatar.

✱**tʿobú (~ -p-,-i)** fruit, cone: Tung. ***tube-**; Mong. ***toɣur-**; Turk. ***Tobur-**; Jpn. ***tumpu**.

PTung. ***tube-** 1 fruit 2 berry 3 blue-berry (1 плод, фрукт 2 ягода 3 брусника, черника): Evk. *tewukte* 2; Evn. *tъwtъ* 2; Neg. *tewu-kte* 2; Man. *tubixe* 1; SMan. *ťufəxi*, *ťuvəxī* 1 (323); Jurch. *tuwi-xe* (525) 1; Ul. *tuikte* 3; Nan. *čuikte* 3; Orch. *čikte* 3; Ud. *teukte* 3; Sol. *tuwik* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 203, 225-226. TM > Dag. *tubig* 'fruit' (Тод. Даг. 169).

PMong. ***toɣur-** bud or calyx of a flower; cone (почка, чашечка (цветка); шишка): WMong. *toɣurčaɣ*, *toɣurčuɣ* (L 817); Kh. *tōrcog*; Bur. *tōrsog*; Kalm. *tōrcəg*.

◊ KW 405.

PTurk. ***Tobur-** (pine) cone (шишка; бутон): Tur. *tomurǯuk*; Gag. *tōmruq*; Az. *tumurǯuG*; Krm. *tomruq*; Tat. *tubɨrčɨq*; Bashk. *tubɨrsɨq*; Kirgh. *toburčuq*; Kum. *tompur*; Shr. *torum* 'cedar cone'; Oyr. *tōrčɨq*; Tv. *tōruq*; Tof. *tōruq*; Yak. *tuorax*.

◊ VEWT 482, Лексика 115, 121. The Siberian forms clearly point to *-b- (or *-g-); other forms have been influenced by **top* and **dom-* / **tom-* 'round' q. v. sub **tʿòpʿú* , **tʿŏmù*. Turk. > Mong. (Kalm.) *toburčag* 'acorn, cone' (KW 404); see Poppe 47.

PJpn. ***tumpu** grain (зернышко): OJpn. *tubi*; MJpn. *túbù*; Tok. *tsúbu*; Kyo. *tsùbú*; Kag. *tsubú*.

◊ JLTT 553. Modern dialects point rather to **tù(m)pú*.

‖ The root tends to contaminate with **tʿòpʿú* 'round', but still seems to be clearly distinct in all languages.

✱**tʿògà (~ -u-)** to see, beware: Tung. ***tuga- (~ -b-)**; Mong. ***toɣa-**; Jpn. ***tàkù-**.

PTung. ***tuga- (~ -b-)** 1 to see 2 to check 3 to beware (1 видеть 2 проверять 3 остерегаться): Evn. *tewuŋči-* 3; Man. *tuwa-* 1; SMan. *tā-* 1 (173); Jurch. *tonǯu-lar* (804) 2.

◊ TMC 2, 203, 226.

PMong. ***toɣa-** 1 to pay attention, take into account 2 number, count (1 обращать внимание на что-*л*., считаться с чем-*л*. 2 число, счет): MMong. *to'an* (HY 44), *to'a* (SH) 2, *to'a-* 'to count' (SH), *tula-* 'to count', *tun* 2 (MA 311, 316); WMong. *toɣa-*, *toɣaɣa-* (L 814) 1, *toɣa(n)* 2 (L 813); Kh. *tō-* 1, *tō* 2; Bur. *tō-* 1, *tō(n)* 2; Kalm. *tō-* 1, *tō* 2; Ord. *tō-* 1, *tō* 2; Mog. *toa* 2 (Ramstedt 1906); Dag. *tō* 2 (Тод. Даг. 167, MD 226), *tuāle* 'to count' (MD 226) *tōše-* 1; Dong. *tolu-* 'to count' (Тод. Дн.); S.-Yugh. *tūn* 2; Mongr. *tō* (SM 424) 2.

◊ KW 404, MGCD 636, TMN 1, 261. Mong. > Oyr. *tō,* Man. *ton* (see Doerfer MT 139, Rozycki 211). A probable derivative is WMong. *tuɣurbi-* , Khalkha *tūrvi-*, Kalm. *tūrwə-* 'to compile, consider, plan'.

PJpn. ***tàkù-** to plan, consider (планировать, обдумывать): OJpn. *takum-*; MJpn. *tàkùm-*; Tok. *takurám-*; Kyo. *tákúrám-*; Kag. *tàkùràm-*.

◊ JLTT 762.

‖ The etymology was first proposed in fact by Vullers 1855, but rejected by Doerfer (TMN 1, 263) without due discussion.

✱**tʿoge (~ -i)** fire: Tung. ***toga**; Mong. ***tüɣi-**; Turk. ***Tögen**.

PTung. ***toga** fire (огонь): Evk. *toɣo*; Evn. *toɣ*; Neg. *toɣo*; Man. *tuwa*; SMan. *tuā* (476); Jurch. *towi* (21); Ul. *tawa*; Ork. *tawa*; Nan. *tao*; Orch. *tō*; Ud. *tō*; Sol. *togo*.

◊ TMC 2, 190.

PMong. ***tüɣi-** 1 big fire 2 bonfire (1 пожар 2 костер): WMong. *tüimür* 1 (L 851); *tügüdeg* 2 (L 850); Kh. *tüjmer* 1, *tū̄deg* 2; Bur. *tüjmer* 1, *tū̄deg* 2; Kalm. *tū̄mr* 1; Ord. *tüjmer* 1; Dag. *tujmere* (MD 227), *tuimer*, *tuimur* 1; S.-Yugh. *tū̄mer* 1.

◊ KW 418, MGCD 657.

PTurk. ***Tögen** 1 brand 2 tinder (1 головня 2 трут): Karakh. *tögün* (MK) 1; Tur. (Osm.) *dögün* 'tattoo'; MTurk. *tögen* (Abush., Sangl.) 1; Oyr. *töön* 2; Tv. *dȫn* 'wick'; Yak. *tüön* 2.

◊ EDT 484. Turk. > WMong. *tögene*, Khalkha *tȫn*, Kalm. *tȫnə*, Dag. *tuən* 'cauterization' (L 832, KW 408, MGCD 643).

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**tʹògì** span: Tung. ***togar**; Mong. ***töɣe**; Jpn. ***tùkà**.

PTung. ***togar** big span (большая пядь): Evk. *toɣor*; Evn. *toɣṛ*; Neg. *toɣoj*; Man. *tō*; Ul. *tawali*; Nan. *tawar*; Orch. *tō*; Ud. *tō*.

◊ TMC 2, 190-191. Manchu *tō*, because of the absence of -r, may be actually < Mong. (see Rozycki 200), but borrowing is impossible for most other forms.

PMong. ***töɣe** big span (большая пядь): MMong. *tūhē* (IM); WMong. *töɣe* (L 832); Kh. *tȫ*; Bur. *tȫ*; Kalm. *tȫ*; Ord. *tȫ*; Dag. *tuē*; Bao. *tɛ*; S.-Yugh. *tȫ*.

◊ KW 408, MGCD 643.

PJpn. ***tùkà** width of 4 fingers (ширина в 4 пальца): OJpn. *tuka*; MJpn. *tùká*.

◊ JLTT 554.

‖ KW 408, Poppe 60, Rozycki 200.

✱**tʹȍgsu** to run; hare: Tung. ***tuksa-**; Mong. ***togsi-**; Turk. ***togus- (?)**; Kor. ***thóskí**.

PTung. ***tuksa-** 1 to run 2 hare (1 бежать 2 заяц): Evk. *tuksa-* 1, *tuksa-kī* 2; Evn. *tṵs-* 1; Neg. *toksa-* 1, *toksakṭ* 2; Man. *toqsaqa* 'bastard'; Ul. *toqsa* 2; Ork. *tụqsa-* 1, *tụqsa* 2; Nan. *toqsa* 2; Orch. *tuksan* 2; Ud. *tukeä-* 1, *tuksa* 2; Sol. *tụkčān-* 'jump, leap', *tụtčaxi*, *tụrčaxi* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 208.

PMong. ***togsi-** to run away jumping (of antelope etc.) (убегать, подпрыгивая (об антилопе и т. п.)): WMong. *togsi-* (L 815); Kh. *togši-*; Ord. *doGši-*.

PTurk. ***togus- (?)** to jump (скакать): Turkm. *tovus-*; Chuv. (Bulgar) *doxs* '(year of) mouse'.

PKor. ***thóskí** hare (заяц): MKor. *thóskí*; Mod. *thok:i*.

◊ Nam 459, KED 1705.

‖ In Turkic languages the root may have been partially contaminated with a synonymic **tʹȅbà* 'run' (q.v.) (PT **tabɨĺgan* 'hare'); but the traces of PT **togus* are still clearly visible.

✱**tʹoje (~ tʹi̯ajo, tʹi̯ujo)** to sound, noise: Mong. ***tüji-**; Turk. ***tōj-**; Jpn. ***təjə-**.

PMong. ***tüji-** 1 to be excited, alarmed 2 to sound, make a noise (1 возбуждаться, тревожиться 2 звучать, шуметь): WMong. *tüibe-*, *düibe-* 1, *düibed-* 2 (L 279, 851); Kh. *tüjve-*, *düjve-* 1; Bur. *tujer-* 2; Kalm. *tȫwdə-* 1 (KPC).

PTurk. ***tōj-** to sing (петь): Tur. *tujuq* (Osm.); MTurk. *tujuq* 'a verse metre'; Uygh. *tujuq* 'rhymed verse'; Yak. *tuoj-* 'to sing, chant', *tojuk* 'improvised song'.

◊ EDT 568.

PJpn. ***təjə-** to sound, hum, howl (звучать, ворчать, выть): OJpn. *tojom-*, *tojok-*; MJpn. *tojom-*; Tok. *toyom-*, *doyom-*.

◊ JLTT 681.

‖ Ozawa 253-254. An expressive root.

✱**tʿŏ̆kè** root, edible root: Tung. ***tuKala / -ra**; Mong. ***tögüčeg**; Turk. ***Tök**; Jpn. ***tò̀kərə**.

PTung. ***tuKala / -ra** wild onion, Lilienzwiebel (дикий лук, сарана): Evk. *tukala*; Evn. *tökъr*; Neg. *toxoj*; Man. *tuḱa(n)* da; Orch. *tokoi*.

◊ TMC 2, 207.

PMong. ***tögüčeg** root, root of grass (корень, корень травы, пень): WMong. *tögüčeg* (L 832); Kh. *tögcög*; Bur. *tügseg* 'stump'.

PTurk. ***Tök** tree stump (пень): Khak. *tökpes*; Shr. *tögeš*; Tv. *töš*.

◊ VEWT 493, 495.

PJpn. ***tò̀kərə** yam (ямс): OJpn. *tokoro*; MJpn. *tòkòrə* / *tòkóro*; Tok. *tokoro*.

‖ The TM word is usually considered to be borrowed < Samoyed.; this seems somewhat dubious because the Samoyed. (Selk. *togɨl*, Kam. *tuɣul*, see UEW 451-452) words point not to *-ŋ- (< Ural. **suŋV-lV*), but rather to *-k-, and thus may themselves be borrowed < TM.

✱**tʿŏ̆kʿi (~ -k-, -e)** to lie, deceive: Mong. ***togla-**; Turk. ***Tŏ̆kün**.

PMong. ***togla-** to play, frolic, gambol (играть, забавляться, шутить): WMong. *toɣla-* (L 814); Kh. *toglo-*; Bur. *toglo-*; Kalm. *togĺ-* 'to play jumping' (KPC); Ord. *toGlo-*.

PTurk. ***Tŏ̆kün** lie, archness (ложь, лукавство): Karakh. *tögün* (ПДП 433 - KBW, R 3, 1245 - KB); Tat. (KCTT) *tügün*, *tügen*; Kirgh. *tögün*; Khak. *tügen* 'a voodoo way of curing' (arch.); Shr. *tögün*; Oyr. *tögün*; Chuv. *tuga tu-* 'to conjure', *togatmъš* 'sorcerer'; Yak. *tüökün*, *tüökej*; Dolg. *tüökün*.

◊ VEWT 493, Stachowski 235, Ашм. XIV, 106, 107.

‖ A Turk.-Mong. isogloss. Cf. also WMong. *toquɣu*, Khalkha *toxū* ʿjoke, jest', possibly derived from the same root and pointing to PA *-kʿ-. Not quite clear is the relationship to some scattered TM forms: Man. *taqda-* ʿto praise, be surprised at', Evk. *takā-* ʿto lie'.

✱**tʿŏkʿù** buckle, button: Tung. ***toxan**; Turk. ***toku**; Jpn. ***tuku**.

PTung. ***toxan** button, buckle (пуговица, пряжка): Neg. *toxon*; Man. *toχon*; Ul. *toχo(n)*; Ork. *toqo*, *toχo(n)*; Nan. *toχõ*; Ud. *toho*.

◊ TMC 2, 192. The variant *toqo* in Orok is unclear (some old interdialectal loan?).

PTurk. ***toku** buckle (пуговица, пряжка): Karakh. *toqu* (MK); Tur. *toka*; Gag. *toqa*; Az. *toGGa*; Turkm. *toqa*; MTurk. *toqqa* (Sangl.); Uzb. *tọqa*; Kaz. *toγa*; KKalp. *doγa*, *toγa*; Kum. *toγa*; Oyr. *toγo* (dial. Leb.); Chuv. *tъʷγa*.

◊ VEWT 485, EDT 466-467, TMN 2, 525.

PJpn. ***tuku** a device on bow to fix the arrow (приспособление на луке для фиксации стрелы): MJpn. *tuku*.

‖ Дыбо 15. The word may be in fact identical (or derived from) **tʹokʹV* 'curved' q. v. Doerfer (TMN 2, 526) tries to dismiss the Turk.-Tung. match for reasons historical (the Manchu forms means "Chinese button"—but in fact it means "metallic button in general"), semantic — "Knopf!"(?) — and phonetic ("das -n" - but -n is a very frequent TM suffix). The obvious semantic development in TM seems to have been "buckle" > "button".

✱**tʹókʹù (~ -k-)** to hit, knock, beat: Tung. ***tokta-**; Mong. ***togsi-**; Turk. ***toki-**; Jpn. ***túk-**; Kor. ***thí-**.

PTung. ***tokta-** 1 to hit, knock 2 to chop 3 sound of knocking (1 колотить 2 рубить 3 стук): Evk. *tokto-* 1,2; Evn. *towta-* 1,2; Neg. *tokto-* 2; Man. *toq* seme 3; Ul. *tụqtụri-* 1; Nan. *tokto-* 2; Orch. *tokto-* 1; Ud. *tokto-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 193.

PMong. ***togsi-** to strike, beat (бить, ударять): WMong. *toγsi-* (L 814); Kh. *togši-*; Bur. *togšo-*; Kalm. *tokšə-*; Dag. *tokšōr* 'hammer' (Тод. Даг. 167).

◊ KW 398.

PTurk. ***toki-** 1 to hit, knock, strike 2 mallet (1 бить, ударять 2 молот 3 трогать, касаться): OTurk. *toqi-* 1 (Orkh., OUygh.), *toqɨmaq* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *toqi-* 1 (MK, KB), *toqɨmaq* 2 (MK, IM); Tur. *tokuš-* 1, *doku-* 1 (dial.), *dokun-* 3, *tokmak* 2; Gag. *doqun-* 3, *toqmaq* 2; Az. *toGGuš-* 1, *toxun-* 3, *toχmaG* 2; Turkm. *toqmaq* 2; Sal. *toxmax* 2 (ССЯ); Khal. *toqu-* 1, *toqun-* 3, *toqmaq* 2; MTurk. *toqun-* 3 (Pav. C.), *toqmaq* 2 (Sangl.); Uzb. *tọqin-* 3, *tọqmɔq*; Uygh. *toqun-* 3; Krm. *toqɨš-* 'to clink (glasses)', *toqɨn-* 3, *toqmaq* 2; Tat. *tuqɨ-* 1, *tuqɨn-* 3, *tuqmaq* 2; Bashk. *tuqɨlda-* 1, *tuqmaq* 2; Kirgh. *toqmoq* 2; Kaz. *toqɨl-da-* 1, *toqpaq* 2; KBalk. *toqmaq* 2; KKalp. *toqɨlda-* 1, *toqpaq* 2; Kum. *toqala-* 1, *toqmaq* 2; Nogh. *toqpaq* 2; Khak. *toγas-* 'to hit upon > meet', *toxpax* 2; Shr. *toγaš-* 'to meet'; Oyr. *toqul-da-* 1, *toqpoq* 2; Tv. *toqqu-la-* 1, *tonur-* 3 (< *dhon-ur-*), *doqpaq* 2.

◊ VEWT 484-485, TMN 2, 629, EDT 467, 470, ЭСТЯ 3, 253-254, 256-257. The variants with *d- may be archaic, see below.

PJpn. ***túk-** to hit, strike, beat (бить, колотить, ударять): OJpn. *tuk-*; MJpn. *túk-*; Tok. *tsùk-*; Kyo. *tsúk-*; Kag. *tsúk-*.

◊ Homonymous with **túk-* 'to poke, thrust', but written differently and probably different etymologically.

PKor. ***thí-** to hit, strike, beat (бить, ударять): MKor. *thí-*; Mod. *čhi-*.

◊ Nam 460, KED 1654.

‖ KW 398. There may have existed an expressive variant with *t- (cf. some Turkic forms, Mong. *doki-γur* 'drumstick', *doki-* 'to hit, knock down' (KW 93), Evk. (May.) *dokto-* 'to hit, chop'); see Дыбо 13. The root is of course expressive (see TMN 2, 460), but seems reconstructable for PA, and distinguishable from **tùgi* 'to pound'.

✱**tʿŏkʿV** curved: Tung. ***tox-**; Mong. ***tokir**; Turk. ***Tok-**.

PTung. ***tox-** 1 wheel, hoop 2 to go round, turn round 3 curved, bent (1 колесо, обод 2 кружиться, вертеться 3 кривой, изогнутый): Evk. *tokor-* 2, *tokčika-* 3; Neg. *toxoj-* 2, *tokčoka* 3; Man. *toχoro* 1; Ork. *tōroḷi-* 'to grind'; Nan. *toxoriqõ* 'pulley' (On.).

◊ TMC 2, 192.

PMong. ***tokir** curved, bent (кривой, согнутый): WMong. *tokir* (L 820); Kh. *toxir*; Bur. *toxir*; Kalm. *tokṛ* 'искалеченный, вывихнутый'.

◊ KW 398. Also Mong. *takir* id.

PTurk. ***Tokum** wheel hoop (обод колеса): Uzb. *tǫγin*; Tat. *tuɣɨm* (dial. d-); Bashk. *tuɣɨn*, dial. *duɣɨn*; Kaz. *toγɨn* 1; KBalk. *toχun* 1; KKalp. *toγɨn* 1; Nogh. *toγɨn* 1; Chuv. *togъn*.

◊ VEWT 483, 485, ЭСТЯ 8, Егоров 2256, Федотов 2, 242.

‖ TMC 2, 192. A Western isogloss. Cf. **tʿokʿu* and **tʿȕkʿV* (see also notes under **tegá*). Despite Poppe 1972, 96, 100, Doerfer MT 69, TM is not borrowed from Mong.

✱**tʿȍle** deep water, tide: Tung. ***tōlg-**; Mong. ***tülki-**; Turk. ***tolku-**; Jpn. ***tərə**; Kor. ***tór**.

PTung. ***tōlg-** 1 deep place close to the bank 2 whirlpool 3 backwater (1 улово, глубокое место у берега 2 водоворот 3 заводь): Evk. *tōlgā* 1, dial. *tōlgān* 2; Evn. *tōlgu* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 194.

PMong. ***tülki-** rising tide (прилив): WMong. *tülkige(n)* (L 852); Kh. *tülxē(n)*.

PTurk. ***tolku-** 1 to beat (of waves) 2 wave(s) (1 бить (о волнах) 2 волна, волны): Turkm. *tolqɨn* 2; MTurk. *tolqun-* 1; Kaz. *tolqu-* 1; KBalk. *tolqan* 2.

◊ VEWT 487. The root is attested late (unless a somewhat uncertain OT (MK) *tolγaγ* 'snowstorm' (see EDT 496) belongs here), but is difficult to explain as a loan from Mong. *dolgijan* 'wave' - with which it probably has nothing in common.

PJpn. ***tərə** backwater, deep water (заводь, омут): Tok. *toro*.

PKor. ***tór** ditch (канава): MKor. *tór*; Mod. *toraŋ*.

◊ Nam 159, KED 463.

‖ The root should be distinguished from **dǎla* 'wave, deep place', **čalu* 'sea, to overflow' - although some contaminations were possible, especially in the Kor.-Jpn. area.

✱**tʿolu** to pierce, skewer: Tung. ***tule-**; Jpn. ***tura-nuk-**; Kor. ***tǎr(b)-**.

PTung. ***tule-** to skewer; to set up (насадить (на что-л.); наладить, насторожить): Evk. *tule-*; Evn. *tul-*; Neg. *tule-*; Ul. *tule-*; Ork. *tule-*; Nan. *tule-*; Orch. *tule-*; Ud. *tule-*; Sol. *tulu-*.

◊ TMC 2, 212.

PJpn. ***tura-nuk-** to pierce (протыкать): OJpn. *tura-nuk-*; MJpn. *túrá-nuk-*; Tok. *tsuranúk-*; Kyo. *tsùrànùk-*; Kag. *tsuranúk-*.

◊ JLTT 775. Original accent is unclear.

PKor. ***tǎr(b)-** to pierce (протыкать): MKor. *tǎr'ó-*, *tǎrp-*, *tīrp-*; Mod. *t:ɨl-* [*t:ɨlh-*].

◊ Nam 141, 142, Liu 254, KED 510.

‖ Martin 1996, 109. An Eastern isogloss.

✱**tʿȍlu** head: Tung. ***tōl-po-**; Mong. ***tolugai**; Turk. ***tul(g)uŋ**; Kor. ***tǎikòr**.

PTung. ***tōl-po-** sinciput, top of head (темя, макушка): Ork. *tolpomu*; Nan. *tōrpoã*.

◊ TMC 2, 217. This Nan.-Orok root has certainly nothing to do with TM **tumŋu-* (v. sub **tʿŭmu)*.

PMong. ***tolugai** head (голова): WMong. *toluγai* (L 822); Kh. *tolgoj*; Bur. *tolgoj*; Kalm. *tolγǟ*, *tolγā*; Ord. *toloGõ*; S.-Yugh. *toloγuj*; Mongr. *torGwə̄* (SM 424), (MGCD *tolGui*).

◊ KW 399, MGCD 639.

PTurk. ***tul(g)uŋ** 1 temple 2 plait (1 висок, 2 коса): OTurk. *tuluŋ* (OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *tuluŋ/n* 1 (MK), *tulun* (IM); Tur. *tulun* 1; Turkm. *duluq* 'cheek' (?); MTurk. *tulγum* 1 (Vam.), (MKypch.) *tulum* 2 (CCum., Houts.), *tuluŋ* 1 (AH̲; Tat. *tolɨm* 2; Bashk. *tolom* 2; Kirgh. *tulum* 2; Kaz. *tulɨm*; KKalp. *tulɨm*; Kum. *tulum* 1 (dial.); Nogh. *tulɨm*; SUygh. *tulɨn* 2 (ЯЖУ); Khak. *tuluŋ* 2; Shr. *tuluŋ* 2; Oyr. *tuluŋ* 2; Chuv. *tъlъm* 'a tuft of wool left after shearing sheep'.

◊ VEWT 498, EDT 501, ДТС 585, Лексика 203-204. The Turkm. form is not quite clear: it has an aberrant (although semantically not very remote) meaning, suffix and voiced d-.

PKor. ***tǎikòr** forehead (лоб): MKor. *tǎikòr*; Mod. *täguri*.

◊ Nam 147, Liu 188.

‖ Лексика 204. The Kor. word may be analysed as "bald"+"brain" (see *tʿeŕo and *kȅĺo), so it may be necessary to remove it from the etymology (although a folk-etymological reanalysis was certainly possible); if not, the PA reconstruction should rather be corrected to *tʿōjlu.

✱**tʿȍlV** to prop, push: Tung. ***tōlga-**; Mong. ***tula-**; Turk. ***Tol-**.

PTung. ***tōlga-** 1 to stop 2 to collide (1 останавливаться 2 сталкиваться): Evk. *tōlga-* 1; Ork. *toldoqpịn-* 1, 2.

◊ TMC 2, 194. TM > Dag. *tōlgā-* (Тод. Даг. 167).

PMong. ***tula-** to prop, lean on (опираться, поддерживать): MMong. *tulxa* (HY 17) 'staff'; WMong. *tula-* (L 840: *tul-*); Kh. *tula-*; Bur. *tula-*; Kalm. *tul-*; Ord. *tul-*; Dag. *tolu-*, (Тод. Даг. 168), *tole-* (MD 225), *tolo-*; Dong. *tulu-*; S.-Yugh. *tulu-*; Mongr. *tuli-* (SM 430), *tulə-*.

◊ KW 409, MGCD 651. The Mong. causative *tulɣa-* > Evk. *tulgu-*, see Poppe 1972, 97, TMC 2, 210.

PTurk. ***Tol-** to push, collide (сталкиваться, пихать): OTurk. *tul-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *tul-* 1, (caus.) *tuldur-* (MK); Sal. *tōla-* 'разгребать ногами'; Uygh. (dial.) *tola-* 'to wave, shake' (УЯ); Bashk. *tula-* 'to kick'; KKalp. *tolarsaq* 2; Yak. *toluɣurā-* 'to dangle freely inside an empty space'.

◊ EDT 491, 495, 501. Derived is probably **Tolarsuk* 'knee or heel joint, sinew' (VEWT 480, 486, ЭСТЯ 8: OT (MK) *tolarsuq*, Yak. *tolunńaŋ* (< **tolu-n-čaŋ-*), Kirgh. *tolorsuk*, Bashk. *tularhiq*, KKalp. *tolarsaq*; Kaz. *tilersek*, influenced by *tirsek* 'knee').

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**tʿólV (~ -Í-)** bridge, crossing: Tung. ***tul-**; Kor. ***tằrì**.

PTung. ***tul-** 1 to wade 2 to cross (a mountain ridge) (1 переходить (по дереву поперек ручья) 2 переехать, перевалить (горный хребет)): Evk. *tuldun-* 2; Ork. *tolo-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 195, 210.

PKor. ***tằrì** bridge (мост): MKor. *tằrì*; Mod. *tari*.

◊ Nam 135, KED 383.

‖ A Tung.-Kor. isogloss.

✱**tʿōĺi (~ -e)** breast: Tung. ***tulu**; Turk. ***dȍĺ**.

PTung. ***tulu (~ ü)** horse's breast (грудь (у лошади)): Man. *tulu*.

◊ TMC 2, 211.

PTurk. ***dȍĺ** breast (грудь): OTurk. *töš* (OUygh.); Karakh. *töš* (MK, IM); Tur. *döš*; Az. *döš*; Turkm. *dȍš*; MTurk. *töš* (Pav. C., MKypch. - CCum., AH); Uzb. *tọš*; Uygh. *töš*; Krm. *töš*; Tat. *tüš*; Bashk. *tüš*; Kirgh. *töš*; Kaz. *tös*; KBalk. *töš*; KKalp. *tös*; Kum. *töš*; Nogh. *tös*; SUygh. *tös*; Khak. *tös*; Shr. *töš*; Oyr. *töš*; Tv. *töš*, Todzh. *döš*; Tof. *döš*; Chuv. *čül-lək* 'супонь'; Yak. *tüös*; Dolg. *tüös*.

◊ VEWT 495, TMN 2, 615, EDT 558, ЭСТЯ 3, 286-287, Егоров 326, Лексика 271-272, Stachowski 235.

‖ A somewhat dubious Turk.-Tung. isogloss (with a secondary voicing *t- > d-), see Лексика 272.

✱**tʿome** a k. of board: Tung. ***tomka-n**; Turk. ***Tomar**; Jpn. ***tàmà (~-muà)**; Kor. ***tòmá**.

PTung. ***tomka-n** boat made of planks (дощатая лодка): Evk. *tomkon* ; Evn. *tȭmkin* 'oar'.

◊ TMC 2, 196, 201.

PTurk. ***Tomar** 1 block, log 2 to hack, hew 3 to break off, chip off (1 кусок дерева, чурбан, бревно 2 рубить, обрубать 3 отламывать, откалывать): Karakh. *tomrum* 1 (MK), *tomur-* 2; Tur. *tomruk* 1; MTurk. (MKypch.) *tumar* (AH) 1; Krm. *tomruq* 1; Tat. *tumar*, *tumran* 1; Bashk. *tumɨr-* 2; Kirgh. *tomur-* 3; Kaz. *tomar* 1; KBalk. *tomuraw* 1, *tomur-* 2; KKalp. *tomar* 1; Oyr. *tomur-* 2; Tv. *domur-* 3.

◊ VEWT 499, EDT 509. The root should be distinguished from **dom-* / **tom-* 'round' (v. sub **tʿŏmù*). Turk. > Mong. (KW 400) *tomuraɣu*, Kalm. *tomrūn* 'rough, loutish'.

PJpn. ***tàmà (~-muà)** stern (корма): OJpn. *tom(w)o*; MJpn. *tòmò*; Tok. *tomó*, *tómo*; Kyo. *tómò*; Kag. *tómo*.

◊ JLTT 549. The Tokyo variant *tómo* and Kagoshima *tómo* are quite irregular tonally.

PKor. ***tòmá** wooden board (for chopping meat), wooden table (деревянная доска (для рубки мяса), деревянный стол): MKor. *tòmá*; Mod. *toma*.

◊ Nam 157, KED 465.

‖ Accent correspondences between Kor. and Jpn. are irregular: cf., however, the irregularity in Jpn. dialects (especially Kagoshima *tómò*, pointing to original high tone in the first syllable).

✱**tʿŏmù** to spin, round: Tung. ***tomka-**; Mong. ***tomu-**; Turk. ***tom-**; Jpn. ***tùmù**.

PTung. ***tomka-** 1 to spin 2 thread (1 сучить (нитки) 2 нитка): Evk. *tomko-* 1; Evn. *tomko-* 1; Neg. *tomko-* 2; Man. *toŋGo* 1; Jurch. *to-ŋo* (250) 1; Ul. *toŋpi̯-* 1; Ork. *toqpo-* 1; Nan. *tompo-* 1; Orch. *tompo-* 1; Ud. *tompo-* 1; Sol. *toŋxo-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 196. Cf. also **tumu-* 'to spin' (TMC 2, 212).

PMong. ***tomu-** 1 to spin 2 spheric, convex (1 прясть, крутить 2 шарообразный, выпуклый): MMong. *tuma-* (MA 340); WMong. *tomu-*, *tamu-* (L 776) 1, *tombai*, *tömbei* 2; Kh. *tom-* 1, *tombogor*, *tömbögör* 2; Bur. *tomo-* 1; Kalm. *tom-*; Dong. *tomu-*; Bao. *tomə̄l-*; S.-Yugh. *tumu-*; Mongr. *tomu-*.

◊ KW 399, MGCD 410.

PTurk. ***tom-** 1 round, convex 2 ball, smth. round 3 somersault 4 thick, bulging 5 to swell (1 круглый, выпуклый 2 шарик, кольцо 3 кувырком 4 толстый, пухлый 5 пухнуть, вздуваться): Tur. *tomak* 2; Gag. *tombarlaq* 1; Az. *tombul* 4, *dombalaG* 3; Turkm. *tommaq* 'knob, round end of stick', *dommar-* / *tommar-* 5; Sal. *tombɨx* 'blunt' (Тен.ССЯ); Uzb. *tọmtɔq* 'stump, blunt'; Krm. *tomalaq* 1; Bashk. *tomraj-* (dial.) 5; Kirgh. *tompoq* 1;

Kaz. *tompaq* 1; KBalk. *tomalaq* 1; KKalp. *dumalaq* 1, *tompaq* 4, *tompaj-* 5; Kum. *tompaj-* 5, *tomaq* 'blunt'; Nogh. *tompaq* 1; Khak. *tomɨr*, *tombɨr* 'blunt'; Chuv. *tъʷmat* 'stubby'; Yak. *tomtorγo* 'ring-formed ornament'.

◊ VEWT 487, ЭСТЯ 3, 261-262. Variants with *d- in Oghuz are most probably expressive (or reflect a secondary assimilation **dom-ba-* < **tom-ba-*).

PJpn. ***tùmù** 1 spindle 2 to spin (1 веретено 2 прясть): OJpn. *tumugji* 'spun cloth'; MJpn. *tumu* 1, *tùmùg-* 2; Tok. *tsumu*, *tsumúg-*; Kyo. *tsúmúg-*; Kag. *tsùmùg-*.

◊ JLTT 556, 775.

‖ EAS 50, KW 399, Poppe 14, 68, Ozawa 261-262. Despite Doerfer MT 27, TM cannot be borrowed from Mong.

✱**tʹoŋe (~ -i)** to bow, bend Tung. ***toŋ-**; Mong. ***toŋguji-**; Turk. ***töŋ-**; Kor. ***tòŋkái (?)**.

PTung. ***toŋ-** 1 to bend (a branch) 2 cradle's bow 3 cylindric vessel (1 нагибать (ветку) 2 дуга люльки 3 сосуд цилиндрической формы): Evk. *toŋo-* 1; Man. *tuŋgi* 'a k. of bow'; Nan. *toŋmã* 2; Ud. *tuŋзaʹ* 3 (Корм. 297).

◊ TMC 2, 197, 215.

PMong. ***toŋguji-** to bend, bow (наклоняться, сгибаться): WMong. *toŋγuji-* (L 824); Kh. *toŋgoj-*; Bur. *toŋgoj-*; Kalm. *toŋgǟ-*; Ord. *toŋGȫ-*; Dag. *toŋgoi-* (Тод. Даг. 168); S.-Yugh. *toŋGō-*; Mongr. *toŋGoi-*.

◊ KW 400, MGCD 640. Mong. > Kaz. *toŋkaj-* etc. (VEWT 488).

PTurk. ***töŋ-** to bow (наклонять): OTurk. *töŋit-* (*~-ü-*) (OUygh.); Karakh. *töŋit-* (MK, KB); Turkm. *tüŋŋi* 'bent'; Tat. *tüŋ-* 'to be toppled, turn upside down'; Khak. *töŋnüg* 'convex'; Oyr. *töŋkök* 'convex'; Yak. *töŋköi-*.

◊ VEWT 494, EDT 517, ЭСТЯ 3, 279-281.

PKor. ***tòŋkái** quiver (колчан): MKor. *tòŋkái*; Mod. *toŋgä*.

◊ Nam 232, KED 486.

‖ Despite Doerfer MT 82, hardly borrowed in TM from Mong. The Kor. reflex is questionable, but cf. some semantic developments in TM.

✱**tʹoŋerV** a k. of foliage tree: Tung. ***tuŋde (~-r-)**; Mong. ***towrai**; Turk. ***To(ŋ)gurak**; Jpn. ***təniari-**.

PTung. ***tuŋde (~-r-)** willow (ива, тальник): Ul. *tuŋde*; Ork. *tuŋde*; Nan. *tuŋde*; Orch. *tuŋde*; Ud. *tuŋde*.

◊ TMC 2, 215.

PMong. ***towrai** a k. of poplar (тополь разнолистный): WMong. *touraj*; Kh. *tōroj*; Kalm. *tōrǟ*, *tōrā*.

◊ KW 405.

PTurk. ***To(ŋ)gurak** 1 poplar 2 willow (1 тополь 2 ива): OTurk. *toγraq* (OUygh. - YB) 1; Karakh. *toγraq* (MK) 1; Tur. *doranɨ* 2 (dial.); Az. *daraŋγɨ* 1 (dial.); Turkm. *toGaraq* 1, *toraŋŋɨ* 2; MTurk. *turaq* (Pav. C.) 1,

turunqu 2 (Бор. Бад.); Uzb. *turaŋɣi* 1; Uygh. *toɣraq* 1; Kirgh. *tōraq* 1; Kaz. *toraŋɣɨ* 2; SUygh. *torɣaq* 1.

◊ VEWT 484, EDT 472. Not quite clear is the relationship to the isolated Tur. *toz* 'poplar'.

PJpn. ***təniari-*** ash-tree (ясень): MJpn. *tònèríko*; Tok. *toneriko*, *toneriko*.

◊ JLTT 550.

‖ KW 405.

✱**tˊòŋké** round: Tung. ***toŋal-***; Mong. ***tüŋke- / *tüŋge-***; Jpn. ***tànkúrə***; Kor. ***tonkor-***.

PTung. ***toŋal-*** 1 round 2 smth. round (1 круглый 2 круг, нечто круглое): Evk. *toŋollo* 2; Evn. *toŋ̣lrṭ̣* 2; Neg. *toŋgulikin* 1; Ork. *toŋGolto* 'loop'; Nan. *toŋgokpiã* 1; Orch. *tuŋepke* 'ring'.

◊ TMC 2, 198. Evk. > Dolg. *toŋoldo* (Stachowski 226).

PMong. ***tüŋke- / *tüŋge-*** 1 to be bulgy, bloated or inflated 2 small bag, sack (1 быть надутым, мешковатым 2 мешочек): WMong. *tüŋgürčeg* 2, *tüŋgüi-* 1 (L 853: *tüŋkerčeg*, *tüŋkeji-*); Kh. *tüŋgerceg* 2; Kalm. *tüŋgrcəg* 2, *tüŋgē-* 1; Ord. *tüŋgerčik* 'potbelly'; *tüŋgī-* 1.

◊ KW 415. Mong. > Khak. *tüŋürǯek* etc. (VEWT 505).

PJpn. ***tànkúrə*** coil (of a rope, snake) (виток, кольцо (веревки, змеи)): MJpn. *toguro*; Tok. *tòguro*, *toguró*; Kyo. *tògùró*; Kag. *toguró*.

PKor. ***tonkor-*** round (круглый): MKor. *toŋkori-*; Mod. *tuŋgɨl-*, *toŋgɨl-*.

◊ Nam 161, KED 487, 511.

‖ Cf. **tegá*.

✱**tˊŏŋta (~ -u-)** straight: Tung. ***toŋda***; Mong. ***toda-***; Jpn. ***tàntà-***.

PTung. ***toŋda*** straight, honest, true (прямой, справедливый, честный): Evk. *toŋno*; Neg. *toŋno*; Man. *tondo*; SMan. *tondə* (2376, 2484); Jurch. *toŋ-do* (407); Ul. *toŋdo*; Ork. *toŋdo*; Nan. *toŋdo*; Orch. *toŋno(n)*; Ud. *tōŋdo*; Sol. *tondõxõ*.

◊ TMC 2, 197-198. Man. > Dag. *tondo* (Тод. Даг. 168).

PMong. ***toda*** clear, distinct (ясный, четкий): WMong. *toda*, *todu* (L 812); Kh. *tod*; Bur. *todo*; Kalm. *todə*; Ord. *todo*.

◊ KW 396.

PJpn. ***tàntà-*** straight, correct (прямой, правильный): OJpn. *tada-si*; MJpn. *tàdà-si*; Tok. *tadashí-*; Kyo. *tádáshì-*; Kag. *tadashí-*.

◊ JLTT 841.

‖ Ozawa 22-23.

✱**tˊopˊu** knee, knee cap: Tung. ***top(V)g-***; Mong. ***tojig, *tuwkai***; Turk. ***topɨk***; Jpn. ***tu(m)pu-***.

PTung. ***top(V)g-*** knee (колено): Evk. *tuwnuke*, *tuɣunuke* 'ankle bone'; Man. *tobǵa*; SMan. *ťoviχa*, *ťovəǵā* (136).

◊ TMC 2, 189, 204.

PMong. ***tojig, *tuwkai** 1 knee 2 huckle-bone (of animals) (1 колено 2 лодыжка (животных)): WMong. *tojiɣ* 1 (L 819), *tuuqai* 2 (L 847); Kh. *tojg* 1, *tūxaj* 2; Bur. *tojn* 1; Kalm. *tȫg* 1; Ord. *toö̯g* 'patella', *tūxā̈* 'положение игральной кости, которое называется mori'; Dag. *twalčig*, (Тод. Даг. 168) *tuarečihe* (MD 227), *tolčig*, *twalčig* (< **tuɣalčig*) 1.

◊ KW 408, MGCD 639. Cf. also (for the Daghur form) WMong. *tobčilaɣur*, Khalkha *tovčlūr* 'clavicle', Kalm. *topčəlūr* 'das Schlüsselbein; das Vorderblatt des Pferdes' (KW 401) - probably a secondary contamination with *tobčila-ɣur* 'buckle, clasp', a derivative of *tobčila-* 'to buckle'. MMong. (HY) *tobux* 'knee cap' may be a Turkism (see Щербак 1997, 157).

PTurk. ***topɨk** 1 knee cap 2 knee 3 ankle-bone (1 коленная чашечка 2 колено 3 лодыжка): OTurk. *topɨq* 3 (OUygh.); Karakh. *topɨq* 3 (MK), 1 (KB, IM); Tur. *topuk* 3; Gag. *topuq* 3; Az. *topuG* 3; Turkm. *topuq* 3; MTurk. (MKypch.) *topuq* (Houts., AH) 3; Uzb. *tọpiq* 3; Uygh. *topuq* 3; Krm. *tobuq* 3; Tat. *tubɨq* 1; Bashk. *tubɨq* 1; Kirgh. *topuq*, *tomuq* 1, 3; Kaz. *tobɨq* 1, 3; KBalk. *tobuq* 2; KKalp. *tobɨq* 3; Kum. *tobuq* 2; Nogh. *tobɨq* 1, 3; SUygh. *tōq* 1; Khak. *tomɨx* 1, 3; Oyr. *topuq*, *tomuq* 1, 3; Tv. *dowuq* 1; Tof. *to'puq* 1; Yak. *tobuk* 2; Dolg. *tobuk* 2.

◊ VEWT 489, EDT 437-8, Лексика 286, Stachowski 224. Both Räsänen and Clauson derive this word from PT **top* 'pellet, round thing', but this is not likely because of external evidence.

PJpn. ***tu(m)pu-** knee (колено):

◊ JLTT 553. A Ryukyu root: cf. Nase *čìbùší*, Hateruma *sù̯pùšìN* etc.

‖ KW 408, Владимирцов 271, Poppe 14, 49, АПиПЯЯ 110, 279, Дыбо 6, Лексика 286.

✸**tʿòpʿú** round: Tung. ***tup-**; Mong. ***tob-**; Turk. ***top**; Jpn. ***tùmpú-ra**.

PTung. ***tup-** 1 excrescence on a tree trunk 2 saddle bow (1 нарост на стволе дерева 2 лука седла): Evk. *tupuka* 1; Ork. *tụpqa* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 217.

PMong. ***tob-** 1 round, convex 2 hill 3 clot 4 button 5 cone (of conifer) 6 heel-piece (1 выпуклый 2 холм 3 комок 4 пуговица 5 шишка 6 каблук): MMong. *towči* 4 (IM); WMong. *toburuɣu*, (L 812) *toburuu* 1, *tobči* 4 (L 810); Kh. *towx* 3, *towč* 4; Bur. *tobogor*, *tobxogor* 1, *tobšo* 4, *tobxo* 5,6; Kalm. *towxn* (KW) 2, *towčə* 4 (KPC); Ord. *toworū*, *tuwurū* 1, *dobči(n)*, *dobxo* 4; Dag. *tuarč*, *torči* (Тод. Даг. 168) 4 *tobeči* 4 (MD 225); Dong. *tɨǯɨ* 4; Bao. *tobči* 4; S.-Yugh. *tobǯə* 4; Mongr. *deśǯi* (SM 54) 4.

◊ KW 404, MGCD 637. Mong. *tobči* > Evk. *topči*, see Doerfer MT 128.

PTurk. ***top** round thing (шар, мяч): Karakh. *top* (MK, IM), *topɨq* (MK, KB); Tur. *top*; Gag. *top*; Az. *top*; Turkm. *top*; Khal. *tuop*; MTurk. *top*, *tofuq* (Sangl.); (MKypch.) *topurčaq* 'round' (CCum.); Uzb. *tọp*; Uygh. *top*, *dop*; Krm. *top*; Tat. *tup*; Bashk. *tup*; Kirgh. *top*; Kaz. *top*, *dop*; KBalk. *top*; KKalp. *top*; Kum. *top*; Nogh. *top*; Chuv. *tubъ*.

◊ VEWT 489, EDT 434, 437, TMN 2, 596-597, Егоров 258, Ашм. XIV, 143-144, Федотов 2, 249. One should also note OT *tevir-* 'to twist, turn' - probably a contamination of *top and **ebür-* (OT *evir-*) id. (see EDT 443). Words meaning 'cone' reflect a partial contamination with PT **Tobur-* 'cone' (v. sub **tʹobú).*

PJpn. ***tùmpú-rá** round (круглый): OJpn. *tubura*; MJpn. *tubura*; Tok. *tsúbura*, *tsùbura*; Kyo. *tsùbùrá*; Kag. *tsùbùrá*.

◊ JLTT 553.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 284. See TMN 2, 596-601 (with a hopeless confusion of Turk. **top* 'round thing', **toprak* 'earth, dust' and **topɨk* 'knee cap' - all of which have different etymologies). Cf. also **tʹobú* 'fruit, cone' (a different root, but a source of some contaminations).

✸**tʹópʹú (~ -i̯u-)** a k. of vessel: Tung. ***tupi (~ -ü-)**; Mong. ***tobid**; Turk. ***Topal**; Jpn. ***tú(m)púa**.

PTung. ***tupi (~ -ü-)** woven basket (плетеная корзина): Man. *tubi*.

◊ TMC 2, 203. Attested only in Manchu, but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***tobid** trough (корыто): WMong. *tobid* (MXTTT); Kh. *tovd*.

PTurk. ***Topal** round vessel made of bark (кузовок, лукошко (корзинка, плетеная из коры)): Tat. *tubal*; Bashk. *tubal*.

◊ VEWT 489.

PJpn. ***tú(m)púa** jar (кувшин): OJpn. *tup(w)o*; MJpn. *túfó*; Tok. *tsùbo*; Kyo. *tsúbó*; Kag. *tsúbo*.

◊ JLTT 552.

‖ The root seems well reconstructable, although not very widely spread.

✸**tʹőr[e]** post, pole, tower: Tung. ***turu**; Turk. ***tőr**; Kor. ***tàràk**.

PTung. ***turu** pole, mast; sacred pole, place (столб, мачта; шаманский шест, место жертвоприношения): Evk. *turu*; Neg. *tojo*; Man. *tura*; SMan. *turā* 'post' (460); Jurch. *tur-ra* (208); Ul. *tụra*; Ork. *toro*; Nan. *toro*, *tora*; Orch. *tū*; Sol. *törö* 'door-post'.

◊ TMC 2, 221 (some forms were possibly influenced by Mong. *tura* < Turk. *tura*, but on the whole loan is hardly acceptable, see Doerfer MT 38). Evk. > Dolg. *turū* 'sacred pole' (see Stachowski 233).

PTurk. ***tőr** honorary place in the house (почетное место в юрте): OTurk. *tör* (OUygh.); Karakh. *tör* (KB), *töre* (MK); Tur. *dör* (dial.); Az. *dör* (dial.); Turkm. *tőr*; MTurk. *tör* (Pav. C.), *töre* (Abush.); Uzb. *tọr*; Uygh. *tö(r)*; Krm. *tör*; Tat. *tür*; Bashk. *tür*; Kirgh. *tör*; Kaz. *tör*; KBalk. *tör*; KKalp. *tör*; Kum. *tör*; Nogh. *tör*; SUygh. *tör*, *türi*; Khak. *tör*; Shr. *tör*; Oyr. *tör*; Tv. *dör*.

◊ VEWT 494, EDT 528-529, TMN 2, 607, Лексика 514.

PKor. ***tàràk** tower, upper story (башня, верхний этаж): MKor. *tàràk*; Mod. *tarak*.

◊ Liu 192, KED 382.

‖ Poppe 14, 79. In Kor. -ɨ- would be expected; -a- is possibly a result of vowel assimilation.

✱**tʿȍri** to be born, copulate: Tung. ***tur-**; Mong. ***töre-**; Turk. ***töre-**; Jpn. ***tùrù-(m)p-**.

PTung. ***tur-** 1 to be born, grow 2 to go out 3 herd of deer during coupling 4 bear family (1 рождаться, расти 2 выходить 3 стадо оленей во время спаривания 4 семья медведей): Evk. *turku-* 2, *turī* 3; Evn. *töri* 4; Man. *tučі-* 1, 2; SMan. *tiučі-* 'emerge, appear' (1184); Jurch. *tuj-ti-mij* (714) 2.

◊ TMC 2, 202, 219, 221.

PMong. ***töre-** to be born (рождаться): MMong. *tore-* (SH, HYt); WMong. *töre-* (L 836: *törü-*); Kh. *törö-*; Bur. *türe-*; Kalm. *tör-*; Ord. *törö-*; Mog. *türä-* (Ramstedt 1906); Dag. *turu-*, (Тод. Даг. 169) *ture-* (MD 228); S.-Yugh. *törō̄-*; Mongr. *turo-* (SM 435).

◊ KW 407, MGCD 648. Mong. *törel* 'kin' > Evk. *turul*, see Doerfer MT 126.

PTurk. ***töre-** to be born, originate (рождаться, происходить): OTurk. *törü-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *törü-* (MK, KB); Tur. *türe-*; Az. *törä-*; Turkm. *döre-*; MTurk. *törü-*, *töre-* (Sangl., Abush.); Krm. *töre-*; Tat. *türä-* (dial.); Kirgh. *törö-*; KKalp. *döre-*; Khak. *törə-*; Oyr. *törö-*; Tv. *törü-*; Tof. *dörü-*; Yak. *törō̄-*; Dolg. *törō̄-*.

◊ VEWT 495, EDT 533, ЭСТЯ 3, 283-284, Stachowski 228. The Turkm. voicedness is unclear.

PJpn. ***tùrù-(m)p-** to copulate (спариваться): OJpn. *turub-*; MJpn. *tùrùb-*; Tok. *tsurum-*.

◊ JLTT 775.

‖ KW 407, Владимирцов 322, Дыбо 13. Mong. may be < Turk. (see Щербак 1997, 158).

✱**tʿőro** to be weak, hungry, unable: Tung. ***turku- / *turke-**; Mong. ***tura-**; Turk. ***Tōr-**; Jpn. ***tərə- (~ ua)**.

PTung. ***turku- / *turke-** be unable (не мочь): Evk. *turku-*; Evn. *turku-*; Neg. *tujku-*; Ul. *teten-*; Ork. *teten-*.

◊ TMC 2, 220.

PMong. ***tura-** be lean, meagre (быть тощим, худым): MMong. *tura-*, *turu-* (SH); WMong. *tura-* (L 843); Kh. *tura-*; Bur. *tura-*; Kalm. *tur-*; Ord. *turu-*; Dong. *turi-*; Mongr. *turGan* (SM 433).

◊ KW 411, MGCD 653. Mong. > Khak. *tura* par- 'to be tired'.

PTurk. ***Tōr-** 1 to become lean, hungry 2 lean, hungry (1 отощать, проголодаться 2 тощий, голодный): OTurk. *turuq* 2 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *tūr-* (ō?) 1 (MK), *turuq* 1 (MK); MTurk. *turγun* 'fatigué' (Pav. C.); Uygh. *toryγ* 2; Bashk. *torma* 2 (dial.); Kirgh. *toruq-* 1; Kaz. *torɨq-* 1; SUygh. *tor* 2; Oyr. *torɨn-* (Верб. - Tel.); Tv. *dor-* 1; Yak. *tuor-* 1, *tuor* 2.

◊ VEWT 489, EDT 530, 539, Clark 1977, 157.

PJpn. ***tərə- (~ ua)** languid, slack, remiss (вялый, медленный): MJpn. *toro-*; Tok. *toro-*.

◊ JLTT 842.

‖ KW 411. Despite Щербак 1997, 159, hardly a borrowing in Mong. < Turk.

✱**tʿŏro(-kʿV)** a k. of bird: Tung. ***turākī**; Mong. ***turaɣu**; Turk. ***torgaj**; Jpn. ***tórí**; Kor. ***tǎ̀rk**.

PTung. ***turākī** crow, rook (ворона, грач): Evk. *turākī*; Evn. *tṵrъqị*; Neg. *torāxī*; Nan. *torākị*; Orch. *tuaxi*, *tuwaki*; Ud. *tuaʿi*; Sol. *turāki*.

◊ TMC 2,218 (sub *тура-* 'раскрыть').

PMong. ***turaɣu** raven, crow (ворон): MMong. *tura'un* (HY 13); WMong. *turaɣu*, *turulɣa*, *turalaɣ* (L 843: *turlaɣ* 'rook'); Kh. *xar torū*; *turliax* 'галка'; Bur. *turlāg*; Kalm. *torəg*, *torləg*; Ord. *xara turū*, *alaG turū*.

◊ KW 401, 402.

PTurk. ***torgaj** 1 small bird 2 lark (1 маленькая птица 2 жаворонок): OTurk. *torɨɣa* 1; Karakh. *turumtaj* 'a predatory bird used for hawking' (MK); Tur. *turgaj* 2; Az. *toraɣaj*; Turkm. *torGaj* 2; Tat. *turɣaj* 2; Kirgh. *torɣoj* 2; Khak. *pos-tarɣaj* 2; Chuv. *tъʷri* 2; Yak. *tujār* 1.

◊ VEWT 490, EDT 550, TMN 2, 482-3, Лексика 176. Turk. > Kalm. *torɣā̆* (KW 401).

PJpn. ***tórí** bird (птица): OJpn. tori; MJpn. *tórí*; Tok. *tòri*; Kyo. *tórí*; Kag. *tói*.

◊ JLTT 550.

PKor. ***tǎ̀rk** fowl (курица, петух): MKor. *tǎ̀rk*; Mod. *tak* [talk].

◊ Nam 142, KED 407.

‖ KW 402, АПиПЯЯ 70, 274, Дыбо 8, Martin 228, Лексика 176.

✱**tʿoru** a k. of black berry: Tung. ***turi-**; Turk. ***Tor-**; Jpn. ***tuta**; Kor. ***tǎ́rái**.

PTung. ***turi-** 1 gooseberry; black currants 2 peas, beans (1 черемуха; крыжовник; черная смородина 2 горох, бобы): Evk. *turikta* 1; Man. *turi* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 219. Man. > Neg., Nan. *turi* (etc.), see ibid.

PTurk. ***Tor-** 1 cranberry, bilberry 2 elder 3 moss (1 клюква, черника 2 бузина 3 мох): Khak. *torslas* 2 (Sag.), *torbas* 3; Shr. *torslaš* 2, *torbas* 3, *torbas čestegi* 1; Oyr. *torbos* 1, 3.

◊ VEWT 490, Дмитриева 181, 192. A local Siberian word with somewhat unclear morphological structure.

PJpn. ***tuta** wild grape (дикий виноград): MJpn. *tuta*; Tok. *tsutá*, *tsùta*; Kyo. *tsútà*; Kag. *tsúta*.

◊ JLTT 557. Accent is unclear: Tokyo *tsutá* and Kyoto *tsútà* may reflect **tùtá* or **tútà*; the Tokyo variant *tsùta* and Kagoshima *tsúta* point rather to **tútá*.

PKor. ***tǎ́rái** currants, (KED) fruit of the Actinidia arguta (смородина): MKor. *tǎ́rái*; Mod. *tarä*.

◊ Nam 135, KED 382.

‖ The precise berry denoted by the root is of course unknown (notice the meaning 'currants' in TM and Korean).

✱**tʿőrV** young animal: Tung. ***toro-kī**; Mong. ***toruj**; Turk. ***tōrum**.

PTung. ***tora-kī (~-ū̃)** boar (кабан): Evk. *torokī*; Neg. *torokị*.

◊ See TMC 2, 200. Yak. *toroku* 'boar' < TM (not vice versa).

PMong. ***toruj** young pig (поросенок): WMong. *torui* (L 827); Kh. *toroj*; Bur. *toroj*; Kalm. *torǟ*; Ord. *torō̄* 'young donkey'.

◊ KW 401. Mong. > Chag., Kirgh. *torai*.

PTurk. ***tōr-um** 1 young camel 2 a young calf 3 a goat that has yeaned early 4 young 5 a cow that has not calved yet (1 верблюжонок 2 теленок 3 коза, объягнившаяся в возрасте до 1 года 4 молодой (о человеке, дереве) 5 нетель): Karakh. *torum* 1, *torpɨ* 2 (MK); Tur. *deve torun* 1, *torum* (dial.) 1; *torbuč* (dial.) 3, (?) *toru* (dial.) 4; Gag. (?) *tor* 'unbroken (of a horse), untrodden (of a path)'; Turkm. *tōrum* 1; Sal. *torɨ* 'foal' (ССЯ); MTurk. *torum* 1 (Sangl., Pav. C.), *torbaq* 2 (MA 126); Uygh. *topaq* 2, *topaq-torum* 'young calves'; Tat. *tōrbaq* (KCTT) 2; Bashk. *tana-turpaq* 2; Kirgh. *torpoq* 2; Kaz. *torpaq* 2; Khak. *torbax* 2; Oyr. *torboq* 2, *torboč* (dial. Kumd.) 5; Tv. *dorum* 1; Yak. *torbos*, *torbužax* 2.

◊ EDT 533, 549, VEWT 491. Turk. > WMong. *torum*, Kalm. *torm* (KW 402, Щербак 1997, 158, Clark 1977, 155-156. The Tur. dial. *doγrum* is a result of contamination with *doγur-* 'to bear'. Forms like *torp-ak* are diminutives in -ak (with almost always regular cluster development). Forms like Tur. *torun* 'grandchild', as well as Tur. dial. tor 'young' may be Iranisms (but not Armenisms, as suggested in Буд. 1, 747 - Armen. *tor̓n* 'grandchild' is itself obviously < Iranian) - see Аб. 3, 280.

‖ TMC 2, 200 (TM-Mong.), Дыбо 7. A Western isogloss.

✱**tʿȍŕe** law, regulation: Tung. ***turgun**; Mong. ***töre**; Turk. ***töŕ**; Jpn. ***tàtə-nəp-**.

PTung. ***turgun** reason, cause (причина): Evk. *turgun*; Man. *turgun*; SMan. *turuxun* (2915); Jurch. *tu-ru-wen-*; Ul. *turgu(n)*; Nan. *turgũ*.

◊ TMC 2, 218-219. TM > Dag. *turgun* (Тод. Даг. 169).

PMong. ***töre** order, regulation, matrimony, marriage (правило, закон, сватовство): MMong. *tore* (HY 49, SH); WMong. *töre*, (L 835) *törü*; Kh. *tör*; Bur. *türe*; Kalm. *törə*; Ord. *törö*; S.-Yugh. *turo*; Mongr. *turō* (SM 434).

◊ KW 407, MGCD 647.

PTurk. ***töŕ** 1 foundation, root 2 origin, ancestors (1 корень 2 происхождение, основание, род, предки): OTurk. *töz* (OUygh.) 2; Karakh. *töz* (MK, KB) 2; MTurk. *töz* 1 ('root of the ear' - Sangl.), 2 (Pav. C.); Tat. *tüz* 2 (dial.); Bashk. *tüz* 2 (dial.); Kirgh. *töz*, *tös* 2; Khak. *tös* 'original spirits', *tös-te-* 'to lay ground'; Shr. *tös* 2, *tös-tük* 'tree trunk'; Oyr. *tös* 2; 'shrub; original spirits'; Tv. *dös* 1, 2, 'shrub'; Tof. *dös*, *tös* 1; Chuv. *türe* 'object of dedication; spirit'; Yak. *törüt* 2; Dolg. *törüt*.

◊ VEWT 495, TMN 2, 612, EDT 571, Лексика 109, Федотов 2, 264, Stachowski 228.

PJpn. ***tə̀tə̀-nə̀p-*** to be arranged, in order (быть расположенным, в порядке): OJpn. *toto-nop-*; MJpn. *tòtò-nòf-*; Tok. *totonó-*; Kyo. *tótónó-*; Kag. *totonó-*.

◊ JLTT 771. The accent in Kagoshima is aberrant.

‖ Turk. **törü* 'law' is probably an old derivative of **töŕ*: **törgü*, with an early disappearance of *-g-: cf. Hung. *törvény* < Old Chuv., pointing to *-g-. Mong. **töre* may be < Turk. (see TMN 1, 266), though not necessarily so.

✱**tʿőŕe** soil, dust: Tung. ***turV***; Mong. ***tor-***; Turk. ***tōŕ***; Kor. ***tɨrí***.

PTung. ***turV*** 1 earth 2 lump of earth (1 земля 2 ком земли): Evk. *tur* 1(dial.); Evn. *tȕr*; Neg. *tūj* 1; Nan. *tur-qa* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 217-218.

PMong. ***tor-*** 1 snuff, tar 2 flying dust; black and blue spot, bruise (1 копоть, гарь 2 пыль в воздухе; синяк): WMong. *tortag* (L 827: *tortuɣ*) 1, *toru* 2 (L 827); Kh. *tortog* 1; Bur. *tortog* 1; Kalm. *tortəg* 1.

PTurk. ***tōŕ*** dust (пыль): OTurk. *toz* (OUygh.); Karakh. *toz* (MK); Tur. *toz*; Gag. *tōz*; Az. *toz*; Turkm. *tōz*, *tozan*; MTurk. *toz* (Sangl.), *tos* (Pav. C., Abush.); Uzb. *tọzɔn*; Uygh. *toz*; Krm. *toz*; Tat. *tuzan*; Bashk. *tuδan*; Kirgh. *toz*; Kaz. *toz*; KKalp. *toz*; Nogh. *tozan*; SUygh. *tos*; Khak. *tozɨn*; Shr. *tozun*; Oyr. *tozɨn*.

◊ VEWT 492, EDT 580-1, Лексика 99-100. Cf. also Yak. *tor* 'soot'. Despite Лексика, the stem *tozan* is rather not a deverbative in -ɣan from the verb *toz-* (cf. the absence of any traces of -ɣ-), but a denominative (like er - *eren*); this would explain the lack of length in Turkm. This may also be a noun in -n derived from a denominative verb in -a- (Turkm. *toza-* 'to become dusty', also without length).

PKor. ***tɨŕɨh*** field, steppe (поле, степь): MKor. *tɨŕɨ* (*tɨŕɨh-*); Mod. *tɨ̄l*.

◊ Nam 171, KED 533.

‖ KW 405, АПиПЯЯ 19, 70, 91, 274 (but Jpn. **tùti* should be rather attributed to PA **tʿēŕu*), Дыбо 11. Cf. Jpn. *doro* 'dirt' (PJ **tə̀rə̀*; attested late and initial not clear). Contaminations with **tʿēŕu* were possible.

✱**tʿȍsi (~ -e)** face, shape, spot on forehead: Tung. ***tōsa-***; Mong. ***tösü***.

PTung. ***tōsa-*** white spot on animal's forehead (белое пятно на лбу животного): Evk. *tōsa-lān*, dial. *tōha-kta*; Man. *tosi*.

◊ TMC 2, 200. Evk. > Yak. *tuosaxta* id.

PMong. ***tösü*** form, shape, appearance (форма, вид): WMong. *tösü*, *tösüge* (L 837); Kh. *tös*, *tösȍ*; Bur. *tühȍ(n)* 'подобие, сходство'; Kalm. *tösəw* 'plan' (KPC); Ord. *dösȍ*.

◊ Mong. > Chag. *tüs*, Turkm. *tüjs* etc. (see VEWT 507).

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✸**tʹotá** to run: Tung. ***tut[a]-**; Jpn. ***tanta-juap-**; Kor. ***tǎd-**.

PTung. ***tut[a]-** to run (бежать): Evk. *tutu-* 'crawl away'; Evn. *tut-*; Neg. *tutu-* 'crawl'; Ul. *tụtụ-*; Ork. *tụta-*; Nan. *tutu-*; Orch. *tutu-*; Ud. *tutu-*; Sol. *tute-*.

◊ TMC 2, 223-224.

PJpn. ***tanta-juap-** to float, ramble (плавать, бродить): OJpn. *tada-j(w)op-*; MJpn. *tádá-jof-*; Tok. *tadayó-*; Kyo. *tádáyó-*; Kag. *tàdàyò-*.

◊ JLTT 761. Modern dialects point rather to **tàntà-*, so the original accent is not quite clear.

PKor. ***tǎd-** to run (бежать): MKor. *tǎt-* (-r-); Mod. *tat-* (-r-).

◊ Nam 139, KED 401.

‖ SKE 269. An Eastern isogloss. In Kor. cf. also *tɨthɨi'ú-* 'to move away, apart'.

✸**tʹu** five: Tung. ***tu-ńga**; Mong. ***ta-bu-**; Jpn. ***ì-tù-**; Kor. ***tà-**.

PTung. ***tu-ńga** five (пять): Evk. *tunŋa*; Evn. *tụnŋъn*; Neg. *tońŋa* / *tuŋńa*; Man. *sunǯa*; SMan. *sunǯā* (2739); Jurch. *ĉunǯa* (640); Ul. *tụńǯa*; Ork. *tụnda*; Nan. *tojŋga*; Orch. *tuŋa*; Ud. *tuŋa*; Sol. *toŋa*.

◊ TMC 2, 214.

PMong. ***ta-bu-** 1 five 2 fifty (1 пять 2 пятьдесят): MMong. *tabun* (HY 43, SH), *ṭābun* (IM), *tabun* (MA) 1, *tabin* (HY 43), *ṭabin* (IM) 2; WMong. *tabu(n)* 1 (L 761), *tabi(n)* 2 (L 760); Kh. *tav* 1, *taʊ́* 2; Bur. *taba(n)*; Kalm. *tawn*; Ord. *tawu(n)* 1, *tawi* 2; Mog. *tabun*, *tābun*; ZM *tābun* (25-1b); Dag. *tāw(an)* (Тод. Даг. 164, MD 219), *tābu* 1, *tabi* (MD 219), *taƀ* 2; Dong. *tavuan*, *tawun* 1; Bao. *tavoŋ* 1; S.-Yugh. *tāwən* 1, *tawən* 2; Mongr. *tāwən* (SM 412), *tāwun* 1, *tajin* (SM 412) 2.

◊ KW 385, MGCD 619, 620.

PJpn. ***ì-tù-** five (пять): OJpn. *itu-*; MJpn. *ìtù-*; Tok. *itsú-*; Kyo. *ítsù-*; Kag. *itsú-*.

◊ JLTT 428, 429. Initial i- is not quite clear; it is used on its own with the meaning 'fifty', and in *i-po* 'five hundred' (if this is not a contraction < **it(u)-pə)*.

PKor. ***tà-** five (пять): MKor. *tà-*, *tà-sǎs*; Mod. *tasət* [*tasəs*].

◊ Nam 131, KED 386.

‖ KW 385, SKE 259, Lee 1958, 117, АПиПЯЯ 70. Cf. perhaps Bulg. (Mudrak) *etə* 'five' (cf. the Jpn. form).

✸**tʹúbé** a k. of bird of prey: Tung. ***tuba**; Mong. ***tojigun**; Jpn. ***tə́mpí (~ -ua-)**; Kor. ***tàbàkí**.

PTung. ***tuba** jackdaw, rook (галка, грач): Ul. *tоwa*, *tụwa*.

◊ TMC 2, 218. Attested only in Ul., but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***tojigun** falcon (сокол): WMong. *tuiɣun*, (L 819) *tojiɣun*; Kh. *tojgon*, *tojxon*; Kalm. *tūɣən*, *tǖɣən*.

◊ KW 413, TMN 2, 658. Mong. > MKor. *thuikon* (see Lee 1964, 192); > Chag. *tojɣan*, Yak. *tojon*, Kaz. *tujɣɨn*, Nogh. *tujɣɨn* (should be distinguished from the common Turkic **dogan*, on which see under *toga!).

PJpn. ***tə́mpí (~ -ua-)** kite (коршун): OJpn. *t(w)ob(j)i*; MJpn. *tóbí*; Tok. *tóbi*; Kyo. *tòbî*; Kag. *tóbi*.

◊ JLTT 547. The Kyoto and Tokyo accents are irregular, pointing to a variant **tə̀(m)pî*; RJ and Kagoshima reflect high level tone.

PKor. ***tàbàkí** a k. of bird of prey (вид хищной птицы): MKor. *tà'wàkí*; Mod. *t:aogi* 'crested ibis'; *tok-suri* 'eagle'.

◊ Nam 132, KED 387, 473 (*tok-suri* is explained as 'bald eagle', but *tok-* may well be a contraction of **tabak-*).

‖ The root evidently denoted some big bird of prey (kite, eagle or falcon); the isolated Ul. form fits in well phonetically, but not so well semantically.

✱**tʹučʹV́ (~ -o-)** axe, hammer: Tung. ***tuču-n / *čuču-n**; Mong. ***čüče**; Jpn. ***tùtí**; Kor. ***tōčhǎi**.

PTung. ***tuču- / *čuču-** 1 to scrape (skin) 2 scraper (1 соскабливать 2 скребок): Evk. *čuču-lē-* 1, *čučи-n* 2; Evn. *čöt-le-* 1, *čöču-n* 2; Neg. *čočo-* 1, *čočon* 2; Ork. *tottolo-* 1, *totto-*, *tuttu-* 2; Nan. *tuču-le-* 1, *tučū* 2; Orch. *čočo-lo-* 1, *čočo(n)* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 418. Evk. > Yak. *tüčün*, *čüčün* 'scraper'.

PMong. ***čüče** chisel (долото): WMong. *čüče* (L 209); Kh. *cŭc*.

◊ Mong. > Yak. *tŭččü*, *čŭččü* 'chisel'.

PJpn. ***tùtí** mallet (колотушка): OJpn. *tuti*; MJpn. *tùtí*; Tok. *tsuchí*; Kyo. *tsùchí*; Kag. *tsuchí*.

◊ JLTT 557. In Tokyo **tsúchi* would be expected.

PKor. ***tōčhǎi** axe (топор): MKor. *tōčhǎi*, *tōčhói*; Mod. *tōk:i*.

◊ Nam 158, KED 461.

‖ Whitman 1985, 141, 217. Mong. and part of TM forms reveal an assimilation; it is not excluded that TM forms like *čučи-n* are secondarily borrowed < Mong.

✱**tʹŭge** storm, dust: Tung. ***tuge-**; Mong. ***tuji-**; Turk. ***tüge-**.

PTung. ***tuge-** 1 cloud 2 winter (1 облако 2 зима): Evk. *tūksu*, *tūkse* 1, *tuɣe* 2; Evn. *töɣečin* 1, *tuɣe-ni* 2; Neg. *tokso* 1, *tuwe*, *tuɣe* 2; Man. *tugi* 1, *tuweri* 2; SMan. *tukusu* (2009), *ťuxi* (2010); Jurch. *tuje-ŋi* (6), *tu-e-li* 2; Ul. *tewekse* 1, *tue* 2; Ork. *teweske* 1, *tuwe* 2; Nan. *tukse* 1, *tue* 2; Orch. *tokso* 1, *tuwe*, *tue* 2; Ud. *tokö* 1, *tue* 2; Sol. *tukču* 1, *tugu* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 204-205, 208-209.

PMong. ***tuji-** thin falling snow, dust-snow (снежная крупа): WMong. *tujaɣu*, *tujil-dasu*; Kh. *tujldas*; Kalm. *tujū*.

◊ KW 409.

PTurk. ***tüge-le-** whirlwind, (snow-)storm (вихрь, (снежная) буря): Az. *tülex* (dial.); Turkm. *tüvelej*; Shr. *tŭlek* (Верб.).

◊ Лексика 44-45. The root is local, but for phonetic reasons should be kept distinct from **tüpi* 'wind, storm' q.v. sub **tʹi̯upʹi* (with which it is linked in EDT 436).

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**tʹŭja** to give, give a feast: Tung. ***tuju-**; Mong. ***taɣu-**; Turk. ***toj**.

PTung. ***tuju-** 1 to give 2 to give a feast (1 давать 2 давать пир, угощать): Evk. *tuju-* 2; Evn. *töj-* 2; Neg. *tojo-* 2; Man. *tuwe-de-*, *teo-de-* 'to resell, exchange'; Jurch. *tuju-xe* 1 (428); Ul. *tuju-* 2; Ork. *tojo-* 2; Nan. *tuju-* 2; Orch. *tojo-* 2; Ud. *tuju-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 203, 206. Man. > Nan. *taoda-*, Ul. *taụda-*, Oroch *tauda-* 'to pay, repay' (TMC 2, 171); > Dag. *tauda-* id. (Тод. Даг. 166).

PMong. ***taɣu-** to give, distribute (давать, распределять): MMong. *ta'ul-* (SH).

PTurk. ***toj** feast; community (пир, праздник): OTurk. *toj* (OUygh.); Karakh. *toj* (MK, KB); Tur. *toj*; Gag. *toj*; Az. *toj*; Turkm. *toj*; Sal. *töj* (ССЯ); MTurk. *toj* (Sangl., Abush.); Uzb. *tọj*; Uygh. *toj*; Krm. *toj*; Tat. *tuj*; Bashk. *tuj*; Kirgh. *toj*; Kaz. *toj*; KBalk. *toj*; KKalp. *toj*; Kum. *toj*; Nogh. *toj*; SUygh. *toj*; Khak. *toj*; Shr. *toj*; Oyr. *toj*; Tv. *doj*; Tof. *toj*; Chuv. *toj*.

◊ EDT 567, Лексика 309.

‖ SKE 269 (Turk.-Tung.), Дыбо 14. A Western isogloss. The Turk.-Tung. match seems quite probable, despite TMN 3, 355 ("rein zufällig").

✱**tʹujbu (~ -o-)** to carve, engrave, whet: Tung. ***tujba-**; Mong. ***tobi-**; Jpn. ***tuà**.

PTung. ***tujba-** adze, scraper (тесло, скребок, рубанок): Evn. *tịbaq*; Man. *tujbalaqu*, *tujpan*; Ul. *tụjba(n)*; Nan. *tojbã*; Orch. *tība*; Ud. *tībo*, *tuibo*.

◊ TMC 2, 174.

PMong. ***tobi-** to carve, engrave (гравировать): WMong. *tobi-* (L 811); Kh. *tovi-*.

PJpn. ***tuà** whetstone (точильный камень): OJpn. two; MJpn. *tò*; Tok. *to*.

◊ JLTT 547.

‖ The cluster *-jb- (in this case preserved explicitly in TM) accounts for the preservation of *-b- in Mong. and for the development *-b- > -w- (-0-) in Japanese.

✱**tʹùji** thick: Mong. ***tüɣüd- / *tüjit-**; Turk. ***Tujug**; Jpn. ***tùjà-**.

PMong. ***tüɣüd- / *tüjit-** convex, bulging, thick (выпуклый, толстый): WMong. *tügdüi-*, *tügdüger* (L 849); *tüitü-*, *tügüdeg*; Kh. *tügdij-*, *tügdger*, *tū̃deg*; Bur. *tügdeger* 'сутулый'; Kalm. *tū̃tī-* 'to be thick and swollen'.

◊ KW 418.

PTurk. ***Tujug** whole, complete (полностью): OTurk. *tujɣun* 'high official' (Orkh.); Tat. (KCTT) *tojoq*; Kirgh. *tujuq*; Shr. *tujuq*; Oyr. *tuj* 'compact, solid'; (dial.) *tujaɣ* 1 (R - Leb.); Yak. *tuj(u)gun* 'excellent', *tujulā-* 'to reach a high degree' (Пек.).

◊ VEWT 497, EDT 568.

PJpn. ***tùjə̀-** strong (сильный): OJpn. *tujo-*; MJpn. *tùjò-*; Tok. *tsuyó-*; Kyo. *tsúyò-*; Kag. *tsuyó-*.

◊ JLTT 843.

‖ A good Turk.-Mong.-Jpn. match.

✱**tʹúju (~ -o-)** to gleam, shine: Mong. ***tuja-***; Jpn. ***tújá**.

PMong. ***tuja-** ray, gleam (луч, сияние): WMong. *tuja*, *tujaɣa(n)* (L 840); Kh. *tujā*; Bur. *tujā(n)*; Kalm. *tojā*, *tujā*; Ord. *tujā*.

◊ KW 398, 409. Mong. > Evk. *tujan*, see TMC 2, 206.

PJpn. ***tújá** glaze, glitter (блеск): MJpn. *tuja*; Tok. *tsùya*; Kyo. *tsúyá*; Kag. *tsúya*.

◊ JLTT 558.

‖ A Mong.-Jpn. isogloss.

✱**tʹukì** to come to an end, be exhausted: Mong. ***tögüs-***; Turk. ***tüke-***; Jpn. ***tuku-**.

PMong. ***tögüs-** to come to an end (заканчиваться): MMong. *tuge-* 'be quite enough', *tegus* 'completely' (SH); WMong. *tögüs-*, *tegüs-* (L 796); Kh. *tögsö-*; Bur. *tügese-*; Kalm. *tögəs-*; Ord. *tögös-*; Bao. *təgɛsaŋ* 'complete, full'.

◊ KW 406, MGCD 644.

PTurk. ***tüke-** to come to an end (кончаться, истощаться): OTurk. *tüke-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *tüke-* (MK, KB, IM); Tur. *tüken-*; Gag. *tüken-*; Az. *tükän-*; Turkm. *tüken-*; Khal. *tiken-*; MTurk. *tüken-* (Sangl.); Uzb. *tuga-*, *tugan-*; Uygh. *tügü-*; Krm. *tügen-*, *tigen-*; Tat. *tögen-*; Kirgh. *tügön-*; Kaz. *tüges-*; KBalk. *tügen-*; Kum. *tügen-*; SUygh. *tüke-*; Khak. *tügel-*; Shr. *tügen-*; Oyr. *tügen-*; Yak. *tüksü*, *tügüsü* 'enough, completely'.

◊ VEWT 504, EDT 479, 484.

PJpn. ***tuku-** 1 to come to an end, be exhausted 2 to exhaust (1 заканчивать(ся), истощать(ся) 2 истощать, исчерпывать): OJpn. *tuku-* 1, *tukus-* 2; MJpn. *túkú-* 1, *túkús-* 2; Tok. *tsukí-*, *tsùki-* 1; *tsukús-* 2; *tsukare-* 'be tired, exhausted'; Kyo. *tsùkì-* 1, *tsúkús-* 2; Kag. *tsùkì-*1, *tsukús-* 2.

◊ JLTT 773, 774. Accent is very diverse and hardly reconstructable in this root.

‖ KW 406, Владимирцов 154, Poppe 57, Miller 1981, 863 (Turk.-Jpn.). Despite Щербак 1997, 160, not borrowed in Turk. < Mong. It seems worth mentioning Evk. dial. *ṭiko-* ʹto die (of exhaustion), starve' - which may, however, be a derivative of *tik-* ʹto fall'.

✱**tʹukí (~ -o-)** to transmit, continue: Mong. ***tüge-***; Jpn. ***túnk-**.

PMong. ***tüge-** 1 to be spread, transmitted 2 to transmit, distribute (1 распространять(ся), передавать(ся) 2 передавать, распространять, разделять): MMong. *tuge'e-*, *tuke'e-* 2 (SH), *tuke-* 2 (MA); WMong. *tüge-* 1, *tügege-* 2 (L 849); Kh. *tüge* 1, *tügē-* 2; Bur. *tüge-* 1; Kalm. *tüg-* 1, *tügɛ̄-* 2 (KPC); Ord. *tüwe-* 1, *tüwē-* 2.

PJpn. ***túnk-** to continue, be transmitted, succeed (продолжать, передаваться): OJpn. tug-; MJpn. *túg-*; Tok. *tsùg-*; Kyo. *tsúg-*; Kag. *tsúg-*.

◊ JLTT 772.

‖ Ozawa 255-256. A Mong.-Jpn. isogloss.

✱tʿukV calf, lamb: Tung. ***tuKu-**; Mong. ***tugul**; Turk. ***tokli̇**.

PTung. ***tuKu-** 1 calf, young of deer 2 to bear (1 теленок, олененок 2 рожать): Evk. *tuku-čēn* 1; Evn. *tū-* 2; Man. *tuqšan* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 210.

PMong. ***tugul** calf (теленок): MMong. *tuqul* (HY 10, SH), *ṭoγol* (IM); WMong. *tuγul* (L 838); Kh. *tugal*; Bur. *tugal*; Kalm. *tuγəl*; Ord. *tuGul*; Mog. *tuγul* (Weiers); Dag. *tokuĺ*, (Тод. Даг. 167) *tokoli* (MD 225), *tokoli*, *tokoĺ*; Dong. *tuGun*; Mongr. *tuGur* (SM 429), *tuGul*.

◊ KW 409, MGCD 650.

PTurk. ***tokli̇** lamb (6m. old) (ягненок до полугода): Karakh. *toqli̇* (MK, IM); Tur. *toklu*; Gag. *toqlu*; Az. *toGlu*; Turkm. *toqli̇*; Khal. *toγli̇*; MTurk. *toγli̇* (Pav. C.),(MKypch.) *toqli̇* (Houts.); Uzb. *ṭoqli*; Tat. *tuqti̇*; *tuγi̇š* 'a 1-year-old elk' (KCTT); Bashk. *tuqti̇*; Kirgh. *toqtu*; Kaz. *toqti̇*; KBalk. *toqlu*; KKalp. *toqli̇*; Kum. *toqlu*; Nogh. *toqli̇*; SUygh. *toqti̇*; Tv. *toγdu*; *toš* '1-year-old elk'; Tof. *doš* '1-year-old elk' (Рас. ФиЛ); Yak. *tugut* 'calf, foal'; Dolg. *tugut* 'calf, foal'.

◊ VEWT 485, TMN 2, 524, EDT 469, Лексика 434, Stachowski 229. Turk. > Hung. *toklyó* 'lamb', see Gombocz 1912.

‖ KW 409, Дыбо 7, Sinor 1962, 321, Лексика 434. A Western isogloss. Despite Doerfer MT 104, hardly borrowed in TM from Mong. The Turk.-Mong. parallel is dismissed by Doerfer (TMN 2, 525), because "lautgesetzlich ist tü. -q- nicht = mong. -γ-" (?).

✱tʿukV (~ -kʿ-) dam, fishing net: Tung. ***tuki-**; Mong. ***togsija-**; Turk. ***Tug**.

PTung. ***tuki-** to fish (рыбачить): Ul. *tūkiči-* 'рыбачить ночью в узкой протоке ставной сетью'; Nan. *tukieči-*.

◊ TMC 2, 207.

PMong. ***togsija-** 1 net for catching birds 2 to fish with a net (1 сеть для ловли птиц 2 ловить рыбу сетью): WMong. *toγsija-* 2, *toγša* 1 (L 815); Kh. *togšō-* 2, *togšō* 1.

PTurk. ***Tug** dam, fish trap (запруда, верша): OTurk. *tuγ* (Orkh.); Karakh. *tuγ* (MK); Uygh. *tuγ*; Bashk. dial. *ti̇w*; Kirgh. *tuq*; Khak. *tuγ*; Shr. *tuγ*; Tv. *duγ-da-* 'to make a partition'; Tof. *duγ*; Yak. *tū*.

◊ VEWT 496, EDT 463-464, Рас. ФиЛ 175, Лексика 420.

‖ Дыбо 14. A Western isogloss. The Turk. form may reflect a contamination with **togi* 'mound, dam' q. v.

✱**tʹŭkʹù (~ -o-)** to grasp, seize: Tung. ***tux-**; Jpn. ***tùkàm-**; Kor. ***thǎ-**.

PTung. ***tux-** to take into arms (брать в руки, держать в руках): Evk. *tuk-*; Evn. *tọk-*; Ul. *tūwu-le-*; Nan. *tuxi-si-*; Ud. *tugele-*.

◊ TMC 2, 206-207.

PJpn. ***tùkàm-** to grasp, seize (хватать): OJpn. *tukam-*; MJpn. *tùkàm-*; Tok. *tsukám-*; Kyo. *tsùkàm-*, *tsúkám-*; Kag. *tsùkàm-*.

◊ JLTT 773.

PKor. ***thǎ-** to receive (получать): MKor. *thǎ-*; Mod. *tha-*.

◊ Liu 710, KED 1685.

‖ Martin 225. Korean has a usual vowel reduction in the first syllable. An Eastern isogloss.

✱**tʹŭkʹV** clavicle, elbow: Tung. ***tūkre**; Mong. ***tokaj**.

PTung. ***tūkre** 1 clavicle 2 upper rib (1 ключица 2 верхнее ребро): Evk. *tūkre* 1; Evn. *tökъr* 1; Neg. *tuxse* 2; Ud. *tuhe* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 208.

PMong. ***tokoj** elbow (локоть): MMong. *toqai* (HY 46), *twoqai* (Lig.VMI), *tuqai* (MA); WMong. *toqoi* (L 829: *toqui*, *toqai*); Kh. *toxoj*; Bur. *toxoj*; Kalm. *toxā̆*, *toxā*; Ord. *doxō̆*; Mog. *toqai*; ZM *toqai* (Lig.VMI 69); Dong. *toγəi*; Bao. *toχui*; S.-Yugh. *doGōnoG*; Mongr. *tuGwī* (SM 429).

◊ KW 397, MGCD 642. Mong. > Yak. *toγonox*, Dolg. *togonok* (Stachowski 225).

‖ Despite Poppe 14, 55 the root should be distinguished from **tʹokʹV* 'curved' q.v.

✱**tʹule(kV)** fox; wolf: Tung. ***tulge**; Turk. ***tülki / tilkü**; Jpn. ***tuárá**.

PTung. ***tulge** wolf (волк): Sol. *tūlge*.

◊ TMC 2, 210. The relationship of this word to Evk. *tīle* 'bear' (TMC 2, 181) is not quite clear.

PTurk. ***tülki / tilkü** fox (лиса): OTurk. *tilkü* (OUygh.); Karakh. *tilkü* (MK, Tefs., IM), *tilki* (KB); Tur. *tilki*; Gag. *tilki*; Az. *tülkü*; Turkm. *tilki*; Sal. *tʹiligu* (Kakuk), *tüligu* (ССЯ); Khal. *tilkü*, *tülkü*; MTurk. *tülkü* (Sangl.); Uzb. *tulki*; Uygh. *tülkä*; Krm. *tülkü*; Tat. *tölke*; Bashk. *tölkö*; Kirgh. *tülkü*; Kaz. *tülki*; KBalk. *tülkü*; KKalp. *tülki*; Kum. *tülkü*; Nogh. *tülki*; SUygh. *tolγo* (ЯЖУ); Khak. *tülgü*; Shr. *tülgü*; Oyr. *tülkü*; *tilgü* (dial. - Tuba); Tv. *dilgi*; Tof. *dilgi*; Chuv. *tilə*.

◊ See VEWT 480, EDT 498-499, Щербак 1961, 135, Лексика 161.

PJpn. ***tuárá** tiger (тигр): OJpn. *twora*; MJpn. *twórá*; Tok. *tòra*; Kyo. *tórá*; Kag. *tóra*.

◊ JLTT 550.

‖ See АПиПЯЯ 70, Лексика 161. Jpn. high tone does not correspond to PTM length (the latter, however, is reconstructed only on the basis of the Sol. form and thus not reliable).

✱**tʿulu (~ -o)** torn and scraped skin: Tung. ***tul-**; Mong. ***tulum**; Turk. ***tul- (*tol-)**; Kor. ***turumaki**.

PTung. ***tul-** 1 to tear out, lose (horns) 2 to tear out 3 large torn ram skin (1 выдирать, терять (рога) 2 выдирать 3 крупная мерлушка (с большого барашка)): Evk. *tulduli-* 2; Evn. *tụldъq-* 1; Man. *tulxu* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 210, 211.

PMong. ***tulum** leather bag (кожаный мешок): WMong. *tulum* (L 841); Kh. *tulam*; Bur. *tulam*; Kalm. *tulṃ* (KPC); Ord. *tulum*; Mog. *tulum* (Weiers).

◊ Mong. > Yak., Turk. *tulum*, probably also Karaim *tulup* etc. (see VEWT 498); > Manchu *tulume, tulum* 'a cow- or sheepskin filled with air that is used to aid a person crossing the river' (see Rozycki 212).

PTurk. ***tul- (*tol-)** 1 skin container 2 scraped skin (1 кожаный мешок 2 голая, ободранная шкура): OTurk. *tolquq* (OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *tolquq* (MK) 1; Az. *tuluG* 1; Oyr. *tulaq* 2.

◊ EDT 496, VEWT 497-498, Лексика 387.

PKor. ***turumaki** overcoat (плащ): Mod. *turumaki*.

◊ KED 504 (says "a compound noun" - but the components are unclear).

‖ Lee 1958, 118, Poppe 1950, 580, Дыбо 10. Doerfer (TMN 2, 550-553), and similarly Щербак 1997, 157, regard the Mong. forms as borrowed < Turkic, where he derives all the above forms from **tul-* 'abgesperrt sein' (a poorly attested reflexive form of the equally poorly attested **tu-* 'absperren'): hardly acceptable. Since only the velar derivatives (in -kuk, -uk) are early attested in Turkic, it seems more plausible to regard forms like *tulum* / *tulup* as borrowed from Mongolian.

✱**tʿulV (~ -o-, -Í-)** to burn: Tung. ***tola-**; Mong. ***tüle-**.

PTung. ***tola-** to kindle (a torch) (зажигать (факел)): Man. *tolo-*.

◊ TMC 2, 200.

PMong. ***tüle-** to burn (жечь): MMong. *tulɛ-* (IM), *tulä-* (MA), *tulē-* (SH), *tūle-* (Lig.VMI); WMong. *tüle-* (L 852); Kh. *tüle-*; Bur. *tüli-*, *tüle-*; Kalm. *tül-*; Ord. *tüle-*, *tüli-*; Mog. *tülēn* 'firewood'; ZM *tulän* (19-2a) id.; Dag. *tule-* (Тод. Даг. 169, MD 227), *tulu-*; Dong. *tulie-*; Bao. *tule-*; S.-Yugh. *telee-*; Mongr. *tulē-* (SM 431).

◊ KW 414, MGCD 658. Mong. > Oyr. *tül-* etc. (Лексика 364).

‖ Manchu may be borrowed from Mong. (despite vocalic differences), thus the Proto-Altaic antiquity of the root is dubious; see, however, a Nostratic etymology in МССНЯ 341.

✱**tʿűĺi** external side: Tung. ***tulī-**; Mong. ***tölöb**; Turk. ***dūĺ**.

PTung. ***tulī-** exterior, external side (внешняя сторона, внешнее пространство): Evk. *tulī-n*; Evn. *töl-de-*; Neg. *tulgi-*; Man. *tul-gi-*; SMan. *tiuli-* (2590, 3028); Jurch. *tuli-le* (601); Ul. *tuli*; Ork. *tulie(n)*; Nan. *tulie*; Sol. *tulergi*, *tul-dēlī*.

◊ TMC 2, 211.

PMong. ***tölöb** form, shape (форма, вид): WMong. *tölöb* (L 833: *tölüb*); Kh. *tölöv*; Bur. *tüleb*; Ord. *tölöbtī* 'ayant une forme'; *tölbör*, *telber*.

PTurk. ***dūĺ** 1 companion 2 aim 3 meeting 4 side, direction 5 match, equal 6 opposite side (1 спутник 2 цель 3 встреча 4 сторона, направление 5 соответствующий, равный 6 противоположная сторона): OTurk. *tuš* 1; Karakh. *tuš* 5, 6; Tur. *düš* (dial.) 3; Az. *tuš* 3; Turkm. *dūš* 3; MTurk. *tuš* (Pav. C.) 3; Tat. *tŭš* 4; Bashk. *tŭš* (dial.) 4; Kirgh. *tuš* 4, 6; Kaz. *tŭs* 6; KKalp. *tus* 6; Nogh. *tus* 4; Khak. *tus* 4; Oyr. *tuš* 3, 6; Tv. *duš* 4, 6; Chuv. *tə^{w}l* 2; Yak. *tus* 4; Dolg. *tus* 4.

◊ VEWT 501, EDT 558, ЭСТЯ 3, 303-305, Stachowski 233, Федотов 2, 214. Also a verb **dūĺ-* 'to meet' (> WMong. *tus(u)-*, Kalm. *tus-*, KW 412).

‖ A Western isogloss (with secondary voicing before -Í in Turkic).

✱**tʿuĺi (~ -e)** seed, eggs: Tung. ***tola**; Turk. ***TüĺÍ**.

PTung. ***tola** frog eggs (лягушачья икра): Neg. *tolo*; Orch. *tolo*; Ud. *toli*.

◊ TMC 2, 195.

PTurk. ***TüĺÍ** fruit, seed (плод, семя): OTurk. *tüš* (OUygh.); Tat. *töš*; Bashk. *töš*; Chuv. *tə^{w}žə^{w}* > Komi *tuś*, NW *tərža*.

◊ EDT 558-559, VEWT 507, Лексика 114, Федотов 2, 225, Егоров 249.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss. Mong. *töl* 'newborn animals' may reflect a merger of this root with a borrowing from Turk. **döl* q.v.; but cf. perhaps *tulbaɣa(n)* (Khalkha *tulbān*) 'fry of the Siberian salmon', *tulu* 'Siberian salmon' - which can belong here if the meaning 'salmon fry' was original in Mongolian (with a later development > 'salmon' and consequent formation of the new derivative for 'salmon fry').

✱**tʿūĺke (~ -i)** dream, divination: Tung. ***tolki-n**; Mong. ***tölge**; Turk. ***dū̃Ĺ (/*dū̃l)**.

PTung. ***tolki-n** dream (сон): Evk. *tolkin*; Evn. *tolqṇn*; Neg. *tolkịn*; Man. *tolgin* / *tolxin*; SMan. *ťolixin* (529); Jurch. *tol-xin* (356); Ul. *tolčị(n)*; Ork. *tolčị(n)*; Nan. *tolkī*; Orch. *tokki*; Ud. *toʿsi-* 'to dream' (Корм. 296); Sol. *tolkiš̆ī-* 'to dream'.

◊ TMC 2, 195.

PMong. ***tölge** prediction, divination (предсказание, гадание): MMong. *tolge* (SH), *tolegeči* 'prophet, priest' (HY 27), *tulke-* 'to augur, divine' (MA 353); WMong. *tölge*; Kh. *tölög*; Bur. *tüleg*; Kalm. *tölgə*; Ord. *tölgö*.

◊ KW 406. Mong. > Oyr. *tölgö*, Yak. *tölkö* etc. (see Róna-Tas 1972, 234).

PTurk. ***dū̃Ĺ (/*dū̃l)** dream (сон): OTurk. *tül*; *tüše-* 'to dream' (OUygh.); Karakh. *tüš*; *tüše-* 'to dream' (MK); Tur. *düš*, dial. *tüš*; Gag. *düš*; Az. *tüš* (dial.); Turkm. *dū̃š*; Sal. *tel*; MTurk. *tüš* (Бор. Бад., Abush., Pav. C.); Uzb. *duš*; Uygh. *tüš*, *čüš*; Krm. *tüš*; Tat. *tŭš*; Bashk. *tŭš*; Kirgh.

tüš; Kaz. *tüs*; KBalk. *tüš*; KKalp. *tüs*; Kum. *tüš*; Nogh. *tüs*; Khak. *tüs*; Shr. *tüš*; Oyr. *tüš*; Tv. *düš*; Tof. *düš*; Chuv. *tə^{w}lə^{w}k*; Yak. *tū̄l*; *tühē-* 'to dream'; Dolg. *tū̄l*; *tühē-* 'to dream'.

◊ VEWT 507, TMN 3, 211, EDT 559, 561, 490, ЭСТЯ 3, 323-324, Stachowski 234, 236. See also Rona-Tas 1972 on Old Uyghur *tülek* 'supernatural power'.

‖ KW 406, Дыбо 15, Мудрак Дисс. 70; not borrowed in Mong. < Turk., despite Rona-Tas 1972, 232. A Western isogloss. PT has *d- here because of secondary voicing before *Í, as in a number of other cases; despite АПиПЯЯ 97, 276 this (more traditional) comparison seems now preferable for us.

✱**tʹumgi (~ -e)** base of tree trunk or grass stalk: Mong. ***tüŋge**; Turk. ***Tömgek**; Kor. ***tuŋ-**.

PMong. ***tüŋge** rough and long steppe grass (грубая и длинная степная трава): WMong. *tüŋge*; (L 853: *tüŋke* 'overgrowth of feather grass'); Kh. *tünge*, *tünx* 'заросли чия' (БАМРС); Kalm. *tüŋgə*.

◊ KW 415.

PTurk. ***Tömgek** stump (пень): Turkm. *töŋŋe*; Uzb. *tọngak*; Krm. *tüngek*; Tat. *tümgɛk*; Bashk. *t/düŋgäk*, *tümkäk*; Kaz. *diŋgek*; KBalk. *töŋgek*; KKalp. *diŋgek*; Kum. *töngek*; Khak. dial. *tökbeš* (Joki - Kyz.); Oyr. *töŋöš*; Tof. *döhöš*; Chuv. *təm,təmeke*; Yak. *töŋürgäs*, *tögürgäs*; Dolg. *töŋürges*.

◊ VEWT 493, ЭСТЯ 3, 279-281, Федотов 215, Stachowski 228.

PKor. ***tuŋ-** base of tree trunk (основание ствола): Mod. *tuŋčhi*, (SKE) *tuŋkhəgi*.

◊ KED 511.

‖ KW 415. Cf. OJ *twoma* 'mat made of grass (miscanthus)'?

✱**tʹù̀mi** a k. of edible root: Tung. ***tōma**; Mong. ***tömü-sün**; Turk. ***tum-gu-**.

PTung. ***tōma** a k. of plant similar to potato (назв. растения со съедобными корнями, похожими на картофель): Orch. *tōma*.

◊ TMC 2, 196. Attested only in Oroch, but having probable parallels in Turk. and Mong.

PMong. ***tömü-sün** edible root (съедобный корень): WMong. *tömüsü(n)* (MXTTT); Kh. *tömsön* 'bulbous plants, potatoes' (Gomb. 509); Bur. *tümhe(n)* 'луковица растений'; Ord. *tömösü*, *tömös* 'cereal, grains'.

PTurk. ***tum-gu-** 1 water nut 2 water-lily (1 водяной орех 2 кувшинка): Karakh. *tumɣujun* (IM) 1; Tur. *tumaɣan* (Osm.) 1; MTurk. (MKypch.) *tumɣɨjuq* 'лепесток водяной лилии' (Ettuhf.); Tat. *tönböjek*, (KCTT) *tomqɨjɨq* 2; Bashk. *tombojoq* 2; Kaz. *tumbujuq* (R) 1; Oyr. *tumɣajaq* 2 (Tel.).

◊ VEWT 499.

‖ A Western isogloss. Cf. perhaps various OJ plant names (*tumi*, *tumama*), although they do not refer specifically to plants with edible roots.

✱**tˊŭmu** head, top of head: Tung. ***tumŋu-**; Mong. ***tom-**; Turk. ***tum-**; Jpn. ***tum-**.

PTung. ***tumŋu-** top of head (темя): Evk. *tuŋulkēn*, *temulkēn*; Evn. *teŋelek*, *tuŋelek*; SMan. *tuŋun*; Nan. *tembilku*; Orch. *tumaxa*; Ud. *temuge*.

◊ TMC 2, 217.

PMong. ***tom-** 1 chief, first 2 to appoint, nominate 3 hat (1 главный, первый 2 назначать (на должность) 3 шляпа): MMong. *tumbula-* (SH) 2; WMong. *tomi* 1 (L 822), *tomila-* 2 (L 823), *tumurliɣ* 3, *tumulai* 3; (L 824: *tomurčaɣ* 'muzzle for animals'); Kh. *tomil-* 2, *tumlaj* 3; Bur. *tomil-* 2; Kalm. *tumrləg* 3; Ord. *tomi* 1, *tumulai* 3 (petit bonnet), *tomilo-* 'to be ahead of'; Mongr. *tumbu*, *tombu* 'le premier petit qu'un animal met bas' (SM 431).

◊ KW 410.

PTurk. ***tum-** 1 hat, cap 2 snout 3 beak 4 nose (1 шапка 2 морда 3 клюв 4 нос): OTurk. *tomaɣa* 1 (OUygh. - XIV), *tumšuq* 3 (OUygh.); Karakh. *tumšuq* 3 (MK, KB); Tur. *tomšuk* 3; Turkm. *tumšuq* 2; MTurk. *tumaq* 1 (Pav. C.), *tumšuq* (MA, Abush.) 3; Uzb. *tumɔq* 1, *tumšuq* 2, 3, 4; Uygh. *tumaq* 1, *tumšuq* 2, 3, 4; Tat. *tumaq* 1 (KCTT), *tomšɨq* 3, (KCTT) 4; Bashk. *tomšoq* 2, 3; Kirgh. *tumaq* 1, *tumšuq* 2, 3; Kaz. *tɨmaq* 1, *tumsɨq* 2, 3; KKalp. *tumaq* 1, *tumsɨq* 2, 3; Nogh. *tumsɨq* 2; SUygh. *tɨmsɨq* 3; Khak. *tumzux* 2, 3, 4; Shr. *tunčuq* 2, 3; Oyr. *tubaq* 1 (Leb.), *tumčuq* 2, 3, 4; Tv. *dumčuq* 3, 4; Tof. *tunʼčuq* 3; Yak. *tumus* 2, 3; Dolg. *tumus* 'cape'.

◊ VEWT 499, TMN 2, 642, EDT 509-10, Лексика 216, 483, Radloff 3, 1518, Stachowski 230.

PJpn. ***tum-** top; head (верх, вершина; голова): MJpn. *tuburi*, *tumuri*; Tok. *tsumurí*; Kyo. *tsúmúrí*; Kag. *tsumurí*.

◊ JLTT 556. Accent reconstruction is not quite clear (although most of the forms point to high tone).

‖ АПиПЯЯ 109, 279, Ozawa 130, Лексика 483. Turk. **tumak* > Kalm. *tomɔɣə*, whence again Kirgh. *tomaɣa* etc. (a similar source is probable for Manchu *tomorχan*), see TMN 1, 258.

✱**tˊúmu (~ -o-)** clever, to plan, understand: Tung. ***tum-**; Mong. ***tomi-**; Jpn. ***túmər-**.

PTung. ***tum-** 1 clever 2 to understand (1 умный 2 понимать): Evk. *tumnačī* 1; Neg. *tumku-n* 1; Orch. *tumne-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 213.

PMong. ***tomi-** 1 notion, expression, term 2 to appoint, commission (1 понятие, термин, формула 2 назначать, отправлять с поручени-

ем): WMong. *tomi-ja(n)* (L 822) 1, *tomi-* 2; Kh. *tomjō-n* 1, *tomila-* 2; Bur. *tomjōr-* 'to calculate'; Ord. *tomō* 'intelligence; sense'; Dag. *tomilə-* 2.

◊ MGCD 639. Mong. > Man. *tomila-* (Rozycki 210).

PJpn. ***túmə́r-*** to intend (намереваться): OJpn. *tum(w)or-*; MJpn. *túmór-*; Tok. *tsùmor-*, *tsumór-*; Kyo. *tsúmór-*; Kag. *tsumór-*.

◊ JLTT 774.

‖ ? Cf. Turk. **tolmač* 'translator'.

✸**tʿŭ̆mV (~ -o-)** spittle: Tung. ***tumin***; Jpn. ***tù***.

PTung. ***tumin*** spittle (плевок, слюна): Evk. *tumin*; Evn. *tumnin*; Neg. *tomon*; Ud. *tumiŋi-* 'to spit out'; Sol. *tomĩ*.

◊ TMC 2, 213.

PJpn. ***tù*** spittle, saliva (слюна): MJpn. *tù*.

◊ JLTT 552.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss; the Jpn. form reflects a suffixed **tʿŭ̆m(V)-gV*.

✸**tʿŭ̆ŋe** window in roof, funnel, door: Tung. ***tuŋke***; Mong. ***toɣuna***; Turk. ***tüŋ-***; Jpn. ***túa***.

PTung. ***tuŋke*** 1 cover of kettle 2 roof (1 крышка чайника 2 крыша): Man. *tuxe* 1; SMan. *tuxē* 'pan lid, kettle lid' (586); *tuɣe* 2; Nan. *tuŋke* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 216.

PMong. ***toɣuna*** funnel, window in roof, cross-beam (дымоход, окно в крыше, поперечная балка): WMong. *toɣuna*, *toɣunu* (L 817); Kh. *tōno*; Bur. *tōno*; Kalm. *tōnə* (KPC); *tōnḷšn̥* 'cross-shaped' (KW); Ord. *tōno(n)*; Dag. cf. *tuāngal* 'buttonhole'.

◊ KW 405. Mong. > Man. *dono* ~ *tono* 'funnel, window in roof' (TMC 1, 215), Kirgh. *toɣun* id. (see TMN 1, 376, Владимирцов 276). WMong. also has a word *toɣuna* 'horn button on the end of an arrow; a k. of arrow' - which, despite TMN 1, 375, should be rather kept apart.

PTurk. ***tüŋ-*** funnel, window (дымовое отверстие, окно): OTurk. *tügnük* (OUygh. - YB), *tünlük* (late OUygh. - Lig. VSOu); Karakh. *tüŋlük* (MK), *t/dünlük* (IM); Tur. *tüjnük*; Turkm. *tüjnük*; Sal. *tümlüx*; MTurk. *tüjnik* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *tujnuk*; Uygh. *tüŋlük*; Tat. *tönläk*; Bashk. *tönlök*; Kirgh. *tündük*; Kaz. *tüŋdik*; KKalp. *tüŋlik*; Kum. *tüŋülük*; Nogh. *tünlik*; SUygh. *tɨndɨk*; Khak. *tünük*; Shr. *tündük*; Oyr. *tünük*; Tv. *dündük*; Tof. *düŋnük*; Chuv. *tə^{w}nə^{w}*; Yak. *tünnük*; Dolg. *tünnük*.

◊ VEWT 505, TMN 2, 643-645, EDT 520, Лексика 506-507, 516, Stachowski 234.

PJpn. ***túa*** door (дверь): OJpn. two; MJpn. *tó*; Tok. *tò*; Kyo. *tố*; Kag. *tó*.

◊ JLTT 547.

‖ Jpn. reflects a suffixed **tʿŭ̆ŋ(e)-gV*.

✱**tʿuŋe** to inform: Tung. ***tuŋ-**; Mong. ***tuŋ-**; Turk. ***Tüŋ-**; Jpn. ***tuanap-**.

PTung. ***tuŋ-** 1 to warn 2 to know 3 to tell (1 предупреждать 2 знать 3 рассказывать): Evk. *tuŋnī-* 1, *tuŋe-* 2; Man. *toŋgi-* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 197, 216.

PMong. ***tuŋ-** 1 to call, invoke 2 appeal (1 взывать, призывать 2 воззвание): MMong. *tuŋxa-* (HY) 1, *tuŋqaq* 2 (Козин); WMong. *tuŋγaγ* 2; Kh. *tunxag* 2; Bur. *tunxag* 2; Kalm. *tuŋgəg* 2; Ord. *tuŋGak* 2.

◊ KW 410-411. Mong. > MTurk. *tuŋqūl, tuŋγūl*, see Щербак 1997, 212.

PTurk. ***Tüŋ-** 1 metaphor 2 summary, conclusion 3 interpreter 4 reality (1 притча, иносказание 2 итог, обобщение 3 переводчик 4 явь): Uygh. *tüŋči* 3; KBalk. *tün* 4; Oyr. *tüŋ* 1 (Верб.), *tüŋej* 'одинаковый'; Tv. *tüŋ* 2; Yak. *tüŋet-* 'делить, распределять'; Dolg. *tüŋehe* 'ein Brauch, dem gemäß ein Jäger das Fleisch des von ihm erlegten Rentiers den Nachbarn schenkt und für sich selbst nur den Rentierkopf behält, welcher ihm Glück bringen soll'.

◊ VEWT 505, Stachowski 235.

PJpn. ***tuanap-** to proclaim, narrate (провозглашать, возвещать): OJpn. *twonap-*; MJpn. *tónáf-*; Tok. *tonaé-*; Kyo. *tónáé-*; Kag. *tonaé-*.

◊ JLTT 770. Accent is not quite clear: modern dialects point rather to low tone.

‖ A good common Altaic root.

✱**tʿúŋi (~ -o-)** rope, to bind: Mong. ***tüŋge**; Jpn. ***túnk-**; Kor. ***toŋ-**.

PMong. ***tüŋge** strap, tether (ремешок, путы): WMong. *tüŋge*; Kh. *tüŋge*; Bur. *tüŋge* 'straps for bootlegs'; Kalm. *tüŋgə*.

◊ KW 415.

PJpn. ***túnk-** to bind together, join (связывать, соединять): OJpn. tug-; MJpn. *túg-*; Tok. *tsùg-*; Kyo. *tsúg-*; Kag. *tsúg-*.

◊ JLTT 772.

PKor. ***toŋ-** 1 bundle 2 to bind (1 связка 2 обвязывать, связывать): MKor. *toŋ* 1; Mod. *toŋ* 1, *toŋʿi-* 2.

◊ Liu 232, KED 484, 493.

‖ Mong. > Evk. *tuŋa, tuŋi*. Cf. **tǎnŋu*.

✱**tʿŭpʿi** spit, spittle: Tung. ***tupi-**; Turk. ***tüpkür-**; Jpn. ***tù(m)pàk-**.

PTung. ***tupi-** to spit, spittle (плевать, плевок, слюна): Man. *čife-le-*; SMan. *čivələ-* (36, 408); Ul. *tipu(n)*; Ork. *tupin*; Nan. *topin-*; Orch. *tupin-*.

◊ TMC 2, 213. The variant **tipu-* reflected in Manchu and Ul. is probably secondary.

PTurk. ***tüpkür-** to spit (плевать): Karakh. *tüfkür-* (Tafs.); Tur. *tükür-*; Az. *tüpür-*; Turkm. *tüjkür-*; MTurk. *tükür-* (Pav. C., Ettuhf.); Uzb. *tupur-*, *tup-la-*; Uygh. *tükür-*, *tükär-*; Krm. *tükür-*; Tat. *töker-*; Bashk. *tökör-*; Kirgh. *tükür-*; Kaz. *tükir-*; KBalk. *tükür-*; KKalp. *tükir-*; Kum. *tükür-*; Nogh. *tükir-*; Khak. *tükür-*; Shr. *tükkür-*; Oyr. *tükür-*; Tv. *dükpür-*; Tof. *tükkür-*.

◊ VEWT 504.

PJpn. ***tù(m)pàk-** 1 to spit 2 spittle (1 плевать 2 плевок, слюна): OJpn. *tupak-* 1, *tupak(j)i* 2; MJpn. *tùfàkì* 2; Tok. *tsubaki* 2.

◊ JLTT 552.

‖ An onomatopoeic root, but seems well reconstructable for PA (including the morphological derivative **tʹŭpʹi-kʹV* > PT **tübkü-r-*, PJ **tù(m)pà-k-*).

✱**tʹùrmV** a k. of vegetable: Tung. ***terbe (~ *turbe)**; Mong. ***torum(a)**; Turk. ***turup / *turum**.

PTung. ***terbe (~ *turbe)** name of an edible plant (назв. растения (травянистого, горького, которое едят олени и собаки)): Evk. *terwe*.

◊ TMC 2, 238. Found only in Evk., with possible parallels in Turkic and Mongolian.

PMong. ***torum(a)** turnip (репа): MMong. *turma* (HY); WMong. *torom* (MXTTT); Kh. *torom*.

PTurk. ***turup / *turum** turnip (репа): Karakh. *turma* (MK); Tur. *tur(u)p*; Turkm. *turp*.

◊ VEWT 501, EDT 549 (the Pers. forms are more probably < Turkic).

‖ A Western isogloss: the PA antiquity is rather dubious because of late attestation and possible loans. Mong. may be < Turk., cf. TMN 2, 505, Щербак 1997, 159. The Turk. form itself is somewhat doubtful because of a strange variation -m/-p (see TMN 2, 504-505, with a suggestion of an Iranian origin). A possible source can be Chin. 土卵 *tǔluǎn*, MC *thólwǎn*, OC *thāʔrhōnʔ* 'yam', lit. 'earth egg', whence also MKor. *thóràn*, Kor. *thoran*, Jpn. *tororo* 'yam'.

✱**tʹ[u]tV́** to grasp, close, detain: Tung. ***tuta-**; Mong. ***todka-, *tödüge-**; Turk. ***tut-**; Jpn. ***tə̀ntə-, *tə́ntə́-má-**; Kor. ***tàt-**.

PTung. ***tuta-** to stay, remain (оставаться): Man. *tuta-*; SMan. *tuta-* 'to stay behind, to remain behind' (1180); Jurch. *duta-xun* (720).

◊ TMC 2, 223.

PMong. ***todka-, *tödüge-** to detain, fasten (задерживать, прикреплять): MMong. *tode'e-* (SH), *todu'e-*, *toduge-* (HYt); WMong. *todqa-* (L 813: *todqar* 'obstacle, obstruction'), *tödüge-*; *tüde-* 'to tarry, hesitate' (L 849); Kh. *totgor* 'помеха, препятствие'; *tüde-*; Bur. *todxor* 'помеха, препятствие'; Kalm. *totxə-*; *tödəg* 'Schlinge, Haken zum Anbinden od. Anhaken'.

◊ KW 397, 404, 405.

PTurk. ***tut-** to grasp (держать, хватать): OTurk. *tut-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *tut-* (MK, KB, IM); Tur. *tut-*; Gag. *tut-*; Az. *tut-*; Turkm. *tut-*; Sal. *tut-*; Khal. *tut-*; MTurk. *tut-* (Sangl., Abush., MA); Uzb. *tut-*; Uygh. *tut-*; Krm. *tut-*; Tat. *tot-*; Bashk. *tot-*; Kirgh. *tut-*; Kaz. *tut-*; KBalk. *tut-*; KKalp. *tut-*; Kum. *tut-*; Nogh. *tut-*; SUygh. *tut-*; Khak. *tut-*; Shr. *tut-*; Oyr. *tut-*; Tv. *tu't-*; Tof. *tu'ṭ-*; Chuv. *tɨt-*; Yak. *tut-*; Dolg. *tut-*.

◊ VEWT 502, EDT 451, Егоров 268-269, Федотов 2, 268-269, Stachowski 233.

PJpn. ***tàntə-** 1 to close 2 to obstruct, detain (1 закрывать 2 задерживать, препятствовать): OJpn. *t(w)odu-* 1, *todo-ma-* 2; MJpn. *tòdu-* 1, *tódó-ma-* 2; Tok. *tojí-* 1, *todomé-* 2; Kyo. *tòjì-* 1, *tódómé-* 2; Kag. *tòjì-* 1, *todomé-* 2.

◊ JLTT 771, 768. The difference in accents is somewhat strange, perhaps indicating two originally different roots.

PKor. ***tàt-** to close (закрывать): MKor. *tàt-*; Mod. *tat-*.

◊ Nam 139, KED 401.

‖ KW 397, 404, Martin 228, АПиПЯЯ 15, 71, Ozawa 248-249. Cf. Mong. **togta-* 'to stop, establish' (> late MTurk. *toqta-*, see TMN 1, 273, Щербак 1997, 211; Yak. *toxtō-*, Dolg. *toktō-*, see Stachowski 226; Man. *tokto-* etc., see Poppe 1966, 191, Doerfer MT 119). In Kor. cf. also MKor. *tətăi* 'slowly', *tətăi-* 'to delay, be slow' (compared with TM in Lee 1958, 118). Mongolian, Korean and Japanese accent variants may indicate that we are dealing more than with one root here, but the distinction is difficult to make.

✱**tˊutˊì** to beat, strike: Tung. ***tute-**; Turk. ***tüt-**; Jpn. ***tutuk-**; Kor. ***tùtɨ́rí-**.

PTung. ***tute-** sword, spear (меч, копье): Evk. *tutekēn*.

◊ TMC 2, 224. Attested only in Evk., with probable external parallels.

PTurk. ***tüt-** to quarrel (ссориться): OTurk. *tütüš-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *tütüš-* (MK, KB); Turkm. *tüte-* 'be angry at smb.'; MTurk. *tütüš-* (MKypch. - Houts.); Chuv. *tətər-* 'to scold'.

◊ VEWT 507, EDT 462 (if not a metaphor for *tüt- 'to fume').

PJpn. ***tutuk-** to beat, hit (бить, ударять): OJpn. *tutuk-*; Tok. *tsutsúk-*; Kyo. *tsútsúk-*; Kag. *tsutsúk-*.

◊ JLTT 776. Accent reconstruction unclear.

PKor. ***tùtɨ́rí-** to beat, hit (бить, ударять): MKor. *tùtɨ́rí-*; Mod. *tudɨri-*.

◊ Liu 237, KED 503.

‖ An expressive root, but no doubt common Altaic. The Turkic, Korean and Japanese forms correspond well to each other; the TM (isolated Evk.) reflex is more questionable.

✱**tˊútˊi (~ -t-)** smoke: Turk. ***tüt-ün, *tüt-süg**; Kor. ***tɨ̀tkɨ̀r / *tɨ̀thɨ̀r**.

PTurk. ***tüt-ün, *tüt-süg** 1 to smoke 2 smoke (1 дымить 2 дым): OTurk. *tüt(e)*-1, *tütün*, *tütsüg* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *tüt(e)*- 1 (KB), *tüte-t-* caus. (1), *tütün*, *tütsüg* 2 (MK); Tur. *tüt-* 1, *tütün* 2; Gag. *tüt-* 1, *tütün* 2; Az. *tüstü* 2; Turkm. *tüte-* 1, *tüsse* 2; Sal. *cücyn*, *tɨssɨ* 2 (ССЯ); Khal. *titi-* 1; MTurk. *tütsi* 2 (Sangl.), *tütün* 2 (MKypch. - Houts.); Uzb. *tutun* 2; Uygh. *tütün* 'tobacco'; Krm. *tüte-* 1, *tutun* 2; Tat. *tötä-* 1, *töten* 2; Bashk. *tötä-* 1, *tötön* 2; Kirgh. *tütö-* 1, *tütün* 2; Kaz. *tüte-* 1, *tutin* 2; KBalk. *tütün* 2; KKalp. *tüte-* 1, *töten* 2; Kum. *tütün* 2; Nogh. *tüte-* 1, *tütin* 2; SUygh. *tüt-* 1, *tutun* 'tobacco'; Khak. *tüde-* 1, *tüdün* 2; Shr. *tüdün* 2; Oyr. *tüdün* 2; Tv.

düdüskek 'haze'; *düdü-* 'to rot, mould'; Tof. *tütü-* (ФиЛ 177 *düdü-*) 'to rot, mould'; Chuv. *tə^{w}də^{w}m* 2.

◊ PT **tüt-ün*, **tüt-süg* - derivations from **tüt(e)-* 'to smoke'. See VEWT 507, EDT 452, 457-8, 461, TMN 2, 605, Лексика 364-365. The Tuva-Tof. verb meaning 'to rot' may belong here as well, though the absence of pharyngealization in Tof. is strange.

PKor. ***tɨ̀tkɨ̀r / *tɨ̀thɨ̀r** dust (пыль): MKor. *tɨ̀tkɨ̀r* / *tɨ̀thɨ̀r*; Mod. *thik:ɨl*.

◊ Nam 172, 173, KED 1726.

‖ A Turk.-Kor. isogloss: Mong. **hutuɣa* 'smoke' must be separated - despite АПИПЯЯ 34-35, 285.

✱tˊutˊV̀ (~ -o-) a k. of tree (Aesculus turbinata): Jpn. ***təti (~ *tuati)**; Kor. ***tòthórí**.

PJpn. ***təti (~ *tuati)** Aesculus turbinata Blume. (конский каштан): MJpn. *toti*; Tok. *tochi*.

◊ JLTT 551.

PKor. ***tòthórí** Aesculus turbinata Blume; acorn (конский каштан; желудь): MKor. *tòthórí*; Mod. *tothori*.

◊ Liu 227, KED 470.

‖ Cf. **čǎkte*. A Kor.-Jpn. isogloss.

U

✱**ubčˈV** behind, rump, fish fin: Tung. ***očі(ka)**; Mong. ***(h)uwča**; Turk. ***ūča**.

PTung. ***očі(ka)** 1 groin 2 fish fin (on the back or on belly) 3 fork, bifurcation (1 пах 2 рыбий плавник (спинной или подбрюшный) 3 развилка): Evn. *očaqa* 1, oč 3; Neg. *očaxa* 2; Man. *učiqa* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 29.

PMong. ***(h)uwča** sacrum, croup, rump (копчик, крестец): MMong. *uča* 'back' (MA); WMong. *uuča*, (L 864) *uγuča* (MXTT); Kh. *ūc*; Bur. *ūsa*; Kalm. *ūcə* (KPC); Ord. *ūča*; Mog. *uča* 'back' (Weiers).

◊ Mong. > Man. *uča* etc., see TMN 2, 138, Doerfer MT 116, Rozycki 215.

PTurk. ***ūča** 1 rump 2 back 3 loins, buttocks (1 крестец 2 спина 3 задница, ягодицы): OTurk. *uča* (OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *uča* (MK) 2; Tur. *uǯa* 'hip'; Turkm. *ūǯa* 1; MTurk. *uǯa* (AH), *uča* (AH, Pav. C.) 2, 3; Uygh. *uča* 2; Tat. *ŭča* 1; Bashk. *ŭsa* 1; Kirgh. *uča* 1; Nogh. *uša* 1; SUygh. *uǯa*, *uča* 1; Khak. *uča* 2; Shr. *uča* 1; Oyr. *uča* 2; Tv. *uža* 1; Chuv. *vəʷǯəʷ* 1; Yak. *uǯuŋax* 3.

◊ EDT 20, ЭСТЯ 1, 566-567. The Yak. form has an irregular -ǯ-.

‖ A Western isogloss. Despite TMN 2, 137, Щербак 1997, 160, Mong. cannot be < Turk. (-uw- is unexplained this way).

✱**ùbre (~ -ŕ-)** truth: Tung. ***uru**; Mong. ***(h)uwr**; Jpn. ***bə̀tu**; Kor. ***órh-**.

PTung. ***urē-** 1 truth 2 to justify 3 to agree (1 правда 2 оправдывать 3 соглашаться): Evk. *urē-* 3; Evn. *öre-* 3; Neg. *ujē-* 3; Man. *uru* 1, *urgin* 'sample, form'; Jurch. *uru-le-be* (831) 2; Sol. *urubu-* 'to learn (of soldiers)'.

◊ TMC 2, 23, 283, 287, 289.

PMong. ***(h)uwr** really, purely (e.g. "purely Mongolian") (чисто (напр. "чисто монгольский")): WMong. *uur*, our (L 890) (e.g. *uur moŋγul*); Kh. *ūr*, *ōr*.

PJpn. ***bə̀tu** reality (истина, реальность): OJpn. *wotu-(tu)*, *utu-tu*; MJpn. *ùtù-(tú)*; Tok. *ùtsutsu*; Kyo. *ùtsùtsú*; Kag. *ùtsùtsú*.

◊ JLTT 566. Modern dialects point rather to a high tone on the second syllable.

PKor. ***órh-** right, true (правильный, верный): MKor. *órh-*; Mod. *ol-* (*olh-*).

◊ Nam 383, KED 1210.

‖ PKE 137, Lee 1958, 118.

✱**ùčʿe** reason: Tung. ***uč-**; Mong. ***učir**; Turk. ***üč-ün**; Kor. ***áčh**.

PTung. ***uč-** 1 case, fate 2 time, season (1 случай, судьба 2 пора, время): Evn. *u̯čiq* 1; Man. *učuri* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 296-297. Man. may be < Mong. (see Doerfer MT 139, Rozycki 215).

PMong. ***učir** cause, reason (причина): MMong. *učir* 'Gelegenheit, Zeit' (HYt); WMong. *učir(a)* (L 859: *učir*); Kh. *učir*; Bur. *ušar*; Kalm. *učr*; Ord. *učir*; Mog. ZM *očur* 'time' (19-5b); Dag. *očir* (Тод. Даг. 160).

◊ KW 453.

PTurk. ***üč-ün** because of, for the sake of (потому что, по причине): OTurk. *üčün* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *üčün*; Gag. *ičin*; Az. *üčün*; Turkm. *üčīn*; MTurk. *ičün*, *ičin* (Pav. C.), *üčün* (AH); Uzb. *učun*; Uygh. *üčün*; Krm. *ičün*; Tat. *ŭčĭn*; Bashk. *ŭčŭn*; Kirgh. *üčün*; Kaz. *üšĭn*; KBalk. *üčün*; Nogh. *üšin*; Khak. *üčün*; Shr. *üʒün*; Chuv. *-šъn*; Yak. *ihin*; Dolg. *ihin*.

◊ EDT 28-29, VEWT 169, ЭСТЯ 1, 642-643, Stachowski 123. A variant **uč-* is also attested in **učun* 'because' (VEWT 509), **učra-* 'to meet' (ibid.; the latter, however, may be < Mong. *učira-*, see Щербак 1997, 211; see **utʿa*). The common Turkic form is in fact an instrumental case.

PKor. ***áčh** reason (причина): MKor. *áčh*.

◊ Nam 350.

‖ In Mong. the root reflects a partial contamination with **útʿa* q. v.

✱**ŭ́čʿi** end, edge: Mong. ***üʒüɣür**; Turk. ***ūč**; Kor. ***učuk**.

PMong. ***üʒüɣür** end, edge (конец, край): MMong. *uʒuʿuren* 'bis zum Ende' (HYt); WMong. *üʒügür* (L 1017); Kh. *üʒū̄r*; Bur. *üzū̄r*; Kalm. *üzū̄r*; Ord. *üʒū̄r*; Dag. *xuʒūr* (Тод. Даг. 179), *huʒure* (MD 166); Dong. *uʒu*; Bao. *nʒor* (Тод. Бн.), *uʒir*; S.-Yugh. *ʒū̄r*; Mongr. *rʒ́ū* 'pointe, sommet, cime' (SM 312), *uʒūr*.

◊ KW 460, MGCD 689. Initial x- in Dag. is not clear: under the influence of *xoʒōr* 'root' < **hiʒaɣur* (?)

PTurk. ***ūč** end, edge (конец, край): OTurk. *uč* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *uč* (MK); Tur. *uč*; Gag. *uč*; Az. *uʒ*; Turkm. *ūč*; MTurk. *uč* (AH); Uzb. *uč*; Krm. *uč*; Tat. *ŭč*; Bashk. *ŭs*; Kirgh. *uč*; Kaz. *ŭš*; KKalp. *uš*; Nogh. *uš*; SUygh. *uč*; Khak. *us*; Shr. *uč*; Oyr. *uč*; Tv. *uš*; Chuv. *vəʷś*; Yak. *uhuk*; Dolg. *uhuk*.

◊ EDT 17-18, ЭСТЯ 1, 611-612, Stachowski 241. The derived **ūč-ik* 'end (of thread etc.)' (ЭСТЯ 1, 615-616) > Mong. *učig* 'end of thread') (despite TMN 2, 135).

PKor. ***učuk** top of a tree, upper branches (верхушка дерева): Mod. *uʒuk*.

◊ KED 1242.

‖ Medial -ʒ- in Mong. must be due to assimilation.

✱**ùčˊìkˊV (~ -k-)** beautiful, ornamented: Tung. ***učik(te)**; Turk. ***üčük- (?)**; Jpn. ***ùtùkù-**; Kor. ***skú-mí-**.

PTung. ***učik(te)** 1 sheath 2 ornaments on sheath (1 чехол 2 украшения на чехле): Man. *učiqa* 1; Ork. *učikte* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 250, 297.

PTurk. ***üčük- (?)** beautiful, handsome (красивый, милый): Yak. *üčügej*; Dolg. *üčügej*.

◊ Stachowski 248. Despite VEWT 518, hardly < Mong. *öčüken* 'small' (which has quite a different origin, see **ŋə́jču*.

PJpn. ***ùtùkù-** beautiful (красивый): OJpn. *utuku-si*; MJpn. *ùtùkù-si*; Tok. *utsukúshi-*; Kyo. *útsúkúshì-*; Kag. *utsukushí-*.

◊ JLTT 844.

PKor. ***skú-mí-** to ornament (украшать): MKor. *skú-mí-*; Mod. *k:umi-*.

◊ Nam 62, KED 202.

‖ The Turkic reflex is preserved only in Yak., which may be an important archaism.

✱**ǔčˊo** to fly, fall: Tung. ***(x)uča-**; Turk. ***uč-**; Jpn. ***ə̀tə́-**.

PTung. ***(x)uča-** to stumble (спотыкаться): Evk. *učawan-*; Evn. *u̯ččoŋči̯-*; Neg. *očaɣan-*.

◊ TMC 2, 296.

PTurk. ***uč-** fly v. (лететь, летать): OTurk. *uč-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *uč-* (MK,KB); Tur. *uč-*; Gag. *uč-*; Az. *uč-*; Turkm. *uč-*; Sal. *uš-*; Khal. *uč-*, *učɣur-*; MTurk. *uč-* (Abush., Pav. C.); Uzb. *uč-*; Uygh. *uč-*; Krm. *uč-*; Tat. *oč-*; Bashk. *os-*; Kirgh. *uč-*; Kaz. *uš-*; KBalk. *uč-*; KKalp. *uš-*; Kum. *uč-*; Nogh. *uš-*; SUygh. *uč-*; Khak. *učux-*; Shr. *učuq-*; Oyr. *uč-*; Tv. *u'š-*; Tof. *u'š-*; Chuv. *vəʷś-*; Yak. *uhun-* 'float'; Dolg. *uhun-* 'float, swim'.

◊ VEWT 509, EDT 19, ЭСТЯ 1, 612-613, Stachowski 241.

PJpn. ***ə̀tə́-** fall (падать): OJpn. *otu-*; MJpn. *ò̀tu-*; Tok. *ochí-*; Kyo. *òchì-*; Kag. *ochi-*.

◊ JLTT 743. The root **ə̀tə́-* is recoverable from derivatives like OJ *oto-s-* (**ə̀tə́-s-*) 'to cause to fall'.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 282.

✱**účˊu (~ -o)** spray, urine: Tung. ***uče-**; Turk. ***uč-**; Kor. ***òčóm**.

PTung. ***uče-** diarrhoea (понос): Evk. *učen*; Neg. *učel-* (v.); Ul. *uče*; Nan. *uce* (Bik.); Ud. *use*.

◊ TMC 2, 297.

PTurk. ***uč-** 1 waterfall 2 spray (1 водопад 2 брызги): Tur. *učarɨ* 'ausschweifend'; Tat. *očoq* 2; Kaz. *u̯šan-teŋiz* 'broad sea'; Oyr. *učar* 1; Tv. *u'žar* 'river rapid'; Chuv. *vəʷžəʷlt-vəʷžəʷlt* 'gurgle, guggle (onomat.)'; Yak. *usun* 'river rapid' (Пек.).

◊ VEWT 509.

PKor. ***òčóm** urine, urinary bladder (моча, мочевой пузырь): MKor. *òčóm*; Mod. *oǯum*.

◊ Nam 381, KED 1203.

‖ Phonetically plausible; however, late attestation and expressive reflexes in Turkic reduce the reliability of the etymology.

✱**udu (~ -i, ŋ-)** arm, thigh: Turk. ***ud-luk**; Jpn. ***ùntài**.

PTurk. ***ud-luk** hip, thigh (бедро): OTurk. *udluq* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *uδluq* (MK); Tur. *ujluk*; Turkm. *ujluq*, *uwluq*; MTurk. *ujluq* (Pav. C.); SUygh. *utuq*, *otuq*; Khak. *ustux* 'knee'; Shr. *ustuq*; Yak. *ulluk*.

◊ EDT 55, VEWT 510, ЭСТЯ 1, 578-579, Лексика 282.

PJpn. ***ùntài** arm (рука): OJpn. *ude*; MJpn. *ùdè*; Tok. *udé*; Kyo. *údè*; Kag. *udé*.

◊ JLTT 560.

‖ A Turk.-Jpn. isogloss.

✱**udV (~ i̯u-, i̯o-)** ox, buffalo: Mong. ***odu-s**; Turk. ***ud**.

PMong. ***odu-s** wild yak, buffalo (дикий як, буйвол): MMong. *odos* (HY 11); WMong. *udus* (L 862); Kh. *odos* (БАМРС).

◊ Hardly < Turk. *qotuz*, despite Clark 1980, 39.

PTurk. ***ud** ox, bull (вол, бык): OTurk. *ud* (OUygh.); Karakh. *uδ* (MK); MTurk. *uj* (Бор. Бад., Abush., Pav. C.); Uygh. *uj*; Kirgh. *uj*; SUygh. *ut*; Oyr. *uj*.

◊ EDT 34, ЭСТЯ 1, 572-573, Лексика 434-435 (> MMong. *uj*, Щербак 1997, 161).

‖ A Turk.-Mong. isogloss. EAS 153 (despite criticism in TMN 2, 141 the old etymology may still be valid), Лексика 435.

✱**udV (~ o-, i̯u-, i̯o-)** rain: Tung. ***udu-n**; Kor. ***òrán-**.

PTung. ***udu-n** rain (with wind) (дождь, ливень): Evk. *udun*; Evn. *ụdъn*; Orch. *udu(n)*; Sol. *ụdṹ*.

◊ TMC 2, 248.

PKor. ***òrán-** heavy rain (ливень): MKor. *òrán-pí*.

◊ Liu 575.

‖ A Tung.-Kor. isogloss.

✱**úgà** a k. of ferment: Tung. ***ug-**; Mong. ***(h)aɣag**; Turk. ***ugut**; Jpn. ***ákú**.

PTung. ***ug-** 1 gall 2 to rot 3 rotten (1 желчь 2 портиться, гнить 3 гнилой): Evk. *uɣī* 1, *uɣlē-* 2; Evn. *ugo* 1, *ūl-* 2; Ork. *ūɣledixe* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 246.

PMong. ***(h)aɣag** strength (of tea, etc.) (крепость (чая и т. п.)): WMong. *aɣag*, *aɣa* (L 12); Kh. *āg*; Bur. *āgtaj* 'strong (tea)'; Kalm. *āg* (KPC 17); ag (KW 2).

◊ KW 2.

PTurk. ***ugut** ferment (закваска): Karakh. *uɣut* (MK); Kirgh. *uɣut*; Kaz. *uvɨt*; Oyr. *ūt*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 1, 575.

PJpn. ***ákú** lye (щелок): Tok. *àku*; Kyo. *ákú*; Kag. *áku*.

◊ JLTT 379.

‖ A reliable common Altaic root.

✱**uge** owl: Tung. ***oksari**; Mong. ***uɣuli**; Turk. ***ügi**.

PTung. ***oksari** owl (сова): Neg. *oksaɣi*, *oksaji*; Ul. *ụqsara(n)*; Ork. *ụqsara*; Nan. *oqsarã*; Orch. *uksara*.

◊ TMC 2, 10-11.

PMong. ***uɣuli** owl (сова): MMong. *uli* (HY 13), *əɣəli* 'eagle-owl' (IM); WMong. *uuli*, *uɣuli* (L 864); Kh. *ūĺ*; Bur. *ūli*; Kalm. *ūĺə*; Ord. *ūli*; Mongr. *ŋguloG* (SM 292).

◊ KW 454.

PTurk. ***ügi** owl (сова): Karakh. *ügi*, *ühi* (MK, KB, IM); Tur. *öjü*; Turkm. *hüvi*; MTurk. *ügü* (Sangl., CCum.); Uygh. *ükä*; Tat. *öke*; Bashk. *ökö*; Kirgh. *ükü*; KKalp. *ükü*; Khak. *ügü*; Shr. *ügü*; Oyr. *ükü*; Tv. *ügü*; Tof. *hügü*, *hij-quš*; Chuv. *ügə*, *üxə*.

◊ VEWT 519, TMN 2, 156, EDT 101, Лексика 170-171, Федотов 2, 303. Some irregularities are explained by the root's expressive character.

‖ Лексика 171. An onomatopoetic Western isogloss, which does not exclude its antiquity (despite TMN 2, 156).

✱**ugi (~ o-, -e, i̯u-)** birch or larch bark: Tung. ***ug-da-**; Mong. ***üji(l)-su**.

PTung. ***ug-da-** 1 dry larch 2 building made of dry larch 3 boat (1 сухая лиственница 2 постройка из сухой лиственницы 3 лодка): Evk. *ugdal* 1, *ugdān* 2, *ugda-ksa* 3; Evn. *ụdan* 2; Neg. *ogda* 3, *ogdan* 2; Ul. *ụGda* 3; Ork. *ụGda* 3; Nan. *oGda* 3; Orch. *ugda* 3; Ud. *ugda* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 244.

PMong. ***üji(l)-sü** birch bark (береста): MMong. *ujilsun* (SH); WMong. *üi(l)-sü* (L 1001: *üisü(n)*); Kh. *üjs*; Bur. *üjhe(n)*.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**ùjbà** foam: Tung. ***(x)ōb-**; Mong. ***ibil-**; Jpn. ***àwà**.

PTung. ***(x)ōb-** 1 to get covered by foam 2 foam (on water) 3 to wash, wash off (1 покрываться пеной 2 пена (на воде) 3 мыть, смывать): Evk. *ōvda-* 1; Man. *obo-* 3, *oboŋgi* 2; SMan. *ovə-*, *ovu-* (1691) 3.

◊ TMC 2, 4.

PMong. ***ibil-** to flow (of milk from the udder at the time of sucking) (течь (о молоке из вымени при сосании)): WMong. *ibil-*, *ibel-* (L 397), *ibile-*; *ibel-* 'couler sans discontinuer (mince filet d'eau)'; Kh. *ivle-*; Bur. *ebel-* 'давать молоко, доиться (о корове после подпускания теленка)'; Kalm. *iwḷ-* (KPC); Ord. *ewel-*; Dag. *ilu-*, *iwləlgə̄-*; S.-Yugh. *wəlǯəwai*.

◊ MGCD 405.

PJpn. ***àwà** foam (пена): OJpn. *awa*; MJpn. *àwà*; Tok. *awá*; Kyo. *áwà*; Kag. *awá*.

◊ JLTT 387.

‖ Medial *-j- accounts both for an unexpected vowel development and preservation of -b- in Mong., and for -w- in Jpn.

✱**uji (~ *o-)** a k. of small animal: Tung. ***oja**; Mong. ***üjeŋ**; Jpn. ***u**.

PTung. ***oja** badger (барсук): Ul. *ojo*; Nan. *ojõ*; Orch. *ojo*.

◊ TMC 2, 9.

PMong. ***üjeŋ** ermine (горностай): MMong. *unen* (SH); WMong. *üjeŋ* (L 1002); Kh. *üjeŋ*; Bur. *üjeŋ*; Kalm. *üjṇ*, *üjŋ*, *ū̄ŋ*.

◊ KW 456, 461.

PJpn. ***u** hare (as a cyclical sign) (заяц): OJpn. *u*; MJpn. *u*.

◊ JLTT 559.

‖ One of the many common Altaic names for small animals.

✱**ujkV** a k. of horned animal: Tung. ***ujKam**; Mong. ***ugalǯa**; Turk. ***ograk**.

PTung. ***ujKam** 1 mountain ram 2 a k. of horned animal (1 горный баран 2 вид рогатого животного): Evk. *ujam* 1; Evn. *u̯jama* 1; Neg. *ojamka* 2; Man. *wejxen* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 299, 2, 251.

PMong. ***ugalǯa** male mountain goat (самец горного козла): MMong. *uqulǯa* (SH); WMong. *uγalǯa* (L 864 *uγulǯa*); Kh. *ugalʒ*; Ord. *ug^{w}alǯi*.

◊ Mong. > Kirgh. *qulǯa*, Uygh. *γulǯa*, Kaz. *qulža* id.; Man. *uxulǯa* (see ЭСТЯ 6, 131-132).

PTurk. ***ograk** mountain goat (горный козел): Karakh. *oγraq* (IM).

◊ ЭСТЯ 1, 405. Most Turkic languages reflect PT **oglak* 'kid, goat' - possibly a merger of **ograk* with **ogul* 'son' (v. sub **i̯uga*).

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**ùjò** relation: Tung. ***oji-**; Turk. ***uja**; Jpn. ***ə̀jà**.

PTung. ***oji-** relation, spouse (родственник, супруг): Neg. *oji̯n*; Ork. *oji̯sal* bi; Sol. *ujõ-* 'to marry'.

◊ TMC 2, 252.

PTurk. ***uja** relation, blood relation (родственник, кровный родственник): OTurk. *uja* (Orkh.); Karakh. *uja* 'brother, kinsman'; Turkm. *uja* 'sister'; MTurk. *uja* 'younger sister' (Sangl.), 'brother' (ʿ*Ali*), 'blood relation' (Qutb); Tat. *oja* 'family, kin'; Kirgh. *ujalaš* 'by one venter'; KKalp. *ujalas* 'by one venter'; Yak. *uja* 'generation'.

◊ VEWT 511, EDT 267.

PJpn. ***ə̀jà** parent(s) (родитель, родители): OJpn. *oja*; MJpn. *oja*; Tok. *oyá*; Kyo. *óyà*; Kag. *oyá*.

◊ JLTT 514.

‖ The root probably denoted 'relative, kin' in a broad sense.

✱**ùjrV́ (~ o-, -jl-, e-u,a-u)** melon: Jpn. ***ùrí**; Kor. ***ōi**.

PJpn. ***ùrí** melon (дыня): OJpn. *uri*; MJpn. *ùrí*; Tok. *úri*; Kyo. *ùrí*; Kag. *urí*.

◊ JLTT 563.

PKor. ***ōi** melon, cucumber (дыня, огурец): MKor. *ōi*; Mod. *oi*, *wē*.

◊ Nam 386, KED 1202, 1220.

‖ Martin 236, Whitman 1985, 187, 194, 245. A Kor.-Jpn. isogloss: phonetically very similar to **ójle* 'small fruit' (q.v.), but the semantic difference is baffling.

✱**uju** sad, ashamed: Tung. ***oji-**; Mong. ***uj**; Turk. ***uja-**; Jpn. ***u-**.

PTung. ***oji-** 1 to become mad, old, forget 2 to be in a poor state (1 выживать из ума, стареть, забывать 2 находиться в стесненном положении): Man. *oj-bo-* 1, *oj-tobu-* 2; SMan. *ojərəqu* 'no good' (3036); Ul. *oj-ba-* 1; Sol. *oi-mar* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 8, 9.

PMong. ***uj** 1 mourning, sorrow 2 to be bored, lonely (1 траур, печаль 2 скучать, быть одиноким): MMong. *uiʹit-* (SH) 2; WMong. *ui* 1, *ujid-* 2 (L 866); Kh. *uj* 1, *ujda-* 2; Bur. *uj* 1, *ujda-* 2; Kalm. *ujd-* 2 'to be sad, sorrowful' (KPC); Ord. *ujd-* 2.

PTurk. ***uja-** 1 to be ashamed 2 shame (1 стыдиться 2 стыд): OTurk. *ujad-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *ujaδ-* (MK, KB), *ujal-* (MK); Tur. *ujat-* 1, *ujat* 2 (dial.); Turkm. *ujal-* 1, *ujat* 2; MTurk. *ujal-*, *ujat-* 1, *ujat* 2 (Abush., Pav. C.); Uzb. *ujal-* 1, *ujat* 2; Uygh. *ujat* 2, *ujal-*, (dial.) *ujat-* 1; Krm. *ujal-* 1, *ujat* 2; Tat. *ŭjal-* 1, *ŭjat* 2; Bashk. *ŭjal-* 1, *ŭjat* 2; Kirgh. *ujal-* 1, *ujat* 2; Kaz. *ŭjal-* 1, *ŭjat* 2; KBalk. *ujal-* 1, *ujat* 2; KKalp. *ujal-* 1, *ujat* 2; Kum. *ujat-* 1 (tr.), *ujat* 2; Nogh. *ujal-* 1, *ujat* 2; Khak. *ujat-* 1, *ujat* 2; Oyr. *ujat* 2, *ujal-* 1; Tv. *ɨjat-* 1, *ɨjat* 2.

◊ VEWT 511, ЭСТЯ 1, 561-563 (confused with **ubut* q. v. sub **i̯upo*), 576, EDT 269, 272-273.

PJpn. ***u-** sad, sorry (грустный): OJpn. *u-*; MJpn. *u-*; Tok. *u-*.

◊ JLTT 843.

‖ A dental derivative **uju-tV* seems to be reconstructable on the basis of PT **uja-t-*, PM **uji-d-* and Manchu *oj-ta-bu-*. It cannot be excluded, however, that we are dealing with two different derivatives, somewhat mixed up: **uju-tʹV-* (PT **uja-t-*, MMong. *uji-t-*, Manchu *oj-ta-bu-*) and **uju-dV-* (OT *uja-d-*, PM **uji-d-*).

✱**ujV(kʹV)** stockings, trousers: Tung. ***oji(ki)**; Turk. ***ujuk**.

PTung. ***oji(ki)** thigh coverings, trousers (наголенники, штаны): Ul. *oji̯*; Nan. *ojĩ̯*, dial. *oji̯ki̯*; Ud. *waʹipti*, *waʹikti* (Корм. 217).

◊ TMC 2, 8.

PTurk. ***ujuk** (felt) stockings ((войлочные) чулки): OTurk. *ujuq* (OUygh. - late); Tur. *ujuk* (dial.); Turkm. *ujuq* (dial.); Tat. *ŭjɨq*; Bashk. *ŭjŭq*; Kaz. *ŭjɨq*; KBalk. *ujük*; Nogh. *ujɨq*.

◊ ДТС 608, VEWT 511, ЭСТЯ 1, 581-582, Лексика 481. The root should be distinguished from **uk* q. v. sub **p'ùk'à* (there is no way of uniting them phonetically).

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**ùkú** to take, grasp, meet: Tung. ***oKa-**; Mong. ***ugtu-**; Turk. ***ug-ra-**; Jpn. ***ùká-**; Kor. ***ùhɨ́i-**.

PTung. ***oKa-** 1 armful 2 handful (1 охапка 2 горсть, пригоршня): Neg. *oxodo* 1; Man. *oχoĺō* 2; SMan. *ohələ-* 'to cup both hands' (1554); Nan. *oχoj* 2 (Kur.-Urm.).

◊ TMC 2, 10.

PMong. ***ugtu-** to meet (встречать): MMong. *uxtu-* (HY 32, SH), *uxdu-* (SH); WMong. *uɣtu-* (L 864); Kh. *ugta-*; Bur. *ugta-*; Kalm. *uktə-*; Ord. *uGtu-*; Dag. *ortu-*, (Тод. Даг. 160), *orete-* 'welcome, meet, greet' (MD 203), *orto-*.

◊ KW 448, MGCD 669. Mong. > Evk. *uktu-* etc., see Doerfer MT 111, Rozycki 166.

PTurk. ***ug-ur-, *ug-ra-** 1 to meet, go to meet; to intend 2 occasion, reason, time (1 встречать, направляться к; намереваться 2 случай, причина, раз): OTurk. *uɣra-* 1, *uɣur* 2 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *uɣra-* 1, *uɣur* 2 (MK); Tur. *uɣra-* 1, *ūr* 2; Gag. *ūr* 2, *ūra-* 1; Az. *uɣur* 2; Turkm. *uGra-* 1, *uGur* 2; MTurk. *oɣur* 2 (R), *uɣra-* 1 (Бор. Бад.); Uzb. *ūr* 2 (dial.); Krm. *oɣur* 2, *oɣra-* 1; KBalk. *oɣur* 2; Kum. *oɣur* 2.

◊ EDT 89, 91, ЭСТЯ 1, 564-565, TMN 2, 604. Turk. > MMong. (MA) *uɣra-* (see Щербак 1997, 198).

PJpn. ***ùká-** to get, receive (получать): OJpn. *uka-*; MJpn. *úká-*, *ùká-*; Tok. *uké-*; Kyo. *ùkè-*; Kag. *ùkè-*.

◊ JLTT 778. The RJ variant *úkú* is unclear.

PKor. ***ùhɨ́i-** to take, grasp, pick out (брать, хватать, вытаскивать): MKor. *ùhɨ́i-*.

◊ Nam 391.

‖ Korean has a usual low verbal tone.

✱**úku (~ o-)** wet, wash: Tung. ***uK-**; Mong. ***ug-**; Jpn. ***úk-**; Kor. ***hə̀i- (< *uhəi-)**.

PTung. ***uK-** 1 to get wet, wet 2 to wash (1 мокнуть, мочить 2 мыть, стирать): Evk. *uksu-* 1; Evn. *oqtị-* 2; Ul. *uksi-* 1; Nan. *uksi-* 1; Orch. *uksi-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 11, 254.

PMong. ***ug-** to wash (мыть): MMong. *ukija-* (SH); WMong. *ugija-*, *uguɣa-* (L 865: *ugija-*, *ukija-*, *uɣa-*); Kh. *ugā-*; Bur. *ugā-*; Kalm. *uɣā-* (KPC); Ord. *uG^{w}ā-*; Mog. *uɣa*, *ɔɣa-* (Weiers); Dag. *uā-* (Тод. Даг.170, MD 229),

ugā- (Тод. Даг. 170); Dong. *uaɣa-*; Bao. *Gua-*; S.-Yugh. *Gua-, ʁua-*; Mongr. *(u)ŋGwā-* (SM 292, 472), *ua-*.

◊ MGCD 667.

PJpn. ***úk-** to float (плавать): OJpn. *uk-*, *ukab-*; MJpn. *úk-*, *úkáf-*, *úkáb-*; Tok. *ùk-*, *ùkab-*; Kyo. *úk-*, *úkáb-*; Kag. *úk-*, *ukáb-*.

◊ JLTT 778.

PKor. ***hə̀i-** to swim (плавать): MKor. *hə̀i-*, *hə̀i-jòm-*; Mod. *hē-*, *hejəm-čhi-*.

◊ Nam 486, 487, KED 1829, 1830.

‖ For the Kor. form see notes to **kʿḗja.*

✸**ukʿe** a k. of bucket, fish-trap: Tung. ***ukī**; Jpn. ***bə̀kaî**; Kor. ***oku**.

PTung. ***ukī** crib, fish-pot, fish basket (верша, снасть для ловли рыбы): Evk. *ukī*; Evn. *ūkit*; Neg. *uxī*; Man. *uku*; Nan. *uki*; Orch. *uki*; Ud. *uki*.

◊ TMC 2, 253.

PJpn. ***bə̀kaî** bucket (ведро): OJpn. woke; MJpn. *wòké*; Tok. *óke*; Kyo. *òkê*; Kag. *oké*.

◊ JLTT 505 (the etymology as "hemp container" is certainly wrong). OJ has also *uke* 'grain container', which may be just a variant of the same root.

PKor. ***oku** a k. of fish-trap basket (корзина, сачок для ловли рыбы): Mod. *ogu*.

◊ KED 1195.

‖ An Eastern isogloss.

✸**úkʿè** hill: Tung. ***(x)uKu-**; Mong. ***(h)ukaɣa**; Jpn. ***bə́ká**.

PTung. ***(x)uKu-** hill (холм): Evk. *ukurī*; Man. *uquda*, *uqada*.

◊ TMC 2, 256.

PMong. ***(h)ukaɣa** hill (холм): WMong. *uqaɣa* (L 891); Kh. *uxā*; Bur. *uxā* (West. dial.).

PJpn. ***bə́ká** hill (холм): OJpn. *woka*; MJpn. *wóká*; Tok. *òka*; Kyo. *óká*; Kag. *óka*.

◊ JLTT 505.

‖ Cf. **bǜkʿe*.

✸**ukʿè** stupid, arrogant: Tung. ***(x)uKu-**; Mong. ***(h)üki**; Turk. ***ökte-**; Jpn. ***bəkə**.

PTung. ***(x)uKu-** 1 weak 2 stupid (1 слабый 2 слабоумный): Man. *uxu-ken* 1, 2.

◊ TMC 2, 255.

PMong. ***(h)üki** 1 insincere, crafty 2 stupid (1 неискренний, хитрый 2 глупый): WMong. *üki* 1, *ükenče* 2 (L 1003); Kh. *üx* 1, *üxēnc* 2.

PTurk. ***ökte-** 1 to infuse pride, courage 2 pride, proud, courageous (1 ободрять, придавать гордость, храбрость 2 гордость, гордый, храбрый): Karakh. *öktem* (KB) 2; Az. *ötkäm*; Turkm. *ökdöm* (dial.) 2;

MTurk. *ökte-* 1, *öktem* 2 (R.); Uzb. *ọktam*; Uygh. *öktäm*; Krm. *öktem* 2; Kirgh. *öktöm* 2; Kaz. *öktem* 2, (dial.) *ökte-* 1; Nogh. *öktem* 2; Khak. *öktem* 2; Yak. *öktöm* 2.

◊ EDT 102-103, ЭСТЯ 1. Turk. > Kalm. *öktm* (KW 294; not vice versa, despite VEWT 370).

PJpn. ***bəkə** stupid (глупый): OJpn. *woko*, *ukwo*.

◊ JLTT 591.

‖ The basic meaning of the root appears to be 'stupid', whence 'insincere' and 'proud, arrogant'.

✱**ukʿi (~ -e)** to die, be hungry: Tung. ***(x)uk-ti-**; Mong. ***ükü-**.

PTung. ***(x)uk-ti-** to be hungry (голодать): Evk. *ukti-*.

◊ TMC 2, 254.

PMong. ***ükü-** to die (умирать): MMong. *ugu-* (HYt), *uku-* (SH), *ukɛ-* (IM), *uku-* (MA); WMong. *ügü-* (L 1003: *ükü-*); Kh. *üxe-*; Bur. *üxe-*; Kalm. *ükə-*; Ord. *üχü-*; Mog. *ükü-*; ZM *oku* (5-8a); Dag. *ugu-* (Тод. Даг. 170), *ū-* (MD 233); Dong. *fugu-*; Bao. *hgude-*, *fgu-*; S.-Yugh. *hgu-*; Mongr. *fugu-* (SM 103).

◊ KW 456, MGCD 698.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss; very scantily represented in TM, therefore dubious.

✱**úkʿu** to understand, look into: Tung. ***oksa-**; Mong. ***uka-**; Turk. ***uk-**; Jpn. ***úká-(n)káp-**.

PTung. ***oksa-** 1 to submerge in thoughts 2 to change one's mind 3 to resent, be offended (1 задумываться 2 одуматься, передумать 3 обижаться): Evk. *okso-* 1; Evn. *oγsa-* 2; Nan. *oqsa-* (On.) 3.

◊ TMC 2, 11.

PMong. ***uka-** 1 to understand, think 2 mind (1 понимать, думать 2 ум): MMong. *uxa'an* 2 (HY 49), *uqa-* (HY 33, SH) 1, *uqa* 2 (SH); WMong. *uqa-* 1 (L 890); *uqaγa(n)* 2 (L 891); Kh. *uxa-* 1; *uxā* 2; Bur. *uxa-* 1; *uxā(n)* 2; Kalm. *uxə-* 1; *uxān* 2; Ord. *uxā*, *uxān* 2; Dag. *ogo*, *owo* 'brain' (Тод. Даг. 159), *ukā* 2 (Тод. Даг. 170) *uhān* 2(MD 231); S.-Yugh. *χGua-tu* 2.

◊ KW 447, MGCD 684. Mong. > Evk. *ukān* etc., see Doerfer MT 109.

PTurk. ***uk-** 1 to understand 2 to hear (1 понимать 2 слышать): OTurk. *uq-* (Orkh., OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *uq-* (MK, KB) 1; Az. dial. *uγuz* 'knowing much'; MTurk. *uq-* (IM, Qutb); Uzb. *uq-* 1; Uygh. *uq-* 1; Tat. dial. *ux-* 2; Kirgh. *uq-* 2; Kaz. *uγɨn-* 1; KKalp. *uq-* 1; Khak. *ux-* 1, 2; Shr. *uq-* 1; Oyr. dial. *uq-* 2; Tv. *uγ-* 1.

◊ VEWT 511-12, EDT 77-8, ЭСТЯ 1, 584-585. Turk. > Hung. ok 'reason', see Gombocz 1912.

PJpn. ***úká-(n)káp-** to look into, inquire (всматриваться, осведомляться): OJpn. *ukakap-*; MJpn. *ukagaf-*; Tok. *ùkaga-*; Kyo. *úkágá-*; Kag. *ukagá-*.

◊ JLTT 778.

‖ KW 447, ОСНЯ 1, 255-256 (Turk.-Mong.); АПиПЯЯ 289, МССНЯ 333. Despite Щербак 1997, 167, there is hardly a reason to regard Mong. as a loan from Turkic.

✱**úkʿu (~ -k-)** kin, clan: Tung. ***uK-**; Mong. ***(h)ug**; Turk. ***uk**; Jpn. ***úkárà**.

PTung. ***uK-** 1 unity, accord 2 kin; successors (1 единство, согласие 2 род; потомство): Man. *uxe* 1, *uqsun* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 254, 257. The root is attested only in Manchu; *uqsun* may be < Mong. (although suffixation is different), but *uxe* is no doubt genuine.

PMong. ***(h)ug** origin, kin (происхождение, род): WMong. *uɣ*; Kh. *ug*; Bur. *ug*.

PTurk. ***uk** kin, tribe (род, племя): OTurk. *uq* ~ *oq* 'kin, tribe'; Karakh. *uq* ~ *oq* (MK) 'share of inheritance'; Kaz. *ŭq* (dial.); Oyr. *uq*; Tv. *uq*; Chuv. *jъʷx*.

◊ VEWT 511, ЭСТЯ 1, 582-583, Егоров 76. The OT words are sometimes erroneously united with **ok* 'arrow' (thus in EDT 76).

PJpn. ***úkárà** clan, family (род, семья): OJpn. *ukara* (*ugara*); MJpn. *úkárà*.

◊ JLTT 560. Analysis as compound **umi-kara* is hardly possible (because of voiceless -k-).

‖ Дыбо 15.

✱**ŭkʿurkV (~ -o-)** rope, lasso: Tung. ***oKurga**; Mong. ***uɣurga**; Turk. ***ukruk**; Kor. ***ork-**.

PTung. ***oKurga** loop, snare (петля, силок): Evk. *okurga*, *ukurga*; Man. *χurGa*, *χurqa*.

◊ TMC 2, 352-353. The Manchu form is obviously = Evk. *okurga*, *ukurga* and thus, despite Rozycki 112, has nothing to do with MMong. *xuraqa* - on which see under **pʿŭrVkʿV*.

PMong. ***uɣurga** lasso pole (шест с арканом): MMong. *uʼurqa* (SH); WMong. *uɣurɣa*, *urɣa(n)* (L 881); Kh. *ūrga*; Bur. *urga*; Kalm. *ūrɣə* (KPC); Ord. *ūrGa*; Dag. *urga* (Тод. Даг. 171).

PTurk. ***ukruk** lasso, lasso pole (аркан, жердь с арканом): Karakh. *uqruq* (MK); Turkm. *uquruq* (dial.); MTurk. *oqruq* (AH); Uzb. *qo̦ruq*; Uygh. *oquruq* (dial.); Tat. *qŭrɨq*; Bashk. *qŭrŭq*; Kirgh. *uquruq*; Kaz. *qŭrɨq*; KKalp. *qurɨq*; Kum. *uqruq* (dial.); Nogh. *qurɨq*; Yak. *ogūr*, *oguruk*.

◊ VEWT 360, EDT 90, ЭСТЯ 1, 585-586. Turk. > Hung. *hurok* 'loop', see Gombocz 1912.

PKor. ***ork-** 1 rope 2 to tie, bind (1 веревка 2 привязывать, завязывать): Mod. *ok* [*olk*] 1, *ok-* [*olk-*] 2.

◊ KED 1209.

‖ Владимирцов 247, PKE 136-137. Despite Doerfer MT 96 and Щербак 1997, 120, the word seems to be inherited (loans Turk. > Mong. and Mong. > Tung. are not easily explained phonetically). The stem appears to be an old derivative with the suffix *-rga, but the deriving

root is hard to find. Poppe 1972, 96 cites Evk. *oku-* 'to catch a bird with a snare' which we were unable to locate; there exists, however, Manchu *oχolǯon*, *oχolǯi* 'snare, loop' (TMC 2, 10) which is likely to contain the same root. The relationship to the synonymous **pʿurVkʿV* 'rope, lasso' q.v. remains unclear; the two stems are clearly distinguished in several subgroups, but (due to the development *pʿ- > h-, 0-) are easily confused. The Mong. form **uɣurga* is interesting: it is exactly parallel to Turkic **ukruk* and shows the same cluster development (*-kr- > -ɣ(V)r-) as **bŭkrV* (> *buɣur-čak*) and **čʿikʿ-rV* (> *čiɣire*) q.v.

✱**ukʿV (~ *o-)** inner part of knee, armpit: Tung. ***(x)oKi-**; Mong. ***(h)ogo-da-su**; Kor. ***òkóm**.

PTung. ***(x)oKi-** place where skin is cut off from deer's shank (камыс (место среза шкуры с ног оленя, лося)): Evk. *okī-kta*.

◊ TMC 2, 9. Attested only in Evk., but having probable parallels in Mong. and Kor.

PMong. ***(h)ogo-da-su** part of cloth in the armpit (клин одежды подмышкой): WMong. *oɣodasu*; Kalm. *oɣədəsn*, *oGdəsn*.

◊ KW 283. Mong. > Manchu oho da 'armpit area of a jacket' (see Rozycki 166).

PKor. ***òkóm** 1 inner angle of knee 2 knee (1 подколенная ямка 2 колено): MKor. *òkóm* 1; Mod. *ogɨm* 1, 2.

◊ Nam 378, KED 1195. The deriving stem appears to be *ok-* / *uk-* 'to bend in, turn in' (KED 1204); the verb is, however, attested very late and may be a back-formation from the noun.

‖ SKE 174 (Mong.-Kor.; but the TM parallel drawn by Ramstedt and repeated in Doerfer MT 25 - Evk. *ogonī* - cannot belong here, being a reflex of PTM **xoba-nī*, see TMC 2,6), АПиПЯЯ 297. -g- in Mong. must be explained by assimilation.

✱**ŭla** sole, footwear: Tung. ***olā-či**; Mong. ***ula**; Turk. ***ul**.

PTung. ***olā-či** short boots (короткие унты): Evk. *olōt*, *olōčik*; Evn. *olāčiq*; Neg. *olot*; Ul. *olǯuma*; Ork. *ollōči*; Orch. *olōči*; Sol. *alóci*, *olóci*.

◊ TMC 2, 16.

PMong. ***ula** sole of foot or footwear; basis, foundation (подошва ноги или обуви; основа, основание): MMong. *ula* (HY 47); *hula* (MA); WMong. *ula* (L 868); Kh. *ul*; Bur. *ula*; Kalm. *ul*; Mog. *ulō* (Ramstedt 1906); Dag. *uale* (MD); Bao. *la*.

◊ KW 448. Mong. > Evk. *ula* etc., see Doerfer MT 131.

PTurk. ***ul** 1 foundation 2 sole (1 дно, основание 2 подошва, подметка): OTurk. *ultaŋ* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *ul* 1, *uldaŋ* 2 (MK); Tur. *oltan*, *oltaŋ* (dial.) 2; Turkm. *oltaŋ* 2; MTurk. *ölteŋ* 2 (Abush., Pav. C.); Uzb. *ultɔn* 2; Uygh. *ultaŋ* 2, (dial.) *ūl*, *ul* 1; Tat. *ŭltan* 2; Bashk. *ŭltan* 2; Kirgh. *ultaŋ* 2; Kaz. *ŭltan* 2; KBalk. *oltaŋ*, *oltan* 2; KKalp. *ultan* 2; Kum. *ultan* 2; Nogh. *ultan* 2; Khak. *ultuŋ* 2; Oyr. *ultaŋ*, *ultan*, *ɨltam* 2; Tv. *ulduŋ* 2; Yak. *ulluŋ* 2.

◊ EDT 124, 131, ЭСТЯ 1, 449-451.

‖ A Western isogloss. Despite Щербак 1997, 161, Mong. cannot be < Turkic (final -a stays unexplained). The Turkic form, because of a merger of *pʿ- and *0-, can also reflect PA *pʿŭ́li q.v.

✱**ulbo (~ -Í-, -u, -o-, i̯u- -o)** to change: Tung. ***olbi-n-**; Mong. ***(h)olbari-**; Kor. ***ōrm-**.

PTung. ***olbi-n-** 1 to drag, carry 2 to change, turn into (1 тащить, нести 2 меняться, превращаться): Evn. *ōlbṭ̣n-* 2; Ul. *olbịn-* 1; Ork. *olbịn-* 1; Nan. *olbịn-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 12. Cf. perhaps also **olbi-ku* 'dowry'. The meaning 'carry' perhaps goes back to 'change (place, position)'.

PMong. ***(h)olbari-** to change, turn into (меняться, превращаться): WMong. *olbari-*, *ulbari-*, *ulari-* (L 871, 872); Kh. *olbori-*, *ulira-*; Kalm. *ulwṛ-*.

◊ KW 449. Mong. > Yak., Dolg. *ularij-* 'change', see Stachowski 242.

PKor. ***ōrm-** to change place (менять место, передвигаться): MKor. *ōrm-*; Mod. *ōm-* [*olm-*].

◊ Nam 383, KED 1209.

‖ The root may be **ulo* (cf. Mong. *ulari-* without the -b- element).

✱**ule (~ -i)** negative particle: Mong. ***ülü**.

PMong. ***ülü** not (не): MMong. *ulu* (HY 51, SH), *ulɛ* (IM), *ulă* (MA); WMong. *ülü* (L 1006); Kh. *ül*; Bur. *üle*; Kalm. *ülɛ* (СЯОС); Ord. *üle*, *ülü*; Mog. *la, lü, lɛ;* ZM *ulä* (27-7a); Dag. *ul* (Тод. Даг. 170), *ule* (MD 232); Dong. *ulie*; Bao. *le*; S.-Yugh. *lə*; Mongr. *li* (SM 222), *lĩ*.

◊ MGCD 692.

‖ So far there are no certain Altaic parallels discovered: cf. perhaps -ül in Turk. **degül*, see **tagi*. A Nostratic etymology see in ОСНЯ 1, 17, 263-264.

✱**ű́lo** to cry, howl: Mong. ***uli-**; Turk. ***ūli-**; Jpn. ***ə́rá-mp-**; Kor. ***ūr-**.

PMong. ***uli-** to cry, howl (wolves) (кричать, выть (о волках)): MMong. *uli-* (MA); WMong. *uli-* (L 873); Kh. *uli-*; Bur. *uli-*; Kalm. *uĺ-*, *ulə-*; Ord. *uli-*; S.-Yugh. *olo-*.

◊ KW 448, MGCD 673.

PTurk. ***ūli-** to cry, howl (кричать, выть): OTurk. *uli-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *uli-* (MK); Tur. *ulu-*; Gag. *ulu-*; Az. *ula-*; Turkm. *ūli-*; MTurk. *ulu-* (AH, IM), *ula-* (Pav. C.); Uygh. *ulu-*; Krm. *ulu-*; Tat. *ula-*; Bashk. *ŭlŭ-*; Kirgh. *ulu-*; Kaz. *ŭli-*; KBalk. *ulu-*; KKalp. *uli-*; Kum. *ulu-*; Nogh. *uli-*; Khak. *ulu-*; Oyr. *ulu-*; Tv. *ulu-*; Chuv. *ъʷlax-* 'to neigh'; Yak. *uluj-*; Dolg. *uluj-*.

◊ EDT 127, VEWT 512, ЭСТЯ 1, 595, Stachowski 243. Yak. has secondary shortening in a disyllabic stem.

PJpn. ***ə́rá-mp-** to cry, wail (кричать): OJpn. *orab-*.

◊ JLTT 742. High tone is reconstructed on the basis of dialectal evidence (Ibuki-jima, Nakijin *wurabin* A, see ibid.).

PKor. ***ūr-** to cry, weep (плакать, рыдать): MKor. *ūr-*; Mod. *ūl-*.

◊ Nam 392, KED 1246.

‖ KW 448, PKE 223, JLTT 742. An expressive root. Because of the merger of *l and *r the Kor.-Jpn. reflexes of this root may also be attributed to **óru* (thus in Lee 1958, 118), and vice versa.

✱**ulu (~ -o)** big, many; good: Tung. ***ule-**; Mong. ***olon**; Turk. ***ulug**; Kor. ***ōr-**.

PTung. ***ule-** good (хороший): Man. *ulin* 'goods'; Ul. *ule(n)*; Ork. *uliŋga*; Nan. *ulẽ* (On.); Ud. *uligdigaʿ* 'beautiful' (Корм. 301).

◊ TMC 2, 260-261. Man. > Dag. *ulin* 'goods' (Тод. Даг. 170).

PMong. ***olon** many (много): MMong. *olon* (HY 44, SH), *ulān* (IM), *ulan* (MA); WMong. *olan* (L 607); Kh. *olon*; Bur. *olon*; Kalm. *olṇ*; Ord. *olon*; Dag. *walan* (Тод. Даг. 129), *ualen* (MD 229); Dong. *olon*; Bao. *oloŋ*; S.-Yugh. *olon*; Mongr. *olon* (SM 298), (MGCD *ulon*).

◊ KW 285, MGCD 116, 527.

PTurk. ***ulug** 1 big 2 great 3 grown-up, great (1 большой 2 великий 3 взрослый, крупный): OTurk. *uluɣ* 1 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *uluɣ* 1 (MK, KB); Tur. *ulu* 2; Az. *ulu* 2; Turkm. *ulɨ* 1; MTurk. *uluɣ*, *uluq* 1 (Pav. C.); Uygh. *uluɣ* 1; Tat. *ölkɛn* 1; Bashk. *ölkän* 1; Kirgh. *uluu* 2; Kaz. *ulken* 1; KBalk. *ullu* 1; KKalp. *ülken* 1; Nogh. *üjken* 1; Khak. *uluɣ* 1; Tv. *uluɣ* 1; Tof. *uluɣ* 1; Yak. *ulaxan*, *ulū* 1; Dolg. *ulakan*, *ulū* 1.

◊ VEWT 513, 520, TMN 2, 117-118, EDT 136, ЭСТЯ 1, 593-594, 630, Stachowski 242, 243. Turkic languages reveal two variants (**ulug* and **ülken*, the latter being represented only in modern languages), probably interrelated. Despite Bang TB X and TMN 2, 118 it is hard to see any relationship between **ulug* (hardly **ullug*: some modern forms must have secondary gemination here) and **ul* 'foundation'.

PKor. ***ōr-** completely, wholly (совершенно, полностью): MKor. *ōró*; Mod. *oro-ǯi*.

◊ Nam 380, KED 1198.

‖ ОСНЯ 2, 110, АПиПЯЯ 286, Дыбо 12.

✱**ǔlu (~ *o-)** to soak, wet: Tung. ***ula-**; Mong. ***(h)ulum**; Jpn. ***ùrù-p-**; Kor. ***ùrí-**.

PTung. ***ula-** 1 to soak, wet 2 river (1 мочить 2 река): Evk. *ula-* 1; Evn. *ụl-* 1; Man. *ulGa-* 1, *ula* 2; SMan. *ulā* 'large river' (2090); Jurch. *ula* (49) 2; Ork. *ụla-* 1; Nan. *ụlariḳō* (dial.) 'wet'; Ud. *ula-* 1; Sol. *ụlakkū*.

◊ TMC 2, 257-8.

PMong. ***(h)ulum** swamp (болото): WMong. *ulum*; Kh. *ulam* 'зыбкое, топкое место' (БАМРС); Bur. *ulam* 'ford'; Kalm. *ulm*; Ord. *ulum* 'ford'.

◊ KW 448. The Buryat and Ordos meaning has been influenced by *olom* 'ford' (v. sub **olV*).

PJpn. ***ùrù-p-** to soak, wet (мокнуть): OJpn. *urup(w)op-*; MJpn. *ùrùf-*; Tok. *uruó-*; Kyo. *úrúó-*; Kag. *uruó-*.

◊ JLTT 780. Accent in Kagoshima is irregular.

PKor. ***ùrí-** to steep, soak (вымачивать): MKor. *ùrí-*; Mod. *uri-*.

◊ Liu 592, KED 1238.

‖ KW 448, EAS 110 (Mong.-Tung.), Murayama 1962, 110 (Jpn.-TM). Korean has standard verbal low tone. In Turk. cf. perhaps Yak. *ul-* 'to melt'; Kaz. *ɨlɣal*, Turk. *ɨɣal* 'dampness' (ЭСТЯ 1, 645-646).

✱**ùlV** a k. of bird (partridge / duck): Tung. ***ulgumV**; Turk. ***ular**; Kor. ***órhì**.

PTung. ***ulgumV (/*ulmugV)** 1 pheasant 2 gull (1 фазан 2 чайка): Evk. *umŋētī* 2; Evn. *ōmŋēti* 2; Neg. *ömöti* 2; Man. *ulχuma* 1; SMan. *oləhəmə*, *oləhumə* 1 (2250); Jurch. *ulhu-ma* (188) 1; Ul. *olGoma* 1; Nan. *olGomị* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 268, 283.

PTurk. ***ular** 1 partridge 2 snow pheasant 3 wild turkey (1 куропатка 2 глухарь 3 горная индейка): OTurk. *ular* 1 (OUygh.- med.); Karakh. *ular* 'male partridge' (MK); Uzb. *ular* (< Russ.?) 3; Uygh. *ular* 3; Kirgh. *ular* 3; Kaz. *ular* 3; Shr. *ularɨ* 1 (Chul.); Oyr. *ular* 'vulture'; Tv. *ular* 3; Yak. *ular* 2.

◊ EDT 150, VEWT 512 (Mong. *ularu* < Turk.), Лексика 173. Turk. > Russ. *улар*.

PKor. ***órhì** duck (утка): MKor. *órhì*; Mod. *ōri*.

◊ Nam 383, KED 1199.

‖ Дыбо 9, Лексика 173.

✱**úlV (~ o-, i̯o-, -Í-)** meat; deer: Tung. ***ul-(k)se**; Mong. ***(h)ulaj**.

PTung. ***ul-(k)se** meat (мясо): Evk. *ulle*; Evn. *ulъd*; Neg. *ule*; Ul. *ulse*; Ork. *ulise*; Nan. *ulekse*; Orch. *ukte*; Ud. *ulehe*; Sol. *uldi*, *ulde*.

◊ TMC 2, 262. Cf. also **ula* 'deer' (TMC 2, 262-263), **uluku-* 'elk' (TMC 2, 264).

PMong. ***(h)ulaj** dead body (of animal) (туша, труп (животного)): WMong. *ulai* (L 870); Kh. *ulaj*; Bur. *ulaj*; Kalm. *ulā*; Ord. *ulā̃* 'падаль; тело убитого человека'.

◊ KW 448.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss. Cf. perhaps Karakh. (MK) *oš* 'core (of a horn etc.)'.

✱**ǔĺà (~ o-, i̯u-)** hemp: Tung. ***ula**; Mong. ***olo-sun**; Jpn. ***àsà**.

PTung. ***ula** 1 hemp 2 millet (1 конопля 2 просо): Man. *olo* 1; Nan. *ula* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 15, 257.

PMong. ***olo-sun** hemp (конопля): MMong. *olosun* (HY 22); WMong. *olosun* (L 610: *olusu(n)*); Kh. *ols*; Bur. *ulha(n)*; Kalm. *olsṇ* (KPC); Ord. *ulusu(n)*; Dag. *olso* (Тод. Даг. 159), *olese* (MD 201) ; *olsu*; S.-Yugh. *losən*; Mongr. *losə* (SM 228).

◊ MGCD 528.

PJpn. ***àsà** hemp (конопля): OJpn. *asa*; MJpn. *àsà*; Tok. *asá*; Kyo. *àsá*; Kag. *asá*.

◊ JLTT 384. The accent in Kyoto is irregular (reflecting **àsá*).

‖ A good Mong.-Tung.-Jpn. match. Borrowing in Man. from Mong. is hardly possible, despite Rozycki 166.

✱**uĺe (~ -i)** to scrape, row: Tung. ***ulī-**; Turk. ***üĺe-**.

PTung. ***ulī-** 1 to row 2 oar (1 грести 2 весло): Evk. *ulī-* 1, *ulīwun* 2; Evn. *ụlịn-* 1, *ụlịwụn* 2; Neg. *olịn-* 1; Nan. *ulbe(n)* 2; Ud. *ulimagda* 'big delved boat' (Корм. 301).

◊ TMC 2, 258, 260.

PTurk. ***üĺe-** to scrape earth, dig (скрести землю, копать): Karakh. *üše-* (MK); Tv. *üže-*.

◊ EDT 256.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**uĺi** to crush, mince: Tung. ***ulē-**; Mong. ***(h)ülte-**; Turk. ***uĺa-**; Kor. ***ori-**.

PTung. ***ulē-** to boil (варить): Evk. *ulē-*; Evn. *ölē-*; Neg. *ulē-*; Ul. *ulu-si-*; Ork. *ulē-*; Nan. *ulu-*; Ud. *olokto-*; Sol. *ölō̃-*, *ulō̃-*, *elō̃-*.

◊ TMC 2, 265.

PMong. ***(h)ülte-** 1 to crush, pulverize 2 to boil (meat) 3 asunder, to pieces (1 разбивать, размельчать 2 разваривать (мясо) 3 вдребезги): WMong. *ültü* 3, *ültü-*, *ültül-*, *ültüre-* 1, 2 (L 1006); Kh. *ült* 3, *ültle-* 1, 2; Bur. *ülti* 3, *ültil-*, *ültir-* 1, 2.

PTurk. ***uĺa-** 1 small, minute 2 to become crushed, pulverized, smaller 3 to crush, pulverize (1 мелкий, маленький 2 дробиться, становиться меньше 3 растирать, дробить): Karakh. *uša-l-* 2, *ušaq* 1; Tur. *ušak* 1; Gag. *ušaq* 1; Az. *ušaG* 1; Turkm. *uša-* 2, *ušaq* 1; MTurk. *ušaq* 1, *ušal-* 2 (Бор. Бад.), *ušat-* 3 (Бор. Бад., Abush., Pav. C.); Uzb. *ušal-* 2, *ušɔq* 1; Uygh. *ušaq* (dial.), *uššaq* 1; Kirgh. *ušat-* 3, *ušaq* 1; Kaz. *ŭsaq* 1, *ŭsat-* 3; KKalp. *usaq* 1, *usat-* 3; Khak. *uzax* 1; Oyr. *uža-* 3.

◊ EDT 16, 262 (deriving the forms from *uvša-* which is hardly the case), ЭСТЯ 1, 617-618.

PKor. ***ori-** to mince, cut small (размельчать, мелко резать): MKor. *ori-*; Mod. *ori-*.

◊ Liu 576, KED 1199.

‖ For the meaning in TM cf. the semantics in Mong. (both 'crush into pieces' and 'boil (down to softness)'.

✱**ŭĺi (~ -e)** to freeze: Tung. ***ula-n**; Turk. ***üĺi- / *üli-**.

PTung. ***ula-n** 1 frazil 2 glade, polynia (1 наледь 2 полынья): Evk. *ulān* 1; Neg. *olan* 2; Ul. *ula(n)* 2; Nan. *olã* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 258.

PTurk. ***üĺi- (/*üli-)** 1 to freeze, congeal 2 to blow (of a cold wind) (1 замерзать 2 дуть (о холодном ветре)): OTurk. *üši-* 1; Karakh. *üši-* (MK) 1; Tur. *üšü-* 1; Gag. *üšü-* 1; Az. *üšü-*, dial. *üši-* 1; Turkm. dial. *üšī-* 1; MTurk. Kypch. *üši-* (CCum.); Krm. *üšü-* 1; Tat. *öše-* 1; Bashk. *öšö-* 1; Kirgh. *üšü-* 1; Kaz. *üsi-* 1; KKalp. *üsi-* 1; Kum. *üšü-* 1; Nogh. *üsi-* 1; Khak. *üzü-*, *uču-* 1; Oyr. *üžü-* 1; Tv. *ü'žü-*; Tof. *üši-*; Chuv. *vaš-* 2; Yak. *ülüj-* 1.

◊ VEWT 523, ЭСТЯ 1, 644-645, EDT 256-247, Мудрак Дисс. 154.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**ū́lpe** ground game: Tung. ***ulgu-kī**; Mong. ***olbo / olbi**; Turk. ***ūĺ**; Jpn. ***bəsə (~ -ua)**.

PTung. ***ulgu-kī** chipmunk (бурундук): Evk. *ulgukī*; Ul. *ulǯi*; Nan. *ulgi*; Orch. *uggukā̄*; Ud. *ugǯixi*.

◊ TMC 2,258.

PMong. ***(h)olbo / (h)olbi** flying squirrel (белка-летяга): WMong. *olbi*, *olbo* (L 608: *olbu*), *oliba*; Kh. *olbo*, *olbi*; Bur. *olbo*.

PTurk. ***ūĺ** lynx (рысь): Karakh. *üšek* (IM); Tur. *üšek*; Khak. *üs* (tab.); Shr. *üs*; Oyr. *ū̄s* (dial. - Leb.); Tv. *üs*; Tof. *üs*; Yak. *ū̄s*; Dolg. *üs-kis* 'sable'.

◊ VEWT 523, Щербак 1961, 141, Рас. ФиЛ 239, Лексика 159, Stachowski 254. The irregular reflex of *í in some Siberian languages presupposes tabooistic interlingual borrowings (Tuva < Yak., Shor < Khak.?).

PJpn. ***bəsə (~ -ua)** otter (выдра): MJpn. *woso*; Tok. *uso*.

◊ JLTT 512.

‖ Дыбо 9, Лексика 159.

✱**ulu(-kV, -gV)** lie: Tung. ***ulēk**; Mong. ***ulig**; Turk. ***ulak**; Jpn. ***ùsuâ**.

PTung. ***ulēk** lie (ложь): Evk. *ulēk*; Evn. *ölēk*; Neg. *ölöx*; Man. *uluken*; Orch. *oloki-* (v.); Sol. *ölō̄x*, *elō̄x*.

◊ TMC 2, 265.

PMong. ***ulig** molestation, derision (надоедливость, издевка): MMong. *ulgi-*, *ulki-* 'to slander' (SH); WMong. *uliɣ*; Kh. *ulig*; Kalm. *ulg* 'nonsense'.

◊ KW 448.

PTurk. ***ulak** slander (клевета): Karakh. *ušaq* (MK); MTurk. *ušuluq* 'suspicion' (Pav. C.), *ušaq* (CCum.); Uygh. *uššaq*; Tat. *ušaq* Tob. 'slanderer' (R); Bashk. *ošaq*; Kirgh. *ušaq*; KBalk. *ušaq* 'conversation'; Yak. *usxax* 'rumour'.

◊ VEWT 517, EDT 16 (confused with *uvšak* 'small').

PJpn. ***ùsuâ** lie (ложь): MJpn. *ùsó*; Tok. *úso*; Kyo. *ùsô*; Kag. *usó*.

◊ JLTT 564.

‖ Poppe AU 115 (Turk.-Mong., although Turk. **ulak* is not separated from **ub-ĺak* 'small' - which is the reason for Doerfer's objections in TMN 2, 63).

✱**úmu** to bear, give birth: Tung. ***omu- / *umu-**; Mong. ***(h)umaj**; Turk. ***umaj**; Jpn. ***úm-**; Kor. ***ūm**.

PTung. ***omu- / *umu-** 1 to lay eggs 2 offspring, descendant, grandchild (1 нести яйца 2 отпрыск, потомок, внук): Evk. *umū-* 1, *omolgī* 2; Evn. *omolgo* 2; Neg. *omolgị̄* 2; Man. *omolo* 2; SMan. *omələ* (887) 2; Jurch. *omo-lo* (285) 2; Orch. *omolā̃* 'daughter-in-law'; Ud. *omolo* 2; Sol. *omolī* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 17-18, 269 (see also **umūkta*). TM > Dag. *omol* 'grandchild' (Тод. Даг. 159).

PMong. ***(h)umaj** womb (утроба, чрево): MMong. *kindik umai* 'navel' (LH) (with *kindik* = Chag. *kindik* 'navel'); WMong. *umaj* (L 874); Kh. *umaj*; Bur. *umaj*; Kalm. *omā̃* 'woman-ancestor'; Ord. *umā̃*.

◊ KW 285.

PTurk. ***umaj** 1 placenta, afterbirth 2 goddess of birth (1 плацента, послед 2 богиня рождения): OTurk. *umaj* 2 (Orkh.), 1 (OUygh. - NPr); Karakh. *umaj* 1, 2 (MK); Tur. *umaǰi* 'bugaboo'; MTurk. (MKypch.) *umaj* 1 (Ettuhf.); Kirgh. *umaj* 2; Khak. *ɨmaj* 2; Shr. *umaj* 2 (R).

◊ EDT 164-165.

PJpn. ***úm-** to bear (рождать): OJpn. *um-*; MJpn. *úm-*; Tok. *ùm-*; Kyo. *úm-*; Kag. *úm-*.

◊ JLTT 779.

PKor. ***ūm** sprout, bud (росток, почка): MKor. *ūm*; Mod. *ūm*.

◊ Nam 392, KED 1248.

‖ The Mong. form may also be borrowed < Turk., see Щербак 1997, 166. Cf., on the other hand, Mong. *omuɣ* 'kin, clan' (which, however, may be a modification of the other attested form, Mong. *obuɣ* = Turk. **ōpa*, under the influence of the present root; Mong. > Yak., Dolg. *omuk*, see Stachowski 193).

✱**umuŋ(t)o** to forget: Tung. ***omŋa-**; Mong. ***umta-, *umarta-**; Turk. ***umnɨ-t- (~ -mŋ-)**.

PTung. ***omŋa-** to forget (забывать): Evk. *omŋo-*; Evn. *omŋo̞-*; Neg. *omŋo-*; Man. *oŋGo-*; SMan. *oŋə-, oŋu-* (1867); Ul. *oŋbo-*; Ork. *omGo-/oŋbo-*; Nan. *oŋbo-*; Orch. *omto-*; Ud. *oŋto-*; Sol. *omto-*.

◊ TMC 2, 17.

PMong. ***umta-, *umarta-** 1 to sleep 2 to forget (1 спать 2 забывать): MMong. *umarta-* 2, *umtara-*, *untara-* (SH), *unta-* 1 (HY 34, SH), *unta-* 1, *marta-* 2 (MA), *munṭə-* 1 (IM), *umart-* (LH, Lig.VMI); WMong. *umta-*, *unta-* 1, *umarta-* 2 (L 874); Kh. *unta-* 1, *marta-* 2; Bur. *unta-* 1, *marta* 2; Kalm. *untə-* 1, *martə-* 2; Ord. *unta-* 1, *marta-* 2; Mog. *nunta-* 1 (Ramstedt 1906), *mɔrta-* 2 (Weiers); Dag. *wanta-* (Тод. Даг. 129), *want-* 1, *marta-* (Тод. Даг. 154), *martə-* 2; *uante-* 1, *marete-* 2 (MD 189, 229); Dong. *huntura-* 1, *mata-* 2; Bao. *tera-* 1, *martə-* 2; S.-Yugh. *nda-*, *ntā-* 1, *martā-* 2; Mongr. *ntərā-*, *nćā-* (SM 285) 1, *mu(r)šda-*, *maršda-* (SM 251), *mašdā-* (Huzu) 2.

◊ KW 450, 257, MGCD 462, 676. The Mog. form and IM *munṭə-* are interesting: they may suggest an archaic PM form **um(u)nta-* 'sleep'.

PTurk. ***umnɨ-t- (~ -mŋ-)** to forget (забывать): OTurk. *unɨt-*, *unut-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *unɨt-* (MK); Tur. *unut-*; Gag. *unut-*; Az. *unut-*; Turkm. *unut-*; MTurk. *unut-* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *unut-*; Uygh. *unut-*; Krm. *unut-*; Tat. *ŭnŭt-*; Bashk. *ŭnŭt-*; Kirgh. *unut-*; Kaz. *ŭmɨt-*; KBalk. *unut-*; KKalp. *umɨt-*; Kum. *unut-*; Nogh. *umɨt-*; SUygh. *unut-*; Khak. *undu-*; Oyr. *undu-*, *uŋdu-*, *uŋtu-*; Tv. *ut-*; Chuv. *man-*; Yak. *umun-*; Dolg. *umun-*.

◊ EDT 179, VEWT 514, ЭСТЯ 1, 597-598, Stachowski 243 (reconstruction of *-ŋ- is possible because of forms like Oyr. *uŋtu-*, Sag. *uŋdu-*).

‖ EAS 116, Poppe 68-69, KW 450, VEWT 514, АПиПЯЯ 295. A Western isogloss.

✱**úmu-tki** egg: Tung. ***umūkta**; Mong. ***ömdege, *emdüge**; Turk. ***jumurtka**.

PTung. ***umū-kta** egg (яйцо): Evk. *umūkta*; Evn. *ụmtъ*; Neg. *omụkta*; Man. *umχan*, *umGan*; SMan. *umənan* (332); Ul. *omụqta*; Nan. *omaqta*; Orch. *umukta*; Ud. *umukta*; Sol. *ụmatta*.

◊ Formally derived from **umū-* 'to lay eggs'. See TMC 2, 269.

PMong. ***ömdege, *emdüge** egg (яйцо): MMong. *amdegan* (HY 16), *əndogɛ* (IM), *undägä* (MA); WMong. *öndege(n)*, *ömdege(n)*, *öndüge*, *ömdüge* (L 636); Kh. *öndög*; Bur. *ündege(n)*; Kalm. *öndəgə*; Ord. *öndögö*; Mog. *ündäγōn* (Ramstedt 1906); ZM *ondägän* (22-1a); Dag. *enduge* (Тод. Даг. 140, MD 143); Dong. *endeGi*; Bao. *ndegi*; Mongr. *ndige* (SM 263).

◊ KW 296. Mong. > Chuv. (nursery word) *maďak* 'egg'.

PTurk. ***jumurtka** egg (яйцо): OTurk. *jumurtγa*, *jumurγa* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jumurtγa* (MK); Tur. *jumurta*; Gag. *jɨmɨrta*; Az. *jumurta*; Turkm. *jumurtGa*; Sal. *jymū(r)dda*; Khal. *jumurqa*; MTurk. *jumurtγa* (Sangl.); Uzb. *jumurtqa* (dial.); Krm. *jɨmɨrta*, *imɨrtxa*; Tat. *jomɨrqa*; Bashk. *jomortqa*; Kirgh. *ǰumurtqa*; Kaz. *žụmɨrtqa*; KBalk. *zumurtqa*; KKalp. *žumurtqa*; Kum. *jɨmɨrtqa*; Nogh. *jumɨrtqa*; SUygh. *jomut*; Khak. *nɨmɨrxa*; Shr. *nɨbɨrtqa*, *nuburtqa* (Верб.); Oyr. *ďɨmɨrtqa*; Tv. *čuurγa*; Tof. *ńumurxa*; Chuv. *śъʷmarda*; Yak. *sɨmīt*; Dolg. *hɨmīt*.

◊ VEWT 211, EDT 938, ЭСТЯ 4, 250-251, Лексика 149, Stachowski 118.

‖ A Western isogloss. The stem may be derived from Common Altaic **úmu* 'to bear, give birth' q. v., see АПиПЯЯ 58, 281, Дыбо 10, Лексика 149. The Turkic form, however, must have also been influenced by PA **nāmo* 'testicle' (*and/or* **ǯi̯ŏmu* 'round'), which explains initial *j-.

✱**umV (~ *o-)** to drink: Tung. ***um(i)-**; Mong. ***umda**; Kor. ***mà-**.

PTung. ***um(i)-** to drink (пить): Evk. *um-*; Neg. *om-*; Man. *omi-*; SMan. *iomi-* (403); Jurch. *umi-La* (534); Ul. *ụmụwụ*; Ork. *umi-*; Nan. *omi-*; Orch. *imi-*; Ud. *umi-*; Sol. *imê-*, *imi-*, *êmu-*.

◊ TMC 2, 266.

PMong. ***um-da** 1 thirst, to be thirsty 2 a drink (1 жажда, хотеть пить 2 питье, напиток): MMong. *undan* (SH) 1, *ondu-* (IM), *unda'ān* 1 (MA), *umdān* 'Buttermilch' (LH); WMong. *umda* 2, *umdaɣas-* 1 (L 874); Kh. *undās-* 1, *und*, *undā* 2; Bur. *unda(n)*, *umda(n)* 1,2; Kalm. *undān*; *undṇ*, *umdṇ* 1; Ord. *unda* 1; Mog. *undō* 'a drink'; ZM *ondān* 'sour buttermilk' (15-4b); Dong. *undasu-*; Bao. *ndas-*; S.-Yugh. *ndas-*, *ndās-*; Mongr. *ndasə-* (SM 262) 1.

◊ KW 449, MGCD 675.

PKor. ***mà-** to drink (пить): MKor. *mà-sí-*; Mod. *masi-*.

◊ Nam 193, KED 563.

‖ Poppe 69, KW 457, АПиПЯЯ 45, 285, 290. Korean has a frequent initial vowel loss. Despite Doerfer MT 40, Rozycki 168, the Mong. form (attested already in the Secret History) cannot be a tungusism.

✱**umV ?** fire, to burn: Tung. ***omV-**; Turk. ***uma- ?**; Jpn. ***umati (?)**.

PTung. ***omV-** hearth (очаг): Nan. *oma*; Orch. *umuxi*.

◊ TMC 2, 16, 269.

PTurk. ***uma- ?** burn (жечь): Yak. *umat-*, *umaj-*; Dolg. *ubaj-*.

◊ Stachowski 239.

PJpn. ***umati (?)** fire(?) (огонь(?)):

◊ A Ryukyu word: cf. Nase *ʔmáčì*.

‖ A highly dubious comparison, because of extremely scarce reflexes in Turk. and Japanese.

✱**ŭnŋe** sound, voice: Tung. ***uŋ-**; Mong. ***uŋ-si-**; Turk. ***ün̄**.

PTung. ***uŋ-** 1 to cry, weep 2 to sing (1 плакать, рыдать 2 петь): Evk. *uŋa-* 2, *uŋkī-* 1; Evn. *ụńā-ụńā* 1 (onom.); Nan. *uŋgu-* 'to say, tell' (Он.).

◊ TMC 2, 278, 279.

PMong. ***uŋ-si-** to read, recite; to pray (читать, декламировать; молиться): MMong. *oŋši-* (HY 35), *uŋši-* 'to shout' (SH), *homš-* (IM), *ūngši-* 'to read' (LH); WMong. *uŋsi-* (L 877), *omsi-* (SM); Kh. *unši-*; Bur. *unša-*; Kalm. *umšə-* (KPC); Ord. *omši-*; Mog. *ɔmši-*, *umši-* 'to read, to sing' (Weiers); Dag. *onši-*; Dong. *uanšə-*; Bao. *oŋše-* (Тод. Бн.), *məši-*; S.-Yugh. *onši-*; Mongr. *mošə-* (SM 242), *moši-*.

◊ MGCD 676.

PTurk. ***ün̄** sound, voice (звук, голос): OTurk. *ün* (OUygh.); Karakh. *ün* (MK); Tur. *ün*; Az. *ün*; Turkm. *ün̄*; Sal. *un*; MTurk. *ün* (Бор. Бад., Pav. C.); Uzb. *un*; Uygh. *ün*; Krm. *ün*; Kirgh. *ün*; Kaz. *ün*; KBalk. *ün*; KKalp. *ün*; Nogh. *ün*; Khak. *ün*; Oyr. *ün*; Tv. *ün*.

◊ EDT 167, ЭСТЯ 1, 625-626.

‖ An expressive Western isogloss.

✱**ùntu (~ o-)** whirlpool, tide: Tung. ***onda-**; Mong. ***undu-**; Jpn. ***ùntu**.

PTung. ***onda-** 1 to rise (of water) 2 water (1 прибывать (о воде) 2 вода): Evn. *ōn(ed)*- 1, *ōndi* 2 (dial.); Nan. *onda-ǯi*- 'плавать около сети, но не попадать в нее (о рыбе, которая часто так ведет себя перед повышением или понижением уровня воды)' (On.).

◊ TMC 2, 18, 30.

PMong. ***(h)undu-** 1 to spurt, gush forth 2 fountain, well (1 бить ключом, струей 2 фонтан, источник): WMong. *undura*- 1 (L 876: *undur*-); Kh. *undra*- 1; Bur. *ondoli* 2; Kalm. *undṛ*- 1.

◊ KW 449.

PJpn. ***ùntu** whirlpool (водоворот): OJpn. *udu*; Tok. *úzu*; Kyo. *úzù*; Kag. *uzú*.

◊ JLTT 567. Tokyo points to **ùntú*, but Kyoto - rather to **ùntù*; Kagoshima *uzú* is ambiguous.

‖ Ozawa 59-60 (Mong.-Jpn.).

✱**uŋe** hollow, pit: Tung. ***uŋ-**; Mong. ***oŋgi-**; Turk. ***üŋ-**; Kor. ***òŋtáŋ- / *ùŋtə́ŋ-**.

PTung. ***uŋ-** 1 pit, hole 2 lair, den (1 яма 2 логовище (в хлеве для свиньи)): Evk. *uŋulu* 1; Neg. *oŋolo* 1; Man. *oŋGola*, *uŋGala* 1, *un* 2; Ul. *oŋGolo* 1; Nan. *oŋGolo* 1; Orch. *oŋgo* 1; Ud. *oŋgo* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 274, 280.

PMong. ***oŋgi-** 1 hole, nest 2 trough, vessel; ship (1 дыра, нора, гнездо 2 корыто, сосуд; лодка, корабль): MMong. *oŋqača* (HY 19), *unqača* (MA) 2, *ūnkɣača* (Lig.VMI) 2, *kuǯunin unqarqai* 'neck cavity' (MA); WMong. *oŋgi*, *oŋɣarqai*, *oŋɣurqai* (L 614) 1, *oŋɣuča* 2; Kh. *ongi*, *ongorxoi* 1, *ongoc* 2; Bur. *ongi* 1, *ongoso* 2; Kalm. *oŋǵə* 1, *oŋɣəcə* 2; Ord. *oŋgi* 1; Dong. *onGočo* 2; S.-Yugh. *oŋGorχi* 1, *oŋGočo* 2; Mongr. *uŋkuǯoG* (SM 473), *ŋgučaG* 2.

◊ KW 287, MGCD 529. Mong. *oŋguča* > Evk. *oŋkočo* etc. (Doerfer MT 123-124 suggests Mong. < TM, which is more dubious).

PTurk. ***üŋ-** 1 to dig, delve 2 hole, cave (1 копать, проковыривать 2 пещера, нора): OTurk. *üŋür* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *üŋ*- 1, *üŋür* 2 (MK); Uzb. *uŋur* 2; Uygh. *üŋgür* 2; Bashk. *ŭŋŭ*- 1; Kirgh. *üŋü*- 1, *üŋkür*- 2; Kaz. *ŭŋgi*- 1, *üŋgĭr* 2; KKalp. *üŋgi*- 1, *üŋgir* 2; Nogh. *üŋgi*- 1; Tv. *üŋɣür* 2.

◊ EDT 169, 188-189, ЭСТЯ 1, 634, VEWT 521. Turk. **üŋür* > Mong. *üŋgür* (Щербак 1997, 162).

PKor. ***òŋtáŋ- / *ùŋtə́ŋ-** pool, bog (лужа, яма, заполненная водой): MKor. *uŋtəŋ*, *ùŋtə́ŋ'í*; Mod. *uŋdəŋi*, *oŋdaŋi*.

◊ Liu 597, 598, KED 1251.

‖ KW 287, Rozycki 218. Despite Doerfer MT 111, TM cannot be borrowed from Mong. Mong. (and some Turkic reflexes) go back to a suffixed form **uŋe-kV(jV)*.

✱**uŋtʿe** back, buttock, behind: Tung. ***(x)unda-**; Mong. ***(h)ona-**; Kor. ***ə̄ŋtəŋʼi**.

PTung. ***(x)unda-** 1 sinew on the back 2 belt (1 спинное сухожилие 2 пояс): Evk. *unā* 1; Evn. *äinapin* 'украшение на переднике'; Neg. *ōnan* 1, *ońapun* 2; Man. *unda* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 18, 273, 458.

PMong. ***(h)ona-** croup, behind, anus (круп, ягодицы): WMong. *onduji-* 'to raise the backside (as a diving bird)' (L 613); Kh. *ondoj-* 'выдаваться (о крупе)'; Bur. *ondoj-* 'приподниматься задом (напр. о лошади)'; Kalm. *onā̆*; Ord. *onō*.

◊ KW 286.

PKor. ***ə̄ŋtəŋʼi** ass, behind (задница, зад): MKor. *əŋtəŋʼi*; Mod. *ə̄ŋdəŋi*.

◊ Liu 558, KED 1154.

‖ Дыбо 306.

✱**uŋtʿV** pole in the house: Tung. ***unde(ken)**; Mong. ***(h)uni-**.

PTung. ***unde(ken)** 1 board 2 horizontal pole in the house 3 house covering (1 доска 2 горизонтальная жердь в доме 3 покрышка чума): Evk. *une*, *unekēn* 3; Evn. *unen* 'dwelling place', dial. *unipkin* 2; Man. *undexen* 1; Ork. *une* 3; Nan. *undexẽ*; Orch. *uńi* 3; Ud. *wanehä* 2; Sol. *unexẽ̃* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 273, 274, 276. Evk. > Dolg. *ünēkēn* (see Stachowski 250).

PMong. ***(h)uni-** pole (supporting the upper yurt circle) (жердь (поддерживающая верхний круг юрты)): WMong. *uni(n)* (L 877); Kh. *uń*; Bur. *uńā*; Kalm. *uńṇ* (KPC); Ord. *uni*.

◊ Mong. > Evk. *unije* etc., see Doerfer MT 114.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss. See TMC 2, 274.

✱**ùpʿí** to grasp: Mong. ***(h)öb**; Turk. ***üp**; Jpn. ***ùmpà-p-**; Kor. ***op- / *up-**.

PMong. ***(h)öb** share, allotted part, inheritance (надел, доля, наследство): WMong. *öb* (L 627); Kh. *öv*.

PTurk. ***üp** 1 to rob, snatch, abduct 2 trophies, treasures (1 похищать, грабить 2 трофеи, сокровища): Karakh. *üple-* 1 (MK); Kirgh. *üp* 2; Shr. *öp* 2; Oyr. *üp* 2; Tv. *üp* 2, *üpte-* 1; Yak. *üp* 2.

◊ EDT 11, ЭСТЯ 1, 634-635, VEWT 521-522.

PJpn. ***ùmpà-p-** to grasp, seize (хватать, захватывать): OJpn. *ubap-*; MJpn. *ubaf-*; Tok. *ubá-*; Kyo. *úbá-*; Kag. *ubá-*.

◊ JLTT 777. The accent in Kagoshima is aberrant.

PKor. ***op- / *up-** to pick out, dig out (вытаскивать, выкапывать): MKor. *upui-*, *upɨi-*; Mod. *obi-*, *ubi-*.

◊ Liu 593, KED 1201, 1239.

‖ Despite VEWT 522, hardly borrowed in Turkic < Mongolian; the reverse direction is possible, but semantics of the Mong. word speaks rather against it.

✱**ŭra** female: Tung. ***oru-n**; Mong. ***(h)argali (?)**; Turk. ***urag-**.

PTung. ***oru-n** daughter-in-law (son's wife) (невестка (жена сына)): Man. *urun*; SMan. *orun* (927); Nan. *orõ*.

◊ TMC 2, 24.

PMong. ***(h)argali** female (of mountain ram) (самка архара): WMong. *arγali* (L 52); Kh. *argaĺ*; Bur. *argali*; Kalm. *argəĺi*; Ord. *argali*.

◊ KW 13, Mong. > Man. *argali*, see TMN 1, 121, Doerfer MT 135, Rozycki 20. The connection with **araγa* 'fang' (see, e.g., Аникин 94), is an obvious folk etymology.

PTurk. ***urag-** female (самка): Karakh. *uraγut* 'woman' (MK); Turkm. *urqačɨ*; MTurk. *urγačɨ* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *urγəči*; Krm. *ɨrγačɨ*; Tat. *ŭrγačɨ* (dial.); Bashk. *ŭrγasɨ*; Kirgh. *urγāčɨ*; Kaz. *ŭrγašɨ*; KKalp. *urγašɨ*; Nogh. *urγašɨ*.

◊ EDT 218, VEWT 515, ЭСТЯ 1, 603, Лексика 315.

‖ Basically a Turk.-Tung. isogloss. If Mong. *argali* is related, then Turk. **arkar* (see ЭСТЯ 1, 176, Лексика 155) 'mountain ram' must be an old Mong. loanword - which is somewhat dubious.

✱**ura (~ o-)** piebald, brown: Tung. ***(x)ur-**; Mong. ***orug**; Turk. ***or**.

PTung. ***(x)ur-** piebald (horse) (пегий (о лошади)): Man. *urlu*.

◊ TMC 2, 286. Attested only in Manchu, but with probable external parallels.

PMong. ***orug** 1 greyish, grey-brown 2 white horse with black back (1 сероватый 2 белый конь с черной спиной): MMong. *orox* 2 (SH); WMong. *oruγ* 1; Kh. *orog* 1; Kalm. *orəg* 1.

◊ KW 288.

PTurk. ***or** red-brown (of a horse) (каштаново-гнедой (о масти лошади)): Karakh. *or* (MK, IM); Bashk. *ur-γujan* 'заяц-русак'; Kaz. *or*; Oyr. *or* 'grey'; Yak. *or* 'blackish piebald'.

◊ EDT 192-193, VEWT 364.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**ūre** formerly, ancient: Tung. ***ūri-**; Mong. ***orai**; Turk. ***ür (~ *ör)**; Jpn. ***bətə-**.

PTung. ***ūri-** recently, formerly (некоторое время тому назад, давеча, недавно): Evk. *ūr*, *ūri*; Evn. *ɵ̄r*; Neg. *uj*; Ork. *ōra-pči*; Orch. *uja-da*.

◊ TMC 2, 281.

PMong. ***orai** evening, late, yesterday (вечер, поздно, вчера): WMong. *orai* (L 621: *orui*); Kh. *oroj*; Bur. *oroj*; Kalm. *orā* (KPC); Ord. *orõ*; Dag. *orē* (Тод. Даг. 160: *oŕē*), *oŕē* (MD 203); Bao. *χoro* 'late' (Тод. Бн.) (with a quite inexplicable *χ*-); S.-Yugh. *öröi*; Mongr. *urē* (SM 476), *urī*.

◊ MGCD 531. Mong. > Evk. *oroi* etc.

PTurk. ***ür (~ *ör)** long (of time) (долгий (о времени)): OTurk. *ür* (Orkh., OUygh.); Oyr. *ür*; Tv. *ür*; Yak. *ör*; Dolg. *ör*.

◊ EDT 193, VEWT 522, Лексика 84, Stachowski 200.

PJpn. ***bətə-** 1 day before yesterday 2 year before last (1 позавчера 2 в позапрошлом году): OJpn. *woto-tu-pji* 1, *woto-tosi* 2; Tok. *ototói* 1; Kyo. *ótótói* 1; Kag. *ototói* 1.

◊ JLTT 513. Original accent not quite clear. The root is also attested as OJ *woti* (< **bətə-i*) 'remote (past); remote (place)'.

‖ Cf. **i̯uŕo* (the two roots are very similar, but clearly distinguishable).

✱**ŭ̈ro (~ -u)** to grow: Tung. ***ure-**; Mong. ***urgu-**; Turk. ***ur**; Jpn. ***úrá-**; Kor. ***ōr**.

PTung. ***ure-** 1 to grow 2 sprout 3 bush (1 расти 2 росток 3 куст): Evk. *uruktu* 3; Man. *ursan* 2; Jurch. *uru-xe* 'ripe' (539); Nan. *ure-* 1, *urekte* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 323, 2, 286, 287.

PMong. ***urgu-** to grow (расти): MMong. *urqu-* (SH), *hurɣa-/urɣu-* (MA); WMong. *urɣu-* (L 881); Kh. *urga-*; Bur. *urga-*; Kalm. *urɣə-* (KPC); Ord. *urGu*; Mog. *urɣu-* (Ramstedt 1906); Dag. *orgu-*, (Тод. Даг. 160), *orege-* (MD 203), *orgo-*.

◊ MGCD 680.

PTurk. ***ur** growth, excrescence (нарост, опухоль): Tur. *ur*; Az. *ur*; Tat. *ŭrɨ*; Bashk. *ŭrŭ*; Kirgh. *ur*; Kaz. *ŭra*; Nogh. *urɨ*; Shr. *ur*; Oyr. *ur*; Tv. *uru*; Yak. *ur*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 1, 598-599. Turk. > Mong. *ur* id.

PJpn. ***úrá-** to ripen (зреть): MJpn. *úrá-*; Tok. *uré-*; Kyo. *ùrè-*; Kag. *uré-*.

◊ JLTT 779. Tokyo and Kyoto point to a variant **ùrá-*.

PKor. ***ōr** early ripening (рано созревающий): MKor. *ōr*; Mod. *ōl*.

◊ Liu 579, KED 1207.

‖ TMC 2, 286, Miller 1982, 402 (Jpn.-TM).

✱**úŕi** debt: Mong. ***öri**; Turk. ***üŕ-**; Jpn. ***úr-**.

PMong. ***öri** debt (долг): MMong. *uri* (IM); WMong. *öri* (L 641); Kh. *ör*; Bur. *üri*; Kalm. *ör*, *örṇ*; Ord. *örö(n)*; Dag. *ure* (MD 233), ur; Dong. *ori*; S.-Yugh. *ȫrə*; Mongr. *uri* (SM 475), *urə*.

◊ KW 298, MGCD 546.

PTurk. ***üŕ-** 1 to pay debts 2 thrifty (1 платить долги 2 бережливый, экономный): OTurk. *üz-* (OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *üz-* (MK) 1; Turkm. *üz-* 1; KBalk. *üz-* 'to gain profit'; Khak. *üzür* 2; Tv. *üz-*.

◊ EDT 280, VEWT 524. Should be distinguished from **üŕ-* 'to break, tear'.

PJpn. ***úr-** to sell (продавать): OJpn. *ur-*; MJpn. *úr-*; Tok. *ùr-*; Kyo. *úr-*; Kag. *úr-*.

◊ JLTT 779.

‖ See notes to *arV.

✱**ŭŕV** craftsman: Mong. ***uran**; Turk. ***ūŕ**.

PMong. ***uran** craftsman, art (мастер, ремесленник, искусство): MMong. *uran* (HY 27), *uran* 'craft' (IM); WMong. *ura(n)* (L 879); Kh. *ur(an)*; Bur. *uran*; Kalm. *urṇ* (KPC); Ord. *uran*; Dag. *waran* (Тод. Даг. 129), *uran* (Тод. Даг. 171); Dong. *uran*; S.-Yugh. *uran*; Mongr. *uran* (SM 473).

◊ MGCD 677.

PTurk. ***ūŕ** master, craftsman (мастер): OTurk. *uz* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *uz* (MK); Tur. *uz*; Gag. *uz*; Turkm. *ūz*; MTurk. *uz* (Pav. C.); Uygh. *us*; Kirgh. *uz*; Khak. *us*; Shr. *us*; Oyr. *us*; Tv. *us*; Yak. *ūs*; Dolg. *ūs*.

◊ EDT 277, ЭСТЯ 1, 569-570, Stachowski 248.

‖ Poppe 102. A Turk.-Mong. isogloss, but, despite TMN 2, 145, not Turk. > Mong. (-ŕ is not a suffix here!).

✱**ùso** a k. of clothing: Tung. ***usī-**; Jpn. ***əsə-**; Kor. ***ós**.

PTung. ***usī-** 1 to bind 2 belt, rope, binding 3 to lace (1 привязывать 2 ремень, веревка, завязка 3 стегать): Evk. *usī* 2, *usī-* 1; Evn. *usi* 2, *us-* 1; Neg. *usī* 2; Man. *uše* 2, *uše-* 3; Ul. *uesemse* 2; Ork. *ussi-* 1; Nan. *use* 2; Orch. *usi* 2; Ud. *uhi* 2; Sol. *ušī* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 290-291.

PJpn. ***əsə-** 1 to put on upper clothes 2 upper clothes (1 надевать верхнюю одежду 2 верхняя одежда): OJpn. *oso-kji*, *osu-pji* 2; MJpn. *osof-* 1, *osofi* 2.

◊ JLTT 512.

PKor. ***ós** clothes (одежда): MKor. *ós*; Mod. *ot [os]*.

◊ Nam 384, KED 1211.

‖ An Eastern isogloss. Cf. also Shor *uzan* 'наплечник вроде капюшона из козлиной кожи, надеваемый звероловами в мокрую погоду шерстью наружу'.

✱**úsu (~ o-, -i)** animal; cow: Tung. ***us-**; Jpn. ***úsí**; Kor. ***sjó**.

PTung. ***us-** 1 herd, flock 2 game, wild animal (1 стадо, стая 2 дикое животное): Evk. *usuŋa* 1; Evn. *ụsụ* 1; Ul. *uselte* 2; Ork. *uselte* 2; Nan. *uselte* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 292.

PJpn. ***úsí** cow, bull (корова, бык): OJpn. *usi*; MJpn. *úsí*; Tok. *ùshi*; Kyo. *úshí*; Kag. *úshi*.

◊ JLTT 564.

PKor. ***sjó** cow (корова): MKor. *sjó*; Mod. *so*.

◊ Nam 311, KED 968.

‖ An Eastern isogloss. Korean has a frequent initial vowel reduction.

✱**ŭtʿa (~ -t-)** to meet: Mong. ***učira-**; Turk. ***ut-**; Jpn. ***átá-**.

PMong. ***učira-** to meet (встречать): MMong. *učira-* (SH, HYt); WMong. *učira-* (L 859); Kh. *učra-*; Bur. *ušar-*; Kalm. *učr-* (KPC); Ord. *učira-*; Dag. *wačira-* (Тод. Даг. 129), *uačire* (MD 229); Dong. *vočəra-*, *očɨra-*; Mongr. *śʒurā-* (SM 393).

◊ MGCD 683. Mong. > Manchu *učara-* (see Rozycki 215).

PTurk. ***ut-** 1 to win 2 opposite (1 выигрывать 2 напротив, навстречу): OTurk. *ut-* 1, *utru* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *ut-* 1, *utru* 2 (MK); Tur. *ut-* 1; Az. *ut-* 1; Turkm. *ut-* 1; Khal. *ut-* 1; MTurk. *ut-* 1 (Pav. C.), *utru* 2 (Бор. Бад.); Uzb. *jut-* 1; Uygh. *ut-* 1; Krm. *ut-* 1, *uturu*, *utru* 2; Tat. *ŭt-* 1; Bashk. *ŭt-* 1, *ŭtŭrŭ* 2; Kirgh. *ut-* 1, *uturu* 2; Kaz. *ŭt-* 1; KBalk. *ut-* 1; KKalp. *ut-* 1; Kum. *ut-* 1; Nogh. *ut-* 1; SUygh. *utur* 2; Khak. *ut-* 1, *udur* 2; Oyr. *uduru*, *udura*, *udur* 2; Tv. *ut-* 1, *udur* 2; Chuv. *ъt-* 1; Yak. *utarɨ* 2; Dolg. *utarɨ* 2.

◊ EDT 38-39, 64, VEWT 517, ЭСТЯ 1, 609, 610-611, Stachowski 247.

PJpn. ***átá-** to attach, make fit; to fit (приделывать, приспосабливать, подходить): OJpn. *ata-*, *ata-r-*; MJpn. *átá-*, *átá-r-*; Tok. *àte-*, *àtar-*; Kyo. *até-*, *átár-*; Kag. *até-*, *atár-*.

◊ JLTT 678.

‖ Cf. **ùčʿe*.

✱**utʿà (~ *o-)** to be able, understand: Tung. ***util-**; Mong. ***(h)udka**; Jpn. ***ata-p-**; Kor. ***ə́tìr-**.

PTung. ***util-** to understand (понимать): Evn. *ụtṛl-*; Neg. *otịl-*; Man. *utulixequ* 'unattentive'; Ul. *ụtịlị-*; Ork. *uttulị-*; Nan. *otolịo-*.

◊ TMC 2, 293.

PMong. ***(h)udka** sense, reason, meaning (смысл, значение): WMong. *udqa* (L 862); Kh. *utga*; Bur. *udxa*; Kalm. *utxə*; Ord. *udxa*.

◊ KW 452.

PJpn. ***ata-p-** to be able (мочь, быть в состоянии): OJpn. *atap-*.

◊ JLTT 678.

PKor. ***ə́tìr-** to be able, wise (быть способным, мудрым): MKor. *ə́tìr-*; Mod. *əʒil-*.

◊ Nam 359, KED 1136.

‖ A derivative **utʿà-lV-* (probably **utʿà-li-* to account for the fronting of the second vowel) is reflectedin PTM **uti-l-* and Kor. *ə́tìr-*.

Z

✱**zagè** to prevent, obstruct: Tung. ***sagi-**; Mong. ***seg**; Turk. ***jɨg-**; Jpn. ***sək-**.

PTung. ***sagi-** 1 to be shy, timid 2 to worry about smth. (1 стесняться 2 беспокоиться о чем-л.): Evn. *haɣjiŋči-* 2; Neg. *saɣījin-* 1; Sol. *sāgildi-* 1; Nan. *sāgo-* 'спохватываться' (On.).

◊ TMC 2, 53.

PMong. ***seg** interruption; rest (перерыв; отдых): WMong. *seg* (L 681); Kh. *seg*; Kalm. *seg*; Ord. *seg*.

◊ KW 321. Cf. also WMong. *saɣali-* 'to avoid, shun' (L 657).

PTurk. ***jɨg-** to prevent, obstruct, restrain (препятствовать, сдерживать): Karakh. *jɨɣ-* (KB, AT, Tefs); MTurk. *jɨɣ-* (Abush.); Uygh. *jiɣ-*.

◊ VEWT 200, EDT 897.

PJpn. ***sək-** 1 to get distant 2 stay away from (1 отдаляться 2 отступать, держаться поодаль): OJpn. *sok-* 1, *soka-* 2.

◊ JLTT 755.

‖ The parallel appears plausible, with the semantics 'prevent' > 'interrupt' or 'prevent, be prevented from' > 'stay away from'.

✱**zakt´i** cushion, mat: Tung. ***sakta(n)**; Turk. ***jạ́tuk / *jạtŕuk**; Jpn. ***sitənia**; Kor. ***sàt**.

PTung. ***sakta-n** mat (циновка): Ul. *saqta(n)*; Nan. *saqtã*; Orch. *sakta(n)*.

◊ TMC 2, 57.

PTurk. ***jạ́tuk / *jạtŕuk** 1 pillow 2 to prop on a pillow (1 подушка 2 опирать(ся) на подушку): OTurk. *jastuq* 'pillow-shaped ingot of silver' (OUygh.); Karakh. *jastuq* 1, *jasta-* 2; Tur. *jastɨk* 1, *jasta-* 2; Gag. *jastɨq* 1; Az. *jassɨx* (dial.) 1; Turkm. *jassɨq* 1; Sal. *jastux* 1; Khal. *jastuq* 1; MTurk. *jastuq* 1 (AH); Uzb. *jɔstiq* 1; Uygh. *jastuq* 1; Krm. *jastɨq* 1; Tat. *jastɨq* 1; Bashk. *jaθtɨq* 1; Kirgh. *ʒazdɨq*, *ʒastɨq* 1, *ʒazda-*, *ʒasta-* 2; Kaz. *žastɨq* 1, *žasta-* 2; KBalk. *ʒastɨq*, *zastɨq* 1; KKalp. *dastɨq* 1, *žasta-*, *dasta-* 2; Kum. *jastɨq*, *jastuq* 1; Nogh. *jastɨq* 1; SUygh. *jastɨq* 1; Khak. *častɨx* 1, *časta-* 2; Shr. *častɨq* 1, *časta-* 2; Oyr. *jastɨq*, *d́astɨq* 1; Tv. *sɨrtɨq*, *sɨstɨq* 1; Chuv. *śidъr* 1; Yak. *sɨttɨk* 1, *sɨtta-* 2; Dolg. *hɨttɨk* 1.

◊ PT *ŕ is indicated by the Chuv. form and probably also (with rotacism) Tuva *sırtık*. Other forms for the most part reflect an assimilated **jaz-t-* > **jast-*. See VEWT 191, ЭСТЯ 4, 154-155, EDT 974, Stachowski 121.

PJpn. ***sitənia** cushion (подушка): MJpn. *sìtònè*; Tok. *shìtone*; Kyo. *shítóné*; Kag. *shitoné*.

◊ JLTT 528. The reconstruction of accent here is uncertain: RJ and Kagoshima point to **sìtònià*, while both Kyoto and Tokyo - to **sítóniá*.

PKor. ***sàt** thin mat (тонкая циновка): MKor. *sàt*; Mod. *sat* [*sas*], *sat-čari*.

◊ Nam 290, KED 906. In modern Korean mixed with the reflex of **sàs-* 'bamboo chip', see **si̯úsa*.

‖ Closed *ạ in Turkic is probably an influence of **jạt-* 'to lie, sleep' (see **dẽ*).

✱**zǎli** wind: Tung. ***sal-di-**; Mong. ***salki**; Turk. ***jẹl**; Kor. ***sar-**.

PTung. ***sal-di-** cool wind (ветер (прохладный)): Evk. *saldin*.

◊ TMC 2, 58. Attested only in Evk., but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***salki** wind (ветер): WMong. *salki(n)* (L 665); Kh. *salxi*; Bur. *halxi(n)*; Kalm. *sälkṇ*, *saĺkṇ*; Ord. *salχin*; S.-Yugh. *salGən*; Mongr. *sarki* (SM 329), (MGCD *salkī*).

◊ KW 318, MGCD 591. Mong. > Turk. *salqın* 'cool day', Oyr. *salqın* etc., Kirgh. *salqın* 'wind' etc., see TMN 1, 341, VEWT 398, Щербак 1997, 209, Лексика 16, 41, ЭСТЯ 7, Stachowski 94.

PTurk. ***jẹl** wind (ветер): OTurk. *jel* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jẹl* (MK, KB); Tur. *jel*; Az. *jel*; Turkm. *jel*; Sal. *jel*; Khal. *jel*; MTurk. *jẹl* (MA); Uzb. *jel*; Uygh. *jäl*; Krm. *jel*; Tat. *ʒil*; Bashk. *jel*; Kirgh. *ʒel*; Kaz. *žel*; KBalk. *žel*; KKalp. *žel*; Kum. *jel*; SUygh. *jel*; Khak. *čil*; Shr. *čel*; Oyr. *jel*, *ďel*; Chuv. *śil*; Yak. *sillie* 'storm, whirlwind'.

◊ VEWT 195, EDT 916-917, ЭСТЯ 4, 174-175, Лексика 40. Bulg.> Hung. *szél* 'wind', see Gombocz 1912, MNyTESz 3, 705-706.

PKor. ***sar-** gentle, cool (of wind) (слабый, прохладный (о ветре)): Mod. *sallaŋ*, *səlləŋ*, *salgiraŋ*.

◊ KED 897.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 30, 285. Regular except for a somewhat unexpected closed *-ẹ- in Turkic.

✱**zàrá (~ -o)** skin: Tung. ***sarga-**; Mong. ***sari-**; Turk. ***jarı**; Jpn. ***sətə́ (~ ua)**.

PTung. ***sarga-** 1 upper layer of dried fish together with the skin 2 armour (1 верхний слой юколы вместе с кожей 2 панцирь): Nan. *sargali* (Он.) 1; Sol. *sarxi* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 66.

PMong. ***sari-** 1 sheep skin without hair 2 leather, pellicle 3 scrotum (1 овчина без шерсти 2 кожа, кожица 3 мошонка): MMong. *sarisu* 'goatskin, saffian' (MA 319); WMong. *sarmai* 1, *sari-su(n)* 2 (L 676),

saraγana-su, *saraγanag* 3; Kh. *sarmaj* 1, *sarś* 2, *sarānag* 3; Bur. *harmaj*, *harmaj* 1, *harha(n)* 2, *harāna* 3 (scrotum of animals); Kalm. *sarmā̆* 1, *sārsṇ* 2.

◊ KW 313, 319.

PTurk. ***jarɨ** 1 leather 2 pellicle (1 кожа 2 кожица): Turkm. *jarɨ* 1; MTurk. *jarɨ* (AH) 1; Tat. *jarɨ* 2; Bashk. *jarɨ* 2; Kum. *jari* 2; Shr. *čarɨγ* 1; Oyr. *jarū* 1; Yak. *sarɨ̄* 1, 2; Dolg. *harɨ̄* 2.

◊ ЭСТЯ 4, 146; Лексика 384, Stachowski 98.

PJpn. ***sə̀tə́ (~ ua)** external side (внешняя сторона): MJpn. *soto*; Tok. *sóto*; Kyo. *sòtó*; Kag. *sotó*.

◊ JLTT 531.

‖ Jpn. **sə̀tə́* instead of **sàtə́* as in a number of other cases, because of bad compatibility of *a and *ə in PJ.

✸**zego** young man, brave man: Mong. ***saγaka-**; Turk. ***jEgit / *jigit**; Kor. ***súh**.

PMong. ***saγaka-** 1 nomad neighbour 2 brave man (1 сосед по кочевью 2 храбрец): WMong. *saγaqalta* 1 (MXTTT); Kh. *sāxalt* 1; Bur. *hāxalzūr* 2; Mongr. *saGa* 'sarrasin' (SM 318).

PTurk. ***jEgit / *jigit** young man, brave man (юноша, храбрец): OTurk. *jigit* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jigit* (MK); Tur. *jijit*; Gag. *īt*; Az. *igit*; Turkm. *jigit*; Sal. *jihit*, *iχit*; MTurk. *jigit* (AH, Ettuhf.); Uzb. *jigit*; Uygh. *jigit*; Krm. *igit*; Tat. *jeget*; Bashk. *jeget*; Kirgh. *ǯigit*; Kaz. *žigit*; KBalk. *ǯigit*, *zigit*; KKalp. *žigit*; Kum. *jigit*, *igit*; Nogh. *jigit*; SUygh. *jigit*, *jigɨt*, *jɨgɨt*; Khak. *čīt*; Shr. *čiŋet*; Oyr. *ďīt*; Tof. *ńīt*.

◊ EDT 911, VEWT 203, TMN 4, 185, ЭСТЯ 4, 198-199, Лексика 301. Turk. > WMong. *jigede*, Kalm. *jēdə* (KW 218).

PKor. ***súh** male (самец): MKor. *sú* (*súh-*); Mod. *su-*.

◊ Nam 313, KED 998.

‖ In Korean one has to presume a rather natural semantic shift 'young man' > 'male'.

✸**zejĺu** metal: Tung. ***sele**; Mong. ***seleme**; Turk. ***jElme-**; Jpn. ***sunsu**; Kor. ***sói**.

PTung. ***sele** iron (железо): Evk. *sele*; Evn. *hel*; Neg. *sele*; Man. *sele*; SMan. *selə* (2116); Jurch. *sele* (574); Ul. *sele*; Ork. *sele*; Nan. *sele*; Orch. *sele*; Ud. *sele*; Sol. *sele*.

◊ TMC 2, 140.

PMong. ***seleme** sabre (сабля): WMong. *seleme*, *selme* (L 686); Kh. *selm*; Bur. *helme*; Kalm. *selmə*; Ord. *seleme*; Dag. *selmī* (Тод. Даг. 162), *selemij* (MD 207); S.-Yugh. *selme*; Mongr. *siləm*.

◊ KW 323, MGCD 598. Sukhebaatar and Rozycki 177 derive Mong. < Manchu *seleme* 'sable', but the direction of borrowing was rather reverse.

PTurk. ***jElme-** blade or upper part of sabre (лезвие или конец сабли): Tur. *jelme*, *jälman*, *jalman*, *jalɨm*; MTurk. *jalman* (Бор. Бад.); Kaz. *žalman* (dial.).

◊ VEWT 196, ЭСТЯ 4, 103-104, Лексика 412 (but relating here *jalma* 'quilted coat' is dubious).

PJpn. ***sunsu** tin (жесть, олово): OJpn. *suzu*; MJpn. *suzu*; Tok. *súzu*; Kyo. *súzù*; Kag. *súzu*.

◊ JLTT 535. Accent is not quite clear: Tokyo points to **sù(n)sú*, while Kyoto and Kagoshima - to **sú(n)sù*.

PKor. ***sói** metal (металл, железо): MKor. *sói*; Mod. *swe*.

◊ Liu 469, KED 995.

‖ KW 323, Poppe 29 (Mong.-Tung.), Лексика 412, Whitman 1985, 188, 234 (Kor.-Jpn.). In Turkic -lm- reflects *-Ĺm- ("Helimski's rule"). *-j- has to be reconstructed to account for the loss of -Í- in Kor. This is the only root pertaining to metal terminology that can be reconstructed for PA, and it is not quite clear what metal was meant (perhaps meteorite iron - it is highly dubious that the speakers of PA possessed any kind of developed metallurgy). Note that in the Turko-Mong. area the metal name as such was lost and preserved only within the name of iron objects (sabre, armour).

✱**zèjńa** new: Tung. ***seńe-**; Mong. ***sine**; Turk. ***janɨ / *jeŋi**; Kor. ***sái**.

PTung. ***seńe-** raw, unripe (сырой, недоспелый): Man. *seni-xun*, *seńe-xun*.

◊ TMC 2, 141. Attested only in Manchu, but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***sine** new (новый): MMong. *šini* (HY 6, SH), *sīni* (IM), *šinǎ*, *šini* (MA); WMong. *sine* (L 711); Kh. *šine*; Bur. *šene*; Kalm. *šinə*; Ord. *šine*; Dag. *šinken* (Тод. Даг. 184, MD 217); Dong. *šəni*, *šɨni*; Bao. *šine*; S.-Yugh. *šənə*; Mongr. *šəni* (SM 375), *śinə*.

◊ KW 358, MGCD 717. Cf. also WMong. *sene-r*, Kalm. *senr* 'new, fresh' (KW 324).

PTurk. ***janɨ / *jeŋi** new (новый): OTurk. *janɨ* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *janɨ* (MK); Tur. *jeni*; Gag. *jeni*; Az. *jeni*; Turkm. *janɨ* 'just, recently'; Sal. *janɨ*; Khal. *jängi*; MTurk. *janɨ* (MA, Abush.); Uzb. *jangụ*; Uygh. *jeŋi*; Krm. *jɨŋgɨ*; Tat. *jaŋa*; Bashk. *janɨ*; Kirgh. *ǯanɨ*; Kaz. *žaŋa*; KBalk. *žanɣɨ*; KKalp. *žaŋa*; Kum. *janɨ*; Nogh. *janɨ*; SUygh. *janɨ*; Khak. nā; Shr. na (Верб.); Oyr. *ďanɨ*; Tv. *čā*; Tof. *ńā̄*; Chuv. *śənə*; Yak. *saŋa*; Dolg. *haŋa*; *hiŋil* 'young'.

◊ VEWT 185 (Räsänen is deriving this word from **jān* 'side' which is quite improbable), EDT 943-4, ЭСТЯ 4, 124-125, Лексика 85, Stachowski 96, 104. Turk. > MMo, WMong. *ǯaŋgi*, Kalm. *zäŋǵə* 'news' (KW 470; doubts about this borrowing in TMN 1, 281, based on the early attestation of the meaning "discussion" in Mong., are hardly founded).

PKor. ***sái** new (новый): MKor. *sái*; Mod. *sä*.

◊ Nam 295, KED 919.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 58-59, 283, Лексика 85. Cf. also WMong. *saja*, Kalm. *sā* 'newly' (KW 316), EAS 72, probably a variant of the same root with different vocalization. Turkic reflects an attributive form (**jeŋi* < **jeń-ki*); medial *-j- has to be reconstructed because of the loss of *-ń- in Kor.

✱**zela** to be awake; to live: Tung. ***sele-**; Mong. ***sülde**; Turk. ***jạlaŋuk**; Kor. ***sār-**.

PTung. ***sele-** 1 to wake up 2 to rejoice (1 просыпаться 2 радоваться): Evk. *sele-* 1; Neg. *sele-* 1; Man. *sela-* 2; Ul. *sene-* 1; Nan. *sene-* 1; Orch. *sene-* 1; Ud. *sele-* 1.

◊ TMC 2, 141. Medial -n- in Ul., Nan. and Oroch is not quite clear. Cf. also Evk. *selē-* 'укорять, обвинять, чувствовать', Evn. *hele-* 'жалеть, сострадать' (ibid.).

PMong. ***sülde** energy, vitality (энергия, душа, жизненная сила): MMong. *sulder* (SH); WMong. *sülde* (L 743); Kh. *süld*; Bur. *hülde*; Kalm. *süldr*; Ord. *sülde*, *süldü*.

◊ KW 340.

PTurk. ***jạlaŋuk** person (человек): OTurk. *jalaŋuq* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jalŋuq* (MK, KB); Chuv. *śin(ъ)*.

◊ VEWT 182, EDT 930.

PKor. ***sār-** 1 to live 2 person (1 жить 2 человек): MKor. *sār-* 1, *sārăm* 2; Mod. *sāl-* 1, *sāram* 2.

◊ Nam 290, 293, KED 871, 897.

‖ The Mong. -ü-reflex is not quite clear: since -ld- is not simplified in this case, we may suspect that the original form was **süle-de*, probably with usual labialization metathesis < **selü-dü*, with consequent vowel reduction.

✱**zelo** naked: Mong. ***sildaŋ**; Turk. ***jạlɨŋ**.

PMong. ***sildaŋ** naked (голый): WMong. *sildaŋ*, *šaldaŋ* (L 750); Kh. *šaldan*.

PTurk. ***jạlɨŋ** 1 naked 2 single, lonely (1 голый 2 одинокий, единственный): OTurk. *jalɨŋ* 1, *jalŋus* 2 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *jalɨŋ* 1, *jalŋus* 2 (MK); Tur. *jalɨn* 1, *jalnɨz*, dial. *jalaŋɨz* 2; Gag. *jalɨn* 1, *jalnɨz* 2; Az. *jalɨn* 1, *jalnɨz* 2; Turkm. *jalaŋ* 1, *jalaŋač* 1, *jalŋīz* 2; Khal. *jalɣuz* 2; MTurk. *jalɨŋ* 1 (Pav. C.), *jalan*, *jalɨnšaq* 1 (Ettuhf.), *jalɨŋɨz*, *jalɨqɨz* 2 (Ettuhf.); Uzb. *jaĺäŋ* 1, *jɔllɣɨz* 2; Uygh. *jalaŋ* 1, *jalɣuz* 2; Krm. *jalɨn*, *jalan* 1, *jalɣɨz* 2; Tat. *jalan* 1 (dial.), *jalɣɨz* 2; Bashk. *jaŋɣɨδ* 2; Kirgh. *ǯalaŋ* 1, *ǯalɣɨz*, *ǯaŋɣɨz* 2; Kaz. *žalaŋ* 1, *žalɣɨz* 2; KBalk. *žalan*, *zalan* 1, *žanɣɨz*, *zanɣɨz* 2; KKalp. *žalaŋ* 1, *žalɣɨz* 2; Kum. *jalan* 1, *jaŋɣɨz*, *jaŋɨz* 2; Nogh. *jalaŋ* 1, *jalɣɨz* 2; SUygh. *jalɨŋ*, *jaŋ* 1, *jaŋɣɨs* 2; Khak. *čalaŋ* 1, *čalɣɨs* 2; Shr. *čalaŋ* 1, *čaɣɨs*, *naɣɨs*, *naŋɨs* 2; Oyr. *ďalaŋ* 1, *jaŋɨs*, *ďaŋɨs* 2; Tv. *čaŋɣɨs* 2; Yak. *sīńax*, *sɨgɨnńax* 1; Dolg. *hɨgɨnńak* 1.

◊ VEWT 182, EDT 929, 930, ЭСТЯ 4, 97-98, 104-106. Turk. > Kalm. *jalŋ* (KW 214). Cf. also **jalkɨ* 'single' (ЭСТЯ 4, 95), Stachowski 106, 118. Yak. *sɨgɨńńax* < **jalŋɨn-čak*; *soγotox* < **jalŋońak*.

‖ A Turk.-Mong. isogloss; cf. perhaps also Manchu *silχada*, *silχata* 'lonely, orphan' (= Turk. **jalk-*).

✱**zepʿi** to hold in mouth, gnaw: Tung. ***sepke-**; Turk. ***jap-**; Jpn. ***sipa-pur-**; Kor. ***sìp-**.

PTung. ***sepke-** 1 to grab (with teeth) 2 to grab 3 to nibble (of fish) (1 хватать (зубами) 2 хватать 3 клевать (о рыбе)): Evk. *sepke-* 2; Evn. *hepku-* 2; Neg. *sepkele-* 2; Man. *seke-* 3; Ul. *sekpen-* 1; Nan. *sekpen-* 1; Orch. *seppe-* 3; Ud. *sekpene-* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 144.

PTurk. ***jap-** 1 to lap 2 greedy 3 lickerish (1 лакать, жадно пить 2 жадный 3 лакомый): Khak. *jabɨlɨγ* 2 R 3, 281 (Koib., Kach.); *čapla-t-* 1, *čapsɨx* 3; Oyr. *japla-t-* 1; Yak. *sabɨrγā-* 1.

◊ A local Siberian root.

PJpn. ***sipa-pur-** to lick, gnaw (лизать, обсасывать, обгладывать): MJpn. *sifabur-*; Tok. *shabur-*.

PKor. ***sìp-** to hold in mouth, to chew (держать во рту, жевать): MKor. *sìp-*; Mod. *s:ip-*.

◊ Nam 327, KED 1064.

‖ An expressive root, but appears to be well reconstructable for PA.

✱**zēra** light; moon, moon cycle (year): Tung. ***sē**; Mong. ***sara**; Turk. ***jar-**; Jpn. ***sátúkúi**; Kor. ***sər / *sǎr**.

PTung. ***sē** year, age (год, возраст): Man. *se*; SMan. *sē* (2725); Jurch. *sejŋ-ŋer* (82); Ul. *sē*; Nan. *sē*; Orch. *sē*; Ud. *se*.

◊ TMC 2, 133.

PMong. ***sara** moon (луна): MMong. *sara* (HY 1, SH), *ṣarā*, *saran* (IM), *sara* (MA); WMong. *sara(n)* (L 674); Kh. *sar*; Bur. *hara*; Kalm. *sarə*; Ord. *sara(n)*; Dag. *sarūl* 'moon', *sar* 'month' (Тод. Даг. 162), *sare* 'month', *sareule* 'moon' (MD 206); Dong. *sara*; Bao. *sare*, *sera*; S.-Yugh. *sara*; Mongr. *sara* (SM 326).

◊ KW 313, MGCD 593.

PTurk. ***jar-** 1 to shine 2 to dawn 3 light 4 candle (1 светить 2 рассветать 3 свет 4 свеча): OTurk. *jaru-* 1, *jaruq* 3 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *jaru-* 1, *jaruq* 3 (MK); Tur. *jarɨk* 3 (dial.); Turkm. *jarɨq* 3 (dial.); Sal. *jarux* 3; MTurk. *jarɨ-* (AH), *jaru-* (Abush.) 1, *jaruq* 3 (Бор. Бад., Abush.); Uzb. *jɔri-* 1, *jɔruγ* 3; Uygh. *joru-* 1, *joruq* 3; Krm. *jarɨ-* 1, *jarɨq*, *jarɨx* 3; Tat. *jarɨq* 3 (dial.); Bashk. *jarɨq* 3 (dial.); Kirgh. *ǯar-*, *ǯarɨ-* 1, *ǯarɨq* 3; Kaz. *žarɨq* 3; KBalk. *ǯarɨq* 3; KKalp. *žarɨq* 3; Kum. *jarɨq* 3; Nogh. *jarɨq* 3; Khak. *čarɨ-* 1, *čarɨx* 3; Shr. *čar-*, *čarɨ-* 1; Oyr. *jar-*, *ďarɨ-* 1, *ďarɨq* 3; Tv. *čɨrɨ-* 1, *čarɨq* 3; Chuv. *śor-da* 4; Yak. *sarā-* 2 (but also *sɨrdā-*); Dolg. *hɨrdā-* 2.

◊ EDT 956, 962, 963, ЭСТЯ 4, 134-135, VEWT 189 (there are hardly reasons to consider the Chuv. word a borrowing), Федотов 2, 145, Stachowski 119. Turk. (Bulg.?) > Hung. *gyertya* 'candle', see Gombocz 1912.

PJpn. ***sátúkúi** fifth month of the moon calendar (пятый месяц лунного календаря): OJpn. *satuki*; MJpn. *satuki*; Tok. *sàtsuki*; Kyo. *sátsúkí*; Kag. *satsúki*.

◊ *sa-* is treated as a bound noun 'early (spring)' in JLTT 515.

PKor. ***sər / *sǎr** year, age (год, возраст): MKor. *sər / sǎr*; Mod. *sal; səl* 'beginning of the year'.

◊ Nam 290, 300, KED 896, 950.

‖ Lee 1958, 116 (Kor.-TM), АПиПЯЯ 294. Mong. *jara-* 'to shine, glimmer', which is usually compared with the PT form (see KW 216, Владимирцов 317, VEWT 189) is an obvious loanword from Turkic. Illich-Svitych (ОСНЯ 1, XV) regards Mong. *sara* as a prosodic variant of *sira-* 'yellow', which is hardly the case. Jpn. tone seems to contradict TM length, but the root is only attested in compounds and may be itself a contraction (see below), so the tone may well have been displaced. If the Jpn. word is indeed to be analysed as **sa-* 'early spring' (+ **tukui* 'month', 'moon'), then its original meaning must have been '(beginning of a new) moon cycle, season' - cf. the meaning 'season' in Kor. and TM, and especially 'beginning of the year' in Kor. (note that TM **sē bi-aga* has also the meaning 'first month of the year' > Manchu *se-bija*, Jurch. *sei-bi(a)ha*, see the discussion in Lee 1958). The form **sa* itself has to be explained as reflecting a suffixed **zēr(a)-gV* or **zēr(a)-ŋV* - cf. Jurch. *sejŋe-r* and Mong. **sara-γu-l*.

✱**zíni** shape, observation: Tung. ***sinma-**; Mong. ***sinʒi**; Turk. ***jint-**; Jpn. ***síná**.

PTung. ***sinma-** 1 to choose 2 to test (1 выбирать 2 испытывать, проверять): Evk. *sinma-* 1; Evn. *hīnmṭ-* 1; Man. *simne-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 89. Orok *sịlma-* has -l- probably under Mong. influence (Mong. *sili-* 'to choose'). Man. > Dag. *šimne-* (Тод. Даг. 183).

PMong. ***sinʒi** 1 shape, form 2 to investigate (1 вид, форма 2 наблюдать, исследовать): WMong. *sinʒi* 1, *sinʒile-* 2 (L 713, 714); Kh. *šinʒ* 1, *šinʒle-* 2; Bur. *šenže* 1 *šenžel-* 2; Kalm. *šinʒə* 1 (KPC); Ord. *šinʒi* 1.

PTurk. ***jint-** to search, seek (искать): Karakh. *jind-* (MK); Khak. *nindi-*; Tv. *čindi-*.

◊ EDT 946, VEWT 203.

PJpn. ***síná** kind, sort, quality (вид, род, качество): OJpn. *sina*; MJpn. *síná*; Tok. *shìna*; Kyo. *shíná*; Kag. *shiná*.

◊ JLTT 524.

‖ Poppe 115. Despite TMN 3, 315, hardly a loanword in Mong. < Turk.

✱**zìŋke** light, quiet: Tung. ***siŋkuti-***; Mong. ***siŋgen***; Turk. ***jeŋgül***; Jpn. ***sìntúka***.

PTung. ***siŋkuti-*** quiet, silent (тихий, молчаливый): Evk. *siŋti*; Evn. *hīkụti*; Nan. *siŋčien-* 'to become quiet, stop talking'.

◊ TMC 2, 91-92.

PMong. ***siŋgen*** liquid, thin, rare, light (жидкий, тонкий, редкий, легкий): WMong. *siŋgen* (L 712); Kh. *šingen*; Bur. *šengen*; Kalm. *šiŋgn̥* (KPC); Ord. *šiŋgen*; Mog. *siŋgōn* (Ramstedt 1906); Dag. *šeŋgen* (Тод. Даг. 184: *šiŋgen*); Dong. *šəngan*; Bao. *śiŋgaŋ*; S.-Yugh. *šeŋgen*; Mongr. *šəŋgen* (SM 368), *śingen*.

◊ MGCD 718.

PTurk. ***jeŋgü-l, jeŋi-k*** light (легкий): OTurk. *jenik*, *jöŋül* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jüŋül* (Tefs., IM), *jenik* 'light', *jeni-* 'to become light' (MK, KB); Tur. *jeni*, *jünül*, *jejni*; Gag. *jilin*; Az. *jüngül*, *jejin*; Turkm. *jeŋil*; Khal. *jiŋgil*, *jejin*; MTurk. *jeŋgil* (Sangl.), *jüngül* (MKypch. - Ettuhf.); Uzb. *jeŋil*; Uygh. *jenik*, *jeŋil*; Krm. *jeŋil*, *jeŋgil*, *jenil*; Tat. *ǯiŋel*; Bashk. *jeŋel*; Kirgh. *ǯeŋil*; Kaz. *žeŋil*; KBalk. *ǯeŋgil*, *žengil*, *zengil*; KKalp. *žeŋil*; Kum. *jeŋil*; Nogh. *jeŋil*; SUygh. *ǯig* (<**jeŋig*); Khak. *nīk* (< **jeŋik*); Oyr. *ďeŋil*; Tv. *čīk* (< **jeŋik*); Tof. *niŋeš*; Chuv. *śъʷmъʷl*.

◊ EDT 948, 950, VEWT 198, ЭСТЯ 4, 188, 184, Лексика 340. Turk. > Hung. *gyenge* 'weak', see Gombocz 1912.

PJpn. ***sìntúka*** quiet, silent (тихий, молчаливый): OJpn. *siduka*; MJpn. *sìdúka*; Tok. *shízuka*; Kyo. *shìzúkà*; Kag. *shizuká*.

◊ JLTT 529.

‖ The Turkic form may also have been influenced by PA **n̥iáŋa* q.v. The Jpn. form is probably metathesized: **sìntúka-* < **sìnkutá-* (= TM **siŋkuti-*).

✱**zīpe** a k. of predator: Tung. ***sibigē***; Mong. ***sibor***; Turk. ***jēbke***.

PTung. ***sibigē*** 1 wolf 2 bear (1 волк 2 медведь): Evk. *siwigē* 1, 2; Evn. *hewjö*, *hewje* 2; Orch. *sīwi* 'a mythical dog'.

◊ TMC 2, 75.

PMong. ***sibor*** panther (барс): Kh. *šovor*.

PTurk. ***jēbke*** wolverine (росомаха): Khak. *jekpe*; Tv. *čekpe*; Yak. *siegen*; Dolg. *hiegen*.

◊ VEWT 195, Stachowski 103.

‖ A Western isogloss. On Mong. *šeɣeken* see under **čágo*.

✱**zi̯ăbsa** lentil, pea: Tung. ***sibsV***; Mong. ***sisi***; Turk. ***jasɨ-muk***; Jpn. ***sasa(n)kai***.

PTung. ***sibsV*** lentils (чечевица): Man. *sisa*; Ul. *siusi*; Nan. *siusi*.

◊ TMC 2, 98, 100.

PMong. ***sisi*** 1 maize 2 sorgho 3 bean(s) (1 кукуруза 2 гаолян, сорго 3 боб(ы)): WMong. *sisi* 2 (L 719); Kh. *šiš* 2; Kalm. *šiš* 1, 3.

◊ KW 361.

PTurk. ***jasɨ-muk** lentil (чечевица): OTurk. *jasɨmuq* (OUygh.); Tur. *jasmɨk*; Turkm. *jasmɨq* (dial.); Sal. *jasmux*; MTurk. *jasmuq* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *jɔsmiq*; Uygh. *jesimuq*; Tat. *jasmɨq*; Bashk. *jaϑmɨq*; Kirgh. *ǯasɨmɨq* (dial.); Kaz. *žasɨmɨq* (dial.).

◊ EDT 975, VEWT 191, ЭСТЯ 4, 154, Лексика 464-465.

PJpn. ***sasa(n)kai** Vigna Catiang Endl. var sinensis King. (вигна, коровий горох): OJpn. *sasage*; MJpn. *sasage*; Tok. *sasage*.

◊ JLTT 518.

‖ In Mong. and Tung. the root may have been confused with a local Wanderwort for 'sorgho', cf. Man. *šušu* 'holcus sorghum', Nan. *sịso* id. (cf. also Rozycki 196); Kor. *susu* id. The direction of borrowings here is difficult to establish, but note that Mong. **sisi* violates the rule of dissimilation of fricatives - if it were genuine, we would rather expect **sisi* > **isi*. A possible scenario, therefore may presuppose a development of the meaning 'sorgho' (from 'lentils', 'peas') in the TM area, whence it penetrated into Mongolian and Korean. The root for 'lentil', 'pea' itself, preserved in Turkic, TM and Japanese, seems, however, common Altaic.

✸**zi̯à[kʿ]ó** to hang, droop: Tung. ***suka-**; Mong. ***segle-**; Jpn. ***sànka-**; Kor. ***suk-**.

PTung. ***suka-** 1 to hang, droop 2 aslant (1 свешиваться 2 набок, вкось): Man. *suḱa-* 1; Ork. *sụqatčị* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 121-122.

PMong. ***segle-** to hang on (tr.) (вешать на что-л.): WMong. *segle-*; Kalm. *segl-*.

◊ KW 321.

PJpn. ***sànka-** to lower, move down (опускать(ся)): OJpn. *saga-*, *saga-r-*; MJpn. *saga-*, *sàgá-r-*; Tok. *sagé-*, *sagár-*; Kyo. *sàgè-*, *ságár-*; Kag. *sàgè-*, *sàgàr-*.

◊ JLTT 745.

PKor. ***suk-** to droop (свисать): MKor. *suk-*; Mod. *suk-*.

◊ Liu 476, KED 1013.

‖ Martin 230 (Kor.-Jpn.). Kor. s- (not h-) before *-i̯a- requires reconstructing PA *z-. In TM one would rather expect **suxa-*.

✸**zi̯ălVbi** sorcery, witchcraft; to investigate (by magic power): Tung. ***silba-**; Mong. ***silbe-, *silmo**; Turk. ***jẹlbi-**; Jpn. ***sìrà(m)p-**; Kor. ***sjərb-**.

PTung. ***silba-** to promise, warn, report (обещать, предостерегать, указывать): Evk. *silba-*; Evn. *hịlbъ̣-*; Sol. *šilbā-*.

◊ TMC 2, 83.

PMong. ***silbe-, *silmo** 1 to behave indecently, glance around 2 devil (1 вести себя непристойно 2 демон, черт): MMong. *silmosun* 2 (HY); WMong. *sil(i)belǯi-* 1, *silmusu* 2 (L 707); Kh. *šilbelʒ-* 1, *šulmas* 2; Bur. *šolmos* 2; Kalm. *šilwē-* 1, *šulm* 2.

◊ KW 357, 367. The variant *simnu(s)* 'devil' is borrowed from OUygh. *šmnu*, Sogd. *šmnū*; but the -l- in *silmu-su* is quite unexplainable and must reflect a merger with an original root.

PTurk. ***jẹlbi** sorcery, witchcraft (волшебство, колдовство): OTurk. *jelbi* (Orkh.), *jelvi* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jelvi* (MK); Khak. *čəlbəgen* 'monster'; Shr. *čilbi*; Oyr. *jilbi*, *ǵilbi* 'sorcery', *jälbägän* 'monster'; Tv. *čilbi*; Yak. *ilbi* 'demoniac, possessed' (borrowed from a *j-language*?).

◊ EDT 919-920, ЭСТЯ 4, 202-203, VEWT 196 (> Mong. *ǯilbi).*

PJpn. ***sìrà(m)p-** 1 to tune, adjust to rhythm, play rhythmical music 2 to investigate (1 настраивать, играть ритмичную музыку 2 исследовать, проверять): MJpn. *sìràba-* 1, 2; Tok. *shirabé-* 2; Kyo. *shírábé-* 2; Kag. *shìràbè-* 2.

◊ JLTT 752.

PKor. ***sjərb-** to be annoyed, vexed, sad (быть раздраженным, расстроенным): MKor. *sjərp-* (-w-); Mod. *sərəp-* (-w-).

◊ Nam 305, KED 935.

‖ Superficially the root may be split into two ('investigate, report' and 'magic power, witchcraft, ritual'); they are, however, phonetically identical and probably represent a development of the single common meaning. In Korean one has to presuppose a semantic development 'be in a trance' > 'be vexed, sad'. The root may be related to Mong. *sili-* 'to choose', *silga-* 'to check, verify', Jpn. *sirus-* 'to denote', *sirusi* 'sign'.

✱**zi̯àmo** to hide, conceal: Tung. ***sume-**; Mong. ***sem**; Jpn. ***sàmá-**; Kor. ***súm-**.

PTung. ***sume-** to hide, conceal (прятать, скрывать): Evk. *sumet-*; Evn. *hum-*; Neg. *sumēt-*; Ul. *sumeči-*; Nan. *sumeči-* (On.); Orch. *sumeči-* 'whisper'; Ud. *sumemesi-* 'whisper'.

◊ TMC 2, 126.

PMong. ***sem** secretly (тайно, тихонько, украдкой): MMong. *sem*, *sim* (SH), *sɛm-* 'to keep silence' (IM), *sem* (MA); WMong. *sem* (L 687); Kh. *sem*; Bur. *hem*; Kalm. *sem*; Ord. *semēr*; Dong. *śiəmə*; Bao. *somkənaŋ*; S.-Yugh. *semēr*; Mongr. *səmugēr* (SM 343).

◊ KW 323, MGCD 598.

PJpn. ***sàmá-** to fade, abate (вянуть, блекнуть): MJpn. *sàmà-*; Tok. *samé-*; Kyo. *sàmè-*; Kag. *sàmè-*.

◊ JLTT 747.

PKor. ***súm-** to hide, conceal (прятать(ся)): MKor. *súm-*; Mod. *sūm-*.

◊ Nam 315, KED 1020.

‖ SKE 244-245. Initial *z- is reconstructed because of Kor. *s- (not h-).

✱**zi̯àni** ear, temple: Tung. ***sian**; Mong. ***sinaɣa**; Turk. ***jạjŋak**.

PTung. ***sian** ear (ухо): Evk. *sên*; Neg. *sên*; Man. *šan*; SMan. *šan*, *san* (25); Jurch. *sianŋ-ha* (497); Ul. *sê(n)*; Ork. *sê(n)*; Nan. *si̯ã*; Orch. *sã̄*; Sol. *šẽ*.

◊ TMC 2, 70-71.

PMong. ***sinaɣa** 1 temple 2 cheekbone (1 висок 2 скула): WMong. *sinaɣa*, *sina* 1 (L 710); Kh. *šanā* 1; Bur. *šanā* 2; Kalm. *šanā* 1; Dag. *šinā* (Тод. Даг. 184) 2; Mongr. *šənā* (SM 374).

◊ KW 348.

PTurk. ***jạjŋak** 1 cheek 2 jaw (1 щека 2 челюсть): Karakh. *jaŋaq* (MK) 2; Tur. *janak* 1; Gag. *janaq* 1; Az. *janaG* 1; Turkm. *jaŋaq* 1; Sal. *jaŋax* (ССЯ) 2; MTurk. *jaŋaq* (Abush., Sangl.) 1, 2; Uzb. *jɔnɔq* 2, (Kypch. dial.) *ǯaɣ* 1, 2; Uygh. *jaŋaq* 2; Krm. *janax*, *jajax*, *jaɣaq* 1, 2; Tat. *jaŋaq* 1; Bashk. *jaŋaq* 1, 2; Kirgh. *ǯāq* 2; Kaz. *žaq* 1, 2; KBalk. *ǯɨjaq* 1, 2; KKalp. *žaq* 1, 2; Kum. *jajaq* 1, 2; SUygh. *jaŋaq*, *jɨŋaq* 1; Khak. *nāx* 1; Shr. *nāq* 1; Oyr. *d́āk* 1, 2; Tv. *čāk* 1, 2; Yak. *sɨŋāx* 1, 2; Dolg. *hɨŋāk* 1, 2.

◊ EDT 948, VEWT 187, ЭСТЯ 4, 123, Лексика 219-220, Stachowski 119.

‖ KW 348. A Western isogloss. The Turkic reflex is difficult: on the one hand, it is usually not distinguished from **jaŋak* 'door post' (which actually can go back to a quite different source, see **p'i̯àŋk'i*); on the other hand, it may also be a modification of **jag-ŋak* and have a connection with TM **ǯegi* 'chin' (TMC 1, 281).

✱**zi̯àre** to cut, tear, shave: Tung. ***sir-**; Mong. ***sirka**; Turk. ***jara**; Jpn. ***sàr-**.

PTung. ***sir-** to cut, cut out (резать, кроить): Evk. *sir-*; Evn. *hir-*; Neg. *sij-*.

◊ TMC 2, 93-94.

PMong. ***sirka** wound (рана): MMong. *širqa-* 'to wound' (SH); WMong. *sirqa(n)* (L 719); Kh. *šarx*; Bur. *šarxa*; Kalm. *šarxə*; Ord. *šarxa*; Dag. *šerkire-* 'to feel sharp pain' (= WMong. *šarkira-*) (Тод. Даг. 183); Mongr. *sgirē-* 'causer une douleur lancinante' (SM 348).

◊ KW 350. Mong. > Oyr. *širqa*, Kirgh. *sɨrqa-* etc.

PTurk. ***jara** wound (рана): Tur. *jara*; Gag. *jara*; Az. *jara*; Turkm. *jara*; Khal. *jāra*; MTurk. *jara* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *jara*; Uygh. *jara*; Tat. *jara*; Kirgh. *ǯara*; Kaz. *žara*; KBalk. *ǯara*, *žara*, *zara*; KKalp. *žara*; Kum. *jara*; Nogh. *jara*.

◊ VEWT 189, ЭСТЯ 4, 139-140. Turk. > WMong. *jara*, Kalm. *jarə* (KW 215, Щербак 1997, 123, TMN 4, 54-55). Usually regarded as derived from **jār-* 'split' (q. v. sub **p'i̯ár̄V*), which may be possible if Khalaj length is original; however, shortness in Turkm. *jara*, as well as the probable connection with Mong. **sirka* 'wound' is contradicting it.

PJpn. ***sàr-** to cut, shave (резать, брить): OJpn. *sor-*; MJpn. *sòr-*; Tok. *sór-*; Kyo. *sòr-*; Kag. *sòr-*.

◊ JLTT 756.

‖ The root has a general meaning ‘cut’ in the Eastern area (TM and Japanese), and a more specialized meaning - ‘wound’ - in the Turko-Mongolian area; it is not quite clear which one is more archaic.

✱**zi̯ǎsu** disorder, devastation: Tung. ***suse / *susu**; Mong. ***(h)us-**; Turk. ***jās**; Jpn. ***súsá-**; Kor. ***sə̀sk-**.

PTung. ***suse / *susu** 1 disorder, mess 2 abandoned village (1 беспорядок, смута 2 покинутая деревня): Neg. *susu* 2; Man. *suse* 1, *susu* 2; Ul. *suse* 1, *susu* 2; Ork. *su* 2; Nan. *suse* 1, *susu* 2; Orch. *susu* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 131.

PMong. ***(h)us-** to disappear, perish (пропадать, погибать): WMong. *usta-* 1 (L 887: *usad-*); Kh. *usta-*; Ord. *usad-* ‘disparaitre pour de bon, finir dʹexister’.

PTurk. ***jās** 1 loss, damage 2 shame (1 потеря, вред 2 стыд): OTurk. *jas* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *jas* 1 (MK); Chuv. **śos* (> Mari *sös* “Gedächtnisfeier”, Hung. *gyász*, see Gombocz 1912); Yak. *sāt* 2, *sās-tāx* (folkl.) ‘enemy’; Dolg. *hātɨnnar-* ‘to shame smb.’.

◊ VEWT 191, ЭСТЯ 4, 150, EDT 973 (in modern languages hard to distinguish from the borrowed Arab. *ya’s* ‘despair, grief’ - but in Old Turkic no doubt genuine), Stachowski 100.

PJpn. ***súsá-** to become wild, come into disorder (дичать, приходить в упадок): OJpn. *susa-b-*; MJpn. *súsá-b-*; Tok. *sùsam-*; Kyo. *súsám-*; Kag. *susám-*.

◊ JLTT 759.

PKor. ***sə̀sk-** to mix, mix up (смешивать): MKor. *sə̀sk-*; Mod. *sək*:-.

◊ Nam 302, KED 942.

‖ Man. *sasuqu* ‘cards’, *sasu-* ‘to shuffle’ (TMC 2, 67) probably < Kor. Mong. **us-* < **sus-* through regular dissimilation (cf. **ši̯uba* etc.).

✱**zi̯ognV** sleeve: Tung. ***sūn**; Turk. ***jegn**; Jpn. ***suán-tài**.

PTung. ***sūn** clothes (одежда (верхняя), шуба): Evk. *sūn*; Neg. *sūn*; Ork. *sō(n)* ~ *sū(n)*; Sol. *sũ*.

◊ TMC 2, 126. Tung. > Yak. *suon.*

PTurk. ***jegn** sleeve (рукав): Karakh. *jeŋ* (MK, KB); Tur. *jen*; Gag. *jen*; Az. *jeng* (dial.); Turkm. *jeŋ*; MTurk. *jeŋ* (Ettuhf., Бор. Бад.); Uzb. *jeŋ*; Uygh. *jäŋ*; Krm. *jeng*, *jeŋg*, *jiŋ*; Tat. *ʒin*; Bashk. *jeŋ*; Kirgh. *ʒeŋ*; Kaz. *žeŋ*; KBalk. *ʒeŋ*, *zeŋ*; KKalp. *žeŋ*; Kum. *jeŋ*, *jeŋg*; Nogh. *jeŋ*; SUygh. *jiŋ*, *ʒin*; Khak. *nəŋ*; Shr. *neŋ*, *nā̄š*; Oyr. *jäŋ*, *ďeŋ*; Tv. *čeŋ*; Chuv. *śavnъ*; Yak. *siex*; Dolg. *hiek*, *hien*.

◊ VEWT 197, TMN 4, 203, EDT 940, ЭСТЯ 4, 186, Федотов 2, 84, Stachowski 103.

PJpn. ***suán-tài** sleeve (рукав): OJpn. *swode*; MJpn. *sódè*; Tok. *sòde*; Kyo. *sódé*; Kag. *sóde*.

◊ JLTT 529. Modern dialects point rather to **suántái*, but the RJ form must be more archaic. Note also OJ *so* 'cloth, dress' - which is marked as *so* in JB, but in fact could have also been *swo* (see Martin ibid.).

‖ High tone in Jpn. is probably due to contraction (**suán-tai* < **sugan-tai*, where -tai = **tai* 'hand'). If **zi̯ognV* (with a rare -gn- cluster) < **zi̯onV-gV*, the stem may be a derivation of **zi̯ōnu* 'fist, hand' q.v.

✸**zi̯ṓgtu** thigh, shank: Tung. ***sigdi-pu**; Mong. ***seɣüǯi**; Turk. ***jo(g)ta**.

PTung. ***sigdi-pu** metatarsus (предплюсна): Ork. *sigǯipu*.

◊ TMC 2, 77. Attested only in Orok, but having probable parallels in Turk. and Mong.

PMong. ***seɣüǯi** hip, thigh (бедро): MMong. *suǯi* (MA 219); WMong. *següǯi(n)* (L 684); Kh. *sū̃ž*; Bur. *hū̃že*; Kalm. *sū̃ǯə*; Ord. *sū̃ǯi*; Mog. ZM *souǯi* 'haunch' (2-6b); Dag. *seuǯi* (Тод. Даг. 163); Dong. *šiauǯie*; S.-Yugh. *sū̃ǯ*; Mongr. *sūǯi* (SM 357).

◊ KW 342, MGCD 615.

PTurk. ***jo(g)ta** 1 thigh, shank 2 body, stature (1 голень 2 туловище, стан): OTurk. *jota* (OUygh.) 1; Uzb. *žɔta* (dial.) 2; Uygh. *jota* 1; Kirgh. *ǯota* 1; Kaz. *žota* 1; KKalp. *žota* 2; SUygh. *jota*, *javta*, *jovta* 1; Khak. *čoda* 1; Shr. *čoda* 1; Oyr. *jodo*, *ḱodo* 1; Tv. *čoda* 1; Yak. *soto* 1.

◊ VEWT 207, ЭСТЯ 4, 29-30, Лексика 282-283.

‖ Лексика 283. A Western isogloss.

✸**zi̯oĺa** to shine, blaze: Tung. ***sulū-n**; Mong. ***soloŋga**; Turk. ***jạĺ(č)-**; Jpn. ***sas-**; Kor. ***sằr-**.

PTung. ***sulū-n** flame (пламя): Evk. *sulūn*.

◊ TMC 2, 125. Attested only in Evk., but with probable external parallels.

PMong. ***soloŋga** rainbow (радуга): MMong. *soraŋxa* (HY 2); WMong. *soluŋɣa* (L 726); Kh. *solongo*; Bur. *holongo*; Kalm. *solŋgъ*; Ord. *soloŋGo*; Dag. *sōloŋ* 'dream', *šāringī* 'rainbow'; Mongr. *suloŋGo*.

◊ KW 330.

PTurk. ***jạĺ(č)-** 1 to blaze, flame 2 lightning (1 сверкать, сиять 2 молния): OTurk. *jašu-* 1, *jašɨn* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *jašu-* 1, *jašɨn* 2 (MK); MTurk. *jašɨn* 2 (AH), *jašɨq* 'sun' (R.); Uzb. *jašin* 2; Tat. *jɛšen* 2; Bashk. *jäšen* 2; Kum. *jašɨn* 2; Nogh. *jasɨn* 2; Khak. *čazɨn* 2; Shr. *čažɨn* 2; Oyr. *jažɨn*, *ḱāžɨn* 2; Chuv. *śiś-* 1, *śiźəm* 2.

◊ EDT 977, 979, VEWT 192, ЭСТЯ 4, 149-150, Лексика 22-23. Turk. **jaĺɨn* > Mong. *jašin* 'lightning' (Щербак 1997, 123).

PJpn. ***sas-** to shine (светить): OJpn. *sas-*; MJpn. *sas-*; Tok. *sas-*.

◊ Usually not distinguished from the homonymous **sas-* 'to prick; to point', but attested with the meaning 'shine' already in Nara OJ.

PKor. ***sằr-** to burn, make a fire (зажигать, разводить огонь): MKor. *sằr-*; Mod. *sarɨ-*.

◊ Nam 291, KED 873.

‖ The match is quite regular except for the somewhat unexpected closed *-ạ- in Turkic.

✸**zi̯ōnu** fist, hand: Tung. ***siantu**; Kor. ***són**.

PTung. ***siantu** fist (кулак): Man. *sinda-x́a-* 'to clench fists'; Ul. *sêntụ*; Ork. *sêttụ*; Nan. *sịanto*, *sịantụ*; Orch. *sā̄antu*, *säntu*; Ud. *santu*.

◊ TMC 2, 69, 88.

PKor. ***són** hand (рука): MKor. *són*; Mod. *son*.

◊ Nam 308, KED 985.

‖ A Tung.-Kor. isogloss (but cf. notes to **zi̯ognV*).

✸**zi̯ŏta (~ *zā́to)** relative by marriage: Mong. ***sadu-n**; Turk. ***jāt**; Jpn. ***sátuá**.

PMong. ***sadu-n** relative by marriage; friend (свойственник; друг): MMong. *sadun* (HY 30), *ṣādəm* (IM); WMong. *sadun* (L 656); Kh. *sadan*; Kalm. *sadṇ*; Ord. *sadun*.

◊ KW 307.

PTurk. ***jāt** foreign(er) (чужой, иностранный): OTurk. *jat* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *jat* (MK); Tur. *jat* (dial.); Az. *jad*; Turkm. *jāt*; MTurk. *jat* (Pav. C., AH, Ettuhf.); Uzb. *jɔt*; Uygh. *jat*; Krm. *jat*; Tat. *jat*; Bashk. *jat*; Kirgh. *ʒat*; Kaz. *žat*; KKalp. *žat*; Kum. *jat*; Nogh. *jat*; Khak. *čat*; Oyr. *jat*, *d́at*.

◊ EDT 882, VEWT 192, ЭСТЯ 4, 158-159, Лексика 564. Turk. > WMong. *ʒad*, Kalm. *zad* (KW 462, Щербак 1997, 123).

PJpn. ***sátuá** adopted parents, tutors (приемные родители, воспитатели): MJpn. *sátó*; Tok. *sàto*; Kyo. *sátó*; Kag. *sátò*.

‖ Mong. > Man. *sadun* et al. (see Doerfer MT 119, Rozycki 172) > Kor. *sadon* (not < Chin.!).

✸**zi̯úko** to rot, ferment: Tung. ***sükü-**; Mong. ***sogsi-**; Turk. ***jog-urt-**; Jpn. ***súk-**.

PTung. ***sükü-** 1 turbid, muddy 2 swamp (1 мутный, грязный 2 топь, трясина): Evk. *siki* 1; Evn. *hịqụ* 1; Neg. *sịxī* 1; Nan. *suku* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 80-81, 122.

PMong. ***sogsi-** to become sour (of curdled milk) (перекисать (о простокваше)): WMong. *šoγšu-* (MXTTT 853); Kh. *šogši-*; Bur. *šogšo-*.

PTurk. ***jog-urt** curdled, coagulated milk (кислое, свернувшееся молоко): OTurk. *joγrot*, *juγut*, *juγrut* (OUygh.); Karakh. *juγrut*, *joγurt* (MK); Tur. *joγurt*, *jourt*; Gag. *jūrt*; Az. *joγurt*; Turkm. *joγurt*; MTurk. *jaγurt* (Houts., AH); Uzb. *ʒurγɔt* (dial.); Kirgh. *ʒūrat*; KBalk. *ʒuwurt*, *žuwurt*, *zuwurt*; Kum. *juwurt*; Nogh. *juwɨrt*; SUygh. *joγurt*, *juγurt*; Yak. *suorat*.

◊ EDT 905, ЭСТЯ 4, 207-208. For semantic reasons derivation from **jogur-* 'to knead' (TMN 4, 173) seems hardly plausible.

PJpn. ***súk-** to make paper (out of soaked mash) (делать бумагу (из размоченной пульпы)): OJpn. *suk-*; MJpn. *suk-*; Tok. *sùk-*; Kyo. *súk-*; Kag. *súk-*.

◊ JLTT 758.

‖ The Jpn. form can also reflect **sakʿV* 'to ferment' (q.v.).

✱**zi̯ŭldu** root, vein: Tung. ***suldu-**; Mong. ***sülde-sü**; Turk. ***jɨldɨŕ**.

PTung. ***suldu-** 1 to uproot 2 to tear (1 выкорчевывать, выдирать с корнем 2 драть, выдирать): Evk. *sullu-* (*suldu-*) 1; Evn. *hụlraq-* 1; Neg. *solol-* 1; Nan. *suldē-* 2.

◊ TMC 2, 125. Cf. also Evk. Chmk. *sulrus* 'root'.

PMong. ***sülde-sü** (bamboo) stem, stalk ((бамбуковый) стебель): WMong. *süldesü(n)* (L 743); Kh. *süldes*.

PTurk. ***jɨldɨŕ** root (корень): OTurk. *jɨltɨz* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jɨldɨz* (MK); MTurk. *iltɨz* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *ildiz*; Uygh. *iltiz*; SUygh. *jɨldɨs*; Khak. *čilege* (?); Yak. *silis*.

◊ VEWT 201, EDT 922, ЭСТЯ 1, 350, Лексика 109.

‖ Лексика 264. A Western isogloss.

✱**zi̯úĺa** spine, nape: Tung. ***suli-**; Mong. ***sili**; Turk. ***jɨĺ**; Jpn. ***sasu**.

PTung. ***suli-** 1 hump 2 back 3 mane 4 nape (1 горб 2 спина 3 грива 4 загривок): Evk. *sulīn* 1, 2; Ul. *suni* 3; Ork. *suli* 4; Nan. *solī*, *solγoŋto*, *soγlīn* 3; Orch. *sūli* 3.

◊ TMC 2, 70, 124.

PMong. ***sili** back of head, nape; mountain ridge (затылок, загривок; горный хребет): WMong. *sili* (L 706); Kh. *šil*; Bur. *šele*; Kalm. *šiĺə*; Ord. *šili(n)*, *šile(n)*; Dag. *šələ*.

◊ KW 356, MGCD 715. Mong. > Evk., Neg., Man. *sil* 'back of head, knife' (TMC 2, 82; Doerfer MT 124); > Oyr. *šili*.

PTurk. ***jɨĺ** 1 mountain forest, thicket 2 spine (1 горный лес, чаща 2 хребет): OTurk. *jɨš* 1 (Orkh.); Karakh. *jɨš* 'high ground' (MK); Tat. *jɨš* 1; Bashk. *jɨš* 1; Kirgh. *ǯɨš* 1; KKalp. *žɨs* 1; Khak. *čɨs* 1; Oyr. *ďɨš* 1; Yak. *sis* 1, 2; Dolg. *his* 1, 2.

◊ EDT 976, VEWT 202, ЭСТЯ 4, 44, Лексика 94-95, Stachowski 105.

PJpn. ***sasu** sticking edges of the roof beams (выступающие края балок крыши): OJpn. *sasu*.

‖ EAS 72.

✱**zi̯upi** a small hole; to pull through a hole: Tung. ***sibe-**; Mong. ***sübe**; Turk. ***jib**; Kor. ***sp-**.

PTung. ***sibe-** to pull out, pick out, clean a pipe (вытаскивать, выковыривать, прочищать трубку): Neg. *sije-lge-*; Man. *sibi-*; Ul. *sie-sie-*; Ork. *sīwe-*; Nan. *sije-si-*.

◊ TMC 2, 74, 80.

PMong. ***sübe** hole, ear of needle (дырка, иголочное ушко): MMong. *sube-s* (pl.) (SH), *sube* (MA 205); WMong. *sübe* (L 741); Kh. *süv*; Bur. *hübe*; Kalm. *süwə*; Ord. *süwe*; Mongr. *sūle-* 'enfiler' (SM 358).

◊ KW 341.

PTurk. ***jib** 1 seam 2 to sew (1 шов 2 шить): Karakh. *ji* 1 (MK); Tur. *jiv* 1; Az. *jiv* 1; Tat. *ǯöj* 1, *ǯöj-* 2; Bashk. *jöj* 1, *jöj-* 2; KKalp. *jüj* 1; Chuv. *śəʷvəʷ-* 2, *śəʷv* 1.

◊ EDT 911, ЭСТЯ 4, 197-198, VEWT 202-203. On the derived **jib-sek* (> **jüb-sek*, **jüg-sek*) 'thimble' see ЭСТЯ 4, 257-258, Stachowski 117. Bulg. > Hung. *szű-* in *szűcz* 'furrier, tailor' (**jib-či*), cf. MNyTESz 3, 810.

PKor. ***sp-** 1 to pick out, pluck out, draw 2 to be pulled out, fall out (1 выщипывать, вырывать, вытягивать 2 выдергиваться, выпадать): MKor. *spă-* 1, *spóp-tīt-* (-r-) 2; Mod. *p:ā̆-*, p:op- 1, *p:ā-ǯi-* 2.

◊ Nam 242, 263, KED 709, 745, 805.

‖ In Turk. **jib* < **jüb* (secondary dissimilation). Korean has a usual vowel reduction. Cf. also notes to **sīp'i* 'pipe'.

✱**zodgV** long hair: Tung. ***su(g)da-**; Mong. ***suda-**; Turk. ***jogdu**.

PTung. ***su(g)da-** temple; hair on the temples (висок; волосы на висках): Man. *sudan*.

◊ TMC 2, 119. Attested only in Manchu, but having probable Turkic and Mong. parallels.

PMong. ***suda-** thick fold of skin hanging from the throat of cattle, dewlap (подгрудок): WMong. *sudai* (L 734); Kh. *sudai* (БАМРС).

◊ Cf. also *sodu(n)*, *sudu* (L 723, 734) 'quill feather's of a bird's wing; long feather, plume'.

PTurk. ***jogdu** hair in camel's beard (волосы под подбородком у верблюда, льва и т.д.): Karakh. *joγdu*, *joγru(j)* (MK), *ǯoγdu* (Oghuz., Kypch. MK); Kirgh. *ǯoγdor*; Khak. *čoγdɨr*; Shr. *joγdra* 'tassel' (Верб.); Tv. *čoγdur*.

◊ EDT 899, ДТС 270, Clark 1977, 165. Turk. > WMong. *ǯoγdur* id.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**zŭli** sharp: Tung. ***suli-**; Mong. ***sülbe-**; Turk. ***jül-**; Jpn. ***suru-ntə-**.

PTung. ***suli-** to sharpen, sharp (заострять, острый): Evk. *sul-*; Evn. *höl-*; Neg. *sul-*; Man. *šulixun*; Ul. *suli-*; Ork. *suli-*; Nan. *suli-*; Orch. *sulu-*; Ud. *sulu-*.

◊ TMC 2, 123.

PMong. ***sülbe-** to prick, stick into (вкалывать, закалывать): WMong. *sülbe-* (MXTTT); Kh. *sülbe-*.

PTurk. ***jül-** 1 to shave 2 to tear off, scrape off (1 брить 2 срывать, соскребать): Karakh. *jüli-* 1 (MK); Tur. *jülü-* 1, 2; Turkm. *jül-me-* 1; MTurk. *jülü-* 1 (Ettuhf.); Krm. *ül-*, *ülü-*, *ili-* 1; Tat. *jöle-* (dial.) 2; KBalk. *žülü-* 1; Kum. *jülü-* 1; Tv. *čülü-* 1; Yak. *sül-* 2; Dolg. *hül-* 2.

◊ EDT 919, VEWT 213, ЭСТЯ 4, 216 (confused with **jol-* q.v. sub **ńǒlo*), Stachowski 115.

PJpn. ***suru-ntə-*** sharp (острый): MJpn. *súrúdó*, *sùrúdó*; Tok. *surudó-*; Kyo. *súrúdò-*; Kag. *surúdo-*.

◊ JLTT 856. Original accent is not clear.

‖ A good common Altaic root.

✱**zǜnti** a young animal: Tung. ***sōn-ŋa- / *sōn-da-***; Mong. ***sünde-sü***; Turk. ***junt**.

PTung. ***sōn-ŋa- / *sōn-da-*** young deer, deer calf (олененок, теленок): Evk. *sōnŋā*; Evn. *hōnŋъčān*; Neg. *sōnŋa-čān*; Ork. *sōndo(n)*; Orch. *soŋočo(n)*.

◊ TMC 2, 110-111.

PMong. ***sünde-sü*** female elk (самка лося): WMong. *sündesü*, *sundasu* (L 737); Kh. *sündes*.

PTurk. ***junt*** horse, mare (лошадь, кобыла): OTurk. *junt* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *junt* (MK); Tur. *jont*; MTurk. *junt* (Ettuhf.), *junad* (AH); SUygh. *jut, jot*; Yak. *sono-γos* 'young horse'.

◊ EDT 946, VEWT 211, ЭСТЯ 4, 253-254, TMN 4, 199-200. Despite Sinor 1965, 312, hardly a borrowing from Samoyed.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**zūru** hole, nest: Tung. ***suru***; Turk. ***jūr-tu***; Jpn. ***su***.

PTung. ***suru*** cave, lair (пещера, логово): Evk. *suru*; Evn. *hör*.

◊ TMC 2, 130.

PTurk. ***jūrtu*** hole, needle hole (ушко инструмента): Tur. *igne jurdusu* 'ушко иглы'; MTurk. *jurdu* 'ушко иглы, стрелы, топора' (Pav. C.); Chuv. *śъrda* 'ушко иглы, медали, промежуток для резинки на трусах'.

◊ VEWT 211, EDT 958 (sub *jurt*), Егоров 208, Федотов 2, 98.

PJpn. ***su*** nest (гнездо): OJpn. su; MJpn. *sú*; Tok. *sù*, *sú*; Kyo. *sú*; Kag. *sù*.

◊ JLTT 531. Original accent is not quite clear.

‖ Jpn. *su reflects a suffixed **zur(u)-gV*. For Turkic cf. alternatively Manchu *ǯurun* 'hole, cave'.

ǯ

✸**ǯa-** eight: Tung. ***ǯa-pkun**; Jpn. ***da-**.

PTung. ***ǯa-pkun** eight (восемь): Evk. *ǯapkun*; Evn. *ǯapqъn*; Neg. *ǯapkụn*; Man. *ǯaqun*; SMan. *ǯaqun* (2742); Jurch. *ǯa(h)kun* (643); Ul. *ǯaqpu(n)*; Ork. *ǯaqpụ(n)*; Nan. *ǯaqpõ*; Orch. *ǯappu(n)*; Ud. *ǯakpu(n)*; Sol. *ǯakkṵ̃*.

◊ TMC 1, 251.

PJpn. ***da-** eight (восемь): OJpn. *ja-*; MJpn. *já-*; Tok. *ya-tsú*; Kyo. *yá-tsù*; Kag. *ya-tsú*.

◊ JLTT 574. The accent, like in all numerals, is hard to reconstruct.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss. Cf. perhaps (with dialectal *ǯ- > j-?) MKor. *jə̀-t-* 'eight'.

✸**ǯabda** a k. of snake: Tung. ***ǯabdar**; Jpn. ***datua**.

PTung. ***ǯabdar** a big snake (большая змея): Evk. *ǯabdar*; Evn. *ǯabdъ*; Neg. *ǯabdan*, *ǯabdar*; Man. *ǯabǯan*; SMan. *ǯavəǯi* 'python' (2272); Ul. *ǯabda(n)*; Ork. *dabda*; Nan. *ǯabǯã*; Orch. *ǯabda*; Ud. *ǯabda*; Sol. *ǯagdã*.

◊ TMC 1, 239.

PJpn. ***datua** snake (змея): OJpn. *jatwo-no-kami*.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss. Cf. Turkm. *juvdarxā* 'monster, k. of dragon' (contaminated with *ažda*xa < Pers.?)

✸**ǯàdé (~ *ǯèdá)** pond, pool: Mong. ***ǯada-**; Jpn. ***dəntə́**.

PMong. ***ǯada-** pond, pool (пруд): WMong. *ǯadaɣai* (L 1021); Kalm. *zadəɣā̄ usṇ*, *zadəɣā usṇ* 'freies Wasser (nicht im Teiche od. Brunnen)'; Ord. *ǯadagā̄*.

◊ KW 463. There is some confusion between this root and *ǯadaɣai* 'open, unravelled', probably secondary.

PJpn. ***dəntə́** backwater (заводь): OJpn. *jodo*; MJpn. *jòdó*; Tok. *yodo*.

◊ JLTT 575.

‖ A Mong.-Jpn. isogloss. There may be, however, some traces in Turkic as well: cf. Karakh. (MK, see EDT 891-892) *jaδɨŋ suv* 'water spreading over the surface of the ground', closely paralleling, e.g., Khalkha *ʒadgaj usu* 'pond, pool'. Cf. also the old name of the Ural river, PT **jadɨk*, which is considered to be pre-Turkish (see EDT 981), but may be genuine. The attributive usage both in Turkic and Mongolian makes

one wonder whether the root in fact is not a specialization of PA **ǯādV* 'spread' q.v.

✱**ǯādV** to spread, unravel: Mong. ***ǯad-**; Turk. ***jĀd-**.

PMong. ***ǯad-** to untie, unleash (развязывать, раскладывать): WMong. *ǯadaji-*, *ǯadula-* (L 1021: *ǯadal-*, *ǯadala-*); Kh. *ʒadla-*, *ʒadra-*; Bur. *zadal-*, *zadar-*; Kalm. *zadḷ-* 'to provoke', *zadər-* (KPC); Ord. *ǯadara-* 'se répandre (secret, nouvelle)'; Dag. *ǯadlā-*.

◊ MGCD 422.

PTurk. ***jĀd-** to spread (расстилать, распростирать): OTurk. *jad-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jaδ-* (MK); Tur. *jaj-*; Gag. *jaj-*; Az. *jaj-*; Turkm. *jāj-*; MTurk. *jaj-* (Pav. C., AH); Uzb. *jɔj-*; Uygh. *jaj-*; Krm. *jaj-*; Tat. *jaj-*; Bashk. *jäj-*; Kirgh. *ǯaj-*; Kaz. *žaj-*; KKalp. *žaj-*; Kum. *jaj-*; Nogh. *jaj-*; Oyr. *jaj-*, *ďaj-*; Tv. *čat-*.

◊ VEWT 177, ЭСТЯ 4, 76-77, 80, EDT 883-884.

‖ A Turk.-Mong. isogloss. Cf. perhaps Man. *dadara-* 'to spread; yawn' (TMC 1, 190; assimilation < **ǯadara-*?).

✱**ǯakʹV (~ č-)** gravel, pebbles: Tung. ***ǯaxar(a)**; Kor. ***čjàkà-**.

PTung. ***ǯaxar(a)** gravel, pebbles (галька): Man. *ǯaχara*, *ǯaχari*; Nan. *ǯaχar*.

◊ TMC 1, 244.

PKor. ***čjàkà-** 1 gravel, pebbles 2 mother of pearl (1 галька 2 перламутр): MKor. *čjàkài* 2, *čjakai-tor* 1; Mod. *čagal* 1, *čagä* 2.

◊ Nam 419, KED 1372.

‖ Lee 1958, 113. A Tung.-Kor. isogloss. Because of the MKor. form a reconstruction **ǯajkʹV* is also possible.

✱**ǯā́li** to ask, invite, lend: Mong. ***ǯala-**; Turk. ***jāl-**; Jpn. ***(d)írá-**.

PMong. ***ǯala-** to ask, invite (просить, приглашать): WMong. *ǯala-* (L 1029); Kh. *ʒala-*; Bur. *zala-*; Kalm. *zala-* (СЯОС); Ord. *ǯala-*.

PTurk. ***jāl-** 1 to ask, require 2 to hire, lease 3 price 4 servant 5 envoy 6 to be satisfied 7 to give satisfaction (1 просить, требовать 2 нанимать 3 цена, плата, наем 4 слуга 5 посол 6 получать удовлетворение, быть счастливым 7 давать удовлетворение): OTurk. *jalvar-*, *jalɨn-* (OUygh.) 1, *jalabač* (Orkh., Yen.), *jalavač* (OUygh.) 5, *jalčɨ-t-* 7 (OUygh.); Karakh. *jalvar-* 1, *jalavač*, *jalavar* 5 (MK); Tur. *jalvar-* 1, *jalavač* 5; Gag. *jalvar-* 1; Az. *jalvar-* 1; Turkm. *jalbar-*, *jalɨn-* 1, *jāllav* 3, *jālčɨ* 4 (dial.); MTurk. *jalbar-* 1 (MA), *jalɨn-* 1 (Abush.), *jal* (Буд.) 3, *jalavač* (AH) 5, *jalčɨ-* 6, 7 (Ettuhf., Pav. C.); Uzb. *jɔlwar-*, *jalin-* 1, *jɔllä-* 2, *jɔlči-* 6; Uygh. *jalbä(r)-*, *jalvar-*, *jelin-* 1, *jalči-* 6; Krm. *jalbar-*, *jalvar-* 1, *jal* 3, *jalčɨ-* 6; Tat. *jalvar-*, *jalɨn-* 1, *jalla-* 2, *jal* (Буд.) 3; Bashk. *jalbar-*, *jalɨn-* 1, *jalsɨ-* 6; Kirgh. *ǯalbar-*, *ǯalɨn-* 1, *ǯal* 3, *ǯalčɨ-* 6; Kaz. *žalbar-*, *žalɨn-* 1, *žal* 3; KBalk. *žalɨn-*, *zalɨn-* 1, *zal* 3; KKalp. *žalbar-* 1, *žal* 3, *žalšɨ-* 6; Kum. *jalbar-*, *jalɨn-* 1; Nogh.

jalbar-, *jalɨn-* 1; Khak. *čal* 3; Oyr. *jal*, *ɗal* 3, *jalbar-*, *ɗalbar-*, *jalɨn-*, *ɗalɨn-* 1; Tv. *čala-*, *čalwar-*, *čalɨn-* 1.

◊ VEWT 181-183, EDT 920, 921, 922, 931, ЭСТЯ 4, 84-85, 89, 92-93, 102-103, 107; TMN 4, 108, Щербак 1997, 121 (Turk. *jalbar-* > Mong. *ǯalbari-*). The root is no doubt archaic, but presents some problems: the deriving simple stem **jāl* is attested late, and there seems to be no vowel length in the derivatives **jalɨn-*, **jal-bar-* (although this may be a later secondary shortening). The peculiar suffixation in *jalbar-*, *jalabač*, *jalabar* caused some authors (see, e.g., Clauson in EDT) to suspect a loanword, but its source is unclear and the forms may as well be genuine (as are certainly the forms **jāl*, **jalɨn-*).

PJpn. ***(d)írá-** 1 to lend 2 to answer 3 answer (1 одалживать 2 отвечать; брать в долг 3 ответ): OJpn. *iras-* 1, *irap-* 2; MJpn. *írás-* 1, *iraf-* 2; Tok. *irae* 3.

◊ JLTT 698.

‖ The root is not widely represented outside the Turko-Mongolian area (only in Japanese), but the phonetic and semantic match appears to be quite satisfactory.

✸**ǯǻlo** to fasten, bind, hang: Tung. ***ǯala-n**; Mong. ***ǯalga-**; Turk. ***jala-**; Jpn. ***dái**; Kor. ***čȁrȁ-**.

PTung. ***ǯala-n** 1 joint 2 shoe straps 3 generation; world 4 plummet (1 сустав 2 завязки на унтах 3 поколение; мир 4 грузило): Evk. *ǯalan* 1, *ǯalaptun* 2; Evn. *ǯalъ̣n* 1, *ǯalъ̣pkịr* 2; Neg. *ǯalan* 1, *ǯalaptin* 4; Man. *ǯala(n)* 1, 3; SMan. *ǯalən* 1 (75); Jurch. *ǯa-la-an* (848) 3; Ul. *ǯala(n)* 1, 3; Ork. *dala(n)* 1, 3; Nan. *ǯalã* 1, 3; Orch. *ǯala(n)* 1, 3; Ud. *ǯala(n)* 1, 3.

◊ TMC 1, 245-246. Man. > Nan. (Naikh.) *jalo*, *jalonị* 'world' (TMC 1, 340), Dag. *ǯalan* (Тод. Даг. 142).

PMong. ***ǯalga-** to fasten, join (прикреплять, присоединять): MMong. *ǯalqa-* (SH); WMong. *ǯalɣa-* (L 1030); Kh. *ʒalga-*; Bur. *zalga-*; Kalm. *zalɣə-* (KPC); Ord. *ǯalGa-*; Dag. *ǯalga-* (Тод. Даг. 142), *ǯalegā-* (MD 175); Dong. *ǯanɣa-*; Bao. *ǯalχə-*; S.-Yugh. *ǯalGaǯab-*; Mongr. *ʒ́irGa-* (SM 92), *ǯalGā-*.

◊ MGCD 427. Mong. > Turk. (late attested) *jalɣa-* (ЭСТЯ 4, 12-13).

PTurk. ***jala-** 1 sacred band 2 flag 3 tie, strap (1 священная лента, веревочка, пучок волос (привязываемая к дереву или шаманской колотушке) 2 знамя, флаг 3 завязка, повязка): Turkm. *jalow* (dial.) 2; MTurk. *jalaw* (Бор. Бад.) 2; Uzb. *jalɔw* 2; Uygh. *ǯala* (dial.) 3; Tat. *jalaw* (dial.) 2, *jala* 3; Kirgh. *ǯalau* 2; Kaz. *žalaw* 2; KKalp. *žalaw* 2; SUygh. *ǯala* 3; Khak. *čala(ŋ)ma* 1, *čalā* 3; Shr. *čala* 3, *čalaba* 1; Oyr. *jalaɣa*, *ɗalaɣa* 3, *jalama*, *ɗalama* 1; Tv. *čalā* 3, *čalama* 1; Yak. *salama* 1.

◊ ЭСТЯ 4, 99-100, VEWT 181. Turk. **jala-gu*, **jala-ga* and **jala-ma* seem to be derived from a common root, thus it is most probable that Mong. *ǯalama* 'sacred strips' and *ǯalaɣa* 'tassel, thick silk thread' are borrowed from Turkic and not vice versa.

PJpn. ***dái** handle (ручка, рукоятка): OJpn. *je*; MJpn. é; Tok. *è*; Kyo. *é*; Kag. *é*.

◊ JLTT 392.

PKor. ***čȁrȁ-** 1 to hang up, strangle 2 handle (1 подвешивать, завязывать, стягивать 2 ручка, рукоятка): MKor. *čȁrȁ-* 1, *čȁrò*, *čȁrȁ*, *čȁr* 2; Mod. *čari-* 1, *čaru* 2.

◊ Nam 412, 416, KED 1376.

‖ Despite Doerfer MT 23, TM cannot be borrowed from Mong. Jpn. **dá-* presupposes a suffixed **ǯál(o)-gV*, cf. Mong. *ǯal-ga-*.

✱**ǯálV** saliva: Tung. ***ǯali-**; Mong. ***ǯal-gi- / *ǯal-ka-**; Turk. ***jālga-**.

PTung. ***ǯali-** 1 spittle, saliva 2 to wet with spittle, take into mouth (1 слюна 2 смачивать слюной, брать в рот): Evk. *ǯaliksa* 1, *ǯalma-* 2; Evn. *ǯalsъ* 1; Neg. *ǯalsa* 1, *ǯalma-* 2; Ul. *ǯịlaụqsa* 1; Ork. *ǯêlusqa* 1; Nan. *ǯịloqsa* 1; Orch. *dileske*, *duluksa* 1; Ud. *ǯalehä* 1; Sol. *ǯalikči* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 246.

PMong. ***ǯal-gi- / *ǯal-ka-** 1 to swallow 2 phlegm (1 глотать 2 мокрота): MMong. *ǯalgi-*, *ǯalki-* (SH); WMong. *ǯalgi-* 1 (L 1031), *ǯalqaγ* 2 (MXTTT); Kh. *ʒalgi-* 1, *ʒalxag* 2; Bur. *zalgi-* 1, *zalxag* 2; Kalm. *zaĺgə-* 1 (KPC); Ord. *ǯalgi-* 1; Dag. *ǯalgi-* (Тод. Даг. 142), *ǯilehe-* 1 (MD 178); Dong. *ǯanqəi-*; Bao. *ǯalχə-*; S.-Yugh. *ǯalGə-*; Mongr. *ćargi-* (SM 443), *čalga-* (Huzu).

◊ MGCD 427.

PTurk. ***jālga-** to lick (лизать): OTurk. *jalγa-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *jalγa-*, *jalva-* (MK); Tur. *jala-*; Gag. *jala-*; Az. *jala-*; Turkm. *jāla-*; Sal. *jala-*; Khal. *jalγa-*; MTurk. *jala-* (Pav. C., MA, AH, Ettuhf.); Uzb. *jalä-*; Uygh. *jala-*; Krm. *jala-*; Tat. *jala-*; Bashk. *jala-*; Kirgh. *ǯala-*; Kaz. *žala-*; KKalp. *žala-*; Kum. *jala-*; Nogh. *jala-*; SUygh. *jalγa-*, *jaγla-*; Khak. *čalγa-*; Shr. *čalγa-*; Oyr. *jala-*, *ḱala-*; Tv. *čɨlγa-*; Chuv. *śula-* / *śъvla*; Yak. *salā-*; Dolg. *halan-*.

◊ VEWT 182, EDT 926-927, ЭСТЯ 4, 87-88 (with Turkm. *jala-*), Федотов 2, 132, Stachowski 94. The deriving stem can perhaps be found in Turkish, Gag., Az. *jal* 'food, mash given to dogs, animals' (see ЭСТЯ 4, 85); cf. also **jalgak* (ЭСТЯ 4, 90) 'dish for feeding animals'; **jalma-* 'to lick' (ЭСТЯ 4, 95).

‖ A Western isogloss (but cf. perhaps also Kor. *čult:i* 'throat'). Cf. also **ṭ́álu*.

✱**ǯape** a k. of tool: Tung. ***ǯab-**; Mong. ***ǯebe, *ǯeb-seg**; Turk. ***jib-**.

PTung. ***ǯab-** 1 arrow for a cross-bow, bolt 2 anvil 3 hammer (1 стрела (самострела) 2 наковальня 3 молот): Evn. *ǯābdaw* 3; Ul. *ǯabdụ(n)* 1, *ǯaụdụ* 2; Nan. *ǯabdu* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 239, 240.

PMong. ***ǯebe, *ǯeb-seg** 1 end of arrow 2 instrument, weapon, tool (1 наконечник стрелы 2 орудие, оружие): MMong. *ǯebele-* 'to fight with ǯebe weapons'; *ǯebsek* 2 (SH), *ǯebe* 2 (HYt), *ǯemṣel* 'axe' (IM), *ǯibsek* 'armour' (MA 204); WMong. *ǯebe* 1, *ǯebseg* 2 (L 1042); Kh. *ʒev* 1, *ʒevseg* 2;

Bur. *zebe* 1, *zebseg* 2; Kalm. *zer-zewə*, *zewsəg* 2 (KPC); Ord. *ǯiwe* 1, *ǯibseg* 2; S.-Yugh. *ǯemseg* 2.

◊ MGCD 440. Mong. > Chag. *ǯebe*, see TMN 1, 285-286, Щербак 1997, 204.

PTurk. ***jib-** 1 instrument, equipment 2 to provide, equip (1 инструмент, оборудование 2 оборудовать, снабжать): OTurk. *jivig* 1, *jivit-* 2 (OUygh.).

◊ EDT 872, 875.

‖ Menges 1951, 109. A Western isogloss. In Turkic **jɨb-* would be normally expected, but a shift ɨ > i after j- is rather common.

✸**ǯapʿù** to hold, connect: Tung. ***ǯapa-**; Mong. ***ǯaɣa-**; Turk. ***jAp-**; Jpn. ***dup-**; Kor. ***čàp-**.

PTung. ***ǯapa-** to catch, take hold (хватать, брать): Evk. *ǯawa-*; Evn. *ǯaw-*; Neg. *ǯawa-*; Man. *ǯafa-*; SMan. *ǯafə-*, *ǯavə-* (1522, 1539); Jurch. *ǯafa-biar* (364); Ul. *ǯapa-*; Ork. *dapa-*; Nan. *ǯapa-*; Orch. *ǯawa-*; Ud. *ǯawa-*; Sol. *ǯawa-*.

◊ TMC 1, 240-241.

PMong. ***ǯaɣa-** to be separated at joints; to join at joints (разделять по суставам; соединять по суставам): WMong. *ǯaɣa-* (L 1022); Kh. *ʒā-*; Bur. *zāra-* 'to break, scatter'; Kalm. *zā-* (KPC); Ord. *ǯāra-* 'se disjoindre'.

PTurk. ***jAp-** to make, create, arrange (делать, создавать, приготовлять): OTurk. *jap-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jap-* (MK); Tur. *jap-*; Gag. *jap-*; MTurk. *jap-* (Ettuhf.); Uygh. *jap-* (dial.); Tat. *jap-* (dial.).

◊ EDT 870-871; ЭСТЯ 4, 126-127, where arguments are given in favour of separating this verb from **jap-* 'to cover'.

PJpn. ***dup-** to tie, connect (связывать, соединять): OJpn. *jup-*; MJpn. *jùf-*, *júf-*; Tok. *yù-*; Kyo. *yú-*; Kag. *yú-*.

◊ JLTT 789. Accent reconstruction is not quite certain: modern dialects point rather to **dúp-* (although this may be due to contraction), while RJ has both *jùf-* and *júf-*.

PKor. ***čàp-** to catch, take hold (хватать, брать): MKor. *čàp-*; Mod. *čap-*.

◊ Liu 645, KED 1397.

‖ Poppe 28, EAS 64, Lee 1958, 113, Menges 1984, 266.

✸**ǯā́pʿV** crack, interstice: Tung. ***ǯapka**; Mong. ***ǯab**; Turk. ***jāp**.

PTung. ***ǯapka** 1 shore 2 space, interval, crack 3 near (1 берег 2 промежуток, щель 3 близкий): Evk. *ǯapka* 1; Evn. *ǯapqъ̣* 2; Neg. *ǯapka* 2; Man. *ǯaqa-* 'to make cracks, intervals'; Ul. *ǯaqpa* 3; Ork. *daqpa* / *dapqa* 2; Nan. *ǯaqpa* 2, 3; Orch. *ǯappa* 2, 3; Ud. *ǯakpa-* 'to pile up'; Sol. *ǯakka* 1, *ǯikka* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 250-251.

PMong. ***ǯab** 1 crack 2 gap, interval 3 leisure 4 corner of the mouth (1 щель 2 промежуток, интервал 3 свободное время 4 угол рта): MMong. *ǯabusar* (~ *süeni*) 'midnight' (HY 6), *ǯabsar* (MA) 1,2, *ǯaba*

'Felsspalte', *ʒabaʒi(n)* 4 (SH); WMong. *ʒab* 3, *ʒabaɣ* 1, *ʒabsar* 1, 2 (L 1018, 1019); Kh. *ʒav* 3; *ʒavsar* 1,2,3; *ʒavʒ* 4; Bur. *zab* 3; *zabag* 1, *zabhar* 2; Kalm. *zab*; *zawsṛ* 1; Ord. *ʒawaG* 1, *ʒabsar* 2, *ʒab* 3; Dag. *ʒabka* 2; *ʒebʒ* 4 (Тод. Дar. 141: *ʒabka*, *ʒabʒi*), *ʒabeke* 'ajar', *ʒabede-* 'be on time' (MD 174); Dong. *žava* 1, 2; Bao. *ʒabte* 'between'; S.-Yugh. *ʒab*; *ʒabsar* 2; *ʒawāʒə* 4; Mongr. *ʒabsar*, *ćabsar* (SM 75, 441) 2.

◊ KW 462, 468, MGCD 419, 420. Mong. > Kirgh. *ʒapsar* etc. Cf. also **ʒaɣa-* 'to separate, make room', **ʒaɣag* 'interval' (KW 469, MGCD 417), MMong. *ʒa'ura* 'between' (SH). Cf. also WMong. *ʒaji*, *ʒai*, Kalm. zã 'space, interval' (KW 470, MGCD 424). A Mong. source is probable for Nan. *ʒaor*, Bik. *ʒawara*, Ul. *ʒawụl* 'cross-road; place where rivers meet' etc. (TMC 1, 241): cf. WMong. *ʒabila-* 'to sit cross-legged' (MGCD 420). Mong. > Man. *ʒabdu-* 'to have leisure for' (see Rozycki 117-118).

PTurk. ***jāp** canal, ditch (канал): Turkm. *jāp*; MTurk. *jap* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *jɔp*; Kirgh. *ʒap*; Kaz. *žap*; KKalp. *žap*.

◊ VEWT 187, ЭСТЯ 4, 129 (with suggestion of an Iranian source: Khwar. *yāb* 'water').

‖ TMC 1, 251, АПиПЯЯ 293. A Western isogloss. For the semantics in Turkic cf. the TM derivatives: **ʒap-ku* 'afflux, influx' (TMC 1, 251), Man. *ʒajfan* 'place where rivers meet' (TMC 1, 241); a foreign source for **jāp* is, however, also not excluded.

✱**ʒapˊV(ÍV)** wormwood: Mong. ***ʒuwl-**; Turk. ***jabÍan (< *japÍan)**; Kor. ***čjəpɨi-**.

PMong. ***ʒuwl-** wormwood (полынь): WMong. *ʒultaɣana* (L 1079 'punk'), *ʒuulaŋ* (KW); Kh. *ʒuldargana*; Kalm. *zulŋ*, *zūlŋ*, *zultṛɣən*.

◊ KW 480.

PTurk. ***jabÍan** wormwood (полынь): Karakh. *japčan*, *javčan* (MK); Turkm. *jovšan*; MTurk. *jawšan*; Tv. *čašpan*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 4, 53-55, EDT 872.

PKor. ***čjəpɨi-** wormwood (полынь): MKor. *čjəpɨi-skor*; Mod. *čebi-s:ok*, *čebi-k:ol*.

◊ Liu 655, KED 1464.

‖ KW 480 - doubted by Doerfer in TMN 4, 223.

✱**ʒǎra** good, favourable: Tung. ***ʒari-n**; Turk. ***jara-**; Jpn. ***dərə-**; Kor. ***čar**.

PTung. ***ʒari-n** for, for the sake of (для, ради): Evk. *ʒarin*; Man. *ʒalin*; Sol. *ʒārī*.

◊ TMC 1, 253. -l- in Manchu is not quite clear.

PTurk. ***jara-** to be beneficial, useful, successful (годиться, быть годным, полезным): OTurk. *jara-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jara-* (MK); Tur. *jara-*; Gag. *jara-*; Az. *jara-*; Turkm. *jara-*; Sal. *jara-*; Khal. *jara-*; MTurk. *jara-* (Ettuhf.); Uzb. *jara-*; Uygh. *jara-*; Krm. *jara-*; Tat. *jara-*; Bashk. *jara-*; Kirgh. *ʒara-*; Kaz. *žara-*; KBalk. *zaras-*; KKalp. *žara-*; Kum. *jara-*; Nogh. *jara-*; SUygh. *jara-*; Khak. *čara-*; Shr. *čara-*; Oyr. *jara-*, *ďara-*; Chuv. *śoraś-* 'to reconcile'.

◊ EDT 956, VEWT 189, ЭСТЯ 4, 137-139, TMN 4, 56-57, 144, Федотов 2, 141. Turk. caus. **jarat-* > Hung. *gyárt-* 'to produce' (Gombocz 1912).

PJpn. ***dárə̀-** good, right (хороший, правильный): OJpn. *joro-si-*; MJpn. *jóró-si-*; Tok. *yòroshi-*, *yoroshí-*; Kyo. *yóròshì-*; Kag. *yoróshi-*.

◊ JLTT 845.

PKor. ***čar** well, favourably (хорошо, благоприятно): MKor. *čar*; Mod. *čal*.

◊ Liu 644, KED 1392.

‖ See PKE 24. Mong. *ʒaru-* 'to use, employ' may represent a merger of this root with **ʒi̯óra* 'send' q. v. MMong. *kerek ʒaraq* 'needs' - probably < Turk. (see Щербак 1997, 164). Jpn. **dárə̀-* instead of **dárə̀-* because of bad compatibility between *a and *ə in OJ.

✱**ʒaʒa** back, buttocks: Tung. ***ʒaʒa-**; Turk. ***jAja**.

PTung. ***ʒaʒa-** to carry on back (нести на спине): Man. *ʒaʒa-*; SMan. *ʒaʒi-* (1606); Nan. *ʒaʒa-*; Sol. *ʒiʒā-*.

◊ TMC 1, 256. Sol. > Dag. *ʒiʒā-* (Тод. Даг. 143).

PTurk. ***jAja** 1 buttocks 2 thigh 3 waist (1 ягодицы 2 ляжка 3 поясница): Karakh. *jaja* (MK) 1; Uzb. *ʒaja* 1; Kirgh. *ʒaja* 1; Kaz. *žaja* 1; Khak. *čaja* 3; Tv. *čajā* 2.

◊ EDT 980, VEWT 179, ЭСТЯ 4, 12, Лексика 281.

‖ Дыбо 5. A Turk.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**ʒāʒV** a k. of fish: Tung. ***ʒaʒiki**; Turk. ***jājɨn**.

PTung. ***ʒaʒiki** a k. of fish (вид рыбы): Neg. *ʒači̯n* 'big pike'; Man. *ʒaʒigi*, *ʒaʒixi* 'судак'; Nan. *ʒaʒi̯χĩ* 'верхогляд'; Orch. *ʒadigi* 'name of a fish'; Ud. *ʒoʒuɣo* 'sea goby'.

◊ TMC 1, 242, 254, 261.

PTurk. ***jājɨn** 1 sheat-fish 2 salmon (1 сом 2 лосось, семга): Tur. *jajɨn* 2; Turkm. *jājɨn* 1; MTurk. *jajɨn* 2 (AH); Tat. *ʒɛjen* 1; Bashk. *jäjen* 1; Kirgh. *ʒajɨn* 1; Kaz. *žajɨn* 1; KKalp. *žajɨn* 1; Nogh. *jajɨn* 1; Chuv. *śojъn*, *śoin* (dial.) 1.

◊ VEWT 179, ЭСТЯ 4, 80-81, Лексика 178, Федотов 2, 129.

‖ A Turk.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**ʒē** to eat: Tung. ***ʒe-p-**; Mong. ***ʒa- / *ʒe-**; Turk. ***jē-**; Jpn. ***da-pa-**; Kor. ***čā-**.

PTung. ***ʒe-p-** to eat (есть): Evk. *ʒep-*, *ʒeb-*; Evn. *ʒeb-*, *ʒep-*; Neg. *ʒep-*; Man. *ʒe-*; SMan. *ʒe-* (392); Jurch. *ʒe-fu* (535); Ul. *ʒeриwu*; Ork. *deptu-*; Nan. *ʒeb-*, *ʒep-*; Orch. *ʒepte-*; Ud. *ʒo-*, *ʒe-*, *ʒepte-*; Sol. *ʒeg-*, *ʒeb-*.

◊ TMC 1, 279-280.

PMong. ***ʒa- / *ʒe-** 1 meal 2 to be hungry (1 еда, пища 2 быть голодным): WMong. *ʒoɣog* 1 (L 1067: *ʒoɣuɣ*, *ʒoɣ*), *ʒemü-* 2; Kh. *ʒōg* 1; Bur. *ʒōg* 1; Kalm. *zōg* 1, *zöm-* 'to be thirsty' (KPC); Ord. *ʒōG*; S.-Yugh. *ʒūg* 1.

◊ MGCD 448.

PTurk. ***jē-** to eat (есть): OTurk. *je-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *je-*, *ję-* (MK, KB); Tur. *je-*; Gag. *i-*; Az. *je-*; Turkm. *ij-*; Sal. *ji-*; Khal. *jiē-*; MTurk. *je-* (Abush., Sangl.); Uzb. *je-*; Uygh. *jä-*; Krm. *je-*; Tat. *ʒim* 'food'; Bashk. *je-*; Kirgh. *ʒe-*; Kaz. *že-*; KBalk. *ʒeje-* (arch.); KKalp. *že-*; Kum. *je-*; Nogh. *je-*; SUygh. *ji-*; Khak. *če-*; Shr. *čī-*; Oyr. *ḑe-*; Tv. *či-*; Tof. *či-*; Chuv. *śi-*; Yak. *sie-*; Dolg. *hie-*.

◊ VEWT 194, EDT 869-70, ЭСТЯ 1, 333-335, Stachowski 102.

PJpn. ***dapa-** hungry (голодный): OJpn. *japa-*.

◊ JLTT 844.

PKor. ***čā-** to eat (есть): MKor. *čā-sí-*; Mod. *čāsi-*, *čapsu-*.

◊ Nam 411, KED 1380, 1398.

‖ EAS 65, Poppe 27, Lee 1958, 113, АПиПЯЯ 35, 281, Дыбо 13. Mong. **ʒoɣog* 'meal; pleasure' was alternatively compared (see KW 477) with PT **juba-* 'to enjoy; console' (see ЭСТЯ 4, 240-241) - which is not excluded, but does not weaken the rest of the etymology. The derived form with a labial suffix must have already existed in PA (Kor. *čap-* = TM **ʒe-p-* = PJ **da-pa-*). The root (one of a number of common Altaic monosyllabic roots) is quite valid, despite Doerfer's (TMN 4, 193) critical attempts. .

✱**ʒebò** soft: Mong. ***ʒöɣelen**; Turk. ***jabaĺ**; Jpn. ***dapara-**.

PMong. ***ʒöɣelen** soft, tender, weak (мягкий, нежный, слабый): MMong. *ʒue'elen* (HY 54), *ʒo'elen*, *ʒo'olen* (SH), *ʒuulen* (MA), *ʒūlen* (Lig.VMI); WMong. *ʒögelen* (L 1074); Kh. *ʒȫlön*; Bur. *zȫle(n)*; Kalm. *ʒȫln*; Ord. *ʒȫlön*; Dag. *ʒeulen* (Тод. Даг. 143 *ʒeulēn*), *ʒeulen* (MD 176); Dong. *ʒolien*; Bao. *ʒulaŋ*; S.-Yugh. *ʒū̃len*; Mongr. *ʒōlon* (SM 90), *ʒōlon*.

◊ KW 115, MGCD 455. Despite objections in Аникин 186, a Mong. loanword is perhaps Evk. *ʒulbe* 'soft, fluffy' etc. (see TMC 1, 272).

PTurk. ***jabaĺ** soft, mild; slow, quiet (мягкий, нежный; тихий, медленный): OTurk. *jabaš* (OUygh.); Karakh. *javaš* (MK); Tur. *javaš*; Gag. *javaš*; Az. *javaš*; Turkm. *juvaš*; MTurk. *javaš* (AH, Ettuhf.); Uzb. *jɔwwɔš*, *juwɔš*; Uygh. *javaš*, *juvaš*, *jugaš* (dial.); Tat. *juwaš*, *juaš*; Bashk. *jɨwaš*; Kirgh. *ʒōš*; Kaz. *žuwas*; KBalk. *ʒuwaš*; Kum. *javaš*, *juvaš*; Nogh. *juwas*; Khak. *čabas*; Shr. *čabaš*, *čobaš*; Oyr. *ḑoboš*; Tv. *čāš*.

◊ See VEWT 175, ЭСТЯ 4, 51-52, TMN 4, 207-208. Cf. also (with different suffixation) Karakh. *jav-il-* 'to become soft', *java* (*jer*) 'warm, cosy place'; Yak. *samaa-n* 'warm, favourable (of summer)'.

PJpn. ***dapara-** soft (мягкий): OJpn. *japara-ka-*; MJpn. *jáfárá-* / *jàfàra-*; Tok. *yawaráka-*; Kyo. *yáwárákà-*; Kag. *yawaraká-*.

◊ JLTT 575. Accent is not quite clear: RJ has a variation; the adjective seems to point to low tone (and thus reconstructed in JLTT), but the noun **dapara* (Tokyo *yàwara*, Kyoto *yáwárá*) presupposes rather **dápárá* (but Kagoshima here also has *yawará* < **dà-*).

‖ A common derivative **ʒebò-ÍV* is reflected in Turkic and Mongolian.

✱**ʒečʹi** enclosure, market-place: Tung. ***ʒeče-n**; Mong. ***ʒüčije (< *ʒičü-ge)**; Jpn. ***(d)ìtí**; Kor. ***čjəčə́i**.

PTung. ***ʒeče-n** boundary; border (межа; граница): Man. *ʒečen*; SMan. *ʒečən* (1033); Jurch. *ʒei̯-čen* (44).

◊ TMC 1, 286. Cf. also Jurch. *ʒa-či-li* 'tent' (214).

PMong. ***ʒüčije** stable, cattle-shed (стойло, хлев): WMong. *ʒüčije* (L 1082).

PJpn. ***(d)ìtí** market (рынок): OJpn. *iti*; MJpn. *ìtí*; Tok. *íchi*; Kyo. *ìchí*; Kag. *ichí*.

◊ JLTT 428.

PKor. ***čjəčə́i** shop, market-place (рынок, лавка): MKor. *čjəčə́i*; Mod. *čəʒa*.

◊ Nam 425, KED 1421.

‖ Accent correspondence between Kor. and Jpn. is irregular.

✱**ʒéja** sharp point, arrow: Tung. ***ʒeje**; Turk. ***jā(j)**; Jpn. ***da**.

PTung. ***ʒeje** 1 sharp point, blade 2 sharp (1 острие, лезвие 2 острый): Evk. *ʒeje* 1; Evn. *ʒej* 1; Neg. *ʒeje* 1; Man. *ʒejen* 1; Jurch. *ʒo-n-be* (801) 2; Ul. *ʒeje* 1; Ork. *deje* 1; Nan. *ʒeje* 1; Orch. *ʒeje* 1; Ud. *ʒē* (Корм. 232), *ʒie* 1.

◊ A derivative **ʒeje-n* is reflected (besides Man. *ʒejen*), in Evn. *ʒejēn*, Neg. *ʒejēn* 'sharp edge, border', Nan. *ʒeiŋ-ge* 'needle'. See TMC 1, 282-3.

PTurk. ***jā(j)** bow (лук): OTurk. *ja* (OUygh.); Karakh. *ja* (MK); Tur. *jaj*; Gag. *jaj*, *jaji*; Az. *jaj*; Turkm. *jāj*; MTurk. *jaj* (Ettuhf.), *ja* (Houts.); Uzb. *jɔj*; Uygh. *ja*; Krm. *jaj*; Tat. *jɛjɛ*, *ʒɛjɛ*; Bashk. *jäjä*, *jan*; Kirgh. *ʒaj*, *ʒā*; Kaz. *žaj*; KBalk. *ʒaja*; KKalp. *žaj*; Nogh. *jaj*; SUygh. *ja* 'arrow'; Khak. *čā-ʒax*; Shr. *nan* 'bow', *jan-čak* 'small bow'; Oyr. *d́ā* 'arrow'; Tv. *ča*; Chuv. *śu* (in *ok-śu*); Yak. *sā*; Dolg. *hā*, *sā*.

◊ VEWT 186, EDT 869, TMN 4, 121-122, ЭСТЯ 4, 75, Лексика 570, Федотов 2, 274, Stachowski 99, 209.

PJpn. ***da** arrow (стрела): OJpn. *ja*; MJpn. *ja*; Tok. *já*; Kyo. jâ; Kag. *já*.

◊ JLTT 569. The root reveals some accent variations: RJ has both *já* and *jà*; Kyoto and Kagoshima point to **dá* (or *dâ), while Tokyo - to **dà*.

‖ Poppe 27, JOAL 86, 153, АПиПЯЯ 77. A derivative **ʒāj-nV-* may be also reflected in PT **jānu-* (~*-a-*) 'to whet, sharpen', Mong. *ʒanu-* id. (if not < Turk.).

✱**ʒela** to deceive: Tung. ***ʒele- / *ʒelu-**; Mong. ***ʒali-**; Turk. ***jAla**.

PTung. ***ʒele- / *ʒelu-** 1 lie, deceit 2 secret (1 ложь, обман 2 тайна): Evk. *ʒelum* 2; Evn. *ʒelъm* 2; Neg. *ʒelum* 2; Man. *ʒele* 1, *ʒendu* 2; Ul. *ʒele(n)* 1; Ork. *ʒele(n)* 1, *ʒelum-*; Nan. *ʒelẽ* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 284.

PMong. ***ʒali-** to deceive (обманывать): WMong. *ʒali-* (L 1031: *ʒali* 'trick, cunning'); Kh. *ʒali-*; Bur. *zaĺxaj* 'lewd'; Kalm. *zäĺə* 'cunningness', *zaĺxä* 'cunning'; Dag. *ʒelleg* 'cunning'.

◊ KW 465, 470, MGCD 427. Mong. > Man. *ʒali* (see Doerfer MT 138, Rozycki 120), Oyr. *jalaqqai*. There exists also a variant **ʒeli-* in *ʒelmeji-*, *ʒilmeji-* 'be cunning' etc. (see KW 472).

PTurk. ***jAla** 1 suspicion, false accusation 2 lie (1 подозрение, клевета 2 ложь): OTurk. *jala* 1 (OUygh.), *jalɣan* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *jala* 1 (MK), *jalɣan* 2 (MK); Tur. *jalan* 2; Gag. *jalan* 2; Az. *jalan* 2; Turkm. *jalan* 1,2; Sal. *jalɣan* 2; MTurk. *jalɣan* 2 (AH), *jalqan* 2 (MA); Uzb. *jɔlɣɔn* 2; Uygh. *jalɣan* 2; Krm. *jalan*, *jalɣan* 2; Tat. *jala* 1, *jalɣan* 2; Bashk. *jala* 1, *jalɣan* 2; Kirgh. *ʒala* 1, *ʒalɣan* 2; Kaz. *žala* 1, *žalɣan* 2; KBalk. *ʒalɣan*, *žalɣan* 2; KKalp. *žala* 1, *žalɣan* 2; Kum. *jalɣan* 2; Nogh. *jala* 1, *jalɣan* 2; Oyr. *jala*, *ďala* 1.

◊ VEWT 181, 183, EDT 918-919, 926, ЭСТЯ 4, 87, 91-92. Turk. > Mong. *jala* (KW 214).

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**ʒélu** a k. of fragrant grass: Tung. ***ʒel-**; Turk. ***jal-**; Jpn. ***dúrí**.

PTung. ***ʒel-** 1 name of a plant 2 juniper (1 назв. растения (из семян которого добывается масло) 2 можжевельник): Evk. *ʒulkirē*, *ʒulke* (< **ʒelu-ke*?) 2; Man. *ʒelmin* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 273, 284.

PTurk. ***jal-** different grass names (различные названия трав): Uzb. *jalpiz* 'mint'; Kirgh. *ʒalbɨz* 'mint'; Oyr. *jalɨ* 'солодка'.

◊ VEWT 183, TMN 4, 55.

PJpn. ***dúrí** lily (лилия): OJpn. *juri*; MJpn. *juri*; Tok. *yùri*; Kyo. *yúrí*; Kag. *yúri*.

◊ JLTT 580.

‖ The Turkic form can be alternatively compared with Evk. *ńalikta* 'багульник'.

✱**ʒěĺo** weak, quiet: Tung. ***ʒel-**; Mong. ***ʒalka-**; Turk. ***jạĺi-**; Jpn. ***dàs-**.

PTung. ***ʒel-** 1 to become quiet (of a sound), hidden 2 to miss (1 стихать, замирать (о звуке), скрываться 2 не заметить, не обратить внимания): Evk. *ʒeliw-* 2; Evn. *ʒēl-* 1; Neg. *ʒeliw-* 2; Nan. *ʒelu-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 283, 284.

PMong. ***ʒalka-** 1 to be lazy 2 lazy (1 лениться 2 ленивый): MMong. *ʒalixai* (HY 37); WMong. *ʒalqa-* 1 (L 1032); Kh. *ʒalxa-* 1, *ʒalxū* 2; Bur. *zalxū* 2; Kalm. *zalxū* 2; Ord. *ʒalxū*; Dag. *ʒalkō* 2 (Тод. Даг. 142), *ʒalekō* 2 (MD 175).

◊ KW 465, MGCD 429. Mong. > Bashk., Oyr. *jalqi-* etc. (see ЭСТЯ 4, 14-15). Mong. has also *ʒalira-* 'to be lazy, rest', **ʒali* > Bur. *zali* 'interval, pause' (whence Tat., Kum. *jal* 'rest', see ЭСТЯ 4, 85).

PTurk. ***jạĺɨ-** be lazy, emaciated, weak, quiet (быть ленивым, измученным; слабым, вялым, робким): MTurk. *jašɨq* (adj.) (Pav. C.); Uzb. *jəšiq* (adj.); Uygh. *ješiq* (adj.); Bashk. *jašɨq* (adj.); Kirgh. *ʒaši-*; Kaz. *žasɨ-*; KKalp. *žasɨ-*; Khak. *čazɨɣ* (adj.); Oyr. *jaži-* (R), *d́ažɨq* (adj.); Tv. *čažɨ-*; Yak. *sɨhɨj-*.

◊ VEWT 192, ЭСТЯ 4, 20-21, TMN 4, 173.

PJpn. ***dàs-** quiet, easy (спокойный, легкий): OJpn. *jasu-*; MJpn. *jàsu-*; Tok. *yasú-*; Kyo. *yásù-*; Kag. *yasú-*.

◊ JLTT 844. Related are probably **jásá-si-* 'gentle, easy' and **jásá-* 'to be emaciated', although the accent variation is not clear.

‖ Correspondences are regular, and the etymology appears quite plausible.

✱**ʒèmá** a k. of weed or swamp plant: Tung. ***ʒemku**; Mong. ***ʒamug**; Turk. ***jam**; Jpn. ***dəmə́(n)kúi**.

PTung. ***ʒemku** swamp, a k. of swamp plant (болото, вид болотного растения): Evk. *ʒemku*; Neg. *ʒeŋku*; Ork. *ʒemru*; Nan. *ʒeŋku*; Ud. *ʒemru* (Корм. 236).

◊ TMC 1, 284-285.

PMong. ***ʒamug** water weeds, sludge (зеленые водоросли): WMong. *ʒamuɣ*, *ʒamaɣ* (L 1033); Kh. *ʒamag*; Bur. *zamag*; Kalm. *zaməg*; Ord. *ʒamaG*; Mongr. *ʒamburaG* 'ail sauvage' (SM 79).

◊ KW 466.

PTurk. ***jam** 1 piece of dust 2 litter floating on the surface of water (1 соринка 2 мусор, плавающий по воде): Karakh. *jam* (MK) 1; Tv. *čam* 2.

◊ VEWT 205.

PJpn. ***dəmə́(n)kúi** Artemisia, mugwort (вид полыни): OJpn. *jom(w)ogi*; MJpn. *jòmógí*; Tok. *yòmogi*; Kyo. *yòmògí*; Kag. *yomogí*.

◊ JLTT 576.

‖ Jpn. **dəmə́-* < **dàmə́-* because of the incompatibility of *a and *ə in PJ.

✱**ʒére (~ *ʒáro, -a)** armour, weapon: Mong. ***ʒer**; Turk. ***jar-**; Jpn. ***dərə́pí**.

PMong. ***ʒer** weapon (оружие): MMong. *ʒer* (SH, HYt); WMong. *ʒer* (L 1045); Kh. *ʒer*; Bur. *zer*; Kalm. *zer*; Ord. *ʒir*.

◊ KW 473.

PTurk. ***jar-** armour (панцирь, доспехи): OTurk. *jarɨq* (Orkh.); Karakh. *jarɨq* (MK); MTurk. *jarɨq* (AH).

◊ EDT 962, VEWT 190, ЭСТЯ 4, 147. Modern languages widely reflect **jarak* 'weapon, armour' (Kirgh. *ʒaraq*, Uygh. *jaraq* etc., see ЭСТЯ 4, 139). This seems to be a contamination of the earlier attested **jarag* 'readiness, opportunity' (derived from **jara-* 'to be fit, suitable' q. v. sub **ǯára*; see EDT ibid.) and **jarɨk* 'armour'.

PJpn. ***dərə́pí** armour, weapons (оружие, панцирь): OJpn. *joropji*; MJpn. *jórófí*; Tok. *yòroi*; Kyo. *yórói*; Kag. *yorói*.

◊ JLTT 577.

‖ An interesting common Altaic cultural term.

✸**ʒ̀eri** to be annoyed, disgusted: Tung. ***ʒ̀ēri-**; Mong. ***ʒirke-**; Turk. ***jẹr-**; Jpn. ***(d)ira-**.

PTung. ***ʒ̀ēri-** to boast (хвастаться): Ul. *ʒeru-*; Ork. *dērī-*; Nan. *ʒ̀ēri-*; Orch. *ʒeri-*.

◊ TMC 1, 285.

PMong. ***ʒirke-** to hate, be disgusted (ненавидеть, испытывать отвращение): Bur. *žerxe-*.

◊ Attested only in Buryat, but having quite probable external parallels.

PTurk. ***jẹr-** to hate (ненавидеть, питать отвращение): OTurk. *jer-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jer-* (MK); Tur. *jer-*; Az. *jer-*; Turkm. *īr-*; MTurk. *jer-* (AH); Kirgh. *ʒeri-*; Kaz. *žer-*; KKalp. *žeri-*; Oyr. *jeri-*; Yak. *sir-*.

◊ EDT 955, ЭСТЯ 4, 193, VEWT 198. Yakut shows that the Turkm. length is secondary (*īr- = jir-).*

PJpn. ***(d)ira-** to be nervous, angry (нервничать, сердиться): MJpn. *ira-t-*, *ira-ra-*; Tok. *ira-dát-*, *íra-ira*; Kyo. *írá-dát-*, *íra-ira*; Kag. *ìràdàt-*, *ira-íra / ira-irá*.

◊ JLTT 698. The original tone is hard to establish, because the root is present only as a reduplication or part of compound, and the RJ accentuation is not attested.

‖ Phonetically the TM form is a very good match for the rest; the meaning 'boast' may be connected if we suppose a causative formation ('cause annoyance (e.g. by boasting') > 'boast'.

✸**ʒ̋ero (~ -u)** edge, row: Tung. ***ʒerin**; Mong. ***ʒerge**; Turk. ***jạ̄r**.

PTung. ***ʒerin** edge (край): Man. *ʒerin*; Ul. *ʒerin*; Nan. *ʒerĩ*.

◊ TMC 1, 285.

PMong. ***ʒerge** row, rank (ряд, разряд): MMong. *ʒerge-* 'rank, order' (SH, HYt); WMong. *ʒerge* (L 1045); Kh. *ʒereg*; Bur. *zerge*; Kalm. *zergə* (KPC); Ord. *ʒirge*; Dag. *ʒerigi*, (Тод. Даг. 143) *ʒerehe* 'rank, degree' (MD 176), *ʒerge*, *ʒereg*; S.-Yugh. *ʒeryе*; Mongr. *ʒerge* (SM 87).

◊ KW 473, MGCD 441. Mong. > Oyr. *järgä* etc. (ЭСТЯ 4, 25); Man. *ʒergi* etc., see TMN 1, 293, Doerfer MT 117, Rozycki 123.

PTurk. ***jạ̄r** precipice, steep bank (обрыв, крутой берег): Karakh. *jar* (MK); Tur. *jar*; Gag. *jar*; Az. *jar-Gan*; Turkm. *jār*; MTurk. *jar* (Ettuhf., Pav. C.); Uzb. *ʒar*; Uygh. *jar*; Krm. *jar*; Tat. *jar*; Bashk. *jar*; Kirgh. *ʒar*; Kaz. *žar*; Kum. *jar*; Nogh. *jar*; Khak. *čar*; Oyr. *d́ar*; Chuv. *śɨr*; Yak. *sɨ̄r*; Dolg. *hɨ̄r*.

◊ EDT 953-954, VEWT 188-9, ЭСТЯ 4, 17-18, Stachowski 121.

‖ A Western isogloss. In Turkic one could also compare **jarɨ* (**jaru*) 'side', but the word is attested late, restricted to the Kypchak area and may be in fact a simplification of **jāk* 'side'+ directional -ru (cf. especially length in Oyr. *d́ār*); see ЭСТЯ 4, 145-146.

✱**ʒi (~ *ʒi̯a)** to come: Tung. ***ʒi- (~ *di-)**; Mong. ***ʒid-kü-**; Turk. ***jẹt-**.

PTung. ***ʒi- (~ *di-)** to come (приходить): Man. *ʒi-*; SMan. *ʒi-* (1172); Jurch. *di-xexe-gi* (678), *di-hul* (712); Ul. *diwu*; Nan. *ʒi-*.

◊ TMC 1, 255.

PMong. ***ʒid-kü-** to strive (стремиться, стараться): MMong. *ʒidku-* (MA 205); WMong. *ʒidkü-* (L 1049), *ʒüdkü-*; Kh. *ʒütge-*; Kalm. *zütkə-*; Ord. *ʒüdχü-*.

◊ KW 484. Mong. > Kirgh. *jütkün-* 'erregt sein' (KW 116).

PTurk. ***jẹt-** to reach (достигать): OTurk. *jet-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jet-* (MK); Tur. *jet-*; Gag. *jet-*; Az. *jet-iš-*; Turkm. *jet-*; Sal. *jet-*; MTurk. *jet-* (Pav. C., Бор. Бад.), *jät-* (AH); Uzb. *jet-*; Uygh. *jät-*; Krm. *jet-*; Tat. *ʒit-*; Bashk. *jet-*; Kirgh. *ʒet-*; Kaz. *žet-*; KBalk. *ʒet-*, *zet-*; KKalp. *žet-*; Kum. *jet-*; Nogh. *jet-*; SUygh. *jet-*, *jit-*; Khak. *čit-*; Shr. *čet-*; Oyr. *jät-*, *ďet-*; Tv. *čeʹt-*; Chuv. *śit-*; Yak. *sit-*; Dolg. *hit-*.

◊ EDT 884-885, VEWT 199, ЭСТЯ 4, 193-194, Stachowski 105.

‖ EAS 52, KW 484, SKE 32. A Western isogloss; Ramstedt compares also Kor. *-ti-* (mod. *-či-)* 'to become', in which case the reconstruction should be changed to **di*.

✱**ʒìbì** house: Tung. ***ʒīb**; Mong. ***ʒuwka**; Jpn. ***(d)ìpià**; Kor. ***čìp**.

PTung. ***ʒīb** house, dwelling (дом, жилище): Evk. *ʒū*; Evn. *ʒṵ*; Neg. *ʒō*; Man. *ʒeofi* 'round hovel thatched with straw or birch bark'; Ul. *ʒṵ(γ)*; Ork. *dṵ-qṵ*; Nan. *ʒō*; Orch. *ʒu(g)*; Ud. *ʒugdi*; Sol. *ʒūγ*.

◊ TMC 1, 266-7, 285. For final *-b cf. Evk. *ʒūw-čā-* 'to do housework'. PT **ʒūb* probably < **ʒīb*; the archaic front vowel is preserved in the derivative **ʒīb-ma-* 'to go to one's home, to go visiting' > Evk. *ʒūmā-*, Evn. *ʒṵma-*, Oroch *ʒīma-*, Nan. *ʒṵma-* etc. (see TMC 1, 266-7, 257.).

PMong. ***ʒuwka** stove, hearth (печь, очаг): WMong. *ʒuuqa* (L 1081); Kh. *ʒūx*; Bur. *zūxa*; Kalm. *zūxə*; Ord. *ʒūxa*; Dong. *ʒowo*, *ʒiəwə*; S.-Yugh. *ʒouχuə*; Mongr. *ʒōxo*, *ʒōxo*.

◊ KW 482, MGCD 299, 460. Mong. > Leb., Kumd. *joqqi*.

PJpn. ***(d)ìpià** house (дом): OJpn. *ipje*; MJpn. *ìfè*; Tok. *ié*; Kyo. *íè*; Kag. *ié*.

◊ JLTT 421.

PKor. ***čìp** house (дом): MKor. *čìp*; Mod. *čip*.

◊ Liu 687, KED 1554.

‖ Martin 234, АПиПЯЯ 15, 69. Low tone in Kor. is irregular.

✱**ʒígù** to hurry, run: Tung. ***ʒig-**; Mong. ***ʒiɣi-**; Turk. ***jügür-**; Jpn. ***dúk-**.

PTung. ***ʒig-** 1 running fast; race horse 2 to streak (1 проворно бегающий, беговая лошадь 2 мелькать): Evk. *ʒiγar* 1; Evn. *ʒi̯g-* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 255.

PMong. ***ʒiɣi-** to run, gallop (нестись, мчаться): WMong. *ʒiγi-* (MXTT); Kh. *ʒī-ge-*; Kalm. *ʒīgə-* (KPC).

PTurk. ***jügür-** to hurry, run (спешить, бежать): OTurk. *jügür-* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *jügür-* (MK); Tur. *jügür-*, *jüjir-* (dial.); Az. *jüjür-*; Turkm. *jüwür-* (dial.), *jügür-*; Sal. *jugur-*, *jü'kür-* (ССЯ); MTurk. *jügür-* (Houts., MA, AH), *jüwür-* (Ettuhf.); Uzb. *jügir-*, *jugur-*; Uygh. *žügü(r)-*; Krm. *juwur-*, *ʒuwur-*; Tat. *jöger-*; Bashk. *jüger-*; Kirgh. *ʒügür-*; Kaz. *žügir-*; KKalp. *žügir-*, *žuwɨr-*; Nogh. *juwɨr-*; Khak. *čügür-*; Shr. *čügür-*; Oyr. *jügür-*, *ďügür-*; Tv. *čügür-*; Yak. *sū̄r-*; Dolg. *hū̄r-*.

◊ EDT 914, VEWT 212, ЭСТЯ 4, 258, Stachowski 116.

PJpn. ***dúk-** to go, walk (идти, ходить): OJpn. *juk-*; MJpn. *júk-*; Tok. *yùk-*, *ìk-*; Kyo. *ík-*; Kag. *ík-*.

‖ Turk. **jügür-* reveals an assimilatory labialization (< **jigür-*).

✱**ʒìma** dark, quiet: Mong. ***ʒim**; Jpn. ***dàmùi**; Kor. ***čjəmɨ́r-**.

PMong. ***ʒim** calmness, quietness (покой, тишина): WMong. *ʒim* (L 1056); Kh. *ʒim*; Kalm. *ʒim* 'звукоподражание молчанию' (*sic*) (KPC).

PJpn. ***dàmùi** darkness (темнота): OJpn. *jami*; MJpn. *jàmì*; Tok. *yamí*; Kyo. *yámì*; Kag. *yamí*.

◊ JLTT 573.

PKor. ***čjəmɨ́r-** to become dark (темнеть): MKor. *čjəmɨ́r-*; Mod. *čəmul-*.

◊ Nam 424, KED 1420.

‖ Whitman 1985, 185, 219 (Kor.-Jpn.). Korean has a usual verbal low tone.

✱**ʒipʿo** perfume, fumes: Mong. ***ʒiɣar**; Turk. ***jɨpar**; Jpn. ***(d)impu-s-**.

PMong. ***ʒiɣar** strong perfume, musk (сильный запах, мускус): MMong. *ʒixar* (HY 11); WMong. *ʒiɣar*, *ʒaɣar* (L 1023); Kh. *ʒā́r*; Bur. *zār*; Kalm. *zār*; Ord. *ʒār*; Dag. *ʒār*; S.-Yugh. *ʒārə*.

◊ KW 469, MGCD 419. Mong. > Man. *ʒarin*, Sol. *ʒār*, see TMN 2, 3, Doerfer MT 136, Rozycki 121.

PTurk. ***jɨpar** smell, perfume, musk (запах, аромат, мускус): OTurk. *jɨpar* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *jɨpar* (MK); Tur. *jɨpar* (dial.); Sal. *ju'ar*, *juχar*; MTurk. *jɨpar* (Houts.), *ipar* (AH), *jɨbar* (Pav. C.); Tat. *jifar*, *ʒufar*; Bashk. *jofar*; Kirgh. *ʒɨpar*; Kaz. *župar*; KKalp. *župar*; Yak. *sɨbar*.

◊ EDT 878-879, VEWT 201, ЭСТЯ 4, 284.

PJpn. ***(d)impu-** 1 to smoke, fume 2 to be smoky (1 дымить, окуривать 2 дымиться): MJpn. *ibus-* 1, *ibur-* 2; Tok. *ibús-* 1, *ibúr-* 2; Kyo. *íbús-* 1, *íbúr-* 2; Kag. *ibús-* 1, *ibúr-* 2.

◊ JLTT 696. Original accent is not quite clear.

‖ KW, Владимирцов 209, Poppe 47, 80, 123. Despite TMN 1, 3, not a loan in Mong. from Turk.

✱**ʒipʿu** evening, darkness: Tung. ***ʒip-ku-**; Jpn. ***dupu**.

PTung. ***ʒip-ku- (~ -ü-)** to dusk (смеркаться, темнеть): Evn. *ʒipku-*; Neg. *ʒipku-*, *ʒipkil-*.

◊ TMC 1, 259.

PJpn. ***dupu** evening (вечер): OJpn. *jupu*, *jupu-pje*; MJpn. *jufu*, *jufu-be*; Tok. *yūbe*.

◊ JLTT 580. Original accent is not quite clear.

‖ A Tung.-Jpn. isogloss.

✱**ʒ́īrV** to split, slice: Tung. ***ʒī-**; Mong. ***ʒir-**; Turk. ***jīr-**.

PTung. ***ʒī-** to cut off a slice, slice (срезать, нарезать полосками): Evk. *ʒī-*; Evn. *ʒi-*; Neg. *ʒi* 'piece of meat'; Ul. *ʒū-*; Nan. *ʒi̯laχa* 'small piece'; Orch. *ʒī-*; Ud. *ʒī-*.

◊ TMC 1, 255.

PMong. ***ʒir-** 1 to cut lengthwise, slice 2 to split, hack (1 резать вдоль, резать ломтиками 2 раскалывать (дрова), разрубать (тушу)): MMong. *ʒisu-* 1 (MA 340); WMong. *ʒisü-* (L 1064) 1, *ʒirge-* (MXTT) 2; Kh. *ʒüse-* 1, *ʒirge-* 2; Bur. *žühe-*, *zühe-* 1, *žarxi* 2; Kalm. *züsə-* (KPC) 1; Ord. *ʒüsü-* 1; S.-Yugh. *čusu-* 1.

◊ MGCD 470. Mong. > Man. *ʒisu-*. The form *ʒirge-* shows that *ʒisü-* was originally a denominative verb, from a noun **ʒi-sü* < **ʒir-sü*.

PTurk. ***jīr- / *jɨ̄r-** 1 to split lengthwise 2 to break, tear (1 расщеплять вдоль 2 ломать, разрывать): Karakh. *je/ir-* 1 (MK); Tur. *jir-* 2 (dial.); Gag. *jir-* 2; Turkm. *jir-* 1, 2; MTurk. (MKypch.) *jir-* 1 (AH); Uzb. *jir-* 1; Uygh. *jir-*, *ʒir-* 1; Tat. *jɨr-* 2; Bashk. *jɨr-* 2; Kirgh. *ʒɨr-* 2; Kaz. *žɨr-* 2; KKalp. *žɨr-* 2; Kum. *jɨr-* 'to dig through'; Nogh. *jɨr-* 2; Khak. *čər-* 1; Tv. *čir-* 1; Yak. *sīr-* 2.

◊ VEWT 198, EDT 955, ЭСТЯ 4, 203-204.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**ʒiŕe** metal; anvil: Tung. ***ʒirA**; Turk. ***jEŕ**.

PTung. ***ʒirA** anvil (наковальня): Evk. *ʒira*; Neg. *dijē-n*; Man. *ʒerin*; Ul. *dere(n)*; Nan. *ʒirẽ*; Orch. *darasu*, *deresu*; Ud. *ʒile*, *ʒīle* (Корм. 233).

◊ TMC 1, 259.

PTurk. ***jEŕ** copper (медь): Karakh. *jez* (TT); Uzb. *ʒez*; Uygh. *ʒäz*; Krm. *jez*; Tat. *ʒiz*; Bashk. *jeδ*; Kirgh. *ʒez*; Kaz. *žez*; KBalk. *zez*; KKalp. *žez*; Kum. *jez*; Nogh. *jez*; SUygh. *ʒes*; Khak. *čis*; Shr. *čes*; Oyr. *jes*, *d́es*; Tv. *čes*.

◊ EDT 982, VEWT 199, ЭСТЯ 4, 168-169, Лексика 404-405. Turk. > Mong. *jez*, *ʒes* id. (Clark 1980, 39, Щербак 1997, 123).

‖ Лексика 405. A Turk.-Tung. isogloss; phonetically satisfactory, but not devoid of semantic problems ("metal" in PT vs. "tool for working metal" in PTM).

✱**ʒi̯aba** to call, request: Tung. ***ʒiab-**; Mong. ***ʒaɣa-**; Turk. ***jab-čɨ**; Jpn. ***duá(m)p-**.

PTung. ***ʒiab-** to respond, answer (a call, request) (откликаться (на зов)): Evk. *ʒāw-*; Evn. *ʒāw-*; Man. *ʒabu-*; SMan. *ʒavə-*, *ʒavu-* (1292); Ork. *darra-*; Orch. *ʒā-*; Ud. *ʒieu-*.

◊ TMC 1, 240.

PMong. ***ʒaɣa-** to teach, show, demonstrate, appeal (указывать, показывать, учить): MMong. *ʒa'a-* (HY 34, SH); WMong. *ʒiɣa-* (L 1049); Kh. *ʒā-*; Bur. *zā-*; Kalm. *zā-* (KPC); Ord. *ʒā-*; Dag. *ʒā-* (Тод. Даг. 141, MD 174); Dong. *ʒa-* (Тод. Дн.); Bao. *ʒa-* 'to complain' (Тод. Бн.); S.-Yugh. *ʒā-*; Mongr. *ʒā-* (SM 75).

◊ MGCD 419.

PTurk. ***jab-čɨ** in-between, matchmaker (сват): MTurk. *javčɨ* (Pav. C.); Uzb. *ʒawčɨ* (dial.), *ʒɔwči*; Tat. *jawčɨ*; Bashk. *jawsɨ*; Kirgh. *ʒūču*; Kaz. *žawšɨ*; KKalp. *žawšɨ*; Nogh. *jawšɨ*; Oyr. *ǵūčɨ*, *jūčɨ*.

◊ VEWT 176, ЭСТЯ 4, 34. Turk. > WMong. *ʒabu(l)či*, Khalkha *ʒūč* id. (hardly vice versa, despite Rona-Tas KM II 125-126).

PJpn. ***duá(m)p-** to call (звать): OJpn. *jwob-*; MJpn. *jób-*; Tok. *yòb-*; Kyo. *yób-*; Kag. *yób-*.

◊ JLTT 786.

‖ Jpn. **duá(m)p-* < **ʒ̍i̯āba-p-* (with contraction).

✱**ʒi̯abo (~ *ʒi̯obe, -p-)** a k. of fish (salmon): Tung. ***ʒobi**; Mong. ***ʒebeɣe**.

PTung. ***ʒobi** a k. of fish (salmo lenoc) (вид рыбы (ленок)): Neg. *ʒojo*; *ʒowlatkān* 'a small taimen'; Nan. *ʒoi̯*; Ud. *ʒüiso*, dial. *ʒauŋa*.

◊ TMC 1, 262. In Evk. and Manchu we have *ʒelbe(n)* - obviously through contamination with yet another root, TM **ʒelī* 'taimen' (TMC 1, 284).

PMong. ***ʒebeɣe** Salmo lenoc (Salmo lenoc): MMong. *ʒebge* (SH); WMong. *ʒebeɣe* (MXTTT); Kh. *ʒevē*.

‖ A Mong.-Tung. isogloss, but borrowing seems hardly feasible. Cf. **di̯ā́jgi*.

✱**ʒi̯àjnà** to burn; ashes, tar: Tung. ***ʒian-**; Turk. ***jan-, *jan-tɨr-**; Jpn. ***dànì**; Kor. ***čǎi**.

PTung. ***ʒian-** 1 to burn, blaze 2 to extinguish 3 to heat 4 torch 5 glowing coals (1 пылать 2 тушить 3 топить 4 факел 5 жар, горящие угли): Evk. *ʒānŋe-* 1; Man. *jaŋGa* 4; Ork. *dandalli̯-* 2; Nan. *jaŋGoŕa-* 3; Ud. *ʒaŋa* 5.

◊ TMC 1,249,342. A specific development of the initial **ʒ-* in Manchu and Nanai is probably conditioned by its position before the diphthong **ia*.

PTurk. ***jan-, *jan-tɨr-** 1 to burn (*itr.*), blaze up 2 to burn (tr.) 3 to kindle 4 to shine (1 гореть, загораться 2 жечь 3 зажигать 4 светить): Karakh. *jan-* 1 (MK); Tur. *jan-* 1; Gag. *jan-* 1; Az. *jan-* 1, *jandɨr-* 2; Turkm. *jan-* 1; MTurk. *jan-* 1 (Pav. C.); Uzb. *jɔn-* 1; Uygh. *jan-* 1 (dial.); Krm. *jan-*

1; Tat. *jan-* 1, *jandɨr-* 2; Bashk. *jan-* 1; Kirgh. *ʒan-* 1; Kaz. *žan-* 1; KBalk. *žan-* 1; KKalp. *žan-* 1; Kum. *jan-* 1; Nogh. *jan-* 1, *jandɨr-* 2; Chuv. *śon-* 1, *śondar-* 2; Yak. *san-dār-* 4.

◊ VEWT 184, EDT 942, 947-948, Федотов 2, 136, ЭСТЯ 4, 112, Лексика 362.

PJpn. ***dànì** tar, pitch (смола, деготь): OJpn. *jani*; MJpn. *jànì*; Tok. *yaní*; Kyo. *yánì*; Kag. *yaní*.

◊ JLTT 573.

PKor. ***čǎi** ashes (зола, пепел): MKor. *čǎi*; Mod. *čǎ*.

◊ Nam 418, KED 1409.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 287. Medial *-j- accounts for loss of *-n- in Kor.

✸**ʒi̯akʿa** order, rent: Tung. ***ʒiaka**; Mong. ***ʒaki-**; Turk. ***jaka**.

PTung. ***ʒiaka** 1 coin, money 2 valuables, things (1 монета, деньги 2 ценные вещи, вещи): Evk. *ʒaka* 2; Neg. *ʒaxa* 1, 2; Man. *ʒiχa* 1, *ʒaqa* 2; SMan. *ʒihā* (1412) 1; Jurch. *ʒie-xa* (575) 1, *ʒa-xa* 2; Ul. *ʒaqa* 2; Ork. *ʒaqa*, *ʒaqqa* 2; Nan. *ʒaqa* 2; Orch. *ʒaka* 2; Sol. *ʒaka* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 242, 243. Despite the doublet in Manchu, the forms meaning ʿcoin, moneyʼ and ʿvaluablesʼ are hard to separate. Most probably we are dealing with interdialectal and interlingual loans: Manchu *ʒaqa* ʿthing(s)ʼ < Southern TM, while Manchu *ʒiχa* ʿcoin, moneyʼ (with a secondarily developed meaning) > Nan. *ʒi̯χa*, Orok *ʒaχa*, Ul. *ʒêχa* etc. ʿmoneyʼ. The original meaning (preserved, e.g., in Negidal) appears to have been ʿvaluable things destined for dowryʼ. Man. > Dag. *ʒiga* ʻcoin'.

PMong. ***ʒaki-** to order (приказывать, заказывать): WMong. *ʒaki-* (L 1028); Kh. *ʒaxi-*; Bur. *zaxi-*; Kalm. *zakə-* (KPC); Ord. *ʒaχi-*; Dag. *ʒeki-* (Тод. Даг. 142 *ʒaki-*, 180 *čakir-*); S.-Yugh. *ʒakə-*; Mongr. *ʒəGān* ʻhonnête, loyal, en paixʼ (SM 72).

◊ MGCD 437.

PTurk. ***jaka** rent, lease (плата, наем): OTurk. *jaqa* (OUygh.).

◊ EDT 898.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✸**ʒi̯ákʿù** to pass, fit: Tung. ***ʒēk- (*ʒiak-)**; Mong. ***ʒoki-**; Jpn. ***dúkár-**.

PTung. ***ʒēk- (*ʒiak-)** 1 fitting 2 to fit (1 точно, впору 2 подходить, быть впору): Neg. *ʒēk* 1, *ʒēk-* 2; Ul. *ʒēk* 1; Ork. *ʒīk*, *ʒēk* 1; Nan. *ʒēk* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 283. Long -ē- in all sources and the variation -ī- / -ē- in Orok point most probably to PTM *-ia- (with the expected -ê- in modern languages confused with -ē- after an affricate).

PMong. ***ʒoki-** to pass, fit (подходить, соответствовать): WMong. *ʒoki-* (L 1068); Kh. *ʒoxi-*; Bur. *zoxi-*.

◊ Mong. > Evk. *ʒoki-* etc. (see TMC 1, 262).

PJpn. ***dúkár-** 1 to be related, connected 2 relation, connection (1 быть связанным, находиться в связи 2 связь, отношение): MJpn. *jukar-* 1, *jukari* 2; Tok. *yùkari* 2; Kyo. *yúkárí* 2; Kag. *yukári* 2.

‖ Despite TMC 283, the TM form has nothing to do with Mong. *ʒöbken* ʻonlyʼ.

✱**ǯi̯ale** to burn, flash: Tung. ***ǯild-**; Mong. ***ǯali**; Turk. ***jal-**.

PTung. ***ǯild-** 1 to glance, be wide open (of eyes) 2 star 3 big-eyed (1 уставиться, выпучиться 2 звезда 3 большеглазый): Evk. *ǯildarān-*, *ǯildarga-* 1, (Kamn.) *ǯildawkī* 2; Evn. *ǯi̯ldakụ* 3.

◊ TMC 1, 257. The meaning 'star' in the Kamn. dialect of Evenki is clearly secondary (< 'flash'), so the comparison with OT *julduz* proposed ibid. is impossible.

PMong. ***ǯali** flame (пламя): WMong. *ǯali* (L 1031); Kh. *ʒaĺ*; Bur. *zali*; Kalm. *zäĺə*.

◊ KW 470.

PTurk. ***jal-** 1 to burn, blaze 2 flame (1 гореть, пылать 2 пламя): OTurk. *jal-* 1 (OUygh.), *jalɨn* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *jal-* 1 (MK), *jalɨn* 2 (MK); Tur. *jalɨn* 2; Gag. *jalɨn* 2; Turkm. *jalɨn* 2; MTurk. *jalɨn* 2 (Бор. Бад.); Uzb. *jalɨŋ* 2 (dial.); Krm. *jalɨn* 2; Kirgh. *ǯalɨn* 2; Kaz. *žalɨn* 2; KKalp. *žalɨn* 2; Kum. *jalɨn* 2; Nogh. *jalɨn* 2; SUygh. *jalɨn* 2; Khak. *čalɨn* 2; Oyr. *jalɨn*, *ďalɨn* 2; Tv. *čalɨn* 2; Chuv. *śolъm* 2.

◊ VEWT 181, EDT 918, 929, ЭСТЯ 4, 106-107, Лексика 23, 356-357, 363, Федотов 2, 133-134, TMN 4, 187. Cf. also Kypch. *jalgavuč* 'frying pan' (ЭСТЯ 4, 13). Turk. **jaltɨr-* 'to flash, blazed' (ЭСТЯ 4, 94) > Mong. *iltira-* id.; **jaltɨrɨm* (ЭСТЯ 4, 281) 'lightning' > Mong. *jildurum* id. (Щербак 1997, 121).

‖ KW 470. A Western isogloss, but, despite Щербак 1997, 121-122, hardly a loanword in Mong. < Turkic (final -i of the Mong. form is unexplained). The Turkic form, however, due to a merger of *ǯ- and *d- can also reflect PA **dàli* 'to roast, burn' (q.v.); cf. especially Kypch. *jalgavuč* 'frying pan' (ЭСТЯ 4, 13).

✱**ǯi̯apʿe** bare, naked, saddleless: Tung. ***ǯipu-čān**; Mong. ***ǯajidaŋ**; Turk. ***jạpɨtak**.

PTung. ***ǯipu-čān** fur coat (worn on bare body) (шуба, нательный тулуп): Evk. *ǯipučān*; Man. *ǯibča(n)*; SMan. *ǯifəčā*, *ǯivəčā* 'fox fur coat' (225); Sol. *ǯibća*.

◊ TMC 1, 259.

PMong. ***ǯajidaŋ** saddleless (бесседельный): WMong. *ǯajidaŋ* (L 1026); Kh. *ʒajdan*; Bur. *zajdan*; Kalm. *zäädŋ*; Ord. *ǯäädaŋ*.

◊ KW 471. Modern Turkic forms like Kirgh. *ǯajdaq* 'saddleless' are < Mong. (see KW ibid., VEWT 179), despite some doubts in ЭСТЯ 4, 12.

PTurk. ***jạpɨtak** without saddle (без седла): Karakh. *jabɨtaq* (MK); Tur. *japɨldaq* (dial.); Gag. *jalburdaq*; Turkm. *japbɨllaq*; Uygh. *jawdaq*; SUygh. *jabɨtaq*; Khak. *čabdax*; Shr. *čabɨdaq*; Oyr. *ďabɨdaq*; Tv. *čawɨdaq*; Yak. *sɨbɨdax*.

◊ EDT 873, ЭСТЯ 4, 49-50.

‖ Владимирцов 271. A Western isogloss. Closed *ạ in Turkic is not quite clear (perhaps secondary vowel assimilation in Yak.?). Mong. *ǯubčaɣa* (L 1077) 'fur-lined, cloth garment with fur inside' may be secondarily borrowed < TM.

✱**ʒi̯aru(kV)** a k. of foliage tree, alder: Tung. ***ʒugde-n**; Turk. ***jẹrük**; Jpn. ***dunturi**.

PTung. ***ʒugde-n** alder (ольха): Evk. *ʒugden*; Evn. *ʒõdēkeɣ*, *ʒogdakaɣ*; Neg. *ʒugdēn*; Man. *ʒuqden*, *ʒekde* 'a k. of tree'; Ork. *ʒuegde*; Orch. *ʒugde(n)*; Ud. *ʒugde(n)*.

◊ TMC 1, 269.

PTurk. ***jẹrük** 1 alder 2 cedar (1 ольха 2 кедр): Tat. *jerek*, *jörek* 1; Bashk. *jerek* 1; KBalk. *ʒerk* 1; Shr. *jürgek* 2; Oyr. *jürük* 2; Chuv. *śirək* 1.

◊ ЭСТЯ 4, 206-207, VEWT 204, Лексика 130-131. Turk. > Hung. *gyűrű* 'maple'.

PJpn. ***dunturi** Daphnyphyllum macropodum (дафнифиллум (небольшое вечнозеленое деревце)): MJpn. *juduri-fa*; Tok. *yuzurí-ha*; Kyo. *yúzúrí-há*; Kag. *yuzurí-ha*.

‖ The etymology is possible, though somewhat problematic. Whether the Japanese Daphnyphyllum may be equated with the Turkic and TM alder is a botanical question requiring additional clarification; as for the equation of the Turkic and TM forms, it is possible if we assume PTM **ʒugde-* < **ʒurke*, with the original velar suffix reinterpreted as part of the root.

✱**ʒi̯ṓke (~ -kʹ-)** side, corner, direction: Tung. ***ʒuku-**; Mong. ***ʒüg**; Turk. ***jāk**; Jpn. ***də́kə́**.

PTung. ***ʒuku-** 1 road 2 corner (1 дорога 2 угол): Neg. *ʒoxon* 2; Man. *ʒuGun* 1; SMan. *ʒohən* 1 (1244); Jurch. *ʒu-huj* (57) 1; Ul. *ʒoqo(n)* 2; Nan. *ʒoqõ* 2; Orch. *ʒoko(n)* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 262, 269 (words meaning 'direction' are most probably Mongolisms, see Rozycki 125).

PMong. ***ʒüg** side, direction (сторона, направление): MMong. *ʒuk* (SH), *ʒug* (MA), *ʒuk* 'Ort' (HYt); WMong. *ʒüg* (L 1082); Kh. *ʒüg*; Bur. *züg*; Kalm. *züg*, *üzəg*; Ord. *ʒüg*; Mog. *ʒug* (Weiers); ZM *ʒug* (6-7b); Dag. *ʒug*, *ʒur* (Тод. Даг. 145), *ʒuhe* (MD 180); Bao. *śoG*; S.-Yugh. *šog*; Mongr. *roG*, joG (SM 316), (MGCD *ʒoG*).

◊ KW 460, 483, MGCD 467.

PTurk. ***jāk** side (сторона): Turkm. *jāq* (dial.); MTurk. *jaq* (R), *jaq* (LOQ); Uzb. *jɔq*; Uygh. *jaq*; Tat. *jaq*, *ʒaq*; Bashk. *jaq*; Kirgh. *ʒaq*; Kaz. *žaq*; KKalp. *žaq*; Kum. *jaq* (dial.); Nogh. *jaq*; SUygh. *jaq*.

◊ VEWT 180, ЭСТЯ 4, 82.

PJpn. ***də́kə́** side (сторона): OJpn. *joko*; MJpn. *jókó*; Tok. *yòko*; Kyo. *yókó*; Kag. *yóko*.

◊ JLTT 576.

‖ Martin 230 (Mong.-Tung.-Jpn.), АПиПЯЯ 77, 291.

✱**ʒi̯ókʹè** ice, cold, snow: Tung. ***ʒuke**; Mong. ***ʒike-ɣün**; Jpn. ***dúkì**.

PTung. ***ʒuke** ice (лед): Evk. *ʒuke*; Evn. *ʒök*; Neg. *ʒuxe*; Man. *ʒuxe*; SMan. *ʒuxē*, *ʒuxū* (2029); Jurch. *ʒu-xe* (272); Ul. *ʒū*, *ʒue*; Ork. *duwe*, duke;

Nan. *ʒuke*; *ʒogbor* 'piece of ice on earth'; Orch. *ʒuke*; Ud. *ʒugde* (Корм. 235), *ʒuge*.

◊ TMC 1, 260, 271. TM > Dag. *ʒuku* (Тод. Даг. 145).

PMong. ***ʒike-ɣün*** cool, cold (холодный): WMong. *ʒikegün* (L 1054); Kh. *ʒixū̄n*; Ord. *ʒiχū̄n*.

◊ Mong. *ʒikir-* 'to shiver with cold' > Oyr. *jikir-* id.

PJpn. ***dúkì*** snow (снег): OJpn. *jukji*; MJpn. *juki*; Tok. *yukí*; Kyo. *yúkì*; Kag. *yúki*.

◊ JLTT 579.

‖ Murayama 1974, 177-78, Miller 1985b, 201, 1986, 46.

✱**ʒi̯ōlu** river bed, stream: Tung. ***ʒila-***; Mong. ***ʒilga***; Turk. ***jul***.

PTung. ***ʒila-*** swift (not freezing) river current, ice-hole (быстрое (незамерзающее) течение, прорубь): Man. *ʒilan*, *ʒulan*.

◊ TMC 1, 257.

PMong. ***ʒilga*** river bed, ravine (русло реки, ущелье): MMong. *ʒilɣas* (MA 372); WMong. *ʒilɣa* (L 1055); Kh. *ʒalga*; Bur. *žalga*; Kalm. *ʒalɣə* (KPC); Dag. *ʒalag* (Тод. Даг. 142); S.-Yugh. *ʒalGa*.

◊ MGCD 428. Mong. > Kirgh. *ʒilɣa* etc. (see VEWT 200, ЭСТЯ 4, 36-38).

PTurk. ***jul*** stream, brook, fountain (река, ручей): OTurk. *jul* (OUygh.); Karakh. *jul* (MK); Sal. *jul*; Khak. *čul*; Oyr. *jul*; Chuv. *śъʷl*.

◊ EDT 917-918, VEWT 209-210, ЭСТЯ 4, 244.

‖ Лексика 89. A Western isogloss.

✱**ʒi̯ŏmu** round: Tung. ***ʒem- (~ -ia-)***; Turk. ***jum-***.

PTung. ***ʒem- (~ -ia-)*** orbed, spheric (округлый, шаровидный): Evk. *ʒembeme*; Neg. *ʒeŋge-*.

◊ TMC 1, 284.

PTurk. ***jum-*** 1 round 2 ball of wool, thread (1 круглый 2 клубок): Karakh. *jumɣaq* 2 (MK); Tur. *jumak* 2, *jumru* 1; Gag. *jumaq* 2; Az. *jumru* 1, *jumaG* 2; Turkm. *jumaq* 2, *jumrɨ* 1; Sal. *jumax* 2; MTurk. *jumru* 1 (Pav. C.), *jumqaq* 2 (MA); Uzb. *jumalɔq* 1; Uygh. *jumlaq* 1; Krm. *jumɣaq* 2; Tat. *jomrɨ* 1, *jomɣaq* 2; Bashk. *jomoro* 1, *jomɣaq* 2; Kirgh. *ʒumuru* 1; Kaz. *žumaq* 2; KKalp. *žumrɨ* 1, *žumaq* 2; Kum. *jummaq* 2; Khak. *nɨŋmax* 2; Oyr. *jumɣaq* 2; Chuv. *śъʷmɣa* 2.

◊ One of expressive common Turkic roots meaning 'round, spherical'. See VEWT 210, EDT 871, 873, 877, 936, 937-8, ЭСТЯ 4, 246-247, 249-250. The root has also a variant (expressive?) **jub-*, see ЭСТЯ 4, 237-238, Stachowski 114.

‖ An expressive and not quite reliable Turk.-Tung. isogloss.

✱**ʒi̯ȍŋè** dream, echo: Tung. ***ʒōŋi-***; Mong. ***ʒeɣü-***; Turk. ***jaŋ***; Jpn. ***dìmài / *dùmài***; Kor. ***čá(ŋ)-***.

PTung. ***ʒōŋi-*** to resound, echo; to imitate (раздаваться (эху); подражать): Evn. *ʒōŋi̯-*.

◊ TMC 1, 265. Attested only in Evn., with possible external parallels.

PMong. ***ʒeɣü-** 1 dream 2 to talk in one's sleep (1 сновидение 2 разговаривать во сне): MMong. *ʒeu'udun* (HY 35) 1, *ʒūdäli-* 'dream, pollution' 1 (IM); WMong. *ʒegüde(n)*, *ʒegüdü(n)* 1 (L 1043), *ʒegüle-* 2 (L 1044); Kh. *ʒṻden* 1, *ʒṻle-* 2; Bur. *zṻde(n)* 1; Kalm. *zṻdn̥* (KPC); Ord. *ʒṻde* 1; Mog. *ʒöwdüla-* (Ramstedt 1906) 'to dream'; Dag. *ʒeud* 1 (Тод. Даг. 143 *ʒeude* 1, *ʒeule-* 2), *ʒeude* 1, *ʒeule* 2 (MD 176); Dong. *ʒōʒin* 1; Bao. *ʒoŋdoŋ*, (Тод. Бн.) *ʒudoŋ* 1, *ʒodele-* 'to have a dream'; S.-Yugh. *ʒṻden* 1; Mongr. *ʒūdin* (SM 94), *ʒūdən* 1.

◊ MGCD 465.

PTurk. ***jaŋ** 1 echo 2 sound, resound 3 to sound, pronounce (1 эхо 2 подражание звукам, звучание 3 звучать): OTurk. *jaŋqu* 1 (OUygh.), *jaŋra-* (Orkh.) 3; Karakh. *jaŋqu* 1, *jaŋra-* 3 (MK); Tur. *jankɨ* 1; Turkm. *jaŋ* 2, *jaŋra-* 3; MTurk. *jaŋqu* 1 (AH); Uzb. *jaŋgra-* 3; Tat. *jaŋɣɨra-* 3; Bashk. *jaŋɣɨra-* 3; Kirgh. *ʒaŋɨr-* 3; KKalp. *ʒaŋɣɨr-* 3; Kum. *janɣɨr-* 3; Nogh. *jaŋɨra-* 3; Oyr. *d́aŋu* 1, *d́aŋɨr-* 3; Tv. *čaŋɣɨ* 1; Yak. *saŋa* 2; Dolg. *haŋa* 2.

◊ EDT 949, 952, ЭСТЯ 4, 119, 122, 124, Stachowski 96. Turk. > WMong. *jaŋ* 'melody' (Щербак 1997, 164).

PJpn. ***dìmài / *dùmài** dream (сновидение): OJpn. *ime*, dial. *jumi*; MJpn. *ìmè*, *jume*; Tok. *yumé*; Kyo. *yúmè*; Kag. *yumé*.

◊ JLTT 579.

PKor. ***čá(ŋ)-** to sleep (спать): MKor. *ča-*, *čá-sì-*, *ča'ăp-so-*; Mod. *ča-*, *ča-si-*, *čumu-si-*.

◊ Nam 411, KED 1374, 1380, 1497. The modern honorific *čumu-si-* is probably < **čaŋwu-si-* ~ **čaŋup-si-* = MKor. *ča'ăp-so-*.

‖ Semantically a challenging etymology, with some mythological connotations; nevertheless phonetically impeccable and seems quite probable as a common Altaic root.

✱**ʒi̯óra (~ -ŕ-)** to send, to use: Tung. ***ʒori-**; Mong. ***ʒaru-**; Jpn. ***dár-**; Kor. ***čə̀rhì-**.

PTung. ***ʒori-** 1 to take aim 2 to show (1 прицеливаться 2 показывать): Man. *ʒori-* 1, 2; SMan. *ʒori-* 'to point to' (1341); Ork. *ʒorị-* 1; Nan. *ʒorị-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 265.

PMong. ***ʒaru-** to send, employ (посылать, давать задание): MMong. *ʒaru-* (MA, SH, HYt); WMong. *ʒaru-* (L 1038); Kh. *ʒar-*; Bur. *zara-*; Kalm. *zar-*; Ord. *ʒaru-*; Mog. *ʒɔru-* (Weiers); Dag. *ʒara-* (Тод. Даг. 142, MD 175), *ʒarə-*; Dong. *ʒaru-*; Bao. *ʒare-*; S.-Yugh. *ʒar-*; Mongr. *ʒari-* (SM 83).

◊ KW 467, MGCD 432.

PJpn. ***dár-** 1 to send 2 to give (1 посылать 2 давать): OJpn. *jar-* 1; MJpn. *jár-* 1; Tok. *yàr-* 1, 2; Kyo. *yár-* 1, 2; Kag. *jár-* 1.

◊ JLTT 785.

PKor. ***čȁrhì-** to make ready, prepare (подготавливать, готовить): MKor. *čhȁrì-*; Mod. *čhari-*.

◊ Nam 447, KED 1563.

‖ Ozawa 299-300, АПиПЯЯ 297. Kor. *čh-* reflects in this case a metathesis of aspiration (*čhări-* < **čăr-hi-*).

✸**ǯ[i̯ō]ŕo** a big number: Tung. ***ǯir-**; Turk. ***jū̃ŕ**; Jpn. ***də̀rə̀-**; Kor. ***jə́rh**.

PTung. ***ǯir-** a very big number (очень большое число): Man. *ǯiri*, *ǯirun*.

◊ TMC 1, 259, 260. Attested only in Manchu, with possible external parallels.

PTurk. ***jū̃ŕ** hundred (сто): OTurk. *jüz* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *jüz* (MK); Tur. *jüz*; Gag. *üz*; Az. *jüz*; Turkm. *jū̃z*; Sal. *jüz*; Khal. *jū̃z*; MTurk. *jüz* (MA, AH); Uzb. *juz*; Uygh. *juz*; Krm. *jüz*, *juź*, *jiz*, iz; Tat. *jöz*; Bashk. *jöð*; Kirgh. *ǯüz*; Kaz. *žüz*; KBalk. *ǯüz*, *züz*; KKalp. *žüz*; Kum. *jüz*, *juz*; Nogh. *jüz*; SUygh. *juz*, *jöz*; Khak. *čüs*; Shr. *čüs*; Oyr. *jüs*, *d́üs*; Tv. *čüs*; Chuv. *śəʷr*; Yak. *sū̃s*; Dolg. *hū̃s*.

◊ EDT 983, VEWT 213, ЭСТЯ 4, 260 (Turkm. *jüz*), Лексика 574, Stachowski 117.

PJpn. ***də̀rə̀-** ten thousand (десять тысяч): OJpn. *joro-du*; MJpn. *jòrò-du*; Tok. *yorozu*.

◊ JLTT 577.

PKor. ***jə́rh** ten (десять): MKor. *jə́r* (*jə́rh-*); Mod. *jəl*.

◊ Nam 376, KED 1178.

‖ Whitman 1985, 129, 243 (Kor.-Jpn.). The root presents considerable difficulties, and the reconstruction is by no means certain. Phonetically: in PT one should expect rather **jūŕ*; the Jpn.-Kor. tone does not correspond to PT length; Kor. *j- is quite exceptional (a better match for Kor. would be perhaps Mong. **je(r)-sün* 'nine', **jeri-n* 'ninety' (Ozawa 32-33 compares Mong. with Jpn., but initial *d- in Jpn. is an unsurmountable obstacle); in Kor. cf. also *jə̀rə́h* 'a big quantity, number'). Criticism see in TMN 4, 222. Still the Manchu-Jpn. match seems plausible, and some irregularities could be explained by contaminations or tabooistic reasons.

✸**ǯi̯oso** shape: Tung. ***ǯese**; Mong. ***ǯisü**; Turk. ***josun**; Jpn. ***dəsi**.

PTung. ***ǯesē** custom (привычка, обычай): Evk. *ǯesē*.

◊ TMC 1, 286. Attested only in Evk., but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***ǯisü** colour, shape (масть; вид, внешность): MMong. *ǯisu(n)* (SH); WMong. *ǯisü(n)* (L 1064); Kh. *ʒüs(en)*; Bur. *zühe(n)*; Kalm. *züsn̥*; Ord. *ǯüsü*; Dag. *ǯus* (Тод. Даг. 145), *ǯuse* (MD 180); Mongr. *ǯusə*.

◊ KW 484, MGCD 469. Mong. > Yak., Dolg. *ǯühün* (see Kał. MEJ 48, Stachowski 91).

PTurk. ***josun** manner, custom, method (способ, обычай, метод): Karakh. *josun* (KB); Az. *josun* (dial.); MTurk. *josun* (Abush., Pav. C.); Uzb. *jǫsin*; Uygh. *josun*; Tat. *josuq*; Kirgh. *ǯošun*; Kaz. *žosɨn*, *žosaq* (dial.); Oyr. *jozaq*, *jozoq*, *jozor*; Tv. *čoʿzu* (dial.).

◊ ЭСТЯ 4, 31-32. Also reflected is a form **josuk*, **josak*. Clauson (EDT 975) and Doerfer (TMN 1, 555-557) follow Ramstedt KW 219 and regard the Turkic forms as borrowed < Mong., which is somewhat dubious because of the peculiar phonology of Mong. *josun* (words with **jo-* are extremely rare in Mong.). PT **josuk* (**josak*) also strengthens the thesis about the Turkic origin of Mong. *josun*; Doerfer's hypothesis that Tat. *josuq*, Oyr. *jozaq* etc. reflect a contamination of **jasak* and **josun* is not very plausible (**jasak* has usually a quite different meaning 'impost, tax' etc.), and there is also a completely unexplained (as a Mongolism) form Oyr., Tel. *jozor*. All this makes us rather think of Turk. **josun* > Mong. **josun* > Manchu *joso*, Evk. *joso* etc. (TMC 1, 347).

PJpn. ***dəsi** reason, means (причина, средство): OJpn. *josi*, *josuka*; MJpn. *jósí*, *josuka*; Tok. *yóshi*, *yosuga*; Kyo. *yóshì*; Kag. *yoshí*.

◊ JLTT 577, 578. Accent correspondences are irregular.

‖ A difficult word. On Turk. **josun* and Mong. *josun* see above; Mong. **ʒisü* thus seems a better historical match for Turk. **josun*. There still remain, however, phonetic problems: in Mong. one would rather expect **ʒüs-* or **ʒös-*, not **ʒis-* (possibly we are dealing with a vocalic metathesis **ʒisü-* < **ʒüsi-*?); and Evk. *ʒesē* - although hardly a Mong. loanword because of semantic difference - is also not quite regular (one would expect **ʒis-*).

✱**ʒi̯òto** hunger, starvation: Mong. ***ʒüde-**; Turk. ***jut**; Jpn. ***dàtùrà-**.

PMong. ***ʒüde-** to tire, starve (уставать, изнуряться, истощаться): WMong. *ʒüdere-* (L 1082); Kh. *ʒüde-*, *ʒüdre-*; Bur. *züder-*; Kalm. *züd-*, *züdr-*; Ord. *ʒudek* 'fatigue'; Dag. *ʒudre-* (Тод. Даг. 145); S.-Yugh. *ʒöderī-*.

◊ MGCD 466. Mong. > Oyr. *jüdä-* etc. (ЭСТЯ 4, 35, VEWT 212, KW 483).

PTurk. ***jut** 1 bad weather, bad harvest 2 hunger, trouble (1 дурная погода, неурожай 2 голод, беда): OTurk. *jut* (Orkh.) 1; Karakh. *jut* (MK) 1; MTurk. *jut* (Pav. C., AH, Бор. Бад.) 1; Uzb. *jut* 1; Uygh. *ʒut*, *ʒüt* 2; Bashk. *jot* 2; Kirgh. *ʒut* 2; Kaz. *žut* 2; KKalp. *žŭt* 2; Kum. *jut* 1; Nogh. *jut* 1, 2; SUygh. *ʒüt* 'lean, meagre'; Khak. *čut* 1; Shr. *čut* 1; Oyr. *jut*, *ḑut* 1, 2; Tv. *čut* 2; Yak. *sut* 2.

◊ EDT 883, VEWT 211-212, ЭСТЯ 4, 256-257. Turk. > Mong. **ʒud*, **ʒuta-* (KW 481, TMN 4, 210, Щербак 1997, 125).

PJpn. ***dàtùrà-** to be exhausted, emaciated (истощаться, изнуряться): OJpn. *jatura-*; MJpn. *jàtùrà-*; Tok. *yatsuré-*; Kyo. *yátsúré-*; Kag. *yàtsùrè-*.

◊ JLTT 785.

‖ A common derivative **ʒi̯òto-rV* is reflected in Mong. **ʒüde-re-* and Jpn. **dàtùrà-*.

✱**ʒi̯òʒu** thick, abundant: Tung. ***ʒaʒi- (~-ia-)**; Mong. ***ʒuʒaɣan**; Turk. ***jogan**; Jpn. ***dùtáka-**; Kor. ***čǎč-**.

PTung. ***ʒaʒi- (~-ia-)** 1 to heap up 2 thicket (1 нагромождать, сваливать в кучу 2 чаща): Man. *ʒaʒi-* 1, *ʒaʒixi*, *ʒaʒuri* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 242. Attested only in Manchu, but having probable external parallels.

PMong. ***ʒuʒaɣan** thick (толстый): MMong. *ʒuʒa'an* (HY 54, SH), *ʒüʒa'an* (HY 22), *ʒuʒān* (IM), *ʒuʒa'ān*, *ʒuʒān* (MA); WMong. *ʒuʒaɣan* (L 1081); Kh. *ʒuʒān*; Bur. *zuzān*; Kalm. *zuzān*; Ord. *ʒuʒān*; Mog. *ʒuʒɔn* (Weiers); ZM *ʒoʒān* (18-3a); Dag. *ʒuʒān* (Тод. Даг. 145), *ʒuʒan* (MD 180); Dong. *ʒuʒan*; Bao. *ʒiʒaŋ*; S.-Yugh. *ʒuʒān*; Mongr. *ʒuʒwān*, *ʒuʒān* (SM 73).

◊ KW 481-482, MGCD 461.

PTurk. ***jogan** thick (толстый): OTurk. *joɣan* (Orkh.), *joɣun* (OUygh.); Karakh. *joɣun* (MK); Tur. *joɣun*; Az. *joɣun*; Turkm. *joɣīn*; Khal. *joɣun*; MTurk. *joɣan* (MA); Uzb. *joɣɔn*; Uygh. *joɣan* 'big'; Tat. *juvan*; Bashk. *jɨwan*; Kirgh. *ʒōn*; KKalp. *žuwan*; Nogh. *juvan*; SUygh. *joɣɨn*, *joɣun*; Khak. *čōn*; Shr. *čōn*; Oyr. *jōn*, *ďōn*; Tv. *čōn*; Tof. *ńōn*; Yak. *suon*.

◊ VEWT 205, EDT 904, ЭСТЯ 4, 208-209.

PJpn. ***dùtá-ka** abundant (обильный): OJpn. *jutake-*; MJpn. *jùtákà*; Tok. *yútaka*; Kyo. *yùtákà*; Kag. *yutaká*.

◊ JLTT 580.

PKor. ***čǎč-** be frequent, constant (быть частым, постоянным): MKor. *čǎč-*; Mod. *čač-*.

◊ Nam 418, KED 1408.

‖ VEWT 205 (Turk.-Mong.), АПиПЯЯ 287. The Turkic form may belong here if PT **jogan* < **jojga-n*. The Japanese form goes back to an intermediate variant **ʒi̯očʹu-kʹa* (with assimilative devoicing of *-ʒ-). Korean has a frequent verbal low tone.

✱**ʒi̯úbù** sake, reason: Tung. ***ʒubu (~ -g-)**; Mong. ***ʒüj**; Jpn. ***dúwài**.

PTung. ***ʒubu (~ -g-)** for, for the sake of (для, ради): Evk. *ʒuɣu ~ ʒuwu*; Evn. *ʒuwu*; Neg. *ʒuwu-dū*; Man. *ʒu-lefun*.

◊ TMC 1, 269.

PMong. ***ʒüj** thing, circumstance, reason (дело, обстоятельство, причина): MMong. *ʒujil* (HY); WMong. *ʒüi* (L 1083); Kh. *ʒüj*; Bur. *züj*; Kalm. *zǖ*; Ord. *ʒǖ*, *ʒüi̯*.

◊ KW 484.

PJpn. ***dúwài** reason (причина): OJpn. *juwe*; MJpn. *júwè*; Tok. *yué*; Kyo. *yúé*; Kag. *yúe*.

◊ JLTT 579. Accent in Kyoto is irregular in Hirayama, but Martin (ibid.) cites it as regular *yúè*.

‖ Ozawa 160-161, JOAL 69.

✱**ʒi̯úgi** millet: Tung. ***ʒija- / *ʒije- (~ -g-)**; Turk. ***jügür-**; Kor. ***còh**.

PTung. ***ʒija- / *ʒije- (~ -g-)** 1 millet 2 porridge (1 просо 2 каша): Neg. *ʒākta* 1; Man. *ʒe* 1; SMan. *ʒē belə* 'millet (Setaria italica)' (286); Jurch. *che-(po-le)*; Nan. *ʒiekte* 1; Orch. *ʒiekte*, *ʒekte* 1; Ud. *ʒakta* 1; Sol. *ʒakta* 2.

◊ See TMC 1, 244.

PTurk. ***jügür-** 1 millet 2 sorgho 3 corn, maize (1 просо 2 сорго 3 кукуруза): OTurk. *üjür* (OUygh.) 1; Karakh. *jügür*, *ügür* (MK), *jür* (KB) 1; Tat. *ʒögärä* 2; Kirgh. *ʒügörü* 2, 3; Kaz. *žügeri* 3; KBalk. *ʒügeri* 3; KKalp. *žüweri* 2, 3; Tv. *ürgene* 'a k. of buckwheat'; Chuv. *vir* 1; Yak. *üöre* 1.

◊ EDT 275, Лексика 458. Turk. > Mong. *ʒügür*, Pers. *ʒuvārī*.

PKor. ***čòh** millet (просо): MKor. *čò* (*čòh-*); Mod. *čo*.

◊ Nam 427, KED 1468.

‖ PKE 37, Lee 1958, 113, Дыбо 11.

✸**ʒi̯ul[u]** halter, rope for binding animals: Tung. ***ʒulʒi-**; Mong. ***ʒiluɣa**; Turk. ***jular**.

PTung. ***ʒulʒi-** chain (цепь): Neg. *ʒulʒixēn*; Ul. *dulʒi(n)*; Ork. *dulʒiɣe*; Nan. *ʒulʒiē*; Orch. *ʒuggä(n)*, *ʒugʒe(n)* 'chain; rope for binding animals'.

◊ TMC 1, 272-273.

PMong. ***ʒiluɣa** halter (недоуздок, вожжи): MMong. *ʒilu'a* (SH), *ʒolā* (IM); WMong. *ʒiluɣa* (L 1055); Kh. *ʒolō*; Bur. *žolō*; Kalm. *ʒolā* (KPC); Ord. *ʒilō*; Dag. *d́ilō*, *ʒilō* (Тод. Даг. 144), *ʒolō* 'reins' (MD 180); S.-Yugh. *ʒolū*.

◊ MGCD 452. Mong. > Chag. *čilau*, *ʒiluɣa*, Turkm. *ʒɨlaw* etc., see TMN 1, 297, Щербак 1997, 205, ЭСТЯ 4, 41-42; Evk. *ʒiluɣa* etc., see Poppe 1966, 190, 195, Doerfer MT 102, Rozycki 126.

PTurk. ***jular** halter (недоуздок): Karakh. *jular* (MK); Tur. *jular*; Gag. *jular*; Sal. *ʒulur*; MTurk. *jular* (Pav. C., Houts.), *jolar* (AH); Oyr. *d́ular*; Tv. *čular*; Yak. *sular*.

◊ EDT 932, VEWT 210, ЭСТЯ 4, 244-245, Лексика 556.

‖ KW 114, Лексика 557, Tekin 1981, 121-122. A Western isogloss. Despite Щербак 1997, 125, Mong. cannot easily be explained as a Turk. borrowing. Doerfer (TMN 1, 297) mentions Turk. **jular* : Mong. **ʒiluɣa*, but rejects without explanation.

✸**ʒi̯ú̈lu (~ -a)** to slide; smooth, slippery: Tung. ***ʒulV-**; Mong. ***ʒil-**; Turk. ***jīl-**.

PTung. ***ʒulV-** 1 smooth 2 naked (1 гладкий 2 голый): Evk. *ʒulā-kin* 2; Evn. *ʒu̯laqqan* 2; Sol. *ʒulu-brēx* 1, *ʒu̯lāxī* 2.

◊ TMC 1, 272-273.

PMong. ***ʒil-** smooth, level (гладкий, ровный): WMong. *ʒilim*, *ʒilum*, (L 1055: *ʒildam* 'level'); Kh. *ʒildem*; Bur. *želeger*; Kalm. *ʒilm̥*.

◊ KW 110.

PTurk. ***jīl-** 1 to creep 2 snake (1 ползать 2 змея): OTurk. *jɨlan* 2 (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *jɨlan* (MK) 2; Tur. *jɨlan* 2; Gag. *jɨlan* 2; Az. *ilan* 2; Turkm. *jɨlān* 2; Sal. *jilɨn* 2; MTurk. *jɨl-* 1 (Vam.), *jɨlan* 2 (Pav. C.); Uzb. *ʒil-* 1, *ilɔn* 2; Uygh. *ilan* 2; Krm. *jɨlan* 2; Tat. *jɨl-* 1, *jɨlan* 2; Bashk. *jɨlan* 2; Kirgh. *ʒɨl-* 1, *ʒɨlan* 2; Kaz. *žɨlan* 2; KBalk. *žɨlan* 2; KKalp. *žɨlan* 2; Kum. *jɨlan* 2; Nogh. *jɨlan* 2; SUygh. *jilan* 2; Khak. *čɨl-* 1, *čɨlan* 2; Shr. *čɨlan* 2; Oyr.

d́ɨl- 1; Tv. *čɨl-* 1, *čɨlan* 2, dial. *čulan*; Tof. *čɨl-* 1, *čulan* 2; Chuv. *śəʷlen* 2; Yak. *sīl-* 1.

◊ VEWT 200, EDT 930-1, ЭСТЯ 4, 40-41, 277, Лексика 180. Turk. > MMong. (MA) *jilan* (see Щербак 1997, 164). Mong. *ǯilu-*, *ǯulu-* 'roll away, move away' may be related or borrowed < Turk.

‖ EAS 65-66, KW 110, TMC 1, 272, VEWT 200 (but the Kor. form *čičči-da*, despite SKE 37, hardly belongs here), АПиПЯЯ 285; hardly justified is Doerfer's criticism in TMN 4, 254-255. A Western isogloss. For the Turk. forms meaning 'snake' cf. alternatively TM **sulama* / **salama* 'snake' (TMC 2, 57) - if the latter is not borrowed from Russ. dial. *саломея* 'a mythical snake'.

✱**ʒi̯uŕi** to peel, skim off: Mong. ***ʒor-**; Turk. ***jüŕ-**; Kor. ***čɨri- (~ -i-)**.

PMong. ***ʒor-** to plane, shave off, peel (строгать, соскребать, сбривать, сдирать): MMong. *ǯuru-* (MA); WMong. *ǯor-* (L 1070); Kh. *ʒoro-*; Bur. *zoro-*; *zorogodoho(n)* 'shavings'; Kalm. *zor-* (KPC); Ord. *ǯor-*; Mog. ZM *ǯuru-* 'to cut' (22-5); Dag. *ǯorgo-*, *ǯorgu-* (Тод. Даг. 144); S.-Yugh. *ǯūr-*; Mongr. *ʒōri-* (SM 91), *ǯōrə-*.

◊ MGCD 454.

PTurk. ***jüŕ-** to peel off (skin), to skin (сдирать (шкуру)): Karakh. *jüz-* (MK); Tur. *jüz-*; Gag. *jüz-*; Turkm. *jüz-*.

◊ EDT 984, ЭСТЯ 4, 261.

PKor. ***čɨri- (~ -i-)** to skim off (as cream), cut off (снимать (сливки и т. п.), срезать): Mod. *čɨri-*.

◊ KED 1530.

‖ SKE 36.

✱**ʒi̯utke** a k. of berry: Tung. ***ʒüksi- / *ʒükte**; Mong. ***ʒedegene**; Turk. ***jidgelek**.

PTung. ***ʒüksi- / *ʒükte** 1 blue-berry 2 berry (1 черника, голубика 2 ягода): Evk. *ǯiksiŋē* 1, *ǯikte* 2; Neg. *ǯikte* 1; Man. *duqsi* 1; Ul. *ǯuste* 1; Ork. *dusikte* 1; Nan. *ǯusikte* 1; Orch. *ǯikte* 1; Ud. *ǯikte* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 256.

PMong. ***ʒedegene** strawberry (клубника): WMong. *ǯedegene*; Kh. *ʒedgene*; Bur. *zedegene* 1, 2; Kalm. *zedəgənə*.

◊ KW 471.

PTurk. ***jidge, *jidge-lek** 1 jujube 2 strawberry, berry (1 ююба, лох 2 земляника, ягода): OTurk. *jigde* 1 (OUygh.); Karakh. *jigde* 1 (MK); Tur. *ijde* 1; Az. *ijdä* 1; Turkm. *igde* 1; MTurk. *igde* (Pav. C.) 1; Uzb. *ǯijda* 1; Uygh. *ǯigdä* 1; Tat. *ǯiläk*, *jeläk* (dial.) 2; Bashk. *jeläk* 2; Kirgh. *ǯijde* 1; Kaz. *žijde* 1, *židek* 2; KBalk. *ǯilek* 2; KKalp. *žijde* 1; Kum. *ǯijelek* 2; Nogh. *jelek* 2; Khak. *čistek*, *sestek* 2; Oyr. *d́ilek* 2; Chuv. *śɨrla* 2.

◊ EDT 911, VEWT 202, ЭСТЯ 1, 325-326, Лексика 122, 140. Turk. (Bulg.) > Hung. *szőlő* 'grape' (<*śiδleγ), see Gombocz 1912, MNyTESz 3, 794. Turk. *jigde > Mong. *ǯigde, ǯegde* (Щербак 1997, 123); but the TM forms are not borrowed, despite Doerfer MT 73.

‖ Дыбо 10. A Western isogloss. Secondary delabialization in Mong. (*ǯedegene < *ǯödegene).

✸**ǯobá (~ -u-, -i̯-)** to cut, crush: Tung. ***ǯobga***; Mong. ***ǯoγu-***; Jpn. ***dàmpù-r-**.

PTung. ***ǯobga*** 1 harpoon 2 to cut, cut out (1 гарпун 2 резать, вырезать): Evk. *ǯewge* 1; Neg. *ǯobgo* 1; Man. *ǯo-*, *ǯō-* 2; Ul. *ǯoGbo* 1; Ork. *ǯobbo* 1; Nan. *ǯobGo* 1; Orch. *ǯobbo* 1; Ud. *ǯobʿo*; *ǯogbo* 1 (Корм. 233).

◊ TMC 1, 260, 281.

PMong. ***ǯoγu-*** 1 to insert 2 barb of a harpoon (1 вставлять 2 зубец гарпуна): WMong. *ǯoγu-* 1, *ǯoγu* 2 (L 1067); Kh. *ʒō-* 1; Bur. *zō-* 1.

PJpn. ***dàmpù-r-*** to break, crush (ломать): OJpn. *jabur-*; MJpn. *jàbùr-*; Tok. *yabúr-*; Kyo. *yàbùr-*; Kag. *yàbùr-*.

◊ JLTT 784. Except Kyoto (pointing to **dàmpúr-*), all dialects point to PJ **dàmpùr-*.

‖ One of the many Altaic "Verba des Schlagens".

✸**ǯòkó (~ -u-)** to stop, abstain from: Tung. ***ǯuK-***; Mong. ***ǯogso-***; Jpn. ***dəká-**.

PTung. ***ǯuK-*** to stop (останавливаться): Evn. *ǯökъr-*.

◊ TMC 1, 266. Attested only in Evn., but having plausible external parallels.

PMong. ***ǯogso-*** to stand still, stop, finish (останавливаться, прекращаться): WMong. *ǯoγso-* (L 1067: *ǯoγsu-*); Kh. *ʒogso-*; Bur. *zogso-*; Kalm. *zoksə-*; Ord. *ǯoGso-*.

◊ Mong. > Kirgh. *ǯüša-* etc. (ЭСТЯ 4, 34-35), see KW 475, VEWT 127.

PJpn. ***dəká-*** to refrain, abstain from (избегать, воздерживаться): OJpn. *joka-*; MJpn. *jòkà-*; Tok. *yoké-*; Kyo. *yòkè-*; Kag. *yòkè-*.

◊ JLTT 786.

‖ A good Mong.-TM-Jpn. parallel (although poorly attested in TM).

✸**ǯőkʿe (~ -k-)** nearly, hardly: Tung. ***ǯuke***; Mong. ***ǯug / *ǯüg***; Turk. ***jōk***; Jpn. ***dəku (?)**.

PTung. ***ǯuke*** 1 hardly, barely 2 simple, usual (1 едва, еле-еле 2 простой, обычный): Evk. *ǯupkēkī* 'enough'; Man. *ǯuken* 1, 2, *ǯuki* 'enough'; SMan. *ǯukun* 'on bad terms, bad' (2507); Ul. *ǯuke(n)* 1; Nan. *ǯukẽ* 1; Orch. *ǯukke*, *ǯuke* 1; Ud. *ǯuke* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 272, 275. Man. > Dag. *ǯuken* (Тод. Даг. 145).

PMong. ***ǯug / *ǯüg*** in vain (напрасно): WMong. *ǯug*, *ǯüg*; (L 1083) *ǯüger*, *ǯügere*; Kh. *ʒügēr* 'so-so; common'; Kalm. *zug*, *züg*; Ord. *ǯügē* 'however, but'; *ǯügēr* 'ordinaire; sans rien faire'.

◊ KW 479.

PTurk. ***jōk*** is not, there is not (нет, не имеется): OTurk. *joq* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *joq* (MK); Tur. *jok*; Gag. *joq*; Az. *jox*; Turkm. *jōq*; Sal.

jox; Khal. *jūq*; MTurk. *joq* (Pav. C., AH); Uzb. *joq*; Uygh. *joq*; Krm. *joq*, jo; Tat. *juq*; Bashk. *juq*; Kirgh. *ʒoq*; Kaz. *žoq*; KBalk. *ʒoq*, *žoq*, *zox*; KKalp. *žoq*, *žaq*; Kum. *joq*; Nogh. *joq*; SUygh. *joq*, *ʒoq*; Khak. *čox*; Shr. *čoq*; Oyr. *ḱoq*; Tv. *čoq*; Chuv. *śok*, *śoɣal-*; Yak. *suox*; Dolg. *huok*.

◊ EDT 895-896, VEWT 205, ЭСТЯ 4, 211-212, Лексика 333, Федотов 2, 129-130, Stachowski 112.

PJpn. ***dəku** usually, nearly (обычно, часто, почти): OJpn. *joku*; MJpn. *joku*; Tok. *yoku*.

◊ The word is written differently, but the accent is unknown and it may be actually an adverbial form of **də-* 'good' (v. sub **dị̀ge).*

‖ Basically a Western isogloss; the Japanese parallel is somewhat ambiguous.

✱**ʒòpʹè (~ -u-, -o)** hollow under knee or neck, corner: Tung. ***ʒup(u)ku**; Mong. ***ʒobki**; Jpn. ***dəpə̀rə́**.

PTung. ***ʒup(u)ku** hollow under neck (подшейная ямка): Evk. *ʒupku*; Neg. *ʒipkun*; Man. *ʒofoχo* 'wedge, gore, denticle'; Nan. *ʒupkũ* 'otter's breast'; Ud. *ʒokpo* 'breast bow'.

◊ TMC 1, 262, 266, 275.

PMong. ***ʒobki** 1 corner of the eye; eyelid 2 corner, one of the four intermediate points of the four directions (1 уголок глаза; веко 2 угол, одно из четырех промежуточных направлений, азимут): WMong. *ʒobki* 1, *ʒobkis* 2 (L 1066); Kh. *ʒovxi* 1, *ʒovxis* 2; Bur. *zubxi* 1; Kalm. *zowkə* 1 (KPC); Ord. *ʒobχi* 1.

PJpn. ***dəpə̀rə́** hollow under knee (подколенная впадина): OJpn. *jop(w)oro-kub(w)o*; MJpn. *jòfòró*.

◊ JLTT 577.

‖ An interesting term, basically anatomical, denoting a hollow or angle in some body part (angle in the corner of the eye; angle / hollow under the neck; angle / hollow under the knee). A common derivative **ʒòpʹè-kʹV* is reflected in Mong. **ʒob-ki* and PTM **ʒup(u)-ku*.

✱**ʒȍʒe** to quarrel, speak badly: Tung. ***ʒuʒa-**; Mong. ***ʒüʒig**; Turk. ***jōj**; Jpn. ***dəjə-**; Kor. ***čìč-**.

PTung. ***ʒuʒa-** 1 to quarrel 2 niggling, peddling (1 спорить, скандалить, судить 2 быть мелочным (в словах, поступках)): Man. *ʒuʒu-ra-* 2; Ul. *ʒụʒa-* 1; Nan. *ʒoʒa-* 1; Orch. *ʒuʒa-* 1; Ud. *ʒuʒa-* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 270-271.

PMong. ***ʒüʒig** show, act, theatre (представление, театр): WMong. *ʒüʒügi*, (L 1073) *ʒöčüge*, *ʒüʒige*, *ʒüčige*; Kh. *ʒüʒig*; Bur. *züžeg*.

PTurk. ***jōj** 1 cunning, lying 2 to defame, disgrace 3 troubles, noise (1 хитрый, обманщик 2 поносить, позорить 3 волнение, шум): Kirgh. *ʒoj* 1; Khak. *čoj*, *čöj* 1; Shr. *čöj* 1; Oyr. *joj*, *ḱoj* 1; Chuv. *śoj* 3; Yak. *sūj-* 2.

◊ VEWT 205, ЭСТЯ 4, 210, Федотов 2, 129.

PJpn. ***dəjə-** to speak badly (of old persons without teeth) (плохо говорить (о беззубых стариках)): OJpn. *jojom-*.

PKor. ***čɨč-** to bark (лаять): MKor. *čɨč-*; Mod. *čit-* [*čič-*].

◊ Nam 441, KED 1559.

‖ Дыбо 14. An expressive reduplicated root, but no doubt archaic.

✱**ǯu** summer: Tung. ***ǯu-ga**; Mong. ***ǯu-n**.

PTung. ***ǯu-ga** in summer, summer (летом, лето): Evk. *ǯuɣa*; Evn. *ǯu̯wu̯nị*; Neg. *ǯoa*; Man. *ǯuwari*; SMan. *ǯuari* (2727); Jurch. *ǯuha* (268); Ul. *ǯu̯a*; Ork. *du̯wa*; Nan. *ǯoa*; Orch. *ǯuwa*; Ud. *ǯua*; Sol. *ǯu̯ga*.

◊ TMC 1, 268. TM > Russ. Siber. *d'ugany* 'spring and summer', see Аникин 194.

PMong. ***ǯu-n** summer (лето): MMong. *ǯun* (HY 5), *ǯūn* (IM), *ǯūn* (LH); WMong. *ǯun* (L 1079); Kh. *ʒun*; Bur. *zun*; Kalm. *zun*; Ord. *ǯun*; S.-Yugh. *ǯun*; Mongr. *ǯun* (SM 73).

◊ KW 480, MGCD 463.

‖ Poppe 28, 101, Rozycki 128. A Mong.-Tung. isogloss; but despite Doerfer MT 24, TM cannot be borrowed from Mong.

✱**ǯŭgdV (~ -o-)** to hit, strike: Tung. ***ǯugd[u]-**; Mong. ***ǯod-**; Turk. ***jod-**.

PTung. ***ǯugd[u]-** to hit, push, kick (тыкать, толкать, ударять): Evk. *ǯugdū-*; Neg. *ǯūkte-*; Man. *ǯoqǯa-*; Nan. *ǯugǯukule-*.

◊ TMC 1, 269.

PMong. ***ǯoda-** to hit, strike, fight (бить, ударять): WMong. *ǯoda-* (L 1066: *ǯodu-*); Kh. *ʒodo-*; Bur. *zodō(n)* 'fray, tussle'; Kalm. *zod-* (KPC); Ord. *ǯodo-*.

PTurk. ***jod-** to destroy (уничтожать, разрушать): OTurk. *jod-* (OUygh.); Karakh. *joδ-* (MK); Turkm. *joj-*; MTurk. *joj-* (Houts.), *juj-* (AH); Krm. *ǯoj-*; Tat. *ǯuj-*; Bashk. *juj-*; Kirgh. *ǯoj-*; Kaz. *žoj-*; KKalp. *žoj-*; Kum. *joj-*; Nogh. *joj-*; Shr. *čos-*; Tv. *čot-*; Yak. *sot-* 'to wipe out'; Dolg. *hot-* 'to wipe out'.

◊ EDT 885, VEWT 204, ЭСТЯ 4, 210, Stachowski 109.

‖ A Western isogloss.

✱**ǯuge (~ -o-, -i)** bee, wasp: Tung. ***ǯuge-**; Mong. ***ǯögeji**.

PTung. ***ǯuge-** wasp, bee (оса, пчела): Evk. *ǯuɣuk(te)*, *ǯuwuk(te)*, *ǯuwun*; Evn. *ǯewъt*; Neg. *ǯewekte*, *ǯeɣekte*; Nan. *ǯewẽ*; Sol. *ǯūkte*.

◊ TMC 1, 268.

PMong. ***ǯögej** bee (пчела): WMong. *ǯögei* (L 1074); Kh. *ʒögij*; Bur. *zügi*; Kalm. *zögə*.

◊ KW 477.

‖ KW 477, Poppe 28, 58, Дыбо 8. A Mong.-Tung. isogloss. Despite Doerfer MT 47, TM is hardly borrowed from Mong.

✱**ʒugi** to carry (on the back): Tung. ***ʒugū-**; Mong. ***ʒöɣe-**; Turk. ***jü-**; Kor. ***čì-**.

PTung. ***ʒugū-** to carry, transport (перевозить, перетаскивать): Evk. *ʒuɣū-*; Evn. *ʒuɣu-*; Neg. *ʒuɣu-*; Man. *ʒuwe-*; SMan. *ʒō-* (1239); Ork. *dū-ri-*; Orch. *ʒu-si-*; Ud. *ʒū-*.

◊ TMC 1, 269.

PMong. ***ʒöɣe-** to carry, transport (переносить, перевозить): MMong. *ʒu-* (MA), *ʒo'e-* / *ʒu'e-* (SH), *ʒoge'ul-* (HYt); WMong. *ʒögege-*, *ʒöge-* (L 1074); Kh. *ʒō̄-*; Bur. *zō̄-*; Kalm. *zō̄-*; Ord. *ʒō̄-*; Dag. *ʒugā-*, *ʒugū-* (Тод. Даг. 144); Dong. *ʒue-*, *čue-*, *ʒo-*; Bao. *ʒō-*, *ʒo-*; S.-Yugh. *ʒū̄-*; Mongr. *ʒō-* (SM 89).

◊ KW 479, MGCD 456, 466. The Dag. form may be a secondary loan from TM.

PTurk. ***jü-** 1 load 2 to load, carry (1 груз, тяжесть 2 нагружать, везти): OTurk. *jük* 1, *jü-d-* 2 (OUygh.); Karakh. *jük* 1, *jü-δ-* 2 (MK); Tur. *jük* 1; Gag. *ük* 1; Az. *jük* 1; Turkm. *jük* 1; MTurk. *jük* 1 (Houts., AH); Uzb. *juk* 1; Uygh. *jük* 1; Krm. *jük*, *juk*, *jik*, ik 1; Tat. *jök* 1; Bashk. *jök* 1; Kirgh. *ʒük* 1; Kaz. *žük* 1; KBalk. *ʒük*, *žük*, *zük* 1; Kum. *jük*, *juk* 1; Nogh. *jük* 1; SUygh. *jük* 1; Khak. *čük* 1; Shr. *čük* 1; Oyr. *jüj-* 2, *jük*, *d́ük* 1; Tv. *čü'k* 1, *čüdür-* 2; Chuv. *śəʷk* 1; Yak. *sük-* 2.

◊ EDT 885, 910, VEWT 212, ЭСТЯ 4, 262-263, Лексика 520.

PKor. ***čì-** to carry on the back (нести на спине): MKor. *čì-*; Mod. *či-*.

◊ Liu 682, KED 1527.

‖ EAS 65, KW 479, Владимирцов 197, SKE 31, Poppe 28, 111, Дыбо 13. The comparison seems quite valid, despite doubts in TMN 4, 225. Despite Poppe 1966, 191, Doerfer MT 24, Rozycki 128, TM is hardly < Mong. Loss of *-g- in Turkic is probably explained by the fact that the root is only used with suffixes (**jüg(V)k* > **jük*, **jüg(V)d* > **jüd-*).

✱**ʒŭjbe** weak, bad: Tung. ***ʒoba-**; Mong. ***ʒoba-**; Turk. ***jubka**; Jpn. ***duàwà-**; Kor. ***čubɨr-**.

PTung. ***ʒoba-** to suffer, be poor (страдать, бедствовать): Evk. *ʒowo-* / *ʒoɣo-*; Evn. *ʒow-* / *ʒoɣ-*; Neg. *ʒobo-*; Man. *ʒobo-*; SMan. *ʒovə-*, *ʒovu-* (1944); Jurch. *ʒo-bo-hun* (844) 'grief, sorrow'; Ul. *ʒobo-*; Ork. *ʒobbo-*; Nan. *ʒobo-*; Orch. *ʒobo-*; Ud. *ʒō-*; Sol. *ʒowo-*, *ʒogo-*.

◊ TMC 1, 260-261.

PMong. ***ʒoba-** to suffer (страдать): MMong. *ʒoubolaŋ* 'worry, agony' (HY 37), *ʒuba* (IM), *ʒoba-* (MA), *ʒoba-*, *ʒibtura-* (SH), *ʒibtura-* 'to be weak' (HYt); WMong. *ʒoba-* (L 1065); Kh. *ʒovo-*; Bur. *zobo-*; Kalm. *zow-*; Ord. *ʒowo-*; Dag. *ʒowo-*, *ʒogo-* (Тод. Даг. 144), *ʒobe-* (MD 179), *ʒobčon* 'suffering'; S.-Yugh. *ʒōldə-*; Mongr. *ʒoGloŋ* 'douleur, souffrance' (SM 89) (MGCD *ʒobloŋ*).

◊ KW 476, MGCD 448, 449. Mong. > Oyr. *jobo-* etc. (ЭСТЯ 4, 38-39); > Manchu *ʒobolon* (Rozycki 124).

PTurk. ***jubka** thin, slender, unsubstantial (тонкий): OTurk. *juqa* (OUygh.), *jujqa* (Orkh.); Karakh. *jupqa*, *juvqa* (MK), *juvɣa* (MK, KB); Tur. *jufka*; Gag. *jufqa*, *jɨfqa*; Az. *juxa*; Turkm. *jūqa*; Sal. *joχba*; MTurk. *jufqa* (AH), *juqa* (Ettuhf.); Uzb. *jupqa*; Uygh. *jupqa*, *juqa*, *župqa*, *žuqu*; Krm. *juwɣa*, *jufqa*; Tat. *juqa*; Bashk. *joqa*; Kirgh. *ʒupqa*, *ʒuqa*; Kaz. *žuqa*; KBalk. *žuqa*; KKalp. *žŭqa*; Kum. *juqqa*; Nogh. *juqa*; SUygh. *juqa*; Khak. *čuɣa*; Shr. *čoɣa*; Oyr. *ć́uqa*; Tv. *čuɣa*; Tof. *čuɣa*; Chuv. *śüɣe*.

◊ VEWT 209, TMN 4, 211-212, EDT 874, ЭСТЯ 4, 241-242.

PJpn. ***duàwà-** weak (слабый): OJpn. *jwowa-*; MJpn. *jòwà-*; Tok. *yowá-*; Kyo. *yówà-*; Kag. *yowá-*.

◊ JLTT 845.

PKor. ***čubɨr-** to be hungry, famished (быть голодным, истощенным): MKor. *čū'írì-*; Mod. *čūri-*.

◊ Nam 434, KED 1496.

‖ АПиПЯЯ 77, Rozycki 124. Tungus forms may be borrowed from Mong. (see Poppe 1966, 194, Doerfer MT 80). Medial *-j- has to be reconstructed, as in a number of other cases, to explain Mong. -b- (not -ɣ-) and Jpn. *-w- (not -p-); exceptional back vowel in Turkic may be also due to dissimilation with the medial *-j-. In Turkic one has to suppose a semantic development 'thin' < 'lean, weak' (the latter meaning is actually widely attested since the earliest texts).

✱**ʒȕmo (?)** to think of, remember: Tung. ***ʒōm-**; Mong. ***ʒimu-**; Jpn. ***dəm-**.

PTung. ***ʒōm- (/ *ʒōn-)** to remember (помнить): Evk. *ʒōn-*, *ʒōm-kit-*; Evn. *ʒōn-*, *ʒōman-*; Neg. *ʒon-*; Man. *ʒo-*, *ʒono-*; Ul. *ʒombụ-*; Ork. *dōndụ-*; Nan. *ʒōmbo-*; Orch. *ʒōmbu-*; Ud. *ʒoŋi-*; Sol. *ʒōn-*, *ʒōmụ̄-*.

◊ TMC 1, 264. Final *-n in some forms is unclear.

PMong. ***ʒimu-** be deep in thoughts or in work (быть поглощенным мыслями, работой): Kalm. *ʒum-*.

◊ KW 116.

PJpn. ***dəm-** to recite; to count, to read (читать наизусть; считать, читать): OJpn. *jom-*; MJpn. *jòm-*; Tok. *jóm-*; Kyo. *jòm-*; Kag. *jòm-*.

◊ JLTT 786.

‖ The etymology is worth listing, but not devoid of problems: in Mongolian we have only an isolated Kalmuck form, and the Tung.-Jpn. equation is possible only if the variant **ʒōn-* in TM is secondary.

✱**ʒŭrVko** courage, joy: Tung. ***ʒurga- / *ʒurge-**; Mong. ***ʒirga-**; Jpn. ***dərəkə̀-p-**; Kor. ***čírkə́b- / *čírkə̀b-**.

PTung. ***ʒurga- / *ʒurge-** 1 ethic, moral 2 honest 3 brave 4 justice (1 нравственный 2 честный 3 храбрый 4 справедливость): Evn. *ʒurri* 3; Man. *ʒurGan* 4, *ʒurGanGa* 2; SMan. *ʒurəhan* 4 (1041); Orch. *ʒugge* 1; Sol. *ʒụrgana* 1.

◊ TMC 1, 277, 278.

PMong. ***ʒirga-** 1 happiness 2 to enjoy (1 счастье 2 радоваться): MMong. *ʒirqalaŋ* 1 (HY 37), *ʒirqa-* 2 (SH, HYt); WMong. *ʒirɣa-* (L 1059) 2; Kh. *ʒarga-* 2; Bur. *žargal* 1; Kalm. *ʒirɣъl* 'life; happiness'; Ord. *ʒirGa-* 2; Dag. *ʒarga-* 2 (Tod. 142; MGCD *ʒirga-*); S.-Yugh. *ʒargə-* 2; Mongr. *ʒirGa-* 2.

◊ KW 112, MGCD 433, TMN 1, 290. Mong. > Man. *ʒirga-*, see Doerfer MT 117, Rozycki 124; > Khak. *čirɣa-*, Kirgh. *ʒirɣa-* etc. (VEWT 201-202, ЭСТЯ 4, 42-43).

PJpn. ***dərə̀kə̀-p-** to be glad (радоваться): OJpn. *joroko-b-*; MJpn. *jòrò̀kò̀-b-*; Tok. *yorokób-u*; Kyo. *yórókób-ú*; Kag. *yòrò̀kò̀b-*.

◊ JLTT 787.

PKor. ***čɨ́rkə́b- / *čɨ́rkə̀b-** to be glad (радоваться): MKor. *čɨ́rkə́p- / čɨ́rkə̀p-* (-w-); Mod. *čilgəp-* (-w-).

◊ Nam 439, KED 1520.

‖ SKE 38; Poppe 1950, 572, Lee 1958, 113, Menges 1984, 266, АПиПЯЯ 77; Дыбо 5, Martin 231, Miller 1985, 150, 1985a, 83, JOAL 99, Whitman 1985, 126, Лексика 276. The root is quite reliable, but not completely regular, probably due to contractions and assimilations (not quite clear is -i- in Mong. - on analogy with *ʒirüke* 'heart'? - and voicing of -k- in TM).

✱**ʒŭr(V)kʿe (~ -i̯u-)** heart, inner organ: Mong. ***ʒirüke ~ *ʒürike**; Turk. ***jürek**; Jpn. ***dəkə́sì**.

PMong. ***ʒirüke ~ *ʒürike** heart (сердце): MMong. *ʒurokan* (HY), *ʒiruge(n)*, *ʒuruge* (SH), *ʒeorke* (IM), *ʒurukän* (MA) 1; WMong. *ʒirüke(n)* (L 1062); Kh. *ʒürx*; Bur. *zürxe(n)*; Kalm. *zürkn̥*; Ord. *ʒüreχe*; Mog. *ʒürkä*; Dag. *ʒurug*, *ʒurgu* (Тод. Даг. 145), *ʒurugu*, *ʒurehe* (MD 180); Dong. *ʒuGe* (MGCD *ʒuɣə*); Bao. *ʒirge*; S.-Yugh. *ʒürgen*; Mongr. *ʒerge* (SM 87), *ʒirge* 1.

◊ KW 483-484, MGCD 469.

PTurk. ***jürek** heart; courage (сердце): OTurk. *jürek* (Orkh., OUygh.); Karakh. *jürek* (MK, KB); Tur. *jürek*; Gag. *jüreḱ*; Az. *ürek*; Turkm. *jürek*; Sal. *jyrüx*; Khal. *jirek*; MTurk. *jürek* (MA); Uzb. *jurak*; Uygh. *jüräk*; Krm. *jürek*; Tat. *jörɛk*; Bashk. *jörek*; Kirgh. *ʒürök*; Kaz. *žürek*; KBalk. *žürek*; KKalp. *žürek*; Kum. *jürek*; Nogh. *jürek*; SUygh. *jörek*; Khak. *čürek*; Shr. *čürek* (R., Верб.); Oyr. *ḱürek*; Tv. *čürek*; Tof. *čürek*; Chuv. *čəre*; Yak. *sürex*; Dolg. *hürek*.

◊ VEWT 213, EDT 965, ЭСТЯ 4, 270-271, Егоров 324, Лексика 276, Stachowski 116. Chuv. *č-* is irregular: a contamination with *čərə* 'alive'.

PJpn. ***dəkə́sì** spleen (селезенка): MJpn. *jòkósì*.

◊ JLTT 576.

‖ KW 483-484, Владимирцов 188, АПиПЯЯ 282. One cannot exclude Mong. being borrowed from Turkic (see Щербак 1997, 126), but there are no special reasons for that.

✱**ʒVbV** to bite, grit teeth: Tung. ***ʒ̈ǖ(n)-**; Mong. ***ʒaɣu-**; Turk. ***jubut-**.

PTung. ***ʒ̈ǖ(n)-** to grit teeth (стискивать зубы): Evk. *ʒ̈īn-*; Man. *ʒ̈u(n)-*.

◊ TMC 1, 258. Manchu is hardly < Mong., despite Rozycki 127.

PMong. ***ʒaɣu-** to bite (кусать): MMong. *ʒa'u-* (SH), *ʒa'ū-* (IM); WMong. *ʒaɣu-* (L 1024); Kh. *ʒū-*; Bur. *zū-*; Kalm. *zū-*; Ord. *ǯū-*; Mog. *ǯau-* (Weiers); Dag. *ǯau-* (Тод. Даг. 143, MD 176); Dong. *ǯau-*, *ǯao-*; Bao. *ǯou-*; S.-Yugh. *ǯū-*; Mongr. *ʒ́ū-* (SM 94), (MGCD *ǯau-*).

◊ KW 482, MGCD 460.

PTurk. ***jubut-** to swallow (глотать): Karakh. *jut-* (MK); Tur. *jut-* (*judum* 'gulp'); Gag. *jut-* (*judum* 'gulp'); Az. *ud-*; Turkm. *juvut-*; MTurk. *jout-* (CC); Uzb. *jut-*; Uygh. *jut-*; Krm. *jut-*; Tat. *jot-*; Bashk. *jot-*; Kirgh. *ǯut-*; Kaz. *žut-*; KBalk. *ǯut-*; KKalp. *žut-*; Kum. *jut-*; Nogh. *jut-*; Oyr. *d́ut-*; Chuv. *śъt-*.

◊ ЭСТЯ 4, 242-243, VEWT 212, EDT 885, Егоров 203. The Turkm. and Koman forms, as well as reflexes of secondary length in Oghuz, point unmistakably to *-ubu-, contracted in other sources.

‖ TMC 1, 258, АПиПЯЯ 293. A Western isogloss. The vocalism is hard to establish because of reduction in PTM.